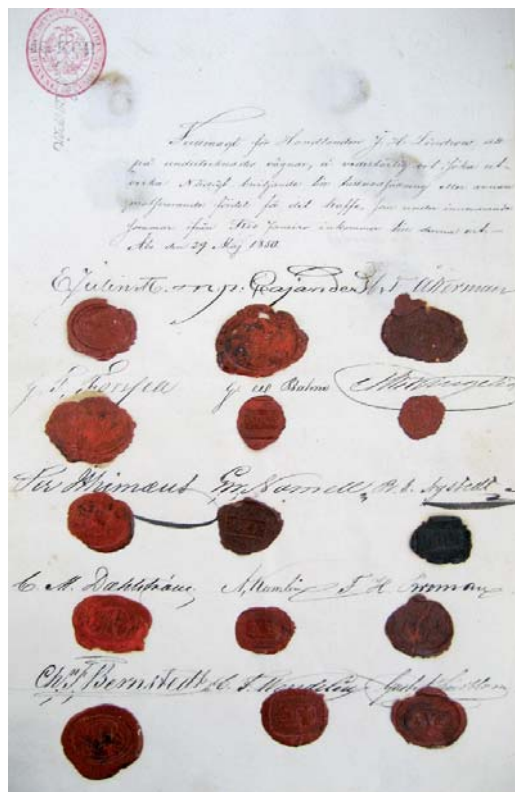


Maare Paloheimo

Business Life in Pursuit of  
Economic and Political Advantages  
in Early-Nineteenth-Century  
Finland



JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN HUMANITIES 195

Maare Paloheimo

Business Life in Pursuit of  
Economic and Political Advantages  
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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2012

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Cover: An authorization issued by the leading merchants of Turku to a merchant called J.H. Lindroos to submit a petition to the Tsar concerning customs duties on imported coffee, dated 29 May 1850.

Source: National Archives (Helsinki), The Archives of the Finnish Senate, the Economic Department's file STO AD 377/229 1850. Photo: Maare Paloheimo.

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## ABSTRACT

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Finnish summary

The present study examines how business actors participated in and influenced government decision-making regarding their own economic and political interests in early-nineteenth-century Finland. The research period is characterised by a major political change; Finland, previously the eastern part of Sweden, was incorporated in 1809 into the Russian Empire as an autonomous Grand Duchy after a war that arose out of European power politics. The beginning of the era of Russian rule signified several changes. For instance, the Diet of the Estates, which had been a traditional channel of political influence for business life under Swedish rule, did not convene between 1809 and 1863.

The study maintains that in the prevailing situation the system of submitting petitions and appeals took on more importance for Finnish business life. Petitions and appeals are seen as expressions of political activity through which the subjects – including business actors – could seek a variety of government favours. The petitions and appeals were formally addressed to the Russian Tsar, but in practice the majority were dealt by the highest national governmental body, the Imperial Senate of Finland. In order to illuminate how widely and for what purposes business actors used this channel of influence, the petitions and appeals received by the Senate's Economic Department, which dealt with the routine of administration, are studied in nine reference years between 1810 and 1850. In addition, two committees that were appointed to consider economic questions provide further evidence for the findings of this study. An analysis of the use of petitioning and the committee system provides a better understanding of the ways by which business actors aimed to promote their interests in a regulated environment.

The study, which draw on a sample of 871 petitions and appeals and case studies of two committees, demonstrates that the representatives of the Finnish business life aimed to influence both major and minor matters through the above mentioned ways of contacting the top decision-makers: the scale could vary from privileges to produce soap in a small manufacture to issues involving large-scale business ventures and major legislative measures that would eventually change the development of whole segments of the economy. The study provides new insights into the development of business-government relations in the early part of the century and the transition from merchant to industrial capitalism, the gradual process of the diversification and internationalization of Finnish business life, female entrepreneurship and the birth of new industries.

Keywords: Finland, business life, merchants, industrialists, petitioning, committees, decision-making, nineteenth century

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## PREFACE

In late spring 2004, as a newly graduated student of Finnish history, I found myself writing a research plan for a dissertation. I had begun a job as a research assistant in a research project at the Department of History and Ethnology ("Hela") in the University of Jyväskylä, but somehow I ended up as a doctoral student. That page-and-a-half-long research plan, which consisted of a meagre collection of scattered thoughts and unfinished ideas, evolved first into a licentiate thesis focusing on one businessman and finally into this study, which covers hundreds of business actors engaged in various segments of the economy in the early nineteenth century.

This dissertation would not have come into existence without the contributions of my supervisors. I owe special thanks to my main supervisor, Professor Jari Ojala for his help, visions and patience. Over the past few years, he has read various versions of the chapters that follow and commented on them painstakingly – sometimes even from the other side of the world. The acute comments of Professor Petri Karonen have been equally important. They have always reflected his vast knowledge and attention to detail, qualities that I have appreciated throughout the research process. In the later stages of my work, I have received mentoring and support from Adjunct Professor Heli Valtonen, Ph.D. She has always found time to listen to me about the latest breakthroughs or setbacks I have experienced in my research and to provide thoughtful comments. In addition to my supervisors, I would like to thank Professor Ilkka Nummela for his valuable comments on my manuscript. Professor Nummela made me aware of the existence of Counsellors of Commerce of Russian origin and had I not learned about them from him, they would definitely have received less attention in this work. I also wish to thank the reviewers, Professor Sakari Heikkinen from the University of Helsinki and Associate Professor Hilde Sandvik, Dr.Phil. of the University of Oslo for their valuable comments and well-deserved criticism of the manuscript of this dissertation.

Over the years, I have benefited greatly from discussions with my many colleagues in the Department of the History and Ethnology. During the time I have been a doctoral student in Hela, I have shared various offices with over 30 researchers and staff members – sometimes for only short periods of time, sometimes for a bit longer. Since it is impossible to thank each of them individually, I would like to express my gratitude to them collectively for creating an inspiring work environment.

I would also like to express my thanks to the following persons whom I have got to know over the years. I have had endless discussions about early-nineteenth-century administrative and economic history with Merja Uotila, M.A., whose wide knowledge of craft trades is enviable. Similarly, conversations with Piia Einonen, Ph.D., Timo Särkkä, Ph.D. and Olli Turunen, M.A. have also provided valuable insights on many questions of early-



nineteenth-century business life and economic affairs. In addition, I want to thank Adjunct Professor Jari Eilola, Ph.D. for his help – and for lending endless piles of books from his shelves. Furthermore, I would like to thank the members of two research groups, *Organizational Evolution and Dynamics* (OED), led by Professor Jari Ojala, and the *Early Modern Morals* research group (EMM), led by Professor Kustaa H.J. Vilkkuna, for providing an inspiring atmosphere for scientific discussions. I further wish to thank Professor Pirjo Markkola for sharing her expertise in various questions concerning Finnish history.

My thanks are also due to a number of archivists and librarians who have helped me over the years. The staff of the National Archives of Finland and the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä have always provided me with kind assistance on various questions related to the archives of the Finnish Senate. Although I began the research before the digitalization of the Archives of the Finnish Senate started, I have greatly benefited of the work that the National Archives Service has done in making primary source material available online in recent years. Similarly, I wish to thank the staff of the National Archives of Sweden (*Riksarkivet*), where I was able to pay a short visit, for their help in locating documents that I needed. I have also received professional assistance from the personnel of Jyväskylä University Library whenever needed, including help with the process of getting this study published, for which I express my sincere thanks.

Writing in a language that is not your own is always difficult. When it comes to a work dealing with the history of early-nineteenth-century Finland and involving administrative and legal terms, the problems of finding suitable equivalents for all the original terms has sometimes been overwhelming. This work would definitely not have been finished as it is now without the help of a native proofreader. I would therefore like to express my thanks to Gerard McAlester for the enormous work he has done with my text, often on a tight schedule. His experience and skills have given the text a more finished look and a fluency that only a native-speaker can provide.

I would also like to address my special thanks to Jussi Santaniemi, whose skills and visions have been invaluable in finalizing this study for printing. Without his help, there certainly would not have been any maps in this work. Despite all this help from various people, the shortcomings and mistakes that remain in the pages that follow are naturally all my responsibility.

Without financial support from various instances this study would never have been completed. The University of Jyväskylä and the Department of History and Ethnology, the Finnish Cultural Foundation, the Emil Aaltonen Foundation, the Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation have all provided me with financial support during the research process, for which I am deeply grateful. Similarly, various instances have awarded me grants for participating in conferences abroad and travelling to archives. For this support, I wish to thank the Finnish Concordia Fund, Suomalais-ruotsalaisen kulttuurirahasto – Kulturfonden för Sverige och Finland, the Finnish Doctoral Programme of History and the Department of History and Ethnology.

Finally, I thank my family and all my nearest and dearest who had given me their support over the years. Most of all these people, I want to thank my dear husband Teemu, the most organized and most Excel-oriented person I have ever known. He has certainly done his best to bring some (in)sane absurdism into my life and offered contrafactual interpretations of (mostly unknown and unheard-of) historical events. (And yes, *Herr Tubenfalz* and *the Pope of Flammkuchen* definitely had an enormous influence on the history of Western civilization.) In return, I have provided him with historical trivia about the most (ir)relevant matters, persons and places – usually without being asked. I promise to try and quit my enthusiastic predilection for “Did-you-happen-to-know-that...” -type quizzes about things that happened in a bygone age. I therefore dedicate this work to my husband, who has promised to read the text when it is finished.

Maare Paloheimo  
Jyväskylä  
November, 2012

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

HisKi	Historiakirjat [HisKi project] A database of Finnish church registers, provided by the Geneological Society of Finland
JyMa	Jyväskylän maakunta-arkisto [The Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä]
NA	National Archives of Finland, Helsinki
RA	Riksarkivet, Stockholm [Swedish National Archives]
SAOB	Svenska Akademiens Ordbok [The Swedish Academy Glossary]
SHS	Suomen Historiallinen Seura [Finnish Historical Society]
SKS	Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura [Finnish Literature Society]
STO AD	Senaatin Talousosasto, anomusdiaarit [Economic Department of the Finnish Senate, the Registers of Petitions]
STO KD	Senaatin Talousosasto, kirjediaarit [Economic Department of the Finnish Senate, the Registers of Letters]
VSV	Valtiosihteerinviraston arkisto [Archives of the Minister Secretary of State]
WSOY	Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö [Werner Söderström Corporation]

# 1 INTRODUCTION

The present study throws light on how the change of ruler and changes in the institutional framework that took place in 1809 as a result of Finland's incorporation into the Russian Empire, affected Finnish business life and its opportunities to communicate and interact with the most senior decision-makers. This research subject is approached by examining business actors' petitions and appeals, which were formally addressed to the ruler, and by foregrounding the role of legislative committees in economic decision-making. The institution of petitioning and the committee system are regarded as critical formal channels through which the representatives of business life could influence top-level decision-makers in a period when the Diet of the four Estates (the Nobles, the Clergy, the Burghers and the Peasants) did not convene in Finland. By studying questions such as how widely and for what purposes business actors used these channels of influence in nine reference years between 1810 and 1850, the study provides new insights into their attempts to pursue their economic and political interests in this period.

## 1.1 Business actors' formal means to influence government decision-making in early-nineteenth-century Finland

In 1809 Sweden lost its eastern part, the territory that approximately constitutes modern Finland, to Russia. Finland had been a part of Sweden for over six hundred years, but European great-power politics, including the effects of Napoleon's Continental Blockade, came to influence her fate. The agreement between France and Russia in Tilsit led to Russia's attack on Sweden in 1808. The latter, although supported by the British, lost the war, and as a result Finland was ceded from Sweden to Russia in 1809 (see also Map 1).<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Luntinen 1997, 29–41; Palmer 2005, 167–172; Kirby 2006, 71–72; Screen 2007, 396–466; Karonen 2008, 420–424. The Continental Blockade was an attempt to create a





MAP 1 Map of the Grand Duchy of Finland. The map shows the situation after 1812, when the area of Old Finland was incorporated into Finland proper. Drawn by Jussi Santaniemi (2012).

Thereafter, Finland became the Grand Duchy of Finland, an autonomous entity within the Russian Empire, until 1917, when the country gained independence. This period is known in Finland as the “Age of Autonomy”.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the separation from Sweden, the constitution, legal system, representative institutions and the Lutheran religion continued to be based on the Swedish models, thus providing continuity and stability in Finnish society.<sup>3</sup> However, the advent of a new regime also signified important changes; the organization of the administrative structure began after the war and a Governing Council – renamed as the “Imperial Senate of Finland” in 1816 – was established as the highest national administrative body in the Grand Duchy. For contemporaries, it came to represent the existence of the government in

---

European trading area that would facilitate trade within continental Europe while excluding Britain from the benefits it had derived from commerce.

<sup>2</sup> The term “The Age of Autonomy” is commonly used in Finnish historiography to refer the period between 1809 and 1917. The use of this term in this study should not be understood as an attempt to play down the power and authority of the Russian Tsar.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Tiihonen & Tiihonen 1984, 95–116; Tyynilä 1984, 22–23; Mylly 2006, 23–24; Karonen 2008, 425–434.

Finland.<sup>4</sup> The representative organ, the Diet of the four Estates, convened for the first time under Russian rule in Porvoo (Borgå) in March, 1809, but the next meeting did not take place until 1863.<sup>5</sup>

These changes necessarily influenced Finnish economic and business life and its relationship with the governmental authorities. First and foremost, the fact that the Diet of Estates was not summoned between 1809 and 1863 narrowed the opportunities of business life to influence government and policy-making. The existing body of research has emphasized the fact that under Swedish rule the Diet of Estates had been an important channel of influence for the Estate of Burghers. The members of the estate included prominent businessmen from various towns, and the gatherings of the Diet had opened up numerous possibilities for them to exert political influence in matters concerning economic policy. The representatives of Finnish business life had also benefited from this channel of influence on various occasions and for various purposes.<sup>6</sup> In addition, it has been maintained that in early nineteenth-century-Finland, under the rule of the autocratic Russian Tsar, the authority of government officials increased, the administration became more bureaucratic and thus the opportunities for individuals to influence decision-making concerning their own affairs were limited.<sup>7</sup>

The present study examines how business actors could participate in and influence government decision-making regarding their own economic and political interests in the prevailing situation, when access to formal political assemblies at the national level was closed. Consequently, the study focuses on other available formal ways, that is petitioning and participation in committee work, of communicating and interacting with the highest decision-makers in early-nineteenth-century Finland. The institution of petitioning and the committee system, both of which had been firmly entrenched in the Swedish political and constitutional culture, are seen as focal forms of political

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<sup>4</sup> Halila 1962, 545; Tyynilä 1992, 228–229; Savolainen 1994, 3–4; Kirby 2006, 83–84; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 145–147; Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 19–20. For the sake of clarity, this body is henceforth always referred to as “the Senate”. In addition, this study employs the phrase the highest decision-makers (and other similar expressions) to refer to the Finnish Senate and the Russian Tsar, who had the title “The Grand Duke of Finland”. The instance which made the decisions on subjects’ petitions and appeals is not specified in every case since they could be made either by the Tsar or by the Senate using the authority delegated to it by him. This issue is discussed further in Chapter 2.

<sup>5</sup> In the following text, the names of towns and provinces are given primarily only in Finnish. In a few cases where the Swedish name is also widely used or is historically better known, it is given in parentheses. With regard to ironworks or other large-scale industrial facilities, both Finnish and Swedish names are given if both are widely known.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Lindström 1905, 48–70; Lähteenoja 1935, 129–132; Halila 1962, 529–536; Rystad 1985, 103–104; Kekkonen 1987, 23–24; Müller 1998, 48; Ojala 1999, 254–258; Gustafsson 1994, 49–50; Karonen 2004, 62–131; Berglund 2009, 43–44; Karonen 2011, 233–237.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Tiihonen & Ylikangas 1992, 133–134; Stenvall 2000, 23, 59; Ylikangas 2007, 134–147; Virrankoski 2009, 417–418. See also Tiihonen 1994, 214–232.

communication between business life and government decision-makers in the early nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

After 1809, the petitions and appeals were formally addressed to the Russian Tsar, but in practice, most of them were brought before the Senate and only some were finally communicated to the ruler himself. The Senate, which consisted of two departments, the Economic Department and the Justice Department, used the power delegated to it by the ruler and looked after of the routine business of administration and justice in Finland.<sup>9</sup> Over the research period, the Senate received thousands of letters,<sup>10</sup> of which those handled by the Economic Department are here placed under closer scrutiny. More precisely, the focus is on business-related petitions and appeals which representatives of business life, either as sole petitioners or as members of a collective body, addressed to decision-makers at the highest level over nine reference years between 1810 and 1850. An extensive sample of business-related petitions and appeals forms the basis of the analysis in the chapters that follow. Through a detailed examination of the sampled data, the present study aims to address such questions as how widely the representatives of business life used this communication channel and for what purposes it was employed.

While the petitions and appeals are seen as a means to communicate the subjects' (including those engaged in business life) requests and concerns to the ruler, the study of two governmental committees that were established to consider economic questions provide further evidence for the findings of this study and offer another perspective on the relationship between business life and government.<sup>11</sup> The appointment of committees and the invitation to business actors to participate in their work are regarded here as examples of the government's attempts to seek expertise and information from below, that is from the representatives of business life, in the process of formulating economic policy.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the case studies of two committees, the Committee on Trade (1811-1812) and Customs and the Forest Act Committee (the 1840s), reviewed in the present research shed more light on the opportunities opened up for business actors to voice their opinions on decision-making on economic issues in the era covered in this study. The selected committees are introduced in more detail in the latter part of this chapter.

The present study is motivated by the fact that our knowledge of how representatives of business life used the afore-mentioned formal means to advance their own interests within the framework created by the bureaucratic and mercantilist mentality and system of early-nineteenth-century Finland is far from complete. The results of this study will show that individuals engaged in various business activities were persistent in their use of these channels when

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<sup>8</sup> For a detailed discussion see the following sections.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Rauhala 1915, 175-176; Tyynilä 1992, 85-91. See also Chapter 2.

<sup>10</sup> Savolainen 1994, 184-202.

<sup>11</sup> On the concept 'committee', see Hesselén 1927, 3-9; Tuori 1983, 165-171, 191-195. Härkönen 1995, xi-xiii.

<sup>12</sup> For a brief discussion on the role of committees as a channel of communication, see Tuori 1983, 196-197. See also Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 30 (footnote 3), 32-33.

trying to secure different kinds of favours for themselves from the government or when trying to shape the institutional environment. Furthermore, the study brings to the forefront various case studies of individuals and groups engaged in business life, the aim of which is to demonstrate in a more detailed manner the ways in which the processes of economic decision-making were affected and challenged by individuals seeking an entry into commerce and industry and, on the other hand, the means that established groups of merchants and industrialists used to protect the privileges and rights they had already gained. By making a closer examination of the institution of petitioning and the committee system, the present study will also contribute to the discussion of the continuities and discontinuities in administrative and political culture<sup>13</sup> as well as enhance our understanding of the economic environment in Finland in the period studied.

The research period is delimited by two wars, the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-1809 (nowadays known as the War of Finland), after which the country was annexed into the Russian Empire, and the Crimean War (1853-1856), the consequences of which spread to reach the coastal areas of Finland.<sup>14</sup> This period was characterised by the transition from merchant capitalism to industrial capitalism.<sup>15</sup> At the beginning of this period, mercantilist economic policies continued to be the main ideological force behind economic decision-making in Finland. This meant, in practice, that the state regulated business activities and granted monopoly rights, privileges and permits only to those candidates whose purposes fulfilled the formal requirements.<sup>16</sup> The basic idea was that the state should actively practise economic regulation in order to ensure an effective utilization of the available resources and to increase the government's revenues.<sup>17</sup> However, some shifts in economic policies can be

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<sup>13</sup> The concept of political culture is understood here from a broad perspective. It includes communication and interaction between the ruler and his subjects through various channels. It is a concept that makes it easier to understand the research subject, but it is not the object of the study. The current study maintains that an investigation of business-government relationship and the decision-making processes contributes to the study of political culture (see also Gustafsson 1994, 21-22; Løgstrup 2011, 294-295). For a definition of political culture, see Munck 2011, xviii; Ihalainen & Sennefelt 2011, 3.

<sup>14</sup> On the Crimean War, see Luntinen 1997, 75-101; Palmer 2005, 206-214; Kirby 2006, 103. On the consequences of the war for commerce and shipping, see Ojala 1996, 81-83; Kallioinen 2003, 136, 150-153; Kaukiainen 2008, 215-217. See also Heikkinen 1994, 207-208; Tiihonen 2012, 56-57.

<sup>15</sup> In the Finnish case, this transition can be dated as lasting approximately from the early part of the seventeenth century up to the 1870s. It took place gradually; from the mid-nineteenth century onwards it was characterized by accelerating industrialization and economic growth. On the special characteristics of contemporary business life and the formal and informal constraints on business in this period, see Ojala & Karonen 2006, 101-110.

<sup>16</sup> Kekkonen 1987, 10-37. On the concept 'privilege' (*privilegium*) and the sovereign's right to grant privileges in the Scandinavian context, see Dübeck 1985. See also Ericsson 1985, 118-121; Ojala 1999, 252-253; Gustafsson 1994, 49; Karonen 2002, 22-23.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. Ojala 1999, 252-258; Heikkinen, Heinonen, Kuusterä & Pekkarinen 2000, 172-173; Magnusson 2000, 25-32; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 175-177, 203-208. For a further discussion, see e.g. Heinonen 2011.

recognised during the first part of the century. While support for agriculture was a dominant characteristic of economic policy up to the early 1820s, more attention was paid to the development of industry in the following years up till 1833. This period was characterized by the protection of domestic production through a strict customs policy.<sup>18</sup> However, the results were not always what the government had expected: as a result of the high customs tariffs, government revenues decreased and smuggling flourished. In the period between the early 1830s and 1855, the commercial sector took on more importance, and also a more liberal economic policy gained momentum.<sup>19</sup>

After the mid-nineteenth century, several important reforms were enacted that had an influence on economic development. In Finnish historiography, the mid-nineteenth century has generally been regarded as a watershed between conservative and more liberal economic policies: a more liberal economic policy gained ground in Russia and Finland when Tsar Alexander II (1818-1881), who succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Nicholas I (1796-1855), came to power in 1855 and began a period of reforms.<sup>20</sup> From the mid-1850s onwards, Finland witnessed social, economic and financial reforms (e.g. the relaxation of economic legislation and the introduction of the country's own currency unit in the 1860s), technological innovations, improvements in transportation systems and information technology and the gradual development of the capital market, among other things.<sup>21</sup> These factors have caused scientific enquiry to focus on the latter part of the century, and only in recent times has there been a rising interest in the first half of the nineteenth century.

## 1.2 Outline of the approach and research questions

Communication and interaction between the ruler and the ruled in the pre-modern period has been a popular subject with researchers in the discipline of

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<sup>18</sup> Myllyntaus 1980, 336–337; Tiihonen 2012, 46.

<sup>19</sup> Myllyntaus 1980, 336–338; Kaukiainen 2006, 140; Kuusterä & Heikkinen 2007, 32. During this period, Vice-Chairmans of the Senate's Economic Department was first Lars Sackleen (1788-1870) and after him, L.G. von Haartman (1789-1859). On von Haartman, see also Section 5.3.

<sup>20</sup> Myllyntaus 1980, 338, 356, 364; Björkqvist 1986, 281–283; Kekkonen 1992, 188–189; Jussila 2004, 257–258; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 348–351.

<sup>21</sup> On these changes in Finnish society, see Soikkanen 1981, 433–453. See also Björkqvist 1986, Heikkinen, Heinonen, Kuusterä & Pekkarinen 2000 on economic thinking; Ojala & Nummela 2006, Peltonen 2004 and Östman 2004 on agriculture; Herranen 1986 on technological innovations in the iron industry; Mauranen 1999 and Kaukiainen 2006 on transportation; Pipping 1961, Kuusterä 1989, Kuusterä & Tarkka 2011, Tiihonen 2012 on the development of the capital market, banking and financial policy; Kallioinen 2003 and Laakso 2006 on information transmission; Heikkinen 1994 on customs (changes after the mid-nineteenth century, p. 245 ff); Heikkinen & Leino-Kaukiainen (eds.) 2011 on education, Martikainen 2004 on changes in religious legislation (pp. 108–112); Pylkkänen 2009 on the modernisation of Finnish law (especially regarding women, pp. 37–83).

history.<sup>22</sup> Numerous scholars have been interested in how both individual subjects and collective bodies were able to communicate with the governmental decision-makers and what kind of influence they could exert on decision-making processes in different areas and times.<sup>23</sup> Petitions have often occupied a central role in these studies. It has been argued that the institution of petitioning gave subjects access to the authorities and a feeling of participation in political processes. Consequently, petitions and appeals are seen as having been a legitimate and privileged form of communication between the subjects and the ruler or various government authorities, by means of which the concerns of the population were communicated from the local level to the political centre.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, they offered the ruler an insight into the prevailing moods of the subjects and a way to obtain information from peripheral as well as central areas. The ruler, for his part, was obligated by the petitions to give some response to the petitioners and thereby he was enabled to dispense grace and justice.<sup>25</sup>

It has been claimed that a great deal of political influencing in early modern Western Europe and America took place in the form of petitions as various groups have used petitioning for political purposes in conjunction with demonstrations, rebellions, revolts and other kinds of mass movement.<sup>26</sup> Petitions were also printed and circulated publicly or privately in order to attract more attention and thus add to their impact. In addition to groups and collective bodies, petitions were employed by various individuals ranging from the poorest elements of society to intellectuals and prominent members of the economic and political elites. They could, for example, concern administrative procedures or legislative issues or then an individual's exposure to social or economic problems. More precisely, individuals often petitioned for help in distressed situations such as when they encountered disasters or accidents, imprisonment, illness, the death of family members, economic distress, when they wanted relief from debt or when they sought favours or offices.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, individuals and collective bodies engaged in various segments of the economy

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<sup>22</sup> The term "pre-modern/early modern" is used to refer to the period from 1500 up to 1800 in the context of most European countries, although the periodization depends on the country in question. Generally, the period is regarded as ending with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. Sennefelt 2011 for a brief treatment of recent Nordic research concerning the interaction between the state and local society.

<sup>24</sup> Supphellen 1978, 152; Rystad 1985, 101–104; Bregnsbo 1997; Hoyle 2002, 366; Katajala 2004, 12–13.

<sup>25</sup> Bregnsbo 1997, 222–225; Zaret 2000, 59, 88; Linde 2009, 66–67; Nubola 2001, 36; Zaeske 2003, 13; Berglund 2009, 42–46; Van Gelder 2009, 35; Bregnsbo 2011, 63–64; Løgstrup 2011, 299–293; Sandvik 2011, 332–333; Sennefelt 2011, 271–272.

<sup>26</sup> See e.g. Mark 1998, 2154–2155, 2225–2226, 2229; Wunder 1998, 169; Zaret 2000, 218–219; Daeryoon 2011, 325–326, 328–329. For example, in early-nineteenth-century Germany, Canada and the United States of America, petitions could be signed by large masses of people: see e.g. Lipp & Krempel 2001; Wilton 2000; Zaeske 2003. See Tommila 1999 and Tuominen 1974 for examples of mass movements employing petitioning for political purposes in Finland.

<sup>27</sup> van Voss 2001, 3–6; Würigler 2001, 26–28.

petitioned sovereigns and governments for favours in times of economic downturns or when property rights<sup>28</sup> needed to be secured.<sup>29</sup>

The right to petition was also a time-honoured prerogative of subjects in pre-modern Sweden (including Finland).<sup>30</sup> Individuals or groups – including the representatives of business life – could present their requests to the King and the Diet of the four Estates<sup>31</sup> in order to bring both personal and communal issues to their attention.<sup>32</sup> This practice continued to exist in Finland after the war of 1808–1809, when, instead of the king, petitions were addressed to the Russian Tsar. However, the existing research has paid rather little attention to the institution of petitioning itself, its evolution and its use for political purposes in this particular period in Finland, although petitions and appeals made by the subjects to the highest decision-makers are widely used as historical sources.

It has been maintained that petitions and the petitioning process can tell us about popular participation in decision-making processes and in politics, especially by disenfranchised groups; approaching the government authorities via written requests gave the subjects greater opportunities to be involved in decision-making processes than, for example, voting in political elections, which has often been regarded as the standard measure of popular participation.<sup>33</sup> Petitions and appeals opened up a way to influence the decision-makers for virtually everyone, regardless of their social background, gender or origin, while the right to vote remained more strictly limited. This is an important factor since in Finland after 1809 not even all men were entitled to vote in political elections.<sup>34</sup> In Finland, gradual changes in this situation took

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<sup>28</sup> On property rights, see Ojala 1999, 251–254 and the literature referred to therein.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. Peacey 2007; Van Gelder 2009; Peters 2010; Dearyoon 2011; Frydenlund 2011; Winton 2011a and 2011b; Vermeesch 2012. With regard to Finland, see especially Laine 1950; Paloposki 1976; Kuisma 1982 and 1983; Karonen 2004; Einonen 2005; Nurmiainen 2007; Nurmiainen 2009.

<sup>30</sup> The so-called *Sollicitantplakaten* of 1680 and 1723 defined petitioners' rights to contact the top decision-makers with their requests; see e.g. Kuisma 1983, 79; Berglund 2009, 44. On the right to petition in pre-modern Scandinavia, see Supphellen 1978, 152–153; Rystad 1985, 101–102; Gustafsson 2004, 26–27.

<sup>31</sup> Each of the four estates had the right to send its representatives to the assemblies of the Diet of the Estates. The representatives of each estate were elected in slightly different ways; see Jutikkala 1974, 9–80. See also Tuominen 1964, 367–368, 371–374.

<sup>32</sup> On the processes of petitioning and appealing to the local, provincial and national levels of administration in Sweden (including Finland) before 1809, see e.g. Boëthius 1943; Fällström & Mäntylä 1982 (pp. 261–268); Kuisma 1983; Kuisma 1985 (pp. 142–146); Rystad 1985 (pp. 101–104); Gustafsson 1994 and 2004 (pp. 26–27); Berglund 2009 (pp. 43–46); Koskivirta 2007.

<sup>33</sup> Mark 1998, 2153. On groups excluded from the franchise in Nordic societies, see e.g. Gustafsson 1994, 49; Sennefelt 2011, 272.

<sup>34</sup> On urban and rural elections and the right to vote in Sweden (including Finland before 1809), see e.g. Lindman 1962, 73; Mäntylä 1981, 27–64; Fällström & Mäntylä 1982, 197–237; Sennefelt 2011, 272. For a detailed discussion on peasants' and burgher widows' opportunities to vote in political elections (that is, elections of clergymen, mayors and members of parliament) in Sweden between 1650 and 1800, see Karlsson Sjögren & Lindström 2004. On urban elections and decision-making in pre-modern (1500–1800) European cities, see Schlögl 2009 and other articles in the same volume.

place in the latter part of the century.<sup>35</sup> However, the individuals or groups who were excluded from exerting an influence in elections could approach the local, provincial and national authorities via petitions. The view taken in this study seeks to emphasize the fact that no individuals or groups remained totally excluded from participating in decision-making processes.<sup>36</sup>

Following the framework sketched above, petitioning is seen as a legitimate channel of political communication that provided the subjects with a possibility to participate in decision-making processes. In many contexts, I prefer to use the term *political activity* when speaking of the endeavours of business actors to exert political influence in the research period. The term is used here to refer to activities practised by an individual or a group of individuals, a firm or various other corporations involved in business life such as craft guilds and merchant societies with the aim of influencing decision-making processes in order to promote their own interests. It needs to be emphasized that the term *political* is to be understood in a broad sense in the context of this study.<sup>37</sup> It is employed here to refer to various actions which individuals or groups engaged in business life took in order to influence the institutions or individuals at the centre of political decision-making in matters concerning the institutional framework regulating economic activities and the right to engage in a trade, economic policy<sup>38</sup> more generally with regard to its current or future course and the way it was produced, implemented or enforced. This study focuses on political activity in the form of petitions and appeals and the statements and memoranda which were submitted to the most senior decision-makers by business actors engaged in committee work. The underlying assumption in the present research is that by using these channels individuals engaged in business life were seeking favourable decisions and policies in order to enhance their economic success.

Another term that recurs throughout the study is *business actor*. It is used to cover different kinds of individuals who were involved in business – men and women, native Finns and foreign-born individuals, small businessmen and

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<sup>35</sup> Nikula 1981, 257–258; Mylly 2006, 13, 25.

<sup>36</sup> For a further discussion on the right to petition and its importance for disenfranchised groups in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Mark 1998; Wilton 2002; Zaeske 2003. See also Higginson 1986, 144, 153; Schmidt Blaine 2001, 63–64.

<sup>37</sup> The term *political activity* or *political action* has been used in various ways with reference to various historical situations, including absolutist regimes. It has been employed when speaking both of the efforts of elite groups to influence affairs and of the activities of the people at large and the representatives of business life who aimed to influence the highest decision-makers; see e.g. Frydenlund 2011; Løgstrup 2011; Sennefelt 2011. See also Karlsson Sjögren & Lindström 2004; Van Gelder 2009; Goppold 2009 and Schlögl 2009 for a discussion on the political activities of various groups in early-modern European urban societies. Te Brake 1998, for example, sees ordinary people as political actors and focuses on their influence in major political developments between 1500 and 1700. For a similar discussion concerning the United States of America and Canada in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see e.g. Mark 1998; Wilton 2000; Zaeske 2003.

<sup>38</sup> On the limits of economic policy in early nineteenth century Finland, see e.g. Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 60–61; Tiihonen 2012, 51–55.



representatives of large-scale businesses. The premise has been that a business actor could be either a physical person or a juristic person (in this case a firm, a board, etc.).<sup>39</sup> Some of the business actors might have held formal political positions, either in the national or a local political arena at various stages of their careers, but it is clear that the majority of the business actors covered by this study remained outside these spheres of formal influence.

In order to investigate business actors' opportunities to interact and communicate with the most senior decision-makers in early-nineteenth-century Finland, the study has consulted the so-called Registers of Petitions (*supplikdiarier*), which constitute the main primary source material. These registers were kept from 1809 on by the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate in order to record and manage the incoming letters submitted by the subjects. The Registers of Petitions include recorded entries of petitions and appeals<sup>40</sup> that were submitted by individuals or collective bodies. Each year has its own volume, and the volumes have been microfilmed and recently also digitalized.<sup>41</sup> The Economic Department handled a wide spectrum of tasks, not only economic and business matters, as will become evident below. It dealt only with civil cases since another department of the Finnish Senate, the Justice Department, acted as the highest court of law.<sup>42</sup> The Economic Department also maintained another register that was used to record letters submitted by government officials. These registers, the so-called Registers of Letters (*brevdiarier*), have not been studied here because this source material would lay more emphasis on lower and provincial government authorities as intermediaries in the communication between subjects and the decision-makers.<sup>43</sup>

Because of the vast amount of the data available in the Registers of Petitions, I have selected nine reference years between 1810 and 1850, from which I have examined almost 6600 entries in searching and sampling the data

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<sup>39</sup> See e.g. Schybergson 1977, 129–130. For a further discussion, see Section 3.3.

<sup>40</sup> The letters which were submitted by subjects were called petitions or appeals depending on the issues that came within the remit of the decision-makers. In the Registers of Petitions, the Swedish terms *anhållan*, *begäran* or *supplik* for petitions and *besvär* for appeals were usually employed. I have adopted the generic terms “petition” and “appeal” in this study. Ultimately, the main primary source material employed in this study explicitly makes a clear distinction between petitions and appeals. On these terms and their use in Finland, see Selin 1994, 88. For further discussion, see Supphellen 1978, 152; Rystad 1985, 101; van Voss 2001, 2; Zaeske 2003, 11–13.

<sup>41</sup> The original Registers of Petitions are deposited in the National Archives of Finland (NA), Helsinki. They are available to researchers on microfilm in various provincial archives in Finland and online (<http://digi.narc.fi/digi/>). Both microfilms (from the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä, JyMa) and online documents have been employed in this study.

<sup>42</sup> See e.g. Tiihonen & Tiihonen 1984, 130–134.

<sup>43</sup> It should be borne in mind that individuals (including business actors) could appeal to lower government officials, who could, in turn, refer the matter to the Senate. In such cases, the submission is recorded under the official's name. Therefore, it is possible that some petitions or appeals made by private persons are recorded not in the Registers of Petitions but in the Registers of Letters. On the Senate archives, see Valtionarkiston yleisluettelo (2) 1966; Selin 1994. See also Kerkkonen 1988.

for the study.<sup>44</sup> Out of these, I have compiled an extensive dataset including detailed information on business-related petitions and appeals. With the help of the information provided in the Registers, it is possible to ascertain details concerning both the petitioners and issues they brought up in their letters to the highest decision-maker as well as various other details. Certainly, the richness of the details the Registers of Petitions provide is an advantage. It should be noted that they offer an extensive overview of the communication between the government and individuals who were engaged in both small scale- and large-scale business and whose backgrounds (including their gender and ethnic origins) varied considerably. Hence, by using this source material it is possible to examine Finnish business life on a broad scale instead of merely focusing on one strictly defined group of business actors, such as leading burghers, captains of industry or other similar groups.

To begin with, the Registers of Petitions allow us to chart how widely this formal channel of influence was used for advancing business interests and who were the applicants who submitted business-related applications to the supreme decision-makers. Were they, for example, leading merchants or influential ironworks owners, whose business activities are most often the subject of previous research concerning early-nineteenth-century business and economic matters? Specific attention has been devoted here to an analysis of the social rank or occupational titles of the petitioners; these designations are given in fairly equal measure in the entries in the Registers of Petitions. We can thus further ask if it is possible to detect whether an occupational or social group stands out from the rest, or whether some groups were over- or underrepresented in the sampled data. In an attempt to manage and organize the data, the petitioners have been divided into various categories according to their occupational status or social position, ethnic origin and gender, for instance (for a further analysis see Sections 3.3 and 3.4). This approach is also visible in the structure of the study: natives and foreigners, male and female business actors are treated separately in most of the following presentation of their attempts to influence government decision-making through petitioning. Such a division is based on the institutional framework of the time studied: the law defined economic privileges and the right to engage in a trade according to gender and ethnic origin (and, in some cases, religion), as the following chapters will show.

The study further asks what kind of business-related issues were brought up in the business-related applications the highest decision-makers received? In other words, what was the specific content of the submitted business-related applications, and were they petitions or appeals against previously made decisions? Which segments of the economy predominated in the sampled data? Furthermore, did the representatives of business life prefer individual or collective activities when attempting to influence decision-makers and decision-making processes? Finally, the geographical distribution of the petitions and

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<sup>44</sup> The special characteristics of the primary source material and the dataset are discussed later in more detail (see Subsection 1.4.1 and Section 3.1).

appeals is also considered. Since the study aims to find out what kind of issues business actors referred to in their business-related petitions and appeals, the sampled petitions and appeals have been divided into four main categories according to the segments of the economy that they pertain to. This categorization, which creates a macro-level framework for the study, is discussed in greater detail below in Section 3.5. Obviously, some of the petitions and appeals provide more evidence on the questions posed above than others, but in the end they all indicate that the business actors of the time considered that their efforts to influence matters were worth the costs and resources that they involved. The further treatment of the sampled data in Chapters 4 and 5 is based on the findings presented in Chapter 3. Thus the focus in these sections is on commerce and the manufacturing industry.

It needs to be stressed here that the aim is not to examine the outcomes of the each petition or appeal sampled for this study nor to assess the efficiency of the decision-making of the Finnish Senate in the research period.<sup>45</sup> The data sampled from the Registers of Petitions, which consists of hundreds of cases, is too vast for these questions to be addressed here, and thus this study does not cover all the stages in the decision-making process or deal with the outcomes of each petition and appeal. More precisely, in order to examine outcomes or procedural efficiency, one should consult not only the Registers of Petitions but also case files that include the original petitions and appeals, the minutes of the Senate concerning the decision-making process of each petition or appeal and archives of the General-Governor or the Minister Secretary of State (in order to ascertain whether the matter was eventually referred to the Tsar).<sup>46</sup> Moreover, the minutes of the meetings of the Senate's Economic Department or the minutes of the joint sessions (a joint session was called a *plenum*) of the Economic and Justice Departments often include detailed information on the case itself but they seldom reveal how a certain decision was reached in a session, and therefore they do not reveal why certain petitions were granted while others were not.<sup>47</sup> To some extent, it is possible to use previous research as reference material to address these questions with regard to certain branches of industry since, for example, petitions to establish new industrial units have been studied by historians interested in economic development in the period under scrutiny.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> On the efficiency of the decision-making of the Finnish Senate, see Rauhala 1915; Rauhala 1921; Tyynilä 1992; Savolainen 1994 (selected chapters).

<sup>46</sup> See Section 2.2.

<sup>47</sup> On the decision-making processes in the Senate, see Savolainen 1994, 196–201. Owing to the ever-growing workload and the bureaucratic processes, the Senators had seldom the opportunity or time to discuss the matters which were dealt with the sessions in any depth. Usually the decision is given without further explanations. The minutes seldom report any discussion which might have preceded the final decision. See also Valtonen 2006, 19–20.

<sup>48</sup> See e.g. Laine 1948 and 1950 (the iron industry); Schybergson 1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1977 and 1995 (the mass consumption goods industry); Hoffman 1980 (the sawmill industry).

Since it has not been possible to study the outcomes of each petition and appeal in the sampled data, the study engages in a micro-level analysis of the subject of the research by employing case studies to illustrate the activities of business actors. These case studies, which concern individuals involved in commerce and in various branches of industry, are used to provide some answers to questions concerning the outcomes of the petitioning activities of business actors. Similarly, they help to shed more light on the decision-making processes concerning economic issues, and they offer a deeper albeit limited understanding of the conflicts that arose when the interests of various groups conflicted. This approach also enables us to analyze the arguments business actors employed when attempting to influence the most senior decision-makers and thus improve their chances of economic success.

Case studies are employed especially in Chapters 4 and 5, which focus on commerce and various industries. The opportunities of women and foreign-born individuals<sup>49</sup> to influence governmental decision-making on economic and business matters are also examined. Although women were not allowed to play a formal economic or political role, to what extent were they involved in decision-making through petitioning? And if they were so involved, what kind of issues did they refer to when they attempted to influence decisions regarding their own sources of livelihood and businesses? Studies of women's position in early modern times emphasize the fact that the law prevented women from attaining political rights and also limited their economic rights. Only for special reasons, such as widowhood or poverty, were women allowed to engage in a trade; this matter will be discussed below. Similarly, case studies consider the relationship between foreign-born business actors and the highest decision-makers and their role as active agents. Previous research has generally disregarded in particular the Russian businessmen who streamed into Finland during and after the war of 1808-1809 as actors who, in addition to their business endeavours, might also have a political agenda or an interest in influencing decision-making on matters of importance to them. Here, on the other hand, these individuals too are seen as agents who pursued political and economic advantages similarly to their native Finnish counterparts. Such an examination is justified because questions related to the economic and political rights of business actors of foreign origins, in particular, were not only brought up in petitions and appeals but they were also considered at the Diet of Estates in Porvoo and in communications between the Senate and the ruler.

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<sup>49</sup> At this point it is sufficient to mention that in this context the term "non-native" is to some extent problematical, and therefore the terms "foreigner" or "foreign-born" are preferred. In many ways, Swedes and Russians who moved to Finland constitute a special case among immigrants for historical and legislative reasons. Russians – regardless of their occasionally favoured status – were considered to be foreigners in Finland in the early nineteenth century (see e.g. Rauhala 1921, 521; Engman 1978b, 189-207; Engman 1983, 53; Leitzinger 2008a, 83; 2008b, 303-304). For these reasons, Russians are considered as a distinctive group with its own characteristics among the studied population.

In other words, the study will consider how foreign-born individuals and women in the early nineteenth century legitimized their engagement in both economic and political activities and how their participation in the political arena is revealed in the primary sources consulted here. In my view, an examination of the petitions and appeals submitted by the representatives of these groups provides us with a broader picture of the contemporary business environment and of the informal norms hidden beneath the prevailing institutionalized practices. More importantly, these cases give us an indication of the factors which eventually led to the enactment of broader and more equal commercial rights in the form of freedom-of-trade legislation in the 1860s and 1870s.

In the same vein, the case studies of two committees allow a more detailed study of the ways business actors could influence decision-makers and economic questions at the national level. The committee system, which stemmed from the era of Swedish rule, was often used to handle and plan administrative and legal matters in early nineteenth century Finland. Committees, which were set up on a temporary basis, also considered economic and financial questions.<sup>50</sup> It must be borne in mind that the majority of the committees established before the 1850s had only government officials as members and businessmen were rarely invited to participate in their work.<sup>51</sup> In this respect, the two committees, the Committee on Trade and Customs and the Forest Act Committee, which are under closer study here, were exceptional. These examples allow us to consider how merchants and shipowners on the one hand and industrialists on the other aimed to influence the government on issues relevant to the commercial sector and industry involved. In other words, the study examines how the leading Finnish businessmen exploited the opportunity to influence policy making, what kind of matters they referred to in their statements and how they substantiated their claims by maintaining that their aim was to strengthen economic development in Finland. The emphasis is on statements and memoranda that merchants and industrialists submitted to the committees. Much of this evidence is, of course, written in an official style, but that does not make it impervious to analysis. The intention is to use the archival sources referring to these two committees to complement the other primary source material.

### 1.3 Previous research

The existing body of literature on the relationship between the ruler and the subjects – or in widely used terms, between the central power and local society – has provided numerous important insights for the present study in

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<sup>50</sup> Rauhala 1915, 243–251; Harmaja 1920, 64–73; 88–116, 339–360, 574–576, 686–695; Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 33–34; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 256–260.

<sup>51</sup> Tuori 1983, 200–203.

descriptions of the different means employed by various groups as well as individuals to pursue their aims in political arenas. These studies generally focus on the interaction between the state and those groups that are at either end of the social spectrum and largely ignore the rest: usually the research concentrates on various elite groups, i.e. the “inner circle” of leading businessmen, or larger groups of people, such as peasants and the like, whose political influence was based on the fact that they constituted a large proportion of the population.<sup>52</sup> Especially peasant unrest and resistance, ranging from different kinds of localised, short-lived protests to uprisings or protracted wars, have been the subject of scholarly investigation, which has studied questions like what kind of influence the steps taken by large masses of people had on decision-making processes concerning their own affairs.<sup>53</sup>

However, the approach taken in these studies is not merely conflict-centred; it also acknowledges the fact that both sides also employed more formal methods to influence each other. In addition, the communication between the state and large masses of people comprised both issues which had wider political importance at the national level (e.g. legislation) and questions of local significance (e.g. the establishment of new sawmills or ironworks).<sup>54</sup> It has been maintained by several scholars that the state’s involvement in solving these problems contributed to reinforcing a political culture of interaction, communication and negotiation.<sup>55</sup> Importantly, scholars interested in the Nordic “society of the estates”, who have studied the interaction between the state and local communities, have also seen petitioning as an essential element in this relationship.<sup>56</sup> In these studies, petitions or appeals which were addressed to different levels of the administration have been widely employed as primary source material, or they themselves have been the actual object of the research.<sup>57</sup>

Beyond the Nordic countries, too, the institution of petitioning and petitions submitted by individuals or collective bodies have been studied by scholars representing several different traditions (i.e. cultural, social, ecclesiastical and legal historians) in the discipline of history.<sup>58</sup> These studies demonstrate that submitting petitions to the established authorities was a common practice in Western and Central Europe and in colonial America. Also

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<sup>52</sup> Its attention to the importance of the lower orders in political processes has been seen as one of the strengths of the Nordic historical research tradition, see Sennefelt 2011, 276. See also Österberg & Sandmo 2000; Linde 2009.

<sup>53</sup> Jespersen (Ed.) 2000; Katajala 2004.

<sup>54</sup> Kuisma 1983, 78ff; Gustafsson 1994, 71.

<sup>55</sup> For further discussion, see e.g. Gustafsson 1994; Katajala 2004; Gustafsson 2004; Ihalainen & Sennefelt 2011.

<sup>56</sup> Kuisma 1983; Gustafsson 1985 and 1994; Bregnsbo 1997; Karonen 2004; Koefoed 2008. See also Linde 2009; Berglund 2009.

<sup>57</sup> On studies in Sweden and in a broader European context, see Bregnsbo 1997, 25-37; van Voss, 1-7; Berglund 2009, 44-45.

<sup>58</sup> See also e.g. Supphellen 1978; Bregnsbo 1997; Mark 1998; Wilton 2000; Lipp & Krempel 2001; Nubola 2001; Schmidt Blaine 2001; van Voss 2001; Würigler 2001; Hoyle 2002; Zaeske 2003; Peacey 2007; Daeryoon 2011; Løgstrup 2011; Sandvik 2011; Vermeesch 2012.

in countries like Russia and Japan, whose rulers laid claim to absolute power, petitions were used by large sections of the population to influence legislative matters and decision-making.<sup>59</sup> In these studies, letters written or initiated by individuals and collective bodies have been called by various names in different times and parts of Europe and beyond, and terms such as *Gravamina*, *Suppliken*, *Beschwerden*, *doléances*, *requêtes*, *representations*, *gravami*, *petizioni*, *querele*, *clamores*, *greuges* and *griefs* have all been used to refer to them.<sup>60</sup>

The present study has benefited from the descriptions of the different means employed by individual petitioners and collective bodies to pursue their aims that can be found in the vast literature on the history of petitioning and its development in central and northern European countries as well as in Northern America. In addition to rhetorical means, these included a variety of tactics varying from sophisticated lobbying efforts to the manipulation of public opinion and even to corruption and extortion.<sup>61</sup> The side-effects of the extensive use of this channel of influence have also been recognized: in some countries or regions, the right to petition meant that the highest decision-makers – as well as other seats of authority – were constantly beset by petitioners or were flooded with petitions. This had an effect on administrative work as each petition required a response from the authorities, which could lead to a situation in which the petitioners actually controlled the administrative or legislative agenda or eventually brought about changes in the subjects' right to submit petitions.<sup>62</sup> Similar developments can be traced also in the institution of petitioning in Sweden and Finland both before and after 1809. The mere fact that the ruler (i.e. the Finnish Senate) was deluged with letters submitted by both individuals and collective bodies and that the authorities had to set some restrictions on petitioning says something about how and to what extent petitioning was used.<sup>63</sup>

On a more general level, studies focusing on the Nordic countries have been most fruitful for the approach employed in this study owing to the similar social structure and institutional frameworks existing in them.<sup>64</sup> Of course, one must also remember that these countries were not equal entities in the time period covered by this study, and a closer look reveals significant dissimilarities

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<sup>59</sup> Bregnsbo 1997, 27–28; van Voss 2001, 1–2; Würigler 2001, 12–13; Schmidt Blaine 2001, 60; Zaret 2000, 14–15, 81–83; Ringvej 2011, 304.

<sup>60</sup> Gustafsson 1985, 74; Bregnsbo 1997, 25–26; Würigler 2001, 12. According to Würigler (p. 14): "The various meanings of the Latin verb *petere* resp. *petitium/petita*, *petitio* – go to, demand, desire, claim – hint already at the great variety of ways to articulate interests. The word 'petition' obtained different meanings in European languages. While in English, petition became the dominant umbrella term for requests, supplications, demands, etc. of all kinds very early, in German, *Petition* became dominant not before 1800, although it may be found occasionally since the fourteenth century."

<sup>61</sup> Zaret 2000, 81–99, 231; Würigler 2001, 26.

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. Mark 1998, 2214–2215; Zaret 2000, 85–86; Würigler 2001, 30–31.

<sup>63</sup> Rauhala 1915, 202–203, 223; Savolainen 1994, 175.

<sup>64</sup> Gustafsson 1994, 29–60; Österberg & Sandmo 2000, 12–14; Norrby 2011, 11–16; Winton 2011a, 208–216. See also Ihalainen & Sennefelt 2011, 7–8.

between them.<sup>65</sup> The majority of the studies discussed in a more detailed manner the remainder of this section deal with the relationship between the subjects and the sovereign in broader terms, but an increasing amount of research is being conducted on more specific research questions such as the relations and interactions between business and the political elites.

The present study has greatly benefited from the findings produced by the project *Central Power and Local Society: the Decision-making Process in Nordic States in the Eighteenth Century*, which was completed in the late 1980s. The findings of the project have been compiled by Harald Gustafsson (1994) in the volume *Political Interaction in the Old Regime: Central Power and Local Society in the Eighteenth-Century Nordic States*.<sup>66</sup> The project considered the relationship between various social groups and the state and also shed light on the processes of economic decision-making in the Nordic countries. For example, several of the scholars engaged in the project demonstrated that petitions and appeals were an extensively used formal way to influence government policy-making (on economic as well as other matters) in pre-modern times. In addition, the research conducted during the project concerning decision-making and elections in urban communities provides further insights about those groups who had opportunities to participate in local politics. Several of the scholars engaged in the project will be referred to later as they have addressed research topics that are of considerable importance for the present work.<sup>67</sup>

The most recent contribution to this research theme is the volume *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolution. Nordic Political Cultures, 1740-1820*, edited by a group of prominent Nordic scholars: Pasi Ihalainen, Michael Bregnsbo, Karin Sennefelt and Patrik Winton. The volume, containing twenty-seven contributions and published in September 2011, presents the latest research on political culture in early modern Scandinavia. From the viewpoint of the present study, many of the volume's chapters on political activity and the political influence of various groups engaged in economic and business life in Nordic societies have provided valuable insights and opportunities for wider comparisons. Especially the articles discussing the situation in Denmark (and also Norway when it was under Danish rule) have proved to be useful since, for example, they address the question of how individuals and groups could get their voices heard during the age of autocratic rule by Danish kings (1660-1848). These chapters note that even under the absolutist regime the subjects continued to be involved in political activity in various ways – for example, when interacting with local and provincial officials or at acting as advisers on matters of state or as members of policy-making committees at the national level or through petitioning activities – and that on several occasions the ruler

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<sup>65</sup> Gustafsson 1994, 29-33; Gustafsson 2004, 16-17; Munck 2011, xvii-xx. See also Ihalainen & Sennefelt 2011.

<sup>66</sup> Gustafsson 1994.

<sup>67</sup> See E.g. Ericsson 1982 and 1985; Fällström & Mäntylä 1982; Kuisma 1982 and 1983; Gustafsson 1985.



even invited his subjects to speak as he sought information and participation from below.<sup>68</sup>

For the purposes of the present study, the insights provided in the research literature focusing on specific segments of the economy in early nineteenth century Finland and the relationship between business life and the government are of major importance. In this context, names such as Per Schybergson, Markku Kuisma, Petri Karonen, Mika Kallioinen and Jouni Yrjänä could be mentioned as examples of scholars who have explored the business-government interface in Finland.<sup>69</sup> In particular, numerous studies on industrial development by Per Schybergson have provided material that allows further comparisons to be made.<sup>70</sup> Markku Kuisma has studied the relationship between local society and the ruler and the political behaviour of business actors in his numerous works. His study on the establishment of commercial sawmills in Finland in the (1721–1772) reviews in detail how various interest groups were able to influence the relevant economic decision-making processes<sup>71</sup>. In many of his more recent studies, Kuisma has concentrated on the role of the forest-based industries in both national and international contexts, placing his works, together with those of many other Finnish scholars, in the long tradition of research on the forest industries.<sup>72</sup>

While Kuisma and others have paid more attention to the broader developments, Petri Karonen, for his part, aims to cover a strictly defined group of Finnish business managers who operated during the period 1600–1920.<sup>73</sup> Karonen explores the business-government relationship through a study of prominent businessmen who actively participated in policy-making at the Diet of the Estates and in their home towns. Hence his research does not cover the period between 1809 and 1863, when the Finnish Diet did not convene. In his study, Karonen maintains that the Diet provided business actors with a way to voice their opinions and influence the framing of public policy. Especially in the Age of Liberty (1721–1772), the role of the Diet was paramount, and it functioned as an important arena for collective political action for the Finnish estates as well. In addition, he demonstrates that influential business actors were often appointed to specific committees and administrative bodies, through which they could accrue both tangible and intangible benefits that were of importance in their business activities. The Diet was an important channel for political involvement in Swedish (and later Finnish) society, and petitioning was commonly used to promote both individual and collective interests.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Bregnsbo 2011; Frydenlund 2011; Løgstrup 2011; Ringvej 2011; Sandvik 2011.

<sup>69</sup> See Schybergson 1964, 1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1977, 1980, 1986 and 1995; Kuisma 1982, 1983, 1995, 2006, 2011 and 2012; Karonen 2002, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2010 and 2011; Kallioinen 2000, 2003 and 2004; Yrjänä 2009b and 2012.

<sup>70</sup> Especially Schybergson 1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1977, 1986 and 1995.

<sup>71</sup> Kuisma 1983.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. Kuisma 2006, 2009, and 2011. See also Hanho 1915; Meinander 1945; Ahvenainen 1984; Hoffman 1980; Åström 1988; Perälä 1987; Tuuri 1999; Tasanen 2004; Yrjänä 2009b; Yrjänä 2012.

<sup>73</sup> Karonen 2004.

<sup>74</sup> Karonen 2004, 83–106. See also Karonen 2003 and 2011.

In his dissertation, Jouni Yrjänä has engaged in a more specific analysis of Finnish economic and business life, concentrating as he does on the life work of a single pioneering entrepreneur, Erik Johan Längman (1799–1863), who was involved in various branches of industry in early-nineteenth-century Finland. One of the many benefits provided by Yrjänä's research is that he describes the business environment and business practices of the time.<sup>75</sup> His study shows how many of E. J. Längman's actions demonstrate his familiarity with the available useful networks and contacts and his agility in using them for his own ends. Yrjänä not only traces Längman's close-knit networks but also shows how he relied on them when attempting to influence decision-making processes at the local, provincial and national levels. This kind of approach provides us with new insights into the dynamics of the business-government relationship and provides tools for re-evaluating the established views on the political involvement and influence of the representatives of the iron and sawmill industries. Similarly, a recent article by Yrjänä (2012) on the Forest Act Committee is particularly interesting in its discussion of how the committee was exploited as a tool in the political competition and its treatment of the committee system's role in policy making.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to the above-mentioned scholars, a number of researchers have studied leading businessmen and local or national business elites. The existing literature has considered the position of the established business elite in society, its networks and its relationship with the ruling powers.<sup>77</sup> The role of the Burghers, in particular, has been emphasized by many scholars. The Burghers, as one of the four estates in society, possessed substantial political leverage at the Diet during the era of Swedish rule and were able to gain attention for their views in the political arena and to see to it that the estate's privileges and rights remained intact. A number of burghers who were engaged in the commercial sector acted as official representatives of the Estate of the Burghers at the sessions of the Diet. In particular, local and regional histories, which have been widely published from the early twentieth century on, clearly demonstrate that the representatives of the estate were sensitive to issues that were of particular concern to their home towns.<sup>78</sup> Likewise these studies, which often base their historical descriptions on petitions and appeals, not only describe business actors' networks and connections but also shed more light on the local business environment and changes in it. Similarly, histories of firms and industrial units often include accounts of the founders' or owners' connections with

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<sup>75</sup> Yrjänä 2009b.

<sup>76</sup> See Yrjänä 2012. On earlier research concerning the committee system, see e.g. Lindström 1905; Hanho 1915; Rauhala 1915; Harmaja 1920. More recent studies are often based on their findings.

<sup>77</sup> E.g. Jorma Ahvenainen, Riitta Hjerppe, Tapani Mauranen, Markku Kuisma, Antti Kuusterä, Jari Ojala, Mika Kallioinen, Jarkko Keskinen and Niklas Jensen-Eriksen could be mentioned in this context. See also Müller 1998; Bull 2002; Lindberg 2001; Einonen 2005; Nurmiainen 2009; Keskisarja 2010.

<sup>78</sup> E.g. Nordenstreng 1920; Lehtonen 1925 and 1936; Nikander 1932; Voionmaa 1929; Lähteenoja 1941; Waris 1950; Cederlöf 1964; Castrén 1957; Wuorinen 1959 and 1966; Nikula 1970 and 1971; Hautala 1975; Ruuth & Kuujo 1975; Mäkelä 1985; Talka 2005a.

government officials and in that way increase our knowledge of the dynamics of the relationship between the two parties involved.<sup>79</sup>

Naturally, the research on legal, administrative and political history has to be referred to in examining business-government relations in the relevant context. In particular, studies published in the early twentieth century often provide detailed information about the institutional context, legislative changes and the gradual processes of modernization in the Age of Autonomy.<sup>80</sup> More recent works in the fields of administrative and political history by Max Engman, Sakari Heikkinen, Osmo Jussila, Kristiina Kalleinen, Jukka Kekkonen, Antti Kuusterä, Raimo Savolainen, Robert Schweitzer, Seppo Tiihonen, Päiviö Tommila, Markku Tyynilä, Heikki Ylikangas and Lars Westerlund, among others, have also been of importance for the present study.<sup>81</sup> Some of these scholars have examined the political influence of members of the national elite such as the highest government officials, academics and intellectuals.<sup>82</sup>

As noted previously, the present study accords considerable attention to foreign-born business actors and their relationship with society at large. It can be said that the general features of immigration and the legal position of foreign-born individuals in Finnish society in the nineteenth century have drawn more scholarly attention than their contributions to the development of the economy, their relationships with their native counterparts and especially their activities in the political arena.<sup>83</sup> In works which represent the earlier research tradition in Finnish historiography, politically-coloured motives and ends have certainly affected the way immigration from Russia to Finland in particular is interpreted. More recent studies have paid attention to the legal institutions that regulated the rights of immigrants in both Finland and Russia and defined how they evolved over time. In general, it can be stated that immigrants from central parts of Europe have received more attention from scholars, who have also studied their economic contributions in Finland. Information about individuals of Russian origin, who came to Finland in increasing numbers from 1809 onwards, has generally drawn less scholarly attention.<sup>84</sup> Recent studies have also examined immigration – and emigration –

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<sup>79</sup> E.g. Gripenberg 1922; Kaukovalta 1932; Tigerstedt 1940 and 1952; Bahne 1950; Nordström 1962; Kallioinen 2003; Kuisma 2012. See also Schybergson 1977, 127–128.

<sup>80</sup> Kallio 1901; Lindström 1905; Harmaja 1920; Rauhala 1915 and 1921; Nordenstreng 1920; Danielson-Kalmari 1920; Juvelius 1934.

<sup>81</sup> See e.g. Engman 1995, 2009 and 2011; Heikkinen 1994; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009; Jussila 1987 and 2004; Kekkonen 1987 and 1992; Kalleinen 1994 and 2001; Kuusterä 1989; Savolainen 1994 and 1996; Schweitzer 1996; Tiihonen 1994 and 2012; Tommila 1984 and 1999; Tyynilä 1992; Ylikangas 2007; Westerlund 1993. On previous research on administrative history, see Savolainen 1995, 79–94.

<sup>82</sup> See e.g. Kalleinen 2001; Savolainen 2006.

<sup>83</sup> On the role of foreign-born business actors in Finnish economic and business life in the nineteenth century, see e.g. Schybergson 1995, 102–105; Jensen-Eriksen 2006, 225; Särkkä, Valtonen, M., Turunen & Valtonen, H. 2010; Jensen-Eriksen 2011. See also Lindberg 1966; Leitzinger 2008a and 2008b.

<sup>84</sup> Waris 1950; Castrén 1954; Perälä 1970; Mikkola 1984; Kauppi 1993; Hämynen 1997; Hakala 2002; Kalleinen 2009; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2009; Heikkinen 2009.

within wider contexts, thus providing new insights on this highly topical subject.<sup>85</sup>

The present research has also benefited from the extensive body of literature in the field of gender history with regard to examining the opportunities of female business actors to engage in decision-making processes in Finland in the early nineteenth century. Previous studies have demonstrated that women's rights to engage in business activities varied in European countries and elsewhere in the world. In some countries, women had a relatively large amount of legal freedom in economic matters.<sup>86</sup> However, numerous studies claim there were many segments of the economy in which women were not allowed to be active because of legal constraints restricting their rights to engage in business (e.g. the right to enter into contracts or to obtain credit).<sup>87</sup> In Finland, studies based on various sources from municipal and provincial archives, for example, suggest that self-employed women were most often involved in small-scale ventures in the food-and-drinks and the clothing industries, while larger-scale commercial activities were predominantly conducted by men in Finland.<sup>88</sup>

The political involvement of women who were engaged in business life has drawn less scholarly attention, although historians' interest in the role of gender in the history of business has increased from the 1980s on.<sup>89</sup> There is a large body of literature on women's participation in politics through petitions, pamphleteering, demonstrations and other kinds of mass activities as well as studies suggesting that women appeared in court on their own behalf to claim their rights in various matters or that they were active in daily politics.<sup>90</sup> However, it seems that scholars have not yet adequately addressed the attempts of women to gain influence over political decision-making in pursuing their own business interests. This kind of study is almost entirely absent with reference to early-nineteenth-century Finland, although the legal position and rights of women then have been widely examined.<sup>91</sup> It seems that a large number of studies of women's ability to exercise power in the nineteenth century, and also in previous centuries, focus on their use of informal methods to exert influence; this was due to the fact that women could not play any

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<sup>85</sup> See e.g. Joronen, Pajarinen & Ylä-Anttila 2002; Martikainen 2004.

<sup>86</sup> For example, women merchants established important businesses in many towns in the early modern Netherlands: see e.g. Van den Heuvel 2008, 219–221. Similarly, men and women had equal rights to engage in commercial and industrial activities in Russia already in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Ulianova 2009, 10.

<sup>87</sup> For a further discussion, see e.g. Rabuzzi 1995 and 2001; Van den Heuvel 2008.

<sup>88</sup> Markkola 1994, 91–117; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 2002, 2007, 2008 and 2010.

<sup>89</sup> E.g. Davidoff & Hall 1988; Göransson 1990, 1993a and 1993b; Pohls 1990; Blom 1992; Bladh 1991; Rabuzzi 1995 and 2001; Wunder 1998; Hunt 1996; Bull 2000; Sharpe 2001; Ögilvie 2003; Lahtinen 2010; Kortelainen 2007; Vainio-Korhonen 2008; Ulianova 2009; Ågren 2009; Nordin 2009.

<sup>90</sup> E.g. Karlsson Sjögren 1998; Koefoed 2008; Sogner, Lindstedt Cronberg & Sandvik 2000 (pp. 174–175); Beachy 2001; Rabuzzi 2001; Sharpe 2001; Karlsson Sjögren & Lindström 2004; Norrhem 2007; Berglund 2009; Ågren 2009; Løgstrup 2011; Sandvik 2011.

<sup>91</sup> Kurki 1984; Ramsay 1984; Pylkkänen 1992, 2005 and 2009.

official political role, with formal political positions generally being reserved for men. In these studies, family and kinship ties and social networks are considered to have been important channels through which women could communicate their concerns or influence public affairs.<sup>92</sup>

On the basis of the framework sketched above, it can be argued that the picture of early-nineteenth-century Finnish economic and business life and its relationship with government is still far from complete. Accordingly, a few critical observations can be made regarding the state of the currently existing literature. First, the interaction between business life and government in the early part of the nineteenth century has not received as much scholarly attention as that which existed in the latter part of the century. For example, little is known about how widely various groups used the institution of petitioning when approaching the ruler in the period when the Diet of Estates did not convene, although several studies have pointed out that petitions and appeals were the first initiatives that caused certain matters to receive more attention from the highest decision-makers. The lack of research is related to a broader phenomenon: this particular period, associated as it is with negative connotations such as autocracy, bureaucratic administration and a high degree of economic regulation, has long constituted a rather obscure area in Finnish historiography.<sup>93</sup> This general image is re-enforced by the fact that the modernization of Finnish society only began to gain momentum after the 1850s and other similar factors.

## 1.4 Primary source material

### 1.4.1 The Registers of Petitions as the main primary source material

During the period under closer scrutiny here, the first half of the century, the Senate received each year hundreds of petitions and appeals initiated by individuals and collective bodies. While there was no direct contact between the subjects and the autocratic Tsar, various government officials, such as provincial governors, and the Senate acted as intermediaries who communicated the matters raised to the ruler. Although the applications were formally addressed to the Grand Duke of Finland (i.e. the Russian Tsar), in fact they were usually first dealt with by the Senate – usually on the basis of assessments requested from lower government officials. Only when an issue was of more import was it communicated to the Tsar himself.<sup>94</sup> The petitioning process is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

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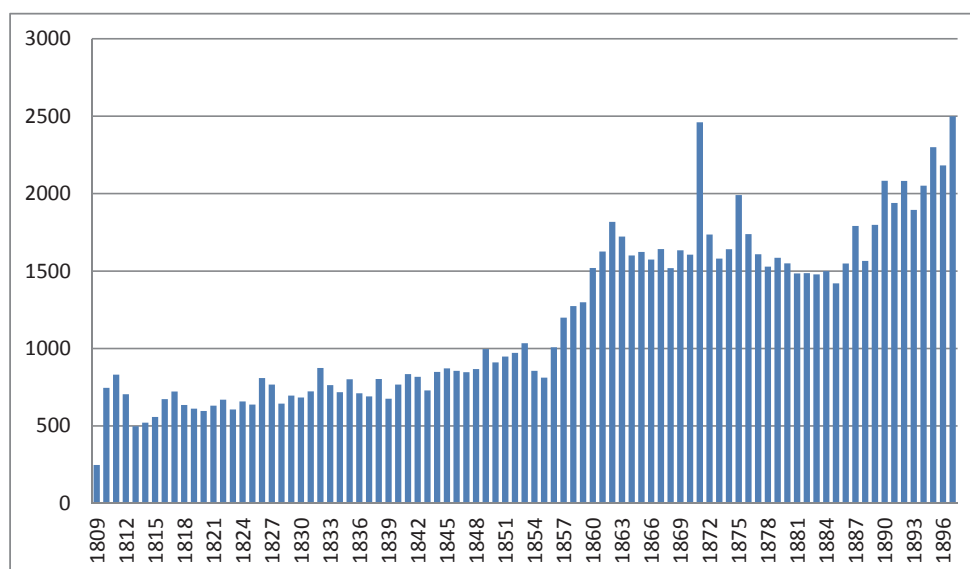
<sup>92</sup> Bull 2000; Norrhem 2007. See also Karlsson Sjögren & Lindström 2004, 241–242; Vainio-Korhonen 2008, 79–82; Samuelson 2009, 131–135; Lahtinen 2010, 64, 66–67.

<sup>93</sup> E.g. Peltonen 1995, 109–110, 121–122; Kauranen 1999, 11–12.

<sup>94</sup> In the Grand Duchy of Finland, the language of administration was Swedish, and it had to be used in petitions and appeals submitted to the authorities in the early

Figure 1 shows the numbers of petitions and appeals which the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate received from 1809 to 1897. During this period, over 100,000 petitions and appeals were recorded in the Registers of Petitions.<sup>95</sup> The numbers of letters grew steadily towards the mid-nineteenth century and then soared soon afterwards. In 1898 the recording system changed, and after that petitions and appeals were recorded in separate volumes, which is why the figure covers only the afore-mentioned years.<sup>96</sup>

FIGURE 1 Petitions and appeals recorded in the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate (1809–1897)



Source: JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate (1809–1897)

From 1809 to the early 1850s, the Economic Department recorded over 30,000 petitions and appeals.<sup>97</sup> For the purposes of this study, I consulted the Registers of Petitions every fifth year between 1810 and 1850 and scrutinized detailed recorded information on almost 6600 petitions, out of which I sampled 871 business-related petitions and appeals for closer examination. This means that 13 percent of all petitions and appeals in the reference years between 1810 and 1850 were business-related. Table 1 shows the exact number of sampled

nineteenth century; see e.g. Engman 2009, 235–244; Munck 2011, xviii; Viikki & Orrman (ed.) 1980, 13–14.

<sup>95</sup> JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate (1809–1897). The data for the figure have been collected from the Registers of Petitions: there is a register at the end of each volume providing a list of petitioners in numerical order. For the sake of clarity, the microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department are henceforth always referred to as "JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf)".

<sup>96</sup> Valtionarkiston yleisluettelo (2) 1966, 58; Selin 1994, 89.

<sup>97</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1809–1850. The exact number is 30,255.

petitions and appeals in every reference year, indicating a slight increase towards the 1850s.

TABLE 1 Total petitions and appeals compared with the sampled business-related petitions and appeals in the reference years between 1810 and 1850

Year	Total petitions and appeals	Sampled petitions and appeals	Percentage
1810	746	82	11
1815	558	48	9
1820	597	58	10
1825	638	78	12
1830	684	90	13
1835	801	100	12
1840	767	140	18
1845	872	114	13
1850	910	161	18
Total	6573	871	13

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

When we take a closer look at the Registers of Petitions, we find that the lowest number of applications (248) was recorded in 1809, which was the year when the Finnish Senate was established.<sup>98</sup> The War of Finland and its consequences and the still disorganized situation in the central administration of the Grand Duchy were obviously the most important reasons for the low number of applications in that year. At that time, when the creation of the Grand Duchy of Finland was at a very nascent stage, the numbers of petitions and appeals submitted by individuals engaged in business activities was insignificant: there were fewer than 10 persons who were designated as merchants in the entries for 1809.<sup>99</sup>

In the early 1810s, the number of submissions increased significantly for a short period, reaching almost 750 in 1810. According to the entries in the Registers of Petitions, a considerable number of petitions and appeals were related to the War of Finland and its consequences during the early 1810s, when Finns attempted to recoup losses incurred as a result of their war contributions or to obtain compensation for damage suffered during the fighting.<sup>100</sup> During the following decades, the numbers of petitions and appeals gradually increased. Between 1810 and 1850, the highest number was reached in 1850, when the Economic Department received 910 letters. Over 1000 letters in a year were recorded for the first time in 1853.

The numbers of petitions and appeals increased dramatically after the mid-1850, in the years immediately following the Crimean War (1853-1856). However, the numbers again remained relatively stable after 1863, when the

<sup>98</sup> See also Rauhala 1910, 238.

<sup>99</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1809.

<sup>100</sup> This issue is considered briefly in Chapter 4 since merchants and industrialists also submitted petitions for compensation. See also Uotila 2010, 454-456; Jääskeläinen 2011, 15-25.

Diet of Estates began to convene regularly (apart from a peak in 1871). One important contributory reason for the increase after the mid-1850s that should be pointed out at the start is the changing demographic pattern resulting from a rapid growth in the size of the population: in 1800 the population of Finland numbered one million, but by the mid-nineteenth century it had grown to 1.6 million.<sup>101</sup> The rise continued in the latter half of the century. Consequently, social problems emerged, accumulating especially in rural areas,<sup>102</sup> and this may have been reflected in the number of petitions and appeals. Certainly, it seems that in the early nineteenth century a large proportion of the total number of applications were made by persons from the countryside, who, for instance, had local land problems or were overburdened with taxation.<sup>103</sup> The increased numbers of applications could also have reflected changes in Finnish society: the number of different civic associations increased, more schools were established, there was increased migration to and from Finland, social problems accumulated in rural areas, and so on.

Without a closer study it is difficult to estimate whether the figures of the late nineteenth century reflect the increase in economic activity. The explanations are to some extent moot. After the Crimean war, for example, the economic recovery and growth (combined with the growth in incomes), the rise of new segments of the economy and government support for certain industries and increased demand for mass consumption goods among other factors, might have contributed to the increase in the number of applications.<sup>104</sup> However, one might well have expected the number of business-related applications to decrease as a result of major legislative changes that were implemented gradually from the late 1850s onwards. For example, the regulations that had restricted commercial activity were relaxed in the 1860s, which led to an expansion of commercial activities. This was especially visible in the countryside as the law now allowed shops to be opened outside urban areas.<sup>105</sup>

The introduction of freedom-of-trade legislation relaxed or even ended regulations that had previously restricted the practice of most occupations and trades. Among such measures was the abolition of the formal guild institution, which happened in 1868. Until then, most urban crafts had been controlled by guilds, and for this reason the policies of the guilds – although they were few in number compared with those in the large cities of Central Europe – had a

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<sup>101</sup> Between 1815 and 1870 the population grew by 0.9 percent per year. On the population growth, see e.g. Schybergson 1973, 164; Rasila 1982, 132–138; Pitkänen 2007, 57–60. Michael Bregnsbo, who has examined submissions to the King of Denmark in the eighteenth century, has made similar observations about the correlation between population growth and the increase in the number of petitions that took place in the final decades of the eighteenth century. However, he stresses the fact that the population growth does not fully explain the dramatic increase in the number of petitions in Denmark. See Bregnsbo 1997, 87–90.

<sup>102</sup> Pipping 1940. See also Rasila 1982, 135, 141; Markkola 2007, 212–213.

<sup>103</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>104</sup> On economic growth from the 1850s onwards, see e.g. Hjerpe 1989; Heikkinen & Hoffman 1982.

<sup>105</sup> Alanen 1957b; Mauranen 1980, 444–447; Paavilainen 2005, 28–30.



considerable influence on the local economic situation.<sup>106</sup> There was a further relaxation of economic regulation in the 1870s, which included greater economic rights for foreign-born business actors and women.<sup>107</sup> The establishment of new industrial units became less strictly controlled when more liberal legislation replaced earlier regulations and the power of decision and supervisory duties were delegated from the top decision-makers to local and provincial officials. This concerned in particular ironworks and sawmills, the establishment of which had been controlled more strictly before the introduction of freedom-of-trade legislation.<sup>108</sup> However, some legislative reforms may have had the opposite effect: the introduction of the Joint Stock Companies Act in 1864 may have led to the Senate receiving even more applications from representatives of business life as the new law stipulated that firms' corporate charters and subsequent changes in them must be approved by the Senate.<sup>109</sup>

One definite advantage of the Registers of Petitions as a source is the fact that they contain particularized information on the petitioners as well as on the petitions and appeals that were submitted in the period between 1810 and 1850. These detailed entries allow us to examine several issues, as has already been stated above in Section 1.2. Another advantage is the fact that the social range of the petitioners recorded in the Registers of Petitions is broad: the entries demonstrate that individuals from all social groups ranging from the bottom end of the social hierarchy to government officials and honoured noblemen could submit applications, including business-related ones, to the most senior decision-makers. However, most often the highest decision-makers were approached by commoners asking for favours of a more personal nature or routine-like questions of everyday decision-making. These special characteristics of the Registers of Petitions are considered in further detail at the beginning of Chapter 3.

Another advantage is that the entries made in the early 1850s were organized in exactly the same way as those in the early years of the Age of Autonomy. The filing system used by the Economic Department did not change between these dates, which ensures that the information provided in the entries of the Registers about both the petitioners and the contents of their letters is congruous and comparable during the time examined here. The Registers are usually uniform in their contents and characteristics: the applications were recorded and the entries written down in a similar manner over the whole research period. Thus the Registers of Petitions of the early nineteenth century offer suitable material for systematic analysis. The style of entries changed only

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<sup>106</sup> On craft guilds, see e.g. Lindeqvist 1930, 134–137; Edgren 1987, 30–31, 37–38, 63–69.

<sup>107</sup> On the relaxation of the regulation of crafts, see Schybergson 1973, 47–48; Schybergson 1980, 427–428. On freedom-of-trade legislation, see e.g. Kekkonen 1992, 193–197; Paavilainen 1996, 9–13.

<sup>108</sup> Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 417–420.

<sup>109</sup> On the Joint Stock Companies Act, see e.g. Schybergson 1964; Mähönen 2001, 324; Paavilainen 2005, 21–22; Ojala & Karonen 2006, 101. The law of 1864 was replaced with a new one in 1895.

after the 1850s: the descriptive part became shorter, and the entries depicted the contents of the applications only cursorily. Also the way in which the decision-making process was referred to changed; in the end it was mentioned only briefly, if at all.<sup>110</sup> Hence the Registers of the latter part of the century seem to offer a source of less consistent quality. These changes are obviously related to the fact that the number of letters submitted increased from the 1850s on, and thus it was not possible to keep as detailed records as before.

Despite their many advantages, the Registers of Petitions are not without problems, and some issues remain beyond the scope of the present research owing to the specific characteristics of the source material. For example, the Registers do not allow us to answer questions regarding the exact scale of most of the business activities which are mentioned in the entries. Thus it is not possible to ascertain either the number of employees in a certain industrial unit or the number of journeymen or apprentices a master craftsman employed. In addition to this, it is impossible to assess the success of the applications. Most certainly, not every request was granted by the highest instances, whose final decision was not subject to appeal. To discover whether a certain petitioner was successful or not, it is necessary to study both the original petitions and the decisions of the supreme authorities (see also Section 1.2). In the present study, however, the minutes are consulted only in those cases which are examined more closely in the following sections.

#### 1.4.2 Case studies of business actors

To illustrate the situation and the findings, I will present some case studies which shed more light on the decision-making processes and political influence of various business actors in the era under scrutiny. The aim is to set the individual business actors within the wider context of contemporary political and legal discourses because only then will the political involvement of business actors and the rationales behind their actions become intelligible. Such an approach requires the creation of a broader economic and social context. To this end, the study will present different kinds of cases in which the main parties involved were business actors with different backgrounds.

As stated previously, numerous examples selected from the dataset compiled for this study will be provided to illustrate the research subject and to enable a micro-level analysis of it. I aim to use case studies to explore the interaction between official and unofficial practices and actions: the cases provide us with a more detailed picture of how the legislation was interpreted at the local level and how individuals involved in business life attempted to employ the law to justify their claims in their pursuit of economic advantages. The examination is based on a close reading of the primary sources (case files of original petitions and appeals, minutes of the Senate, etc.), a procedure that is

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<sup>110</sup> The change became evident in the Registers of Petitions of the early 1860s, when only the words "*Resolv. final*" or "*Res. fin.*" are written to refer to the day when the decision was made. Later on a stamp was used for this purpose.

typical in microhistorical studies.<sup>111</sup> While each of the following cases represents a unique historical situation, collectively they illuminate a set of dynamic interactions between business actors and the government, and they also contribute to the theoretical basis of the study.

The findings made during the early stages of the research project have guided the selection of case studies. For example, since the preliminary results indicated that almost one fifth of all business-related petitions and appeals were submitted by female and foreign-born business actors, I made a decision to widen the research perspective and include illustrative cases of individuals representing these groups in the study. The existence and the actions in the political arena of these groups, who have been marginalized in historical studies, will offer a more comprehensive picture of the relationship between them and the government. Moreover, with the help of illustrative cases of female and foreign-born business actors I aim to explicate the relationship between the particular and the general.

It has not been possible to provide complete reconstructions of the biographies of the individuals presented as examples; rather the aim is to introduce cases that allow us to observe various forms of interaction between business actors and the authorities. It is clear that the activities of the individuals in question must be viewed against the wider background of the current situation and in the context of the prevailing institutional framework. This is equally important in examining case studies at the local level, where the relationship between business actors and the local community also needs to be discussed. Here the study will exploit a wide range of primary and secondary source material, including original petitions and appeals, contemporary national and local newspapers and information contained in various online sources.

The study does not aim to cover personal and mainly informal interaction between business actors and government officials on a larger scale, although it is acknowledged in previous studies that besides the formal petitioning process, it was possible to contact the top decision-makers through informal channels in early-nineteenth-century Finland. To judge from previous research, economically and politically influential individuals and their circle of acquaintances made use of personal connections with the Tsar's favourites when asking for favours, offices, honorary titles and financial support.<sup>112</sup> They did not submit formal petitions but asked their contacts to help them.<sup>113</sup> This topic will be touched on only to a limited extent in Chapter 5, in which a case study of Nils Ludvig Arppe (1803-1861), a prominent industrialist from eastern Finland, provides a window through which we can see how a businessman

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<sup>111</sup> See e.g. Levi 1992. See also Peltonen 1999.

<sup>112</sup> For examples, see e.g. Häggman 1994, 36; Kuisma 2011, 13. See also Karonen 2004, 79.

<sup>113</sup> For example, Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt, who served as the Minister-Secretary of State of Finland in St Petersburg in the 1810s, was flooded with such requests. Similarly, his son Alexander Armfelt, who was also a high government official, was constantly approached by both acquaintances and strangers asking for favours from the Tsar; see Savolainen 1994, 101-102, 117-118; Relander 1995, 133-136.

availed himself of the existing opportunities to influence the highest decision-makers both formally and informally. In this case, I have regarded it as necessary to look beneath the surface of the official documents and also consult his private and business correspondence (however fragmented) in order to examine the rationale behind his political involvement.<sup>114</sup> In any case, what makes N.L. Arppe an even more interesting figure for this study is the fact that he did not always enjoy good relations with the highest decision-makers – indeed the relationship between them was occasionally strained. His actions offer us an example of an active and innovative businessman who was engaged in both the sawmill and the iron industries.

### 1.4.3 Committee archives

As stated above, another perspective on business actors' opportunities to influence government is provided by archival material concerning committees that were appointed to consider economic questions. The present research draws on the documents of two such committees, the Committee on Trade and Customs (1811-1812) and the Forest Act Committee (the 1840s). These documents provide further evidence of businessmen's political participation in the relevant time period. This subject is discussed in Sections 4 and 5. Traditionally, the existing body of research on committees in the early nineteenth century has mainly focused on the outcomes of their work, and the possibility for the representatives of business life to submit statements to committees or participate in the work of the committees as members has received less attention. However, one of the advantages of the archival material of these committees is that the statements and comments produced by business actors engaged in committee work are not only detailed and comprehensive but their perspective is also usually very subjective. Thus this material allows us to study the personal views and interests of the business actors involved.

These two committees have been selected because they had several businessmen as members or then representatives of business life were consulted on issues that the committees were considering. The significance of the committees is based on the fact that they were a way of formally bringing together persons of relevant expertise to share information and to coordinate actions. However, while this kind of inclusion of the representatives of the business life was, on the one hand, a way to obtain direct information about commerce and industry, on the other, it was also a way to keep control over them.<sup>115</sup>

The first committee studied, the Committee on Trade and Customs, was a formed in late 1811 to consider affairs related to commerce and customs duties.<sup>116</sup> Leading businessmen from various coastal towns were invited to

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<sup>114</sup> On N. L. Arppe's private and business correspondence, see Gripenberg 1922; Mustelin 1973; Valtonen 2006 (pp. 22–24).

<sup>115</sup> See e.g. Suomen komitealaitos 1976; Tuori 1983. For a similar discussion, see Kalleinen 2001, 109–110.

<sup>116</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812.

submit expert statements to this committee, which operated for only a short time. The issues the committee discussed were of importance for contemporary economic and business life because the war of 1808-1809 had especially affected shipping and overseas commerce. Through a study of this particular committee, the present work sheds further light on merchants and shipowners' economic and political interests in a situation where they needed to cope with the challenges posed by Finland's shift from Swedish rule to being a part of the Russian Empire. The late eighteenth century had been a very profitable period for merchants and shipowners operating under the Swedish flag.<sup>117</sup> Exports of iron, tar and timber had provided businessmen with generous profits, and they had been able to benefit from the commercial infrastructure provided by the Swedish Crown, which included neutral shipping.<sup>118</sup> The favourable economic situation changed drastically in Europe as a result of the Napoleonic Wars. In the turmoil of Europe's political changes and the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-1809, the Finnish merchants and shipowners found themselves in a novel situation in the early 1810s.<sup>119</sup> It will be shown here that the challenges caused by the changed institutional framework and the unstable business environment were clearly reflected in the statements that businessmen submitted to the committee.

The Forest Act Committee referred to here considered the reform of forest legislation in the 1840s.<sup>120</sup> The committee work attracted wide publicity in the contemporary press and employed both iron industrialists and sawmill owners to comment broadly on the proposed legislation. Its archive includes numerous written statements submitted by business actors as well other individuals, since an open call for comments was announced in the press after the committee's first memorandum was published. Various viewpoints, for example the fear that industrial exploitation of the forests would result in a shortage of wood, were woven into the arguments, either in support of the reforms that the committee proposed or in opposition to them. In this case, the aims and interests of the key government authorities involved in the legislative reform are also presented.<sup>121</sup>

It should be noted that the role of committees has varied in different times, and they were also exploited in the competition for political power. Originally, in seventeenth-century Sweden, the committee system was an answer to the ever-growing amount of tasks and duties the central government was supposed to perform and manage. The committee system began to expand after the 1660s, and its role as a functional part of the central government became more important in the course of time. Both temporary and permanent committees were therefore established to take care of various new tasks and functions which were difficult to manage within the limits of the central government,

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<sup>117</sup> Ojala 1996, 73-76; Kaukiainen 2006, 138-139.

<sup>118</sup> Ojala 1999, 57; Müller 2004, 149, 165-166.

<sup>119</sup> Kaukiainen 2008, 186-188.

<sup>120</sup> NA, STO KD 10/478 1842, Files 1-3.

<sup>121</sup> For further discussion see especially Yrjänä 2012.

which was still at a formative stage.<sup>122</sup> It must be noted that there was no clear distinction between committees (*kommittéer*) and commissions (*deputationer*) during this period.<sup>123</sup>

During the Caroline and the Gustavian eras, the King headed the committee system, while in the Age of Liberty the Estates had more control over the committees – for example, in establishing them, defining their duties and appointing their members, a factor that enhanced the Estates’ political power.<sup>124</sup> During this period, the number of committees also increased considerably, for they constituted one of the most obvious ways of obtaining and maintaining political influence.<sup>125</sup> The committee system further expanded during the Gustavian era. Importantly, several committees were established in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to consider economic questions, such as those related to foreign trade and commercial legislation. Also outside experts, such as merchants and industrialists, were invited in growing numbers to join the committees in addition to government officials.<sup>126</sup>

In the same way, the committee system was an important tool for planning and preparing legislative reforms in Finland after 1809.<sup>127</sup> Especially from the mid-1850s on, more businessmen were invited to participate in committee work in order to prepare legislative reforms. For example, in 1856 two important committees on industry and trade were appointed; they comprised a group of prominent businessmen as members, and their purpose was to propose further measures to develop industry and commerce in Finland. As a result of their work, legislative reforms concerning commerce and industry were eventually implemented in the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>128</sup> The duties of the committees underwent some changes in the course of time: while in the early nineteenth century committees were set up to perform specific tasks such as reforming and organizing central government and the courts of justice, in the latter part of the century they focused on matters like societal and economic reforms.<sup>129</sup> The role of the committees in economic decision-making increased again after Finland became independent in 1917.<sup>130</sup> The committee system as a part of the central administrative structure is discussed further in Chapter 2.

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<sup>122</sup> Suomen komitealaitos 1976, 15–17; Riksarkivets beståndsöversikt. Del 3, Kommittéarkiv 1993, 10. See also Savolainen 1996, 41–42.

<sup>123</sup> Riksarkivets beståndsöversikt. Del 3, Kommittéarkiv 1993, 10.

<sup>124</sup> Riksarkivets beståndsöversikt. Del 3, Kommittéarkiv 1993, 9.

<sup>125</sup> Suomen komitealaitos 1976, 15.

<sup>126</sup> Hesselén 1927, 75–104 Tuori 1983, 151–172; Riksarkivets beståndsöversikt. Del 3, Kommittéarkiv 1993, 10–11.

<sup>127</sup> Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 30–34; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 256–260.

<sup>128</sup> Tuori 1983, 195–201, 217–218; Kekkonen 1987, 48–49. On committees considering social reforms, see Pipping 1940.

<sup>129</sup> Suomen komitealaitos 1976, 18–19; Tuori 1983, 195–197. See also Tyynilä 1984.

<sup>130</sup> On the role of economic interest groups and committees in the trade policy decision-making system in Finland after 1917, see Lamberg 1999.

## 1.5 The structure of the study

To explore the above-mentioned questions, this study is divided into three parts, consisting of seven chapters. These parts consist of an introduction (Chapter 1 dealing with theoretical and methodological issues) and a background chapter (Chapter 2), a description of the empirical research (Chapters 3–6) and finally a discussion of the findings (Chapter 7). These chapters are divided into smaller sections on specific topics. The chapters proceed thematically throughout the study.

The present Chapter 1 briefly describes the research questions, introduces previous research and places the research subject within a set of broader theoretical and conceptual contexts. After that, the primary source material is described: the nature of the primary sources employed in the study and the extent to which they place limitations on the analysis are considered. Chapter 2 sketches an outline of the historical context and the consequences for Finnish society of the political change that took place in 1809. In the first section the emphasis is on the economic privileges and rights of various social and occupational groups. Also, the rights of women and foreign-born individuals to engage in various businesses is briefly addressed. The second section describes the organization of the central government and the processes of economic decision-making in the Grand Duchy of Finland in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The focus in Chapter 3 is above all on the analysis of the sampled data. At the beginning of this empirically oriented chapter, the aim is to explain the research process and show how the afore-mentioned dataset was constructed for the present study. It begins with a section describing the legal and procedural background to the petitioning process during the era under scrutiny. This particular section provides a more detailed picture of the main primary source material used in the study, the Registers of Petitions, and describes how business-related petitions and appeals were processed in an administrative system that comprised various institutional levels. In addition, since the question of how to draw a line between business-related and personal matters needed to be constantly addressed in sampling the data for the purposes of this study, this subject is discussed in greater detail in Section 3.2.

The remaining part of Chapter 3 includes a discussion of the occupational and social composition of the petitioners who submitted business-related applications to the supreme decision-makers during the research period. I then turn my attention to the petitioners' gender and ethnic origins – both of which factors influenced individuals' economic and political opportunities in society. I first elucidate the issues related to legislation and the position of women in economic and business life. Then, my attention is turned to foreign-born business actors and their emergence in Finland after 1809. The final part of Chapter 3, again, considers what segments of the economy were referred to in the petitions and appeals submitted over the nine selected reference years. The

sampled data is divided into four main categories according to the segment of the economy involved and further into smaller subcategories according to their primary contents. Although this kind of approach involves a risk of oversimplification, I consider that these categorizations and groupings help to explicate the results of my analysis since they make it possible to explore, for example, how the petitioners' social backgrounds and the contents of the petitions correlated. Chapters 4 and 5 are built on the findings of the analysis that were reported in this chapter.

Chapter 4 focuses on the political involvement of merchants and traders. The first part of this chapter deals with the economic and political environment after the War of Finland: it begins with a section dealing with business actors' petitions and appeals concerning the damage caused by the war. The consequences of the war are also discussed in the next section, which turns our attention to the role that leading merchants and shipowners played in the Committee on Trade and Customs. After that, the focus shifts to the local level and to issues which emerged in the local business environment. Thus, the focus in Section 4.3 is on the process of acquiring a merchant's status in a Finnish town. This section will take a closer look at the relations between native and foreign-born merchants by examining conflicts related to commercial rights and privileges in urban areas. Similarly, women engaged in commercial activities and their attempts to protect their own interests before the most senior decision-makers will be studied in the final section of this chapter.

Chapter 5 deals with business actors engaged in the major branches of industry (Sections 5.1 and 5.2). Section 5.3 considers the political involvement of iron industrialists and sawmill owners. To exemplify the actions of business actors involved in these industries, I present instances of the political activity of the above-mentioned industrialist, Nils Ludvig Arppe. The Forest Act Committee, whose remit was to consider new forest legislation in the 1840s, is under closer scrutiny in the end of Section 5.3. Finally, I focus on female business actors engaged in large-scale industrial production. The section also raises the wider question of women's role in business life: it considers the transferral of industrial privileges from one person to another and women's role in these cases. In doing so, it sums up the findings on females' involvement in economic decision-making processes.

Chapter 6 not only draws together various themes discussed in the study but also broadens the discussion to include topics which were referred to only cursorily in the previous chapters. First, the chapter examines individual action and co-operation in the political arena in the early nineteenth century. Secondly, it describes the political involvement of the economic and business elite of the early nineteenth century. Finally, the chapter also attempts to elicit the geographic distribution of the petitions and appeals submitted over the reference years between 1810 and 1850. The concluding Chapter 7 discusses the findings of the study and the need for future research.



## 2 FROM SWEDISH TO RUSSIAN RULE: FINLAND AFTER 1809

### 2.1 The estate society, economic privileges and rights

The society of early nineteenth century Finland was structured according to a four-estate model. The core pillars of the social order were the political institutions, the Lutheran church and the family, which meant that every individual had clear responsibilities and duties in society.<sup>131</sup> The four-estate model also affected the individual's possibilities to engage in societal, political and economic activities and it created a framework that structured the relations between various social groups. Basically, it was a system of rights accorded by the sovereign: rights and duties of each estate were defined by the privileges of the Estates.<sup>132</sup>

From the end of the eighteenth century onwards, the traditional four-estate model came under increasing pressure. The position of the Estate of the Nobles had undergone changes as the political, social and economic base of its power as an estate had diminished. Concomitantly, the Estate of Burghers, who dominated commercial activities, gained more prestige in society along with their growing economic and political influence. The steady increase in the population brought further challenges to the established social order with an increase in the number of non-noble persons of high social standing, such as academics and government officials, who were outside the traditional social

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<sup>131</sup> Tiihonen 1994, 44; Österberg & Sandmo 2000, 14; Karonen 2002, 22–23; Heininen & Heikkilä 2005, 160–164; Mylly 2006, 23–24; Kent 2008, 52–59; Markkola 2007, 209–210; Pylkkänen 2009, 37–43; Ihalainen & Sennefelt 2011, 4. Lutheranism gained the status of a state religion in Sweden in 1593. On the relationship between the national churches and Scandinavian states, see Ihalainen 2011, 97–98.

<sup>132</sup> Groundstroem 1911, 368; Wiherheimo 1950, 22–24; Herlitz 1959, 149–150; Jyränki 1992, 150–151; Gustafsson 1994, 35–42; Karonen 2002, 22–23.

hierarchy.<sup>133</sup> In addition, an increasing number of wealthy businessmen were establishing themselves as a socially significant group. The emerging group of businessmen, inspired as they were by a capitalist ethos, did not yearn for traditional social status in order to enhance their standing in society but based their position on their economic and political assets and connections with the local and national political elites.<sup>134</sup> Although these factors, accompanied by certain signs of modernization, challenged the foundations of the estate society, it remained intact until the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>135</sup>

Economic privileges and rights were not equally distributed among the population, and there were, for example, certain barriers to entering many trades. From the viewpoint of this study, it is important to note that urban trades were primarily seen as the domain of the Estate of the Burghers.<sup>136</sup> If an individual aimed to engage in an urban trade, it was necessary to possess so-called *burgher's rights* in order to gain entry into these fields. Burgher's rights also carried political power and the opportunity to participate in urban administration in return for paying taxes.<sup>137</sup> In brief, the mercantile system restricted the right to engage in commerce, shipping, and handicrafts to town dwellers, and thus the towns developed into centres of these activities. Moreover, the surrounding areas produced various goods for the needs of the towns and town dwellers, and thus these areas were more or less dependent on the countryside.<sup>138</sup> Another factor that is particularly worth noting in this context is that while the urban crafts and commercial trades were strictly regulated, it was usually easier to engage in industrial production. The criteria regarding the applicant's social background or formal qualifications were not applied so strictly in granting the right to establish a new production facility.<sup>139</sup>

Although only a male applicant could gain full rights as an economic and political actor (i.e. the status of burgher) in a Finnish town, a widow could usually assume her deceased husband's economic rights and continue his trade. In terms of legal and economic rights, women's position was regulated in the

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<sup>133</sup> See e.g. Wirilander 1974, 136–141; Pohls 1990, 68; Mylly 2006, 23–26; Gluschkoff 2008, 11–17, 192–3, 376–385. On the development in eighteenth-century Sweden, see e.g. Karonen 2008, 361–370; Wolff 2009, 346, 349; Kuisma 2009, 90–94.

<sup>134</sup> Gustafsson 1994, 40–41; Kuisma 1995, 29–55; Kuisma 2006, 108–111, 204–216; Kuisma 2011, 51–64. In Stockholm the leading businessmen and especially the so-called “*Skeppsbro nobility*” (*Skeppsbroadeln*) were of paramount importance in this development. See also Norrby 2011, 187–195.

<sup>135</sup> Finland was officially an estate society until the parliamentary reform in 1906, see e.g. Lindman 1962, 15–16; Mylly 2006, 10–13.

<sup>136</sup> E.g. Herlitz 1959, 135; Wiherheimo 1950, 25–26; Kekkonen 1987, 13–15.

<sup>137</sup> Lindeqvist 1930, 137–140; Mäntylä 1981, 53–64; Nikula 1981, 242, 253–258; Edgren 1987, 54–55; Kallioinen 2000, 97–99; Bladh 1991, 28, 53–54; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 23; Lindberg 2001, 35. The process by means of which a merchant candidate could acquire burgher's rights in the early nineteenth century will be described in detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>138</sup> Groundstroem 1911, 365; Ranta 1980, 282–283; Ranta & Åström 1980, 225; Mauranen 1980, 444–445; Magnusson 2000, 40–43; Kuisma 2009, 86–90; Winton 2011a, 212–213. See also Virrankoski 2009, 427–428.

<sup>139</sup> Schybergson 1973, 47; Hjerppe 1979, 126–127; Göransson 1993b, 137–138. This is discussed further in the latter part of the present work in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

1734 Code of the Realm, which remained in force in Finland after 1809.<sup>140</sup> Women were under male guardianship, and therefore legally debarred from attaining full economic or political rights. In practice, their fathers, brothers or husbands disposed of their property, income and marriage. However, a widow was exempted from the restrictions of male guardianship, which complicated legal and commercial transactions for most women, and she could claim the right to continue her late husband's business. This applied to merchant widows but the situation was a bit different for craftsmen's widows. Basically, women did not have access to the craft guilds.<sup>141</sup> The only women who could engage in crafts were craftsmen's widows, who could practise the trade with the help of journeymen. Generally, a woman could not have a master's certificate under her own name, or swear the burgher's oath or use the political power associated with the status of a burgher.<sup>142</sup> The legislation was reformed from the late 1850s onwards, when women received wider rights to engage in various trades.<sup>143</sup>

As we have already seen in the introductory chapter, the commercial legislation not only made a distinction between males and females but also between native Finns and foreign-born individuals. In practice, an individual's ethnic origin affected his or her economic and political rights in early-nineteenth-century Finland.<sup>144</sup> This is a relevant issue in this study since the number of immigrants began to increase after the War of Finland and some of them became involved in business life with great success. During the war, increasing numbers of Russian traders and merchants had streamed into Finland and gradually dispersed around the newly occupied country. The transformation that took place along with the immigration was remarkable since in the last years of Swedish rule, the number of Russians living in Finland had been insignificant: for example, there were no Russian merchants in Helsinki at the end of the Swedish era.<sup>145</sup>

From the viewpoint of economic legislation, the *Russian* subjects of the Russian Tsar did not have such extensive rights as his *Finnish* subjects<sup>146</sup> in the Grand Duchy of Finland. Similarly, individuals of Finnish origin who settled in Russia, for example in St Petersburg, did not enjoy an equal position with their Russian counterparts. Certain restrictions also applied to other foreigners than those of Russian origins. As a result, they did not have equal rights to engage in

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<sup>140</sup> Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 36–40; Karlsson Sjögren & Lindström 2004, 243, 255–256; Pylkkänen 2009, 44–45.

<sup>141</sup> See e.g. Nikula 1970, 296–297; Skarin Frykman 1987, 76–78; Göransson 1999, 527–528; Göransson 1993a, 12; Wunder 1998, 135, 166; Rabuzzi 2001, 358; Karonen 2002, 17, 22; Karlsson Sjögren & Lindström 2004, 248.

<sup>142</sup> Mäkelä 1985, 77–78; Lunander 1988, 190; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 36–37, 111–112. See also Wiesner 1986, 33–34, 157–163; Ogilvie 2003, 232–233.

<sup>143</sup> Pylkkänen 1992, 41–43; Vainio-Korhonen 2008b, 82. In Sweden the legislation concerning women's economic rights had already been reformed in 1846; see e.g. Göransson 1993a, 14; Göransson 1993b, 135–139.

<sup>144</sup> Jussila 1978, 7–8; Mikkola 1984, 211–214.

<sup>145</sup> Waris 1950, 26–27.

<sup>146</sup> On these terms, see Jussila 1978 and 1984.

business or societal life in Finland in the research period.<sup>147</sup> In addition, there were certain restrictions regarding religion – for example, Jews did not enjoy similar economic or political rights as members of the majority population.<sup>148</sup> More equal economic rights for foreigners were implemented in 1879.<sup>149</sup>

Although the number of foreign-born individuals began to grow steadily from the early nineteenth century onwards – as we will see in Chapter 3 – the population in Finland remained relatively homogenous. The nobility constituted only a small part of the population (15 percent in 1810),<sup>150</sup> and owing to the agricultural nature of the society the majority of the population were peasants who owned or at least held tenure of their lands as long as they paid their dues to the state. In this respect, the position of the peasants and their ownership of the land differed greatly from the situation in Russia or the Baltic provinces.<sup>151</sup> The political influence of the Finnish peasants was based on the fact that they held a fairly good social position and, as one of the four estates, they were able to participate in decision-making processes and could send representatives to the gatherings of the Diet of the Estates.<sup>152</sup> In social terms, the large mass of the population constituted by the peasants was a significant force owing to its uniformity and because the elite groups were small in size.<sup>153</sup> The activity of rural inhabitants, mostly designated as peasants in the Registers of Petitions, is demonstrated by the fact that a large proportion of all the entries referred to applications which were submitted by people from the countryside, individually or collectively, in the reference years between 1810 and 1850. The applications of the rural inhabitants frequently concerned the right to own or rent land and exemption from taxes. They also submitted collective petitions in which they aimed to draw the authorities' attention to rural problems such as the poor infrastructure in the countryside. Occasionally also economic questions were brought up by rural inhabitants.<sup>154</sup>

## 2.2 The organization of the central government and economic decision-making

The break-up of the Swedish realm as a result of the war of 1808-1809 changed established economic and political relations in northern Europe. In a wider

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<sup>147</sup> Lindberg 1966, 15–17; Engman 1978b, 189–190; Jussila 1978, 6–7, 19–20; Engman 1983, 53–55; Mikkola 1984, 211–214; Engman 2004, 23–32; Schweitzer 2008b, 360–361.

<sup>148</sup> Annala 1928, 51–53; Mäntylä 1954, 120–131; Engman 2009, 223. On the rights of Jews in northern Europe, see Bredefeldt 2008.

<sup>149</sup> Heikkinen 1994, 245. This was, however, highly contested at the Diet of the Estates, see Nieminen 2004, 122.

<sup>150</sup> Wirilander 1974, 440.

<sup>151</sup> See e.g. Jussila 1989, 90–99; Engman 2011, 25.

<sup>152</sup> Hytönen 1923, 9–20. See Gustafsson 1994, 75–78; Winton 2011a, 213 for comparisons.

<sup>153</sup> Österberg and Sandmo 2000, 13; Gustafsson 2004, 28–29.

<sup>154</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. See also Chapter 3.

context, the years of the Napoleonic wars brought great changes both in Europe and the Americas, weakening the authority and power of old hegemonies and strengthening the positions of new ones.<sup>155</sup> With regard to the situation in Finland, there were both continuities and discontinuities after Finland was ceded from Sweden to Russia,<sup>156</sup> and these will be discussed in this section from the viewpoint of administrative development.

After the annexation of Finland into the Russian Empire, parts of the country were devastated, a national central government needed to be organized and the political and economic situation was unstable. Russian policy, which emphasized the need to place Finland back on a peacetime footing, sought to ensure that the shift of the administration under Russian rule proceeded without major hiatuses. However, the development of the administration in early nineteenth century Finland did not follow the same path as in Sweden or Central Europe. In many European countries, the French Revolution and the ideas of Napoleon I impacted on the nature of the polities that developed, but the administration of the Grand Duchy of Finland remained traditional in character.<sup>157</sup> Despite the separation from its former mother country, the Scandinavian nature of the Finnish administration with regard to its constitution, legal system and the existence of a representative institution survived. Thus Finland is nowadays seen as an example of the durability of Scandinavian political cultures after 1809.<sup>158</sup>

The first Finnish Diet of the Estates under Russian rule was summoned to legitimize the position of the new ruler and to create working relationships between the ruler and the leading circles in Finland. Simultaneously, the summoning of the Diet served as a tool for pacifying the embattled area. The convention took place in Porvoo with the attendance of Tsar Alexander I, who opened the meeting on 16 March 1809.<sup>159</sup> In fact, at the same time when the Finnish Diet of the Estates convened, the Swedish Diet of the Estates gathered in Stockholm, where some members of the Finnish aristocracy had already travelled in order to participate in the meeting.<sup>160</sup> The Diet of Porvoo convened before the official peace treaty between Sweden and Russia was signed. In the Peace Treaty of Hamina, signed in September 1809, Sweden formally

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<sup>155</sup> Kirby 2006, 71–72; Karonen 2008, 420–424; Karonen 2011, 169, 175–178, Winton 2011a, 215.

<sup>156</sup> See e.g. Tiihonen 1994, 252; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 52–60; Karonen 2010, 174–178.

<sup>157</sup> Tiihonen 1994, 216–220, 269–270; Savolainen 1994, 346. See also Jussila 1989, 90–99; Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 25 (developments in the Baltic countries and Poland).

<sup>158</sup> Mylly 2006, 14–19; Ihalainen & Sennefelt 2011, 4. See also Karonen 2010, 176.

<sup>159</sup> Jussila 1987, 13–41; Savolainen 1994, 34–37; Schweitzer 1996, 10; Klinge 1997, 16–24; Luntinen 1997, 41–45; Karonen 2008, 429–430; Lappalainen, Ericson Wolke & Pylkkänen 2008, 277–279; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 106–107, 113; Virrankoski 2009, 405–409; Kuusterä & Tarkka 2011, 76.

<sup>160</sup> This meant that some 20 families were represented in both Sweden and Finland, see Halila 1962, 541–544; Savolainen 1994, 37; Karonen 2008, 434–435; Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 17; Tandefelt 2009, 26; Karonen 2010, 176. On the development in Sweden immediately after 1809, see e.g. Karonen 2008, 434–438; Lappalainen, Ericson Wolke & Pylkkänen 2008, 266–267.

surrendered Finland to Russia.<sup>161</sup> Despite the change in Finland's political position, Finns insisted on their right to manage their internal affairs and to participate in legislative processes, which meant that without the convention of the Diet of the Estates the Tsar could not create new laws or amend existing ones. Consequently, the fact that the Diet did not convene again until 1863 delayed reforms in economic and social regulation.<sup>162</sup>

The Porvoo Diet and its implications have been widely discussed in Finnish historiography, in which the main consideration has been given to questions related to the status of Finland and the interpretation of the concessions made by Tsar Alexander I.<sup>163</sup> The meeting of the Diet has often been regarded as having had considerable significance for Finnish economic and business life since the estates discussed a wide range of economic issues, including customs duties, taxes, monetary policy and various other questions.<sup>164</sup> Basically, the four estates summoned to Porvoo were unanimous on most matters, and their opinions did not conflict on issues related to economic policy. There were disagreements over some matters, but major conflicts among the representatives were avoided. The mood has been described as conservative because the Finns sought to preserve the administrative system that had existed under Swedish rule.<sup>165</sup>

In this atmosphere, the Estate of the Burghers took advantage of the opportunity to promote their economic and business interests during the meeting. The Burghers did not seek economic reforms but rather emphasized that what was important for the further development of economic and business life was continuity. It was in their interest to defend the continuance of Swedish commercial legislation, which to a great extent protected the interests of established business life.<sup>166</sup> The words of the most prominent figure of the estate, Petter Johan Bladh (1746–1816), who was a merchant-shipowner and a former supercargo of the Swedish Ostindia Company, are often used to describe the aims of the Burghers.<sup>167</sup> Bladh, who was the spokesman for the estate, summed up the situation by saying that in uncertain times the most important thing was to safeguard the estate's ancient privileges and rights.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Lappalainen, Ericson Wolke & Pylkkänen 2008, 300–302. On the economic aspects of the Peace Treaty of Hamina, see Harmaja 1920, 46–63; Jussila 2004, 153–154; Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 17–23; Karonen 2010.

<sup>162</sup> Halila 1962, 560–561; Virrankoski 2009, 417–418. See also Rauhala 1921, 24–89.

<sup>163</sup> See e.g. Tommila 1984; Jussila 1987, 1989 and 2004; Klinge 1997; Ylikangas 2007. See also Schweitzer 1996, 10; Pulkkinen 2003, 245–251; Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 17.

<sup>164</sup> Juvelius 1934, 36–40; Halila 1962, 527–541; Kekkonen 1987, 23–24; Heikkinen 1994; 133–136; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 42–47; Tiihonen 2012, 18–20.

<sup>165</sup> See e.g. Karonen 2010, 176–177.

<sup>166</sup> Nordenstreng 1920, 43–45; Halila 1962, 486; Tommila 1984, 46–55; Ojala 1999, 258; Paavilainen 2005, 23.

<sup>167</sup> Karonen 2004, 210–215; Kuusterä & Tarkka 2011, 83.

<sup>168</sup> Halila 1962, 498–499; Björkqvist 1986, 343–344; Karonen 2004, 106–107. Bladh is also remembered as a significant figure in monetary policy as a result of his comments and memoranda, see Björkqvist 1986, 62–66; Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 35–37; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 209–210; Kuusterä & Tarkka 2011, 83–83. On Bladh's

This in fact happened when Tsar Alexander I (1777-1825) confirmed the corporate rights of the estates and promised to preserve Finland's inherited laws and institutions in the closing ceremony of the Diet.<sup>169</sup>

The Peace Treaty of Hamina, for its part, established economic conditions in Finland since Swedish commercial legislation remained in force. It also confirmed trade agreements between Russia (in practice Finland) and Sweden for two years, thus simultaneously ensuring the continued import of ore for the Finnish iron industry and the export of Finnish agricultural products to Swedish markets. The agreement was renegotiated, and the period of validity was eventually extended to 1817. Even after that, Sweden still had a special position in Finland's foreign trade and remained Finland's main trading partner. It was not until 1845 that trade with Sweden fell to the same level as that with other foreign countries.<sup>170</sup> All in all, Finland's situation was problematic in the early years of the Age of Autonomy: prior to 1809 it had been economically heavily dependent on Sweden, and it was impossible to sever these ties in a short period of time since the creation of a new commercial infrastructure (e.g. trading contacts and new forms of business) required time.<sup>171</sup> This situation is reflected in the Registers of Petitions over the research period: for example, there were several petitions in which business actors involved in different fields of industry and commerce petitioned that the import of raw materials and various other goods from Sweden should continue to operate as it had done prior to 1809.<sup>172</sup>

Soon after the war, the organization of an administrative structure also got under way since there had no been central government in Finland during the Swedish era. Even during the war and in its immediate aftermath, there had been some temporary administrative arrangements: governmental tasks were first coordinated by the civilian chancellery of the headquarters of the Russian commander, Count Friedrich Wilhelm von Buxhoevden, assisted by Finnish provincial governors and bailiffs.<sup>173</sup> By the early 1810s, a new administrative framework was created, but basically the highest national administration, legislation and economic structure of the Grand Duchy of Finland were built on the Swedish heritage, and some institutional structures were not changed at all.<sup>174</sup> For example, the provincial administration was retained, which made for a degree of continuity in the administrative system.<sup>175</sup> Furthermore, the fact that Finnish public officials were ordered to remain in their posts during the war

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career as a businessman, see Karonen 2004, 210–215; Heikinheimo 1955, 71–72. See also Chapter 4.

<sup>169</sup> See e.g. Schweitzer 1996, 10; Karonen 2008, 428–429, 436; Heikkinen 2009, 89.

<sup>170</sup> Schybergson 1986, 120–121; Heikkinen, Heinonen, Kuusterä & Pekkarinen 2000, 174; Karonen 2010, 174; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 299; Kuusterä & Tarkka 2011, 23. The use of Swedish currency in Finland also ended in the 1840s.

<sup>171</sup> Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 37–38; Kuusterä & Tarkka 2011, 113.

<sup>172</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. See also Chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>173</sup> Sjöblom 1993, 223–227; Westerlund 1993, 44; Jussila 2004, 49–50; Kirby 2006, 72–73.

<sup>174</sup> Tyynelä 1992; Savolainen 1994; Savolainen 1996, 18; Engman 2009, 9–10.

<sup>175</sup> On the provincial administration, see especially Westerlund 1993.

made the change of rule easier and guaranteed that the Swedish administrative heritage was transmitted to the new system. Similarly, some of the most influential members of the national elite remained in Finland and secured their positions, having already developed close relationships with the Russians during the war.<sup>176</sup>

The right to make decisions on economic matters was formally vested in the Russian Tsar, whose power was limited only by his promise to use revenues collected in Finland for Finnish needs.<sup>177</sup> In matters concerning Finland, the political power of the Tsar was also restricted by the Swedish constitution of 1772, the autocratic nature of which in fact served Russian aims well.<sup>178</sup> However, the Tsar delegated executive authority to the Governing Council, which was established as the highest national decision-making body and the supreme legal authority in the Grand Duchy, subordinate only to the Tsar himself.<sup>179</sup> The establishment of the Governing Council, renamed the “Imperial Senate of Finland” in 1816, marked a sharp contrast to Finland’s earlier position, when administratively it had been an integral part of Sweden.<sup>180</sup> The Senate was located in the capital city of the Grand Duchy, first in Turku (*Åbo*) and after 1818 in Helsinki, where the capital was moved in 1812.<sup>181</sup> The Senate held only as much power as the autocratic Tsar allowed it, although it came to have extensive decision-making powers in economic affairs. Eventually, Finland obtained far-reaching economic autonomy, exemplified by the independence of her customs, financial institutions and economic legislation.<sup>182</sup>

The Russian Tsar governed the Grand Duchy of Finland with the help of the Senate, the Governor-General, the Committee for Finnish Affairs located in St Petersburg, and the Minister-Secretary of State for Finland. While there was no direct connection between the Senate and the Tsar, the Committee for Finnish Affairs, and later the Minister-Secretary of State, who was the representative of the Finnish administration in St. Petersburg, represented Finnish interests to the Tsar.<sup>183</sup> Accordingly, the position of the Governor-General was of paramount importance because he was the highest official with executive power, and thus his duty was to ensure that imperial commands were

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<sup>176</sup> Savolainen 1994, 27–37, 339–340; Savolainen 1996, 13–18; Kirby 2006, 73; Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 24–25; Karonen 2010, 169–170; Kuusterä & Tarkka 2011, 143.

<sup>177</sup> Myllyntaus 1980, 358; Kuusterä 1989, 65–66; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 113. See also Tiihonen 2012, 35–39.

<sup>178</sup> Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 29; Engman 2009, 91–92; Karonen 2008, 433–434.

<sup>179</sup> Savolainen 1994, 184–187; Savolainen 1996, 18; Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 33–34.

<sup>180</sup> See e.g. Halila 1962, 545; Tyynilä 1992, 92–96; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 48–52.

<sup>181</sup> Klinge 1997, 43–49; Engman 2009, 171–182.

<sup>182</sup> Kalleinen 1994, 67; Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 29–30; Engman 2011, 24. Since the Senate used the power delegated to it by the Tsar, the decisions made by it were proclaimed in his name. See also Rauhala 1910, 191, 252–253; Rauhala 1915, 31–32; Savolainen 1994, 288.

<sup>183</sup> Savolainen 1996, 13; Schweitzer 1996, 24; Jussila 1996, 140–143; Jussila 2004, 114–115, 120–131; Kirby 2006, 84–85; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 128–132. The status of the Committee for Finnish Affairs changed over time. The committee was suspended in 1826 for political reasons and re-established again in 1857.



implemented in Finland.<sup>184</sup> The appointments of the highest officials affected the power relations between the Senate and the Governor-General, who was the personal representative of the Tsar.<sup>185</sup> The Governor-General acted as the Speaker of the Senate, and in this role he was, on the one hand, a link between the Tsar and the Senate and, on the other, a link between Finnish and Russian officials. The Governor-General's Chancellery assisted him in administrative issues.<sup>186</sup> The legal counsellor of the Governor-General was the Procurator (Chancellor of Justice).<sup>187</sup>

As mentioned above, the Senate was divided into two departments, the Economic Department and the Justice Department. The Economic Department took care of tasks related to public administration and the economy, while the Justice Department was deputed to work as the highest national court of justice in the Grand Duchy. Fourteen men sat in the Senate, seven in each department.<sup>188</sup> The Senate had to be composed exclusively of native-born Finns.<sup>189</sup> In 1857 the senatorial rank of members of the Senate was made official, and they were given the title "Senator".<sup>190</sup> The Vice-Chairman of the Senate's Economic Department in particular usually had a strong influence on government policies in the first part of the century. One of the most influential figures was Baron Lars Gabriel von Haartman (1789-1859), who was Vice-Chairman of the Senate's Economic Department from 1841 until 1858. He held a dominant position on several committees which shaped the guidelines of

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<sup>184</sup> The office of Governor-General was established in 1812. See e.g. Tuori 1983, 181; Kalleinen 1994, 67; Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 40–43.

<sup>185</sup> Savolainen 1994, 90; Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 26. The following persons served as Governors-General during the research period: Fabian Steinheil, A.A. Zakrevski, A.S. Menshikov and F.W.R. Berg. R.H. Rehn binder was Minister-Secretary of State from 1811 to 1841, and after him Alexander Armfelt until 1876.

<sup>186</sup> On the post of Governor-General, see Tuori 1983, 181; Westerlund 1993, 46–50; Tyynilä 1992, 362–368; Jussila 2004, 105–113. Since some of the Governors-General, such as A. S. Menshikov, spent long periods in St. Petersburg, part of the chancellery worked there. Another part of the chancellery was located in Helsinki and was headed by the assistant to the Governor-General in the period 1833–1854. The post of assistant was reopened in 1873, but there were no regular appointments; see Rauhala 1915, 223; Sjöblom 1993, 227–228.

<sup>187</sup> Tiihonen & Tiihonen 1984, 102–106; Tyynilä 1992, 50; Kalleinen 1994, 73.

<sup>188</sup> Half of the members of the Senate had to be from the Estate of the Nobles, while the other half was drawn from the common estates. In practice, this regulation was not implemented as such, and the nobility predominated in the Senate until the 1890s, see Jutikkala 1956, 28; Tuori 1983, 181; Tyynilä 1992, 41–48; Savolainen 1994, 80–81, 287, 340; Stenvall 2000, 75.

<sup>189</sup> The standing orders of the Governing Council, later the Senate, were issued on 18 August 1809. *Hans Kejsers Maj:ts Nådiga Reglemente för Dess tillförordande Regerings Conseil i Storfurstensdömet Finland* is published e.g. in the volume *Samling af Placater, Förordningar, Manifest och Påbud, samt andre Allmänna handlingar, hwilka i Stor-Furstendömet Finland sedan 1808 års början ifrån trycket utkommit. Första Delen, 1808-1812* (1821). See § 4 and § 5 (pp. 24–25) for instructions regarding the composition of this organ. Further discussion on this topic, see Rauhala 1910, 232–236, 241–242; Halila 1962, 525–526; Savolainen 1994, 13; Schweitzer 1996, 42; Kirby 2006, 83–84.

<sup>190</sup> Savolainen 1994, 345; Kalleinen 1994, 69; Jussila 1996, 138–139.

economic policy. His close connections with the political elite both in Finland and in Russia strengthened his political power.<sup>191</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, the Economic and Justice Departments either independently or in joint sessions sometimes decided on the most minor and mundane issues. Most often each department convened alone to make its own decisions. The Economic Department had five divisions (*expeditioner*), which prepared and presented administrative matters for the sessions of the Economic Department.<sup>192</sup> Some of the Senators held positions as heads of divisions. In the context of economic and financial matters, the Financial Division was the most important as it was the one that was mainly responsible for this administrative area.<sup>193</sup>

The Senate dealt with and decided on a variety of issues since it was responsible for numerous other matters in addition to economic questions. For example, the Senate, and the Economic Department in particular, could grant the privileges, rights and permits needed to establish new businesses.<sup>194</sup> Consequently, only some of the total number of cases were eventually presented to the Tsar, who decided on matters of national importance such as tariffs, commercial legislation and trade agreements.

The Swedish influence was clearly present in the organization and decision-making process of the Senate in the form of the collegial system. It defined not only the way administrative tasks were managed in the Senate but it also restricted the political power of individual Senators. Occasionally, this had an adverse effect on the efficiency of the Senate's work,<sup>195</sup> as became evident in the course of time when the executive sphere of the Senate expanded and it was allowed to administer more affairs.<sup>196</sup> This led to a situation in which the Senate was burdened with an ever-growing workload and its administrative duties constantly piled up. The Economic Department and its divisions in particular faced serious challenges from their growing duties.<sup>197</sup>

In order to solve these problems and develop the administration, Swedish-style state institutions (central boards) were established to take care of administrative tasks requiring specialized knowledge. The establishment of central boards in the early decades of the century did not solve all the administrative problems because several important areas of administration

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<sup>191</sup> Myllyntaus 1980, 337–338; Savolainen 1994, 107; Kalleinen 2001, 35–44; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 265–268; Tiihonen 2012, 42–43.

<sup>192</sup> Rauhala 1910, 243; Jussila 2004, 112.

<sup>193</sup> Rauhala 1910, 195–205; Kuusterä 1989, 66–67; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 54, 71–7, 148–159. See also Tiihonen 2012. He employs the term Finance Department.

<sup>194</sup> On issues dealt with by the Senate, see e.g. Rauhala 1910; Rauhala 1915, 69–70, 193–194; 202–203, 223; Tiihonen & Tiihonen 1984, 130; Savolainen 1994, 174–176. See also Lehtonen 1936, 71–73.

<sup>195</sup> Rauhala 1915, 33; Savolainen 1994, 13; Savolainen 1996, 14; Kirby 2006, 86. See also Korhonen 1963, 49–50; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 80–81.

<sup>196</sup> E.g. Tiihonen & Tiihonen 1984, 111–112; Savolainen 1994, 177–183.

<sup>197</sup> Savolainen 1994, 190; Savolainen 1996, 19; Kirby 2006, 86; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 81.

remained without their own boards. However, the role and status of the Senate altered as the central boards became subordinated to it.<sup>198</sup>

A way of handling mainly temporary tasks in the administration was the above-mentioned committee system, which preserved the Swedish administrative tradition in Finland after 1809. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the number of committees was not as high as it had been either earlier (for example, during the reign of Gustav III [1771-1792]) or later (when Tsar Alexander II [1855-1881] ruled Finland). The Committees which were established in the Age of Autonomy dealt with very similar questions to those which their predecessors handled prior to 1809, when economic and financial matters had also been well represented among the issues considered by the committees appointed during the time of Swedish rule.<sup>199</sup>

In the early part of the century, the Tsar generally made the formal decisions concerning the establishment of committees.<sup>200</sup> In the later years of the Age of Autonomy, the Governor-General and the Senate could also take the initiative, but it was often the Tsar who made the formal decision.<sup>201</sup> Especially in the early part of the century, committee members were usually government officials (e.g. members of the Senate).<sup>202</sup> Only a few committees established before the 1850s employed business actors as members or experts, the most prominent examples being the earlier mentioned Committee on Trade and Customs established in the early 1810s and the committee established to plan reforms in forest legislation in the 1840s. In addition, six committees considered economic matters and reforms in the 1830s but their members were government officials.<sup>203</sup>

As described above, the highest levels of the Finnish administration were created after 1809, but the provincial and local administration remained the same. A large part of the administrative work after 1809 was still carried out by the county governors (*landshövdingar*) – called “provincial governors” from 1837 onwards – who held an important share of executive authority throughout the nineteenth century. The county governors, who ran the provincial administrative boards, were in charge of local administration and its supervision in the Finnish provinces. Even after the establishment of the Senate, the governors retained a significant share of administrative authority, and the provincial administration continued to operate much as it had in the Swedish period (although the governors were first subordinated to the Governor-

<sup>198</sup> Rauhala 1915, 63–64; Tuori 1983, 186–187; Savolainen 1996, 20; Tiihonen 2012, 32–34.

<sup>199</sup> In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a number of committees were established in Sweden to consider economic questions, such as those related to foreign trade and commercial legislation. The following committees are examples (preserved in Riksarkivet, Stockholm): *Sjölagskommitté* (RA, ÄK-563); *Kommitté ang Produktplakatet av år 1724* (RA, ÄK-560); *Kommitté för utarbete av ny skogsordning* (RA, ÄK-740); *Kommitté ang handel på England* (RA, ÄK-559); *Kommitté ang tullen å glas från Nyby glasbruk i Finland* (1811) (RA, ÄK-782).  
<sup>200</sup> Jussila 1996, 109.

<sup>201</sup> Suomen komitealaitos 1976, 17–18; Savolainen 1994, 201.

<sup>202</sup> Suomen komitealaitos 1976, 18; Tuori 1983, 200.

<sup>203</sup> See e.g. Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 33–34; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 256–260.

General immediately after the Russian annexation). It took several years before contacts between the central government and the provincial administration became established, and even then the administrative changes were hardly visible at the local level as the officials remained mainly the same.<sup>204</sup>

Because the administration was hierarchical, there was no direct contact with the Senate or the Tsar from the lowest levels of the administration, and the local and provincial government could only access the higher levels of the administration through the provincial governors. Their subordinates – provincial bailiffs and police chiefs – represented the central government at the local level in the countryside. Local communities also had their own courts, which assembled to settle disputes and discuss local affairs. These courts could, for example, issue statements and inform the provincial governors about the local situation.<sup>205</sup>

The structure of the central administration remained the same during the research period. Further improvements were implemented by Tsar Alexander II, who came to power in 1855. In the 1850s, for example, new central boards were established.<sup>206</sup> No major reforms were made in the second part of the century, although the central administration was burdened by its ever-growing tasks and the organisation of the Senate in particular had proved to be inadequate. Despite these factors, the Senate's standing orders, which were originally issued in 1809, describing its duties and obligations were reformed only 1892. Further organisational reforms were carried out in the beginning of the following century.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> On the role and duties of county governors in the early nineteenth century, see e.g. Lehtonen 1936, 72; Westerlund 1993, 347–372; Kalleinen 1994, 90–91; Kauranen 1999, 38–41; Mustonen 2006, 27. Russian officials were also appointed as county governors, see Savolainen 1994, 288.

<sup>205</sup> On local courts, local officials and their duties, see Sogner, Lindstedt Cronberg & Sandvik 2000, 167–168; Mustonen 2006, 29–37; Koskivirta 2007; Ågren 2009, 21–23; Markkola 2010, 403–405. On urban administration, see e.g. Nikula 1981; Mäntylä 1981; Fällström & Mäntylä 1982.

<sup>206</sup> Savolainen 1996, 13–23.

<sup>207</sup> Rauhala 1921; Tyynilä 1992; Savolainen 1994; Savolainen 1996; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009; Tiihonen 2012.

### 3 BUSINESS-RELATED PETITIONS AND APPEALS IN THE REFERENCE YEARS BETWEEN 1810 AND 1850

A detailed and systematic selection of cases for the purposes of the present study ensures that it is possible to draw justified conclusions on the nature of the relationship between business life and government in early-nineteenth-century Finland. Therefore, the following two sections will describe the Registers of Petitions as historical source material and the way they have been employed in order to compile a dataset for the purposes of the present study. First, the institutional itinerary of petitions and appeals in the early nineteenth century will be described in greater detail. The second section will describe the approach I have adopted in collecting the data and will focus on the way business-related petitions and appeals were selected from the Registers of Petitions for the nine reference years between 1810 and 1850. The remaining sections will clarify how the sampled data was divided into various categories for the purpose of further analysis.

#### 3.1 The institutional itinerary of the petitions and appeals

In the early nineteenth century, all the petitions and appeals the Senate received from subjects and government officials were formally addressed to the Tsar, notwithstanding the fact that the Senate also usually participated in the decision-making process using the authority delegated to it by the ruler.<sup>208</sup> The formal address was followed by an explanation of the grievance and of the difficulties resulting to the person in question. In letters which were more

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<sup>208</sup> The standing orders of the Governing Council, § 21; see *Samling af Placater, Förordningar, Manifester och Påbud, samt andre Allmänna handlingar, hwilka i Stor-Furstendömet Finland sedan 1808 års början ifrån trycket utkommit. Första Delen, 1808-1812* (1821). The only exceptions were the letters addressed to the Governor-General and the Minister Secretary of State; see *Valtionarkiston yleisluettelo* (2) 1966, 46; Selin 1994, 81.

personal, the petitioners often referred to the problems of their household or community, while business actors focused on the hardships their business engagements had already faced or would face if their requests did not receive a favourable response.

When petitioning the highest decision-makers, the applicant had to strictly follow formal conventions as incorrect wording, for example, might lead to the rejection of a request. The petitions and appeals were supposed to be written in a deferential style that was often mastered only by official scribes or members of the highest estates.<sup>209</sup> Scribes or personal representatives were also employed if the petitioner was illiterate and was therefore forced to ask someone to write his or her petition. The original petitions and appeals consulted for the purposes of this study indicate that they were commonly written by the personal representatives and trustees of petitioners. It seems that individuals engaged in business activities often gave open authorizations (*fullmagt in blanco*) to the person writing the request. In a society with relatively poor communications over long distances, this was a way of saving both costs and time. Likewise, business actors residing abroad employed native representatives when contacting the highest decision-makers in the Grand Duchy.<sup>210</sup> Obviously, writing and submitting a petition did not come completely free of charge, especially when the petitioner had to have the document written by an official scribe.<sup>211</sup>

After a petitioner, or someone representing him or her, had delivered the letter to the Senate, it was subjected to various procedures by officials of the Senate. The incoming letters were recorded in particular registers depending on their sender and content, and each letter was given a specific index number for identification and also for archival purposes. Only after registration was the letter passed on to the official or institution in question for a further consideration.<sup>212</sup> Letters which concerned issues within the remit of the Economic Department were first dealt by its Chancellery (*Kansliaexpedition*), which also maintained the Registers of Petitions.<sup>213</sup>

The final decisions on the subjects' petitions and appeals were made by the Senate or the Tsar.<sup>214</sup> Decision-making took usually some time –

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<sup>209</sup> Rauhala 1910, 190–191, 246; Wirilander 1974, 171–177; Savolainen 1994, 110. The forms of petitions are strikingly similar in other parts of Europe and beyond in the pre-modern era, see also Würigler 2001, 12; Van Gelder 2009, 36; Mark 1998, 2170.

<sup>210</sup> The dataset compiled for the purposes of this study includes a few cases in which Finnish business actors represented foreign-born colleagues (see Subsection 3.4 for details).

<sup>211</sup> On the fees for submitting petitions to government officials, see Koskivirta 2007, 169. See also Berglund 2009, 44. Certainly, the fees did not hinder people from presenting their requests to the top decision-makers. For example, one petitioner was identified as a *kyrkofattig*, meaning a pauper who was living on poor relief from the Church. JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1820 (page 70).

<sup>212</sup> On the recoding system, see Selin 1994, 89.

<sup>213</sup> Rauhala 1910, 245; Valtionarkiston yleisluettelo (2) 1966, 73; Selin 1994, 87.

<sup>214</sup> On the issues that came under the decision-making power of the Senate (and especially the Economic Department), see Rauhala 1910, 189–191, 248–249, 272–286; Kuusterä 1989, 68–70.

occasionally up to several years – and might call for the attention of several different authorities and instances. Based on the primary source material studied here, it seems that various government officials or the parties involved in the case were commonly required to comment on, or provide supplementary information about, the case within set time limits. Thus, the case file with the original letter of request often contains various other documents related to the decision-making process. The case files can include, for instance, statements, reports, maps, certificates, records of court hearings and sometimes even notes or drafts which were added to the file during the process. Consequently, the number of documents related to a single petition or appeal could be considerable. Owing to the large number of documents, a table of contents was sometimes appended to the thickest case files.

The Registers of Petitions include a number of details about each recorded letter. To begin with, the time of its reception by the Senate, was entered. The date – with details concerning the decision-making process – was also written down on the original document, sometimes with the name of the person who had delivered the particular document to the Senate. Occasionally, even the time of day was marked down. These pieces of information have been valuable in a number of cases (see Section 6.2). The Registers of Petitions include usually quite detailed descriptions of the petitioners, and almost every entry contains information on the social rank or gives the occupational title(s) of the applicant(s). In the case of collective applications, all of the petitioners and their social ranks might be listed, or only the first few names might be mentioned with the appendage *med flera* (et alii). Thus, it is not possible to determine the exact numbers of individuals involved in the petitions and appeals studied here. The received letters were listed in alphabetical order: every double page, called a *folio*, was reserved for a certain letter of the alphabet.<sup>215</sup> If a letter was submitted by a collective body such as town dwellers (e.g. burghers, craftsmen), villagers, companies or societies, it was often recorded the under the letter Å standing for the Swedish word *Åtskillige* (several). However, there were occasionally some variations in the way the letters were recorded – different recorders might naturally prefer different styles when writing the entries.<sup>216</sup>

Importantly, the entries usually provide a detailed account of the subject of the application, a fact which has greatly facilitated the present study. Furthermore, there is often information that reveals where the applicants were from or the region in which they operated.<sup>217</sup> In addition to these pieces of information, the entry always stated whether the letter was a petition or an appeal. If it was an appeal, the name of the official or instance that had rejected the petition initially was given. The appeals that were examined in this study were usually filed in order to get the decisions of town courts or provincial

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<sup>215</sup> See also Valtionarkiston yleisluettelo (2) 1966, 58–59; Selin 1994, 89.

<sup>216</sup> For instance, if an applicant was a representative of a society or a company, the petition might be recorded under the society's or company's name rather than that of the applicant. See also Selin 1994, 88.

<sup>217</sup> This information has been used in examining the geographic distribution of the petitions and appeals in Section 6.4.

governors overturned – thus, they throw more light on the relationship between business life and the local or provincial authorities than the petitions. A closer scrutiny reveals that 40 percent of the sampled applications between 1810 and 1850 were appeals. There were some variations over time, but only in one year, 1840, were there more appeals than petitions among the cases. This issue is considered in detail in Section 3.5.

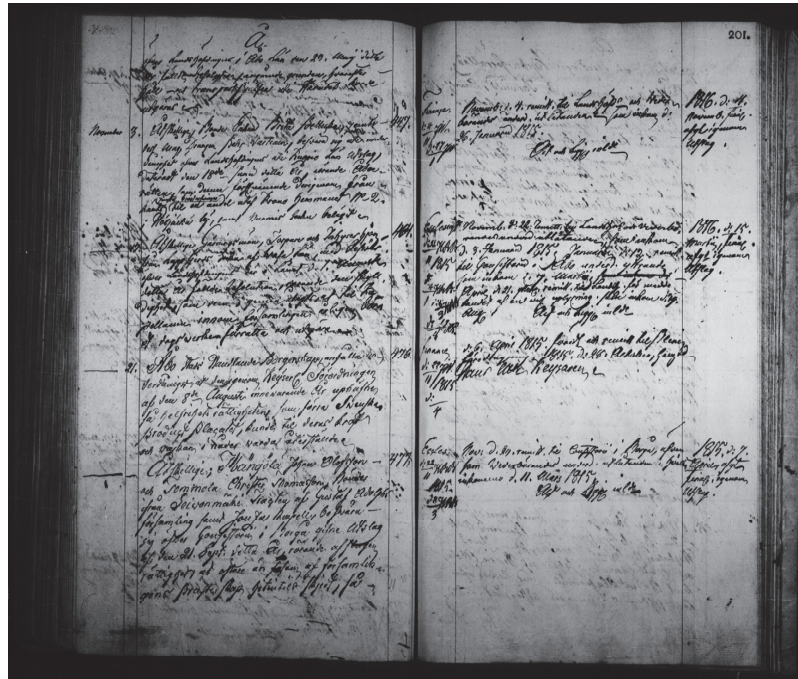
The above-mentioned details were written on the left page (verso) in the Registers, with particular columns reserved for certain pieces of information. The right page (recto) was similarly organized, but its columns were reserved for information about the various stages of the decision-making process. The procedures were carefully documented, and the government officials or central agencies involved were usually mentioned. In addition, if a petitioner withdrew his or her case for some reason, there was usually a note about this in the Registers. Similarly, if there was another case or cases related to the one in question, the recorder might append a cross-reference to the interrelated cases. The date when the case was closed was also given in the last column of the right page.<sup>218</sup> Occasionally some additional information was included in the entries. Although decision-making could take from a few months to several years if the case was more complicated, the whole process was well documented in the Registers.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> See also Selin 1994, 87. The date is needed in order to find the documents related to the decisions. However, there were a few cases in which there was no indication of the date when the decision was made. Probably these applications were withdrawn by the applicants.

<sup>219</sup> On the duration of decision-making processes, see Savolainen 1994, 187–196.





PICTURE 1 A double page of the Register of Petitions 1814. Source: NA, Digital Archives, the Archives of the Finnish Senate, the Registers of Petitions 1814 (Ab:4), (<http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=2449046>, accessed 10.11.2012)

This particular material shares some of the problems that are common to most of the nineteenth-century documents produced by the central government authorities, but it nonetheless remains valid as a source.<sup>220</sup> For example, during the long period covered by the research, the occupational titles, terms and formulations employed in the entries of the Registers varied and were sometimes cryptic. Another challenge was related to the way the petitioners' first names and family names were entered: because no established standards for writing names existed, the entries sometimes exhibit a wide range of variant spellings of names.<sup>221</sup> Especially the ways in which the names of persons of Russian origin were written could vary as there was no consistent set of rules for transliterating them.<sup>222</sup> In the dataset I have compiled for the purposes of

<sup>220</sup> See also Würzler 2001, 17–18.

<sup>221</sup> On the styles of writing first and family names at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see also Parland-von Essen 2009, 202–203; Walta 2005, 90–95.

<sup>222</sup> For example, the Registers of Petitions refer to a Russian merchant called Mattea Sažzoff, who operated in the region of Porvoo in the early 1810s (e.g. JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1815). However, in the pages of previous studies his name is spelled “Mathias Saitseff” or “Mathra Saitzoff” (e.g. Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 52, 76–77, 83, 103, 106, 417; Yrjänä 2009b, 36–38). In an archival record, which was translated from Russian into Finnish, the name is transcribed as “Matvei Saitsev” (NA, Digital Archives, the Archives of the Governor-General’s Chancellery, Folder lists translated into Finnish, 1830). In the following, I have used the form “Mathra Saitzoff” (see Subsection 4.3.2). Schweitzer 2008a (pp. 186–187) provides further examples and

this study, on the other hand, it has been important to ensure that the name of each individual applicant is written in only one way in order to avoid confusion – no variation is allowed because it would make further analysis and comparisons between individuals impossible.<sup>223</sup> In this study, therefore, I follow established conventions in referring to individuals of Russian origin (e.g. Sinebrychoff, Tichanoff, Uschakoff), but in the absence of any such convention I have used the form in which the name appears in the archival documents. Despite the variations in spelling over the reference years, the information remained the same, and the details (for example, on the social rank or occupational title of the petitioners and the contents of the petitions) provided in the Registers of Petitions can be regarded as reliable. If there is a lack of information or the original formulation in the entries needs to be clarified for some reason, there are various other primary sources, such as the original case files, other records of the Senate and minutes of meetings, which allow us to confirm the details provided in the Registers. In addition, qualitative – albeit partly fragmentary – evidence about such matters as business actors' occupational careers, business involvements, partners and family members can be gleaned from a wide variety of online collections and secondary sources.<sup>224</sup>

It might well be asked how representative the Registers of Petitions are for this kind of study? Certainly there might be under- or over-representation of particular groups of individuals or certain topics might be proportionally emphasized over others during the period in question. For example, individuals from the lowest social strata and women in general are most definitely under-represented owing to the very nature of the decision-making system and its special characteristics.<sup>225</sup> These groups contacted the authorities on matters of lesser (economic) importance, and thus their cases were mainly resolved by the lower levels of the administration. If the lower authorities rejected a petition, there was in many cases a possibility to appeal to a senior instance, but it is certain that only a small proportion of the rejected petitions eventually reached the highest levels of the administration.

Similarly, some industries, such as the iron and sawmill industries, were regulated more tightly than many others, and, consequently industrialists in

demonstrates how the writing style could depend on the writer's nationality and the time period.

<sup>223</sup> In the dataset compiled for this study, three columns were reserved for the names of the applicants: in the case of a collective application, the first and second columns have one name each, and the third column is reserved for the rest of the applicants.

<sup>224</sup> Especially online databases such as The National Biography of Finland (*Kansallisbiografia*) – for further information in English see <http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/english/?p=2> – and The Finnish Business Leaders online collection (*Suomen talouselämän vaikuttajat*, <http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/>) have been useful. The latter consists of biographies of individuals who made important contributions to the development of Finnish economic life and society from the late eighteenth century to modern times. On the use of the latter database in a historical study, see Särkkä, Turunen, Valtonen, H. & Valtonen, M. 2010.

<sup>225</sup> Similar conclusions concerning women petitioners are also drawn by Bregnsbo 1997, 104–109 (Denmark); Berglund 2009, 45–46 (Sweden); Nubola 2001, 175 (Italy); Sandvik 2011, 332–333 (Norway).

these fields needed to contact the top decision-makers more often. Hence, their petitions and appeals might be overrepresented. Correspondingly, individuals engaged in craft trades who did not aim to establish production units that needed official letters of privilege were not likely to contact the most senior decision-makers so often. The permits and licences urban craftsmen needed to start up their trade were usually granted by guilds and the town courts, and rural craftsmen contacted local and provincial administrative bodies in order to obtain the licences necessary to practise their trade.<sup>226</sup> This was due the fact that the control of economic activities in and immediately around towns differed greatly from that in the countryside.

### 3.2 Business issues or personal matters?

According to the Register of Petitions of 1830, a burgher named Henric Lindberg from Turku submitted a petition to the highest decision-makers. His petition was recorded on 3 September 1830, but the entry offers an exceptionally brief description stating only that the applicant was petitioning for a loan or a donation. Over the selected reference years, business actors who needed extra resources in order to invest in production or other business ventures frequently petitioned for government loans, but unlike in this case, the precise objects of the loans and the requested sums of money were usually mentioned in the entries of the Registers of Petitions.<sup>227</sup> Since the entry for Lindberg's petition was an exception in this respect, the original petition was consulted in order to elucidate his reason for making such an appeal. It became clear that Lindberg, who had been a merchant in Turku for over 16 years, had faced severe hardships in recent years. This had brought destitution to his large family and left him without the means to provide for them:

In the most unfortunate situation that a person can be in due to no cause of his own, that of being surrounded by ten hungry children whom without the gentle grace of Providence I find it impossible with my own resources to raise into decent persons, I consider myself as a father duty-bound to try everything legitimate to save my children. [...] From Your Imperial Majesty's High Grace I venture in the most profound humility to hope for the most gracious grant of support from public funds

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<sup>226</sup> In the countryside, local district courts and provincial governors played the main role in decision-making, dealing with various petitions and appeals, licences, permits and other similar matters. Therefore, only some of the issues rural inhabitants brought up were eventually presented to and decided on by the most senior decision-makers. Owing to the differences in administration in rural and urban areas, the issues rural inhabitants brought before the supreme decision-makers had in many cases been considered first by the local authorities, who had then rejected the original petitions. See e.g. Schybergson 1973, 183–187; Schybergson 1980, 427–430. On the wider developments see e.g. Söderlund 1949; Ranta 1978; Edgren 1987.

<sup>227</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. On government loans in the nineteenth century, see Kuusterä 1989; Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 50–55. See also Kalleinen 1994, 146–149.

either as a gift or as a loan, and with the deepest loyal reverence, fidelity and fervour I commend myself to you.<sup>228</sup>

According to the documents enclosed in Lindberg's case file, he was asking for financial help to re-house his family since he had lost almost all his property as a result of the Great Fire of Turku in 1827.<sup>229</sup> Before submitting this petition to the Senate, he had addressed a similar letter to the town court, but he had not received the much needed support he had asked for. Soon after this first appeal, the family had grown even larger as Lindberg's wife had given birth to their tenth child, which obviously made the family's situation yet more difficult.<sup>230</sup> As such, this case illustrates the long-standing tradition of petitioning the ruler in order to obtain relief in situations of personal distress. To judge from the Registers of Petitions, however, pleas of this kind were not common among the commercial middle orders. Instead, they were used by various disadvantaged groups, such as impoverished widows or indebted peasants, who asked for financial support, pensions or exemptions from taxes or for other kinds of assistance for their family needs.<sup>231</sup> The numbers of such pleas concerning personal distress or poor social conditions were fairly high during and after crises such as economic recessions or severe crop failures such as those suffered in the 1830s.<sup>232</sup>

Since applications for loans for private or personal purposes are not considered in this study, Lindberg's petition is not relevant for the present research as such, but its significance lies in the fact that it provides an example of the variety of matters in which persons designated as merchants could petition the highest instances. Most importantly, this particular case brings us to consider the research subject from another perspective and raises the question of how to separate business affairs from personal matters in the context of the early nineteenth century, when personal (familial) and business matters were often closely intertwined? The first part of the nineteenth century is often described as the era of personal or family capitalism,<sup>233</sup> and the fact that the family remained the foundation on which most economic activity was based

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<sup>228</sup> NA, STO AD 463/79 1830, Henric Lindberg's petition. The original text in Swedish "*Uti den mest olyckliga belägenhet som man kan vara utan eget föröallande, den att vara omgifven af tio hungrande barn, hvilka jag finner omöjligt att utan milde Försyns Nåd med egne krafter befordra till duglige människor, anser jag mig som Fader skyldig att försöka allt tilläteligt till barnens bibehållande. [...] Af Eders Kejsrerlige Majestäts Höga Nåd vågar jag i djupaste underdånighet hoppas allernådigste beviljande af understöd från allmänna medel antingen såsom gåfva eller lån, och med djupaste undersäteliga vördnad trohet och nit har jag nåden framhärda.*"

<sup>229</sup> On the Great Fire of Turku, see e.g. Nikula 1981, 234–235.

<sup>230</sup> NA, STO AD 463/79 1830, Henric Lindberg's petition.

<sup>231</sup> For example, the widows of clergymen or government officials petitioned for support or pensions since a widow was entitled by law to get financial assistance after her husband's death. See also Räisänen 2000, 135–136; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 72, 74.

<sup>232</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. On crop failures in the 1830s, see e.g. Soininen 1980, 387–389; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 225–230.

<sup>233</sup> Chandler 1980, 13–14, 35–39.

makes it difficult to draw a line between personal and business affairs in the context of this study.<sup>234</sup> Lindberg's petition is a good example of this, and only a closer examination of the petition and its attachments revealed the longer history behind his distressed situation not only as a merchant but also as the head of a large household.

The largest proportion of all the entries in the Registers of Petitions in the years under closer examination concerned petitions and appeals that were presented by a single individual or a small group of individuals, and all social groups were represented in them. It also appears that the majority of letters were filed by petitioners attempting to bring matters of everyday life (e.g. rights of residence, marriages, taxation, financial support, permits to move abroad and applications for nationality) or administrative issues (e.g. appointments, matters related to the salaries and pensions of government officials, applications for offices in the Senate and applications for honorific titles<sup>235</sup>) to the attention of the relevant authorities.

To judge from the Registers of Petitions, only a small number of the petitioners in the reference years were actually designated as merchants, owners of industrial facilities or individuals whose occupational titles referred clearly to business life. In addition, they not only filed business-related petitions or appeals but contacted the authorities over the most ordinary matters such as poor relief, parochial issues, town plans, or problems caused by crop failures or the poor infrastructure. Moreover, merchants and industrialists participated in collective appeals together with town-dwellers or rural inhabitants in neighbouring areas.<sup>236</sup> This was due to the fact that prominent business actors had a number of public responsibilities in society, including such things as submitting petitions to the highest decision-makers on matters related to the local community's common interests.<sup>237</sup>

The entries show that business-related petitions and appeals were also presented by government officials, academics, clergymen, army officers, craftsmen and even peasants. They had gone into business, but their occupational titles or social ranks pointed to different livelihoods.<sup>238</sup> This leads to the result that a substantial proportion of the representatives of contemporary business life would have been neglected if only individuals whose occupational designation was that of a merchant or an industrialist – that is, those who are traditionally regarded as the representatives of early-nineteenth-century business life – were included in this work. Therefore, I also sampled applications submitted by craftsmen and persons who were engaged

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<sup>234</sup> Davidoff & Hall 1988, 32; Göransson 1990, 526–527; Göransson 1993b, 138–139; Häggman 1994, 43–45; Ojala 1997a, 104–105; Müller 1998, 31–32; Dalhede 2010, 50–51. See also Erickson 2005, 4, 18–19.

<sup>235</sup> On applications for honorific titles, see e.g. Korhonen 1963, 114–115. For a further discussion, see Section 6.3.

<sup>236</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>237</sup> On the role of businessmen in public affairs, see e.g. Häggman 1994, 43; Karonen 2004, 288.

<sup>238</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

in small-scale business activities because excluding them from the study would have given an unbalanced account of Finnish business life in the early nineteenth century.

The sampled data, which consist of 871 petitions and appeals, covers business matters related to various small- and large-scale lines of business. For example, the following industries are present in the data: the book industry (including privileges for printing houses and book stores),<sup>239</sup> the production and sale of alcohol, the chemical industry, the construction and building trade, domestic and overseas commerce, the paper industry, the pharmacy trade, the extractive and metal industries, sawmilling, shipbuilding, the textile industry, various craft trades and the production of various mass consumption goods such as candles, matchsticks, mirrors, soap, and so on (see also Section 3.5). It could be said that the petitions and appeals sampled for this study were often related to situations or events in which an individual who was involved in business activities – be they on a small or a large scale – was obviously attempting to increase his or her economic success or welfare or to minimize the impact of disadvantages accruing from past or anticipated problems to his or her own business involvements. The sampled cases reveal that business actors could take either reactive or proactive action to influence the top decision-makers.<sup>240</sup>

Owing to the vast amount of primary source material, some trades of minor importance have been omitted from the study. For instance, some of the cases referring to small-scale businesses that were practised only occasionally or for a very short time in the countryside are not considered here. These cases concerned mainly permits to grow and process tobacco or to establish small rural distilleries which operated only for a couple of months a year.<sup>241</sup> Many of these petitions were submitted by individuals who were designated as members of the lower social orders. In addition, business actors' applications for Finnish citizenship, permits to move abroad or to bring household property to Finland from abroad (especially from Sweden after 1809) were omitted<sup>242</sup> as were petitions in which business actors sued for honorific titles, ennoblements or appointments. Similarly, applications aimed to promote public interests are ignored if they concerned non-commercial issues, such as the establishment of schools or improvements in the infrastructure even if such petitions might, of course, also have had an impact on the local economic environment in the long

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<sup>239</sup> Permits to print newspapers or magazines are excluded from the study as are petitions for permits to establish lending libraries.

<sup>240</sup> This issue will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

<sup>241</sup> According to Schybergson (see Schybergson 1980, 432–434), distilling lies somewhere between agriculture and secondary production. Distilling alcohol had long traditions in the countryside, and the permitted amount of distilled alcohol and its taxation depended on the size of the farm. On the legislation regarding distilling in the early nineteenth century and the restrictions imposed on it in 1866, see e.g. Hytönen 1905; Nikula 1971, 657–666; Schybergson 1973, 17; Peltonen 2004, 87–88. There also existed some small-scale rural production of tobacco in Finland, see Annala 1928, 376–380.

<sup>242</sup> For a further discussion of this subject, see e.g. Samuelson 2008, 111–151.

run.<sup>243</sup> However, these initiatives aiming to benefit society as a whole are not included because it proved difficult to ascertain whether or not a business actor was seeking to obtain business advantages in attempting to promote common interests.

### 3.3 Who were the petitioners?

#### 3.3.1 Contemporary terms for business actors

In this and the following sections of this chapter, the aim is to explain how a line between various groups and categories is drawn in this study. The contemporary concepts and terms employed in the Registers of Petitions constitute the foundation for the analysis.<sup>244</sup> At the beginning of this section, a short overview of the occupational titles which were used in the Registers of Petitions to describe individuals engaged in commercial activities over the reference years will be given, while the latter half of the section will focus on industrialists and craftsmen.

Before going into more detail, it should be noted that not even the prevailing commercial legislation clearly defined the occupations that actually gave their practitioners the right to be included in the group of burghers in towns. The majority of the merchants and craftsmen were certainly members of this group, but there existed several occupational groups, such as bakers and butchers, who constituted borderline cases and they might be treated differently in different towns.<sup>245</sup> Indeed, the designation “merchant” was very loose, and it could be used to refer to all kinds of business actors engaged in trade.<sup>246</sup> In the early nineteenth century, the merchantry was not a homogeneous group, and its members had varying rights to engage in commercial activities.<sup>247</sup> Only some of the merchantry held full commercial rights and were allowed to practise wholesale, retail and overseas trade. This group constituted the small upper echelon of the merchantry.<sup>248</sup> Over the selected nine reference years, such terms as *handlande*, *handelsman*,

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<sup>243</sup> See also Karonen 2004 (p. 79–80), who examines the petitions businessmen presented at the Diet of the Estates. According to Karonen, petitions relating to schools were commonly presented at the sittings of the Diet from the 1860s to the 1880s.

<sup>244</sup> Previous research literature has been consulted in dealing with the various occupations present in the primary sources. For example, studies by Ernst Söderlund (1949), Per Schybergson and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen have been used as reference sources. A categorization by occupational groups is also employed by Lunander (1998).

<sup>245</sup> Lindberg 2001, 34–35.

<sup>246</sup> On the term “merchant”, see Mauranen 1981, 194; Paavilainen 2005, 35–38. By the end of the nineteenth century, its meaning had changed, and as an occupational title it was not as “glamorous” as it had been earlier.

<sup>247</sup> Mauranen 1980, 442–443; Paavilainen 2005, 32–33. See also Kallioinen 2005, 53; Einonen 2005, 76–77.

<sup>248</sup> Waris 1950, 48–49; Mauranen 1981, 185–190.

*grosshandlande*, *handlande borgare*, and *borgare* were employed in the Registers of Petitions to refer to individuals who were engaged in commercial activities.<sup>249</sup> They usually belonged to the group of merchants who had the right to engage in both domestic and overseas trade. The findings of this study indicate that individuals who were consuls or who had been granted honorific titles such as Counsellor of Commerce (*kommerseråd*) also belonged to the business elite in the period under scrutiny (see also Section 6.3).<sup>250</sup>

In a few entries merchant houses (*handelshus*) or companies (*bolag*) were mentioned as petitioners. When categorizing the data by the petitioners' social background and occupational titles, I have not made a distinction between merchants and merchant houses or firms. In other words, if a petitioner was designated as a merchant house in the entry in the Registers, it fell into the category of merchants and it was considered as a single business actor.<sup>251</sup> Traditionally, the firms of the early nineteenth century were single-unit enterprises personally owned and managed by one individual or a small number of persons (business partners).<sup>252</sup> In addition, no major legislative changes concerning ownership and the structure of business organizations took place over the reference years. The first such change came after the research period, in 1864, when the Joint Stock Companies Act was passed.<sup>253</sup> Of course, there were many individual businessmen who started off on a modest scale in the early nineteenth century and whose businesses expanded during the following decades, which led to changes in the organization of their companies. In some cases, the heir of a firm's founder continued the business, and organizational changes took place during the second generation.<sup>254</sup> Despite these organizational changes, the companies are regarded here as individual merchants. This categorization practice is also followed in a later section on individual and collective petitioning: the sampled petitions and appeals have been divided into two groups according to whether they were lodged by a single business actor alone or by two or more actors together. Thus, the first group also includes petitions which were filed by merchant houses, firms or the boards of firms. This is discussed in greater detail in Sections 6.1 and 6.2.

Merchants engaged in domestic and overseas trade outweighed the traders engaged in retail trade in terms of economic and political power. The latter lower group consisted mainly of owners of small shops or petty traders. Petty traders were initially allowed to sell only groceries and household wares,

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<sup>249</sup> See SAOB for more variants for the term "*handlande*".

<sup>250</sup> Inkinen 1953, 242-243, 253-254; Klinge 2007.

<sup>251</sup> See Schybergson 1977, 41-42. Schybergson has employed a similar categorization in his study on industrialists in early nineteenth-century Finland.

<sup>252</sup> Ojala 1997a, 104-106; Kallioinen 2003, 34-37; Ojala & Karonen 2006, 101. See also Heckscher 1949, 690-691. On the traditional business firm compared with modern business enterprises, see Chandler 1980, 11-14.

<sup>253</sup> See also Schybergson 1977, 142-144; Ojala & Karonen 2006, 105 (for further details, see Section 1.4).

<sup>254</sup> This happened, for example, in the Frenckell, Cedervaller, Kiseleff and Kingelin families during the research period (See also Section 5.4).



but from 1841 on they were permitted to practise overseas trade.<sup>255</sup> Various appellations such as *hökare* or *victualiehandlande* were employed in referring to business actors in the retail trade in the first half of the nineteenth century. There was a small difference between the terms *hökare* (retailer) and *victualiehandlande* (grocer) in the time period under examination, the first-mentioned referring to a retailer who had a wider selection of goods in his shop, i.e. butter, cheese, fish, flour and salt, while a *victualiehandlande* offered a smaller selection of groceries. Those traders who were designated as *hökare* were above artisans in the social order, while restaurant proprietors (*traktörer* or *källarmestare*) were below them.<sup>256</sup> In addition, there were also petty traders, called *kramhandlande* or *nipperhandlande*, who sold various small items and articles.<sup>257</sup>

As previously said, the butchers seem to have constituted a special group among the occupations examined here. The status of this trade varied widely in Finnish towns, and butchers were usually classed somewhere between petty traders and professional craftsmen. The reason was that the legislation concerning the trades of butcher, baker and innkeeper (*krogrörelse*) was to some extent unclear during the research period, and, for example, different towns might have different practices regarding these trades.<sup>258</sup> For this reason, I have considered butchers as traders.<sup>259</sup> The sampled data include six applications which were submitted by persons designated as butchers.<sup>260</sup> To complicate matters further, some other specific terms were used in referring to certain kinds of business actors over the reference years. For example, the appellation *marketentare* was mainly employed in speaking of traders and merchants of Russian origin, usually those who had not yet obtained formal rights as merchants in Finland.<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Mauranen 1981, 187–188; Paavilainen 1996, 8; Keskinen 2005, 124–125.

<sup>256</sup> Perälä 1970, 57–58; Bladh 1991, 47–48; Rosenlund-Eriksson 2010, 544. See also SAOB for the term *traktör*.

<sup>257</sup> Waris 1950, 48–49.

<sup>258</sup> Lindberg 2001, 34–35; Rosenlund-Eriksson 2010, 544. See also Skarin Frykman 1987, 76–80.

<sup>259</sup> See also Nikula 1971, 532–533.

<sup>260</sup> Four of these applications were lodged by one man, Salomon Jansson, a butcher who apparently resided in Helsinki. Based on the entries in the Registers of Petitions, Jansson operated not only as a butcher but also supplied other foodstuffs and sold – and perhaps produced – alcohol. An example of another Helsinki-based butcher, Jacob Pacchalén, illustrates the career history of a butcher. An article by Rosenlund-Eriksson (2010) studies Pacchalén’s career and networks. The study shows that Pacchalén was engaged in several trades during his career – he was first engaged in the production of beverages, then he operated as a butcher, and after that he opened a grocery shop. In addition, he owned small vessels and imported various goods, see Rosenlund-Eriksson 2010.

<sup>261</sup> Perälä 1970, 52; Hakala 2002, 27–28; Heikkinen 2009, 89 (footnote 5). According to Heikkinen, the word *marketentare* originates from a German word “Marketender” meaning an individual who provides soldiers in garrisons or encampments with various products or who follows troops to the battlefields. See also SAOB for the term *marketentare*.

Yet another terminological problem arises with regard to small-scale businesses because the term *mindre borgerskap*, or “petty bourgeoisie”,<sup>262</sup> which was sometimes used in the entries to describe petitioners, did not make a distinction between petty traders and craftsmen. However, the information provided about the contents of a particular application or an examination of the original documents in many cases reveals whether the petitioner was involved in commerce or a craft. On the other hand, it has not always been possible to estimate the scale of a merchant’s business activities although his social position or rank may give some indication of this. For this reason I have established only one category for the different kinds of merchants and traders.

It must be mentioned that also those who had not obtained burger’s rights could engage in commercial or industrial activities both in urban areas and beyond. It was possible to be a so-called “titular burgher” or “tax burgher”, which was occasionally used as a way to evade the existing legislation regulating commerce and craft trades. An applicant had to apply for the right from the town court and then pay a certain fee to the town every year, but he or she did not gain the same political or economic rights as the town burghers proper. The rights of “titular burghers” were granted to various individuals including members of the gentry, high-ranking government officials, army officers and women (usually widows). However, this practice was not as widely used after the early nineteenth century as it had been earlier.<sup>263</sup>

The practice of granting persons these kinds of special rights to engage in commerce led to a few problems in the present study. An illustrative example is an entry in the Register of Petitions for 1810 which described an application submitted by a petitioner named as Anna Elisabeth Baer, who most likely held the status of a “titular burgher”. However, the entry includes no information about her marital or occupational status. Her name is also mentioned in another entry related to a collective petition submitted by a group of merchant-shipowners from Turku in the same year. The original petition contains a clearly written signature of her name.<sup>264</sup> The problem is that a merchant’s widow called Anna Elisabeth Baer, who had lived in Turku, had already died in 1799. She had run a family business for almost 30 years after her husband’s death and established wide business networks. Baer was an active businesswoman, and she submitted several business-related petitions to the Swedish Collegium of Commerce (*Kommerskollegium*). Since it was highly unlikely that Baer herself had posthumously initiated and signed petitions to the sovereign in 1810, it must have been someone else.<sup>265</sup> There is no full

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<sup>262</sup> On the position of the petty bourgeoisie in a Finnish town, see e.g. Wiherheimo 1950, 26.

<sup>263</sup> For a further discussion on “titular burghers”, see Wiherheimo 1950, 27–28; Wuorinen 1959, 197–208; Mauranen 1980, 443; Nikula 1970, 147; Nikula 1981, 242; Vainio-Korhonen 2002, 45–46; Vainio-Korhonen 2010, 107.

<sup>264</sup> NA, STO AD 197/170 1810, an appeal by merchant-shipowners from Turku.

<sup>265</sup> Baer had at least three sons. Wuorinen (1966, pp. 59–63, 65–66, 68) mentions in passing that some of Baer’s petitions even in the 1790s were submitted by her son Anton Baer, who was the firm’s bookkeeper. In another context, Wuorinen also says that petitions submitted under Anna Baer’s name were also dealt with by

certainty whether Baer's heirs were using the commercial rights that had originally been granted to Baer herself, or whether there is some other explanation for this case. As there is no certainty about the real identity or gender of the petitioner who signed the petition in 1810 as Anna Elisabeth Baer, the two petitions submitted under that name in 1810 are regarded as having been submitted by a female merchant since the commercial rights were originally granted to a female.

In addition to merchants and traders, another important and well-represented group of individuals involved in business activities were the founders and owners of various production facilities. In the Registers of Petitions, Swedish terms such as *manufakturist*, *fabriksidkare* (also e.g. *pappersbruks idkare* or *sockerbruks idkare*), *brukspatron*, *bruksidkare* and *bruksägare* were commonly used to refer to them.<sup>266</sup> The term *possessionat* was a few times used for a person who owned of an ironworks.<sup>267</sup> However, ironworks owners were often landed gentry, and in some cases – if the petitioner belonged to the nobility – only their rank as nobles was mentioned. Thus some nobles who owned landed properties were involved in various other business pursuits as well.<sup>268</sup> It is worth noting here that the owners of large-scale production facilities, in particular ironworks and sawmills, which were typically located in the countryside, were often important figures in their own communities.<sup>269</sup> Especially if the economy of a community was dominated by a single enterprise, the owner's local influence could be very powerful. Sometimes the prosperity of a whole community or town was connected to one enterprise or family, and in the worst case a bankruptcy could lead to severe problems at all levels of the society.<sup>270</sup>

The line between industrialists and artisans was sometimes very thin in the early part of the nineteenth century, which made attempts to categorize the data according the petitioners' social composition a real challenge.<sup>271</sup> In addition, some of the applicants who were designated as artisans in the first reference years later came to play an important role in their own fields, some of them becoming prominent factory-owners and influential figures in their home towns. The Richter family from Turku and the Strähle family from Porvoo are

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government authorities in 1805 and 1806, without ascertaining who the petitioner really was. A closer examination of the Economic Department's Register of Petitions reveals that there were no other petitions submitted under Anna Baer's name in the early 1810s.

<sup>266</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. On various terms, see also Vilkkuna 2002, 169.

<sup>267</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. However, this term was never used alone. On the use of the term in Finland, see Wirilander 1974, 165; Schybergson 1995, 90–91. See also SAOB for the term *possessionat*.

<sup>268</sup> See also Wirilander 1974, 140.

<sup>269</sup> Kuisma 1995, 46–49; Peltonen 1995, 115. See also Vilkkuna 2002, 169–177; Valtonen, H. 2009b (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=103>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>270</sup> See e.g. Mauranen 1990, 157–180; Valtonen, M. 2009a (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=49>, 24.2.2012); Valtonen, M. 2009b (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=15>, 24.2.2012).

<sup>271</sup> See also Kovero 1950, 467–471; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 35.

good examples of this: both families were first engaged in small-scale businesses as craftsmen, but in the early nineteenth century their businesses had turned into recognized industrial enterprises.<sup>272</sup> The contribution of these families to the development of Finnish business life is clearly reflected in the Registers of Petitions over the reference years: according to the entries, the Richters in particular actively contacted the most senior decision-makers on matters related to their business concerns.<sup>273</sup>

According to the Registers of Petitions, the Economic Department received dozens of applications related to the establishment of new production facilities over the reference years. In the entries, the details on the content of the petitions included several terms describing various kinds of productive activities and facilities, which presented something of a challenge in categorizing the data. For example, with reference to applications for industrial privileges, several Swedish terms, such as *fabrik*, *fabrique*, *manufaktur*, *bruk* or *verk*, were employed for various production facilities.<sup>274</sup> The terms were often vague and could refer to almost everything from modest workshops to what at that time constituted large-scale industrial units. Especially petitions related to trades that were obviously something between artisanal production and industrial manufacture were difficult to categorize. Privileges to establish production facilities were sought by individuals of widely varying backgrounds: there were, for example, persons designated as craftsmen (often journeymen or accredited masters), members of the nobility, government officials, merchants and persons who had already established their position in the industry (see also Chapter 5).

Various professional guilds and merchant societies (*handelssocieten*) were also included in this study if they referred to business-related issues in their applications, but ultimately their number remained low. In addition, institutional actors, meaning here the corporate self-administrative organs of the urban population such as town elders and town courts, which could also appeal to the highest decision-makers, were excluded from the study.<sup>275</sup> Only those petitions and appeals which were submitted by business actors together

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<sup>272</sup> Nikula 1971, 546–548; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 98. See also Section 5.4.

<sup>273</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>274</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>275</sup> Town courts operated as local courts of justice and held the highest executive power in towns (Wiherheimo 1950, 37–38; Gustafsson 1994, 58. See also Mäntylä 1981; Lindberg 2001. Town elders (*stads äldste*) were a body representing the burghers in the town court. The town authorities were obligated to hear their views when making decisions on matters that were considered important. The position and status of the town elders varied in different towns because their authority was not clearly defined (Wiherheimo 1950, 35–36; Mäntylä 1981, 132–133; Ericsson 1982, 369; Lindberg 2001, 52–53; Rosenlund-Eriksson 2010, 59). Although the members of both organs were usually mainly merchants and craftsmen, the business-related applications of these organs that were submitted to the Senate are not considered in this study. The number of their appeals remained low in the reference years; to my knowledge, there were less than ten strictly business-related petitions or appeals in which town elders or town courts respectively referred to a certain businessman's business activities – i.e. submissions concerning a certain individual whose businesses had come to the attention of a specific corporate body.

with town elders or a town court are included in the study. However, only two such cases exist.<sup>276</sup>

Some other factors are worth remembering in considering the occupational and social composition of the petitioners studied here. First, there were some business actors whose social rank or occupational titles changed during the relatively long research period. These changes might, of course, mere be caused by the fact that different recorders employed different terms or the petitioners might have preferred a certain title over another. In addition, some titles might have been used for the purposes of self-aggrandizement, or petitioners could have used artificial titles to elevate their status. Thus it is possible that the way in which some individuals were designated in the Registers of Petitions might not exactly correspond to their real status in society or their actual business activities. A person's social rank could also change as a result of social mobility, and this might be reflected in the primary source material. At least to some extent, business actors gradually moved up the social ladder in the first part of the nineteenth century. This clearly applied to many Russian-born individuals. In a few cases, social advancement could be facilitated by marriage with members of well-established families or education. However, it was not until after the mid-nineteenth century that the significance of education as a way to upward mobility increased as a consequence of educational reforms, and gradually education and economic position came to replace rank as the measure of social standing.<sup>277</sup>

For business actors of more modest backgrounds, obtaining the status of a burgher, which meant the formal right to engage in an urban trade, could open the road to upward social mobility and economic prosperity.<sup>278</sup> Success in business life often brought an individual more status and power in the local community – for instance, he might gain a position in the town's administration or in local corporations and in that way get to influence the development of the community. However, it must be emphasized that social mobility was difficult in the small tightly knit societies of the time.<sup>279</sup> Similarly, honorific titles, ennoblements and other marks of the Tsar's favour were a common way to upward social mobility, and the Russian Tsars frequently used them to reward eminent individuals in the nineteenth century. As a consequence, the number of noble families in Finland increased as the Tsars raised dozens of families to the nobility. This applied mainly to government officials while the members of business life received such acknowledgments to a much lesser extent.<sup>280</sup> In a

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<sup>276</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>277</sup> Peltonen 1995, 111-114, 117; Pohls 1990, 61, 68. See also Konttinen 1991; Gluschkoff 2008; Heikkinen & Leino-Kaukiainen (Eds.) 2011. On the significance of formal education in economic and business life in the nineteenth century, see Ojala 1999, 270-276; Valtonen & Ojala 2005, 211; Ojala & Karonen 2006, 105.

<sup>278</sup> Perälä 1970, 52-53.

<sup>279</sup> Wiherheimo 1950, 30-31; Keskinen 2005, 125; Keskinen 2010, 63, 65.

<sup>280</sup> Of the businessmen active in the research period at least the following were ennobled: Wolter Petersen in 1810 (thereafter taking the title "af Petersen"), Lars Magnus Björkman in 1834 (titled "Björkenheim"), John Julin in 1849 (titled "von Julin"), Joseph Bremer in 1850 (titled "Brehmer"), Magnus Linder in 1859 (titled "Linder af

similar manner, the representatives of economic and business life gained more esteem in society if they were granted an honorific title like “Counsellor of Commerce” (*kommerseråd*) or “Counsellor of Mining” (*bergsråd*).<sup>281</sup>

### 3.3.2 The occupational and social groups

As already indicated, with the help of the detailed information provided in the Registers of Petitions it has been possible to elicit information about the petitioners’ occupational titles or social rank in nearly all of the cases sampled for this study. If there was no information available about a petitioners’ occupation or rank in the entry, the lacking data were usually found from other primary sources dealing with the same case. Thus, the information employed in categorizing the petitioners according to their occupations or social status is derived mainly from the primary sources and is based on the contemporary terms and formulations used. However, the entries occasionally provided incomplete or insufficient information about the petitioners’ social background or occupations, although in the end in only six out of 871 cases was no information about the petitioners’ social background or occupation found. The lack of information in these cases might be related to a wider phenomenon: the lack of occupational specialization could well be the explanation for the incomplete information.<sup>282</sup>

The petitioners’ occupational and social composition can be glimpsed in a snapshot of the population shown in Table 2. The categorization is, naturally, a simplified version of the prevailing occupational and social structure since, owing to the vast amount of the sampled data, it was necessary to make certain simplifications and in that way keep the number of categories within manageable limits.

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Svartå”), Wilhelm Nottbeck in 1855 (titled “von Nottbeck”) and A.W. Wahren in 1883. A merchant called Abraham Falander (1746–1815) was ennobled as “Wasatjerna” by the King of Sweden already in 1808. For further biographical data, see The Finnish Business Leaders online collection (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/>); Rasila 1999/2008 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/6292/>, 29.10.2012). On the ennoblement of government officials, see e.g. Savolainen 1994, 77–133; Klinge 2007.

<sup>281</sup> Kallioinen 2004, 15, 18; Särkkä, Turunen, Valtonen, H. & Valtonen, M. 2010, 352–353. This discussion will be addressed in greater detail in Section 6.3.

<sup>282</sup> On occupational specialization, see e.g. Konttinen 1991; Michelsen 1999.

TABLE 2 Occupational and social groups represented by the petitioners (1810–1850)

Category*	Number	Percentage
Merchants and traders	339	39
Craftsmen	220	25
Industrialists and similar entrepreneurs	95	11
Public officials	88	10
Army officers and other ranks	36	4
Academics, priests and similar professionals	26	3
Gentry	17	2
Peasants, smallholders	11	1
Estate owners	6	1
Others	27	3
Not known	6	1
Total	871	100

\*) For practical reasons, the table reports only the occupational title or social rank of the individual who was mentioned as the first applicant in a collective application.

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

By taking a closer look at those who submitted business-related petitions in the reference years, we see that they covered the whole social spectrum, starting from smallholders and ending with high-ranking noblemen. The results indicate that the largest number of petitioners fall into the category *Merchants and traders*: the sampled data reported that 339 individuals had an occupation or a rank that connected them to commercial activities. This category includes various kinds of businessmen and women engaged in domestic or overseas commerce irrespective of the scale of their commercial ventures. The individuals thus form a very heterogeneous group since their social background varied greatly, as explained in the preceding section.

Various craft trades are also well-represented in the population as the second largest group of petitioners initiating business-related petitions or appeals in the reference years was composed of craftsmen. The merchant-traders' and craftsmen's groups together account for almost 65 percent of all cases. Even if the large number of different terms referring to occupational titles and social rank might be a source of some bias in the data, the position or order of these two categories would hardly change. The dominant group of craftsmen among the petitioners was mainly composed of urban craftsmen, which indicates that the economy of Finnish towns was still mainly pre-industrial.<sup>283</sup> The *Craftsmen* group also includes nine petitioners whose cases concerned licences to work in rural areas.<sup>284</sup>

The two following groups, which are much smaller than the first categories, are of almost equal size: *Industrialists and similar entrepreneurs* and

<sup>283</sup> See also Schybergson 1980, 408–410.

<sup>284</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. Briefly on the craft trades allowed in rural areas, see e.g. Schybergson 1980, 428; Uotila 2010, 457–458; Magnusson 2000, 42.

*Public officials.* The latter one includes petitioners who were designated as urban civil servants or central government officials in the entries.<sup>285</sup> The notable number of public officials as petitioners is not very surprising in the context of the early nineteenth century: in particular those holding positions as higher government officials had traditionally engaged in some trades or branches of industry such as the iron industry.<sup>286</sup> Here one could mention such names as V. Z. Bremer (1804–1869)<sup>287</sup> and A.H. Falck (1772–1851)<sup>288</sup> and Adolf Törngren (1824–1895).<sup>289</sup> The fact that individuals who were actually engaged in various branches of industry are referred to as government officials in the entries reduces the figure in the category of *Industrialists and similar entrepreneurs*. The reasons for this practice are that the status of a government official carried more prestige in society and that the title “industrialist” was actually not an established designation in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>290</sup>

The rest of the categories presented in Table 2 have smaller numbers of petitioners. A distinctive group was *Army officers and other ranks* (4 percent). There is also a category entitled *Academics, clerics and similar professionals* for persons who had received a formal education such as teachers, and clergymen. This group also includes apothecaries and qualified chemists (*provisorer*), who had received an academic training and who usually held a high social status in local societies as members of the non-noble gentry.<sup>291</sup> In this category, most of the petitions were submitted by apothecaries, who were usually applying for the right to establish new pharmacies or seeking financial support from the government. This was related to the fact that the number of pharmacies increased during the first part of the nineteenth century.<sup>292</sup>

The category labelled *Estate owners* comprises primarily non-noble members of the gentry.<sup>293</sup> Individuals of peasant origin form a category of their own, which contains ten petitioners. Usually those who were designated as peasants in the entries submitted appeals concerning small-scale businesses, i.e. trades that were typically practised in the countryside and did not require

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<sup>285</sup> For example, the following occupational titles were used in the Registers of Petitions in the reference years: *Asessor, Copist, Geheime Råd, Häradshövding, Kanslist, Kronofodge, Landshövding, Nämndemän, Postmästare, Revisor, and Stats Råd*. On the social composition and education of public officials in the early nineteenth century, see e.g. Sjöblom 1993, 240–245.

<sup>286</sup> See e.g. Myllyntaus 1988, 152–153; Kuisma 2011, 50–64.

<sup>287</sup> Marttila 2009a (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=87>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>288</sup> On Falck, see Kalleinen 2003 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/4491/>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>289</sup> On Törngren, see Rasila 1999 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/4355>, 1.6.2012); Keskisarja 2010, 47–48; Kuisma 2012, 23–25.

<sup>290</sup> See e.g. Wirilander 1974, 105–106; Kallioinen 2004, 15.

<sup>291</sup> Parland-von Essen 2010, 92; Keskisarja 2010, 32–35. On the regulations concerning this trade see, Turpeinen 1911, 69–75; Olli 2010, 14–20.

<sup>292</sup> According to Olli (2010, p. 18), between 1800 and 1850 the number of pharmacies rose from 20 to 38, which was a considerable increase compared with the previous 120 years. After the mid-1850s, the number of pharmacies again multiplied.

<sup>293</sup> See also Schybergson 1995, 95.



much investment capital.<sup>294</sup> It seems that these cases were not of high economic importance as most of them were related to flour mills.

For the sake of clarity, the social ranks of female petitioners are not reported separately in the table although women engaged in business form a distinctive group with its own characteristics among the petitioners. Instead, women are included in the established categories according to their (deceased) husbands' or fathers' occupations or ranks because they were subject to male guardianship, and this was reflected in the ranks and social position of women: for example, the wife took the estate of her husband and thus shared his social rank and estate rights. The social rank of an unmarried woman was defined according to that of her father.<sup>295</sup> The entries in the Registers of Petitions usually provide information about a woman's marital status or indicate her male relatives, and I have used this information in conducting my analysis. The following section will discuss female petitioners and their social backgrounds in more detail.

### 3.3.3 Women as a minority among the petitioners

In the reference years between 1810 and 1850, 50 out of 871 petitions or appeals (6 percent) were lodged by women. To be more exact, the dataset includes 32 business-related cases in which one or two females<sup>296</sup> were applicants, while there were 18 collectively submitted applications with both female and male applicants (see Table 3 below). In addition, in a few cases females' rights to engage in various businesses were the object of appeals in the reference years. For example, two town burghers, Elias Hamngren and Carl Winter, appealed to the Senate in 1830 because the town court in Helsinki had granted a craftsman's widow the right to practise the trade of a tanner ("*bereda Skinn och Läder*").<sup>297</sup> However, cases of women who were the respondents of appeals are not studied in any greater detail here.

The proportion of females naturally becomes larger when we consider not only petitions and appeals related to business matters but all applications submitted to the Senate's Economic Department in the reference years since women submitted more letters on matters not related to business. It is also worth remembering that women were more often engaged in small-scale businesses which did not require official licences granted by the highest government officials. For example, women (mainly widows) in the early nineteenth century often earned their living by sewing, knitting, washing and helping out in other people's homes, which were considered to be appropriate ways for women to make a living. Some women supported themselves as

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<sup>294</sup> As mentioned earlier, the actual number of applications initiated by peasants is somewhat higher since not all their "business-related" applications are included in this study (see Section 3.3).

<sup>295</sup> Wirilander 1974, 235–236; Pylkkänen 2009, 40.

<sup>296</sup> In only one application were there two female applicants, the rest were submitted by single females.

<sup>297</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1830.

innkeepers or by taking in lodgers. Women could also be hawkers or petty traders selling items like bread and other baked items or milk.<sup>298</sup>

It is very likely that there were more females involved in business-related collective petitions and appeals in the reference years between 1810 and 1850 than the sampled data suggest, but the entries do not identify them specifically – the same holds true for some of the male applicants as well.<sup>299</sup> Comparisons between the entries in the Registers of Petitions and the original petitions and appeals confirm that the recorders rarely listed all those who had signed collectively submitted letters. For example, an entry in the Register of Petitions for 1810 mentions only two merchants with reference to a letter submitted collectively by leading merchants from Vaasa complaining about Russian hawkers operating in the same town. However, the original letter shows that up to 13 merchants had signed the document, including a merchant's widow called Eva Catharina Hartman.<sup>300</sup> Thus the present study is able to cover only a part of female entrepreneurship in early nineteenth century Finland, but it probably includes those females who were most visible and who were involved for the longest time in the Finnish economic and business life of the time.<sup>301</sup>

Compared to the petitions initiated by males, the number of applications submitted solely by females seems more or less insignificant. The largest number of applications, altogether 15, in which females were involved as petitioners, were filed in 1810 (see Table 3). This year was exceptional in many ways: it witnessed the aftermath of the War of Finland, and the prevailing unstable situation obviously affected the number of petitions. In most of the other reference years, the number of applications submitted solely by females was low. However, the role of women should not be completely disregarded although they were in a minority among the applicants. The fact that they took part in collective petitions, some of which were of considerable importance for business life in general, as in the case of appeals aiming to alter contemporary commercial legislation, demonstrates that they had opportunities to exert political influence.

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<sup>298</sup> Lindeqvist 1930, 119–121; Lunander 1988, 90–91; Bladh 1991, 53–56; Vainio-Korhonen 2002, 25–56; Taussi Sjöberg 2009, 96.

<sup>299</sup> See the earlier section *The institutional itinerary of the petitions and appeals*.

<sup>300</sup> NA, STO AD 545/154 1810, petition by the Vaasa merchantry. Hartman submitted another letter in the same year, applying for a refund of taxes on imported goods. JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810; NA, STO AD 415/64 1810. See also Mäkelä 1985, 153.

<sup>301</sup> See Section 5.4.

TABLE 3 The division of petitioners by gender (1810–1850)

Reference year	Male petitioners	Female petitioners	Male and female petitioners*	All petitions
1810	67	10	5	82
1815	45	2	1	48
1820	58	–	–	58
1825	77	–	1	78
1830	86	4	–	90
1835	98	2	–	100
1840	133	4	3	140
1845	104	4	6	114
1850	153	6	2	161
Total	821	32	18	871
Percentage	94	4	2	100

\*) Applications submitted jointly by male and female petitioners.

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

Based on the information compiled for this study from the Registers of Petitions, the group of female petitioners was socially mixed. There were individuals from the highest social orders and those who represented lower social groups, including a peasant's widow, although clearly the large majority of females were well-to-do members of society. The social composition of female petitioners was weighted towards the commercial middle orders, and the majority of female applicants were or had been married to merchants. In eight cases, all related to the iron industry, the applicants were widows who belonged to the Noble Estate. Thus the most active females in terms of submitted petitions and appeals belonged to the higher social orders: they included a merchant's widow, Marie Hackman (1776-1865),<sup>302</sup> who was involved in six cases, and a nobleman's widow, Virginia af Forselles (1759-1847), who as the owner of Strömfors Ironworks submitted four business-related applications during the reference years.<sup>303</sup> Both women also lodged petitions in years not selected for reference in this study. Even compared to their male counterparts, the number of applications these women submitted to the highest decision-makers in the reference years was not insignificant, and thus the discussion of their political activity is given corresponding weight later in this work.

Most of the women who referred to business matters in their letters were widows: a widow or widows appeared as petitioners in approx. 85 percent of the cases in which females were involved in the reference years.<sup>304</sup> Thus the results confirm much of what has been stated by historians who have studied female entrepreneurship in the early nineteenth century. Correspondingly, the

<sup>302</sup> Kuisma 1997 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/493/>, 2.6.2012).

<sup>303</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>304</sup> This number also includes collective applications jointly submitted by females and males.

vast body of literature on females engaged in business activities in pre-modern Europe maintains that widowhood was the most common reason for a woman's decision to engage in business. There were numerous examples of active business widows in central and northern Europe who developed their family's business after their husbands died.<sup>305</sup> Merchants' widows such as Anna Elisabeth Baer (1722-1799), Katarina Elisabeth Kijk (née Grubb, 1721-1788), Elisabeth Withfooth (1716-1791), Ulrika Fredrika Bremer (1746-1798), and the above-mentioned Marie Hackman are often cited as Finnish examples of business widows of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries.<sup>306</sup> Some of these widows managed to successfully run their deceased husbands' businesses for many years, sometimes even for decades.

In several countries, widows in many ways constituted a special group since they had more opportunities to make a living than wives or unmarried women. As already shown in Chapter 2, only in the case of widowhood could a woman obtain more freedom in economic matters and even become the head of a business: widows had the right to administer their own economic assets, and they were able to continue businesses which they had inherited from their late husbands. However, remarriage usually meant a change in a widow's status: if she re-married, she lost her right to engage in business.<sup>307</sup> Thus the large proportion of widows among the female petitioners in this study is explained by certain aspects of the law that regulated females' rights and position in society. In addition, this could be explained by the fact that without a husband a woman was left with fewer opportunities to maintain her former living standards. Since the problem of economic support mostly concerned widows – a widower would continue to provide for himself and his children just as he had always done – it was reasonable for a widow to continue her late husband's business if this was legally possible. Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, who has studied women's employment and entrepreneurship in Finland, notes that becoming an independent entrepreneur was practically the only possible solution for older females in particular to support themselves and their dependents in cases where they lacked other means of subsistence.<sup>308</sup>

Married and even unmarried women were also occasionally given some latitude to engage in business activities, as will become evident below. Usually social reasons, such as poverty or poor health, were appealed to when a married or unmarried female was permitted the right to engage in a trade.<sup>309</sup> This has been illustrated in some Finnish studies: for example, married women

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<sup>305</sup> See e.g. Wiesner 1986; Wunder 1998; Rabuzzi 2001; Bull 2002, 202–203. See also Colli, Fernández Pérez & Rose 2003, 40–41.

<sup>306</sup> For biographical data see e.g. Tigerstedt 1940 and 1952; Wuorinen 1959 and 1966; Nikula 1970, 296; Vainio-Korhonen 2002, 44–46; Vainio-Korhonen 2004/2008 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/377/>, 1.6.2012); Vainio-Korhonen 2008, 40, 51, 78; Vainio-Korhonen 2010, 102–103, 107; Ijäs 2010, 15–16. See also Kortelainen 2007.

<sup>307</sup> E.g. Wiherheimo 1950, 27; Wuorinen 1959, 213; Colli, Fernández Pérez & Rose 2003, 40–41.

<sup>308</sup> Vainio-Korhonen 2010. See also Blom 1992, 55–56; Ogilvie 2003, 227.

<sup>309</sup> Lunander 1988, 42–43. See also Ogilvie 2003, 269–319.

who suffered from economic distress were allowed to sell baked goods in their own name, but they were not allowed to compete with male bakers.<sup>310</sup> The proprietary rights and the right to engage in business of unmarried women were limited since in the eyes of the law they were always minors regardless of their actual age in Finland until 1864.<sup>311</sup> However, an unmarried woman could apply for majority and that way become competent before the law.<sup>312</sup> Furthermore, daughters could not inherit their fathers' business activities, and could only pass the rights of ownership on to their husbands.<sup>313</sup> To mention a few examples: in Turku in the early 1790s, Maria Augustin (1749-1803), an unmarried daughter of an influential merchant, petitioned for the right to run the family merchant house after her father passed away. She had already taken care of the business during her elderly father's lifetime. The petition was first rejected by the town court, but Augustin appealed to the Swedish Collegium of Commerce. Finally, Augustin obtained the status of a "titular burgher".<sup>314</sup> Not all females were as persistent or as fortunate as her in petitioning for merchant's rights. The case of a widow, Beata Gottsman (née Hongell), from the town of Kokkola in the early 1840s demonstrates this well. Gottsman, albeit at the advanced age of over 80, had inherited her brothers' merchant house and attempted to gain rights to engage in commerce. After the town court had refused her petition, she appealed to the highest level of administration, but – though she was supported by an important local merchant-shipowner of the town, Counsellor of Commerce Anders Donner – she did not obtain the right to engage in commerce. She died soon after the decision reached her.<sup>315</sup>

According to the data sampled for the present study, some married and unmarried women also sent business-related applications to the top decision-makers. Over the reference years, there were four cases of housewives (*hustrur*) who were involved as applicants. Generally, the term could also refer to widows, but in these cases it has been possible to verify that these females were actually not widowed.<sup>316</sup> Unmarried women appeared as applicants in two cases. A closer examination shows that in both cases there seems to have been

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<sup>310</sup> See e.g. Wuorinen 1959; Vainio-Korhonen 1998.

<sup>311</sup> By a decree issued in 1864, an unmarried woman reached majority and became legally competent to manage her affairs at the age of 25 years without having to petition for majority. On the decree of 1864, see Pohls 1990, 56. On the development of the law in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Finland, see Pylkkänen 1992, 93–99. See also Karlsson Sjögren 1998, 87–91.

<sup>312</sup> According to Kurki (1984), 744 applications for majority were submitted to the Finnish Senate between 1809 and 1864, of which 98.5 percent were filed by female applicants. See also Bladh 1991, 127–135, 227–228; Taussi Sjöberg 2009, 93–99.

<sup>313</sup> Karonen 2002, 19–20; Erickson 2005, 8–9. See also Pylkkänen 2005.

<sup>314</sup> Maria Augustin's chances to act as a merchant were greatly enhanced by the fact that she attained legal competency in 1790. Wuorinen 1959, 215; Vainio-Korhonen 2000 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/374/>, 28.4.2011); Kortelainen 2007, 40–41; Vainio-Korhonen 2010, 103, 107.

<sup>315</sup> Ojala 1996, 201–203.

<sup>316</sup> E.g. in one case a husband and wife had submitted an application together, while the details regarding other cases verify that the other females were not widowed. Source: HisKi project (<http://hiski.genealogia.fi/hiski?fi>, 11.4.2012).

good justification for the unmarried females to be accorded the right to engage in a trade.

The first case concerning unmarried females dates back to 1815, when Elisa (or Elsa) and Lovisa Wuncher together with three males submitted an appeal to the Senate. According to the Register of Petitions of 1815, the applicants were owners of a flour mill in Sääksmäki, and they complained about a projected new mill nearby.<sup>317</sup> The only title given to the Wunchers in the entry was “Miss” (*fröken*), while the majority of women were referred by their husband’s or father’s title or rank.<sup>318</sup> A closer investigation of their family history reveals that the Wunchers were in fact sisters and that their father had died in 1793, at the age of 93.<sup>319</sup> The sisters were already in their seventies in 1815, when they submitted the above-mentioned appeal to the Senate. Obviously, they were referred simply as misses in the entry as they had no living close male relatives at the time. An article by Hannele Kurki (1984) provides further information on the Wunchers: the unmarried sisters applied for majority in 1821 in order to take care of their own assets. At the time they had already reached the mature ages of 76 and 77.<sup>320</sup>

Again, an appeal lodged by two unmarried women, Lovisa Ruth, the daughter of an estate owner and Hedvig Bergholm, the daughter of a saddler (*sadelmakares dotter*), is significant in this respect. Ruth and Bergholm had obtained the right to bake and sell bread from the town court in Porvoo, but their right to engage in the bakery trade was questioned in 1845 by a master baker called Leopold Wikman, who had recently set up his business in the same town. Both unmarried women supported themselves and their immediate family members with their small-scale businesses. A third female baker, a merchant’s wife called Agatha Bastman, was also involved in this same conflict since Wikman had brought a similar case against her.<sup>321</sup> The case seems to be exceptional in this study, and thus it is considered more detail in Chapter 4.

### 3.4 Foreign-born business actors as petitioners

#### 3.4.1 The gradual increase in the number of foreign-born business actors in Finland after 1809

From the early nineteenth century on, foreign-born merchants migrated in increasing numbers to Finnish towns, especially to Helsinki, thereby strengthening its commercial importance. Turku, Hämeenlinna and Oulu, were

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<sup>317</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1815.

<sup>318</sup> See SAOB for the title *fröken*. On the use of the term, see also Carlsson 1977, 16.

<sup>319</sup> HisKi project (<http://hiski.genealogia.fi/hiski?fi+t7795126>, 11.4.2012). Based on information in the church registers the family had resided at Haga Estate in Sääksmäki and belonged to the gentry.

<sup>320</sup> The sisters’ family name is spelled “Wunsch” in Kurki’s article (Kurki 1984, 239).

<sup>321</sup> NA, STO AD 803/122 1845, Lovisa Ruth’s and Hedvig Bergholm’s appeal; STO AD 536/11 1845, Agatha Bastman’s appeal.

also popular destinations of Russian merchants because all of them were garrison towns with Russian troops.<sup>322</sup> Even before this, the towns of the area called “Old Finland”<sup>323</sup> had been populated by Russian merchants along with the changes in the border.<sup>324</sup> However, the attractions of its position as the centre of government and commerce made Helsinki, the capital city of the Grand Duchy of Finland after 1812, a magnet for native and immigrant business actors who hoped to benefit from the thriving atmosphere of the new capital.<sup>325</sup> Thus, the rapid growth of Helsinki was accompanied by an increasing diversification in terms of the ethnic origins and religious confession of those who were involved in its business life.

There is no detailed information available on the numbers of Russian or other foreign-born business actors in Finland in the early years of the Age of Autonomy.<sup>326</sup> However, the available data clearly show the predominance of Russians among foreign-born persons in Finland. For example, if we consider the numbers of those who received Finnish nationality between 1842 and 1851, we find that of 823 of 1240 individuals were of Russian origin. Other notable groups were Germans and Swedes.<sup>327</sup> The consequences of immigration were very visible in urban communities. With regard to the capital city, the economic importance of Russian business actors was considerable from the 1820s on. By the mid-nineteenth century their number had increased markedly: in 1850 about 40 percent of all burghers engaged in commerce in Helsinki were Russians. Their substantial proportion of Helsinki merchants started to decrease gradually after the 1860s.<sup>328</sup> Even so, Russians remained the largest ethnic minority in the city – and indeed in the whole of Finland – throughout the nineteenth century.

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<sup>322</sup> On garrison towns Lappalainen 1993; Kaarle 1993; Luntinen 1997, 49–54.

<sup>323</sup> At the beginning of 1812, the area known as Old Finland, a border region in the south-east, was rejoined to Finland, to become the Province of Viipuri (*Viborg*). Russia had obtained this area from Sweden in peace treaties signed in 1721 and 1743. Although the area of Old Finland had been a part of the Russian Empire, it still preserved a Swedish administrative heritage and a strong German linguistic influence owing to the large number of persons of German immigrant origin in the population. The Germans continued to dominate the city economically, culturally and linguistically in the early nineteenth century. From 1812 onwards, the area was generally considered to be a part of Finland; see Juvelius 1934, 9–106; Schweitzer 2008, 177–181, 186–187. On the concept of Old Finland, see e.g. Jussila 2004, 47–48; Kirby 2006, 79–80; Engman 2009, 17–43; Engman 2011, 27–29.

<sup>324</sup> Ranta 1984, 29–66; Kauppi 1993; Hämynen 1997, 80–81.

<sup>325</sup> Wiherheimo & Rein 1950, 288–289; Perälä 1970, 51, 92; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2009, 28–29; Kuisma 2011, 45. See also Westerlund 2011, 10–11.

<sup>326</sup> According to Leitzinger (2008a, 59) it is difficult to form a coherent picture of immigration to early-nineteenth-century Finland owing to the fragmented and incoherent scraps of information provided in the archival sources. For further information on the number of foreign-born individuals in Finland between 1809 and 1917, see e.g. Lindgren 1966; Kaarle 1993, 71; Repo-Lehikoinen 2002, 48–54; Leitzinger 2008a, 60–88.

<sup>327</sup> Leitzinger 2008a, 82–83.

<sup>328</sup> Castren 1954, 222; Waris 1950, 51–52; Repo-Lehikoinen 2002, 42–43; Hakala 2002, 26–27. According to Hakala, there were 43 merchants, 1100 soldiers and 11 civil servants of Russian origin living in Helsinki in 1840. However, Helsinki was still a small capital city in terms of its population.

After the War of Finland, the advent of Russians in particular signified in practice that established Finnish businessmen had to face intensified competition in their own fields. The Russian *marketentare*, who had followed Russian troops to Finland, had established close relationships with the Russian army and its detachments stationed in Finland as they had played a vital role in the distribution of goods to the troops during and after the war.<sup>329</sup> They often had close economic networks with their counterparts in Russia (especially with those in St Petersburg), and they were able to import various goods to Finland. Some of the Russians were wealthy – or they were able to get financial support with the help of their economic networks – which made them more competitive and a threat in the eyes of Finnish businessmen.

The majority of Russian individuals who settled in Finland between 1809 and 1850 and became engaged in business life represented the first generation of Russians in the country. It was not unusual that the members of the second generation were not born in Finland but Russia.<sup>330</sup> It has been shown in previous studies that some assimilation with the native culture already took place among the Russian merchants and industrialists in the first part of the century. It has been maintained that some of them (especially those belonging to the first generation of immigrants) chose a strategy that obviously aimed at assimilation. What is significant here is that integration opened the way to upward social mobility. It seems that the most successful individuals combined bold business skills, a willingness to challenge the prevailing social environment and successful assimilation strategies. For example, the Kiseleff family integrated into the Swedish-speaking majority in Helsinki since all but one of the children of the successful businessman Feodor P. Kiseleff (1772–1847) married Swedish-speaking Lutheran families.<sup>331</sup> A similar strategy was employed by other Russian merchant families, such as the Sinebrychoffs, the Koroleffs, the Uschakoffs and the Vavulins, all of whom established their social positions before the middle decades of the century; naturally, their economic success played a role in this process.<sup>332</sup> Some of the most prominent business families also became collectors and patrons of the fine arts and antiquities or were interested in literature and the theatre. Thus they not only exerted considerable economic influence, but they also had a cultural impact.<sup>333</sup> However, a significant number of the Russians maintained their own cultural identity. In the course of the nineteenth century, they formed their own communities in Finnish towns with distinctive characteristics in terms of

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<sup>329</sup> Yrjänä 2009b, 57.

<sup>330</sup> See e.g. Waris 1950; Castrén 1954; Perälä 1970.

<sup>331</sup> Kurkimies 2002, 236–238; Valtonen, M. 2009c (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=128>, 3.6.2012); Yrjänä 2009a (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=61>, 3.6.2012).

<sup>332</sup> Pogreboff 2002, 73. See also Pullinen 2002; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2009; Heikkinen 2009. The assimilation was later evident in the way families of Russian origin converted their family names into Finnish forms; see Haimila 1998.

<sup>333</sup> Wiherheimo 1950, 32; Haimila 1998; Pogreboff 2002; Valtonen, M. 2009c, (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=128>, 24.2.2012).



culture, language and religion.<sup>334</sup> They maintained their indigenous identity by establishing their own churches, schools, clubs and associations and published their own newspapers.<sup>335</sup> Religion and philanthropy also played an important role in the activities of the Russian immigrants.<sup>336</sup>

As the number of immigrant business actors increased over time, they gained more influence in many segments of the economy. In many lines of business, foreign-born individuals – especially those from Western and Central Europe – were often the best educated professionals, and they occupied key positions when new opportunities began to open up on the markets in the early phase of industrialization.<sup>337</sup> Their influence was considerable in those fast-growing industries that were characterized by technological innovation, in particular the emerging paper and pulp industry in the late nineteenth century. Foreign-born professionals were not only instrumental in developing industrial units into larger enterprises, but they also established new ones, some of which were the largest in their fields.<sup>338</sup>

As shown earlier, it is possible to ascertain not only the social composition but also the ethnic origins of those who submitted petitions to the Economic Department in the reference years between 1810 and 1850. In a way, the data sampled from the Registers of Petitions also reflect the ethnic diversification that took place in business life from 1809 onwards and give an indication of its consequences. In the present study, the criteria which are considered in defining who was a native Finn and who was a foreign-born individual are place of origin, cultural background, language and, to some extent, also religion.<sup>339</sup> However, on the evidence of previous research, these criteria are not unproblematic in the context of early-nineteenth-century Finland. For example, the fact that after 1809 Finland was a part of the vast Russian Empire, which was being transformed into a multiethnic and multid denominational state, makes it more difficult to determine the ethnic origins of different groups.<sup>340</sup> One should also bear in mind that immigration policy was not well developed

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<sup>334</sup> Waris 1950, 28–29; Castren 1954, 222; Perälä 1970, 67–70; Kalleinen 2009, 232. See also Einonen 2013 (forthcoming).

<sup>335</sup> On Russian schools, clubs and societies in Finland, see e.g. Polvinen 1984, 218–223; Leinonen 2002; Korhonen 2005; Leitzinger 2008a, 252–256. For a comparison, see Corrsin 1986, 131.

<sup>336</sup> For example, in Helsinki some 40 percent of the parishioners of the local Orthodox congregation were engaged in commerce; see Koukkunen & Kasanko 1977; Repo-Lehikoinen 2002, 60–61; Korhonen 2005, 203–206. The majority of the members of the Helsinki Orthodox congregation were of Russian origin until the Second World War. On the position of the Orthodox Church in Finland in the late nineteenth century, see Kinnunen 2006, 179.

<sup>337</sup> According to Leitzinger 2008a (p. 45), immigrants were mostly entrepreneurs in the early nineteenth century.

<sup>338</sup> Schybergson 1977, 145; Jensen-Eriksen 2006, 225, 228–231; Joronen, Pajarinen & Ylä-Anttila 2002, 50; Kallioinen 2004, 103–104; Kuisma 2012, 21–22. On foreign entrepreneurs and their emergence in a backward country, see also Casson 2003, 11–12.

<sup>339</sup> Särkkä, Valtonen, M., Turunen & Valtonen, H. 2010. See also Leitzinger 2008b, 50–60; Einonen 2013 (forthcoming).

<sup>340</sup> Jussila 1984, 17–28; Engman 2004, 21–24; Wassholm 2008, 84–98.

during the research period and the official criteria and local practices could vary. For this reason, government officials sometimes employed different criteria in defining the ethnic origins of immigrants.<sup>341</sup>

In many cases, the details provided in the Registers of Petitions in the research period allow us to make observations about the petitioners' ethnic background or supply other information which clarifies how contemporary society saw the line between native and foreign-born individuals. For example, James Finlayson (1771–1852), who was originally a mechanic from Scotland and was the founder of a textile mill in Tampere (1828), was described merely as an “Englishman” (*Engelsman*), but no specific information was given about his occupation.<sup>342</sup> There are several similar cases that mainly concern Russian-born individuals: they were clearly designated as Russians in the entries. Also the applications for Finnish citizenship which were recorded in the Registers of Petitions have been useful as they provide the names and other information about the applicants.<sup>343</sup> On the basis of my observations, applications for naturalisation from foreign-born craftsmen and merchants were submitted especially in the 1840s and early 1850s.<sup>344</sup>

If an entry in the Registers did not provide exact information on an applicant's ethnic origins, there were other ways to identify applicants of foreign origin. It was possible to identify Russian-born individuals from their names, occupational information or sometimes also by Russian honorific titles and then search for more information on these individuals from various sources in order to verify their ethnic origin.<sup>345</sup> For example, traditional Russian names clearly differ from traditional Swedish or Finnish forenames and surnames. Surnames such as Gromoff (also written Gromov), Kiseleff, Sinebrychoff, Tichanoff, and Uschakoff patently refer to individuals of Russian origin. The same is true of a number of first names.<sup>346</sup> Moreover, in the primary sources consulted for this study, the above-mentioned occupational title, *marketentare*, was generally used exclusively in referring to Russians who were engaged in commerce. Over the reference years only once was a native Finnish petitioner described as *marketentare* in an entry in the sampled data.<sup>347</sup> The task of identifying the ethnic origins of the petitioners was occasionally challenging

<sup>341</sup> See e.g. Leitzinger 2008 p. 22 for an illustrative example.

<sup>342</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1820; NA, STO AD 468/34 1820, James Finlayson's petition. On Finlayson, see e.g. Nykänen 2000 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/4275/>, 2.6.2012).

<sup>343</sup> For example, there are cases in which a foreign-born businessman first applied for naturalisation from foreign and after that petitioned for the right to start a new business in Finland. See e.g. NA, Digital Archives, Register of Petitions, 1850 (page 118), petitions by a Swedish bookkeeper Erik Abr. Meuller.

<sup>344</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1845 and 1850. See also Lindberg 1966, 27–29.

<sup>345</sup> See also Schybergson 1977, 145. On the Russian system of rewards and honorific titles, see e.g. Savolainen 1994, 99–133; Tillander-Godenhjelm 2005.

<sup>346</sup> On Swedish and Russian personal names, see e.g. Modéer 1989; Benson 1964; Kahla & Mikkonen (Eds.) 2005.

<sup>347</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1840. The petitioner was Samuel Snellman, who submitted an appeal in 1840 against the rejection of his application for burgher's rights. Snellman's close relatives were prominent merchants engaged in domestic and overseas trade; see Yrjänä 2009b, 114, 158. See also Subsection 4.3.1.

since the spelling of names or titles might vary according to the recorders, with names in particular being purposely written to reflect either Swedish or Russian spelling.<sup>348</sup>

In order to overcome the deficiencies of the information provided in the entries, I have consulted various archival documents related to the applicants or the cases in question; these include the case files containing the original petitions and appeals, minutes of the Senate and various other archival records such as the registers of the Economic Department's minutes.<sup>349</sup> Furthermore, the fact that in some cases the petitioner's original signature written in Cyrillic characters or other documents (attachments) in the original case file written in Russian eventually verified that a certain individual was of Russian origin.<sup>350</sup> However, in the majority of cases language did not play such an important role because the language used in the official papers might be different from that which the applicant actually spoke in everyday life or in his commercial activities. Previous research has noted that the majority of the immigrants adopted Swedish as their professional language in the nineteenth century as it was spoken by the local business elite, whereas Finnish was spoken mainly by the common people.<sup>351</sup> In addition to various original documents, qualitative – albeit sometimes fragmentary – evidence of foreign-born actors has been drawn from a wide variety of existing research literature, Finnish biographical databases<sup>352</sup> and newspapers from the early part of the century.<sup>353</sup>

It was more complicated to identify other foreign-born individuals than those of Russian origin from the sampled population. First, their names do not differ that much from those of the majority.<sup>354</sup> Secondly, the international nature of commerce causes problems with regard to the merchantry in Finland.

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<sup>348</sup> For examples, see Nikander 1932, 68; Perälä 1970, 50; Toivanen 2000, 92.

<sup>349</sup> These registers from the first half of the nineteenth century contain brief descriptions of the cases decided by the Economic Department. The registers had no established Swedish name, and the name in the original documents changed during the period studied here.

<sup>350</sup> It must be noted here that this is a valid conclusion in the context of the early nineteenth century, when the Russians were first-generation immigrants in Finland and did not speak either of the native languages.

<sup>351</sup> Waris 1950, 28–29; Allardt & Starck 1981, 162; Paavilainen 2005, 38; Engman 2009, 229–244.

<sup>352</sup> HisKi project (<http://hiski.genealogia.fi/hiski?fi>), The National Biography of Finland online collection [Kansallisbiografia] (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/>), Finnish Business Leaders [Suomen talouselämän vaikuttajat] (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat>).

<sup>353</sup> Historical Newspaper Library (<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/main.html?language=en>).

<sup>354</sup> In the period under scrutiny, the majority of forenames and surnames were written in Swedish irrespective of the actual native language of the individuals concerned. This practice was due the fact that the clergy, who kept the church registers in parishes, were usually Swedish-speaking and transcribed Finnish names into their Swedish equivalents (e.g. “Matinpoika” was written as “Mattson”). Finnish surnames only became more common from the late nineteenth century onwards, when large numbers of Finns were inspired by the ideas of national romanticism and the nationalist Fennoman movement and translated their family names into Finnish. This movement was especially strong in the first years of the twentieth century; see Paikkala 1996.

As in many European countries, the urban merchantry – especially its upper echelons – had traditionally been a multiethnic group in Finland: many prominent merchant families in major towns had foreign roots, or they were connected by marriage to merchant families abroad.<sup>355</sup> For historical reasons, the Finnish gentry were especially closely connected by family and kinship ties to Sweden.<sup>356</sup> In addition to family connections, the merchantry established and maintained other ties with foreign business partners: it was common that young persons who aspired to be merchants were sent abroad to serve as apprentices or clerks in foreign merchant houses for a number of years. Likewise, many merchants placed younger male relatives as agents in commercial centres overseas. Similar practices were used among merchants in other Scandinavian and European countries. Sometimes a foreign-born family maintained their connections with relatives living abroad for generations and did not aim at assimilation with the majority population.<sup>357</sup>

### 3.4.2 Petitions and appeals submitted by foreign-born business actors

For the sake of clarity, I have adopted a rather simple procedure in categorizing the origins of immigrant business actors and their families: the first two generations of an immigrant family are considered to be foreign-born and the following ones (if any exist during the period covered by this study) are regarded as native. Ethnic origin is classified according to where the first generation came from.<sup>358</sup> In addition, individuals of Russian origin are regarded as a monolithic group because it has not been possible to trace their place of origin more specifically. Certainly, this kind of categorization is not unproblematic. In the early nineteenth century, the Russian Empire consisted of numerous different nationalities: while the Great Russians formed the majority, there were also Ukrainians, Belorussians, Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Finns and other Finnic peoples, Germans, Romanians and so on living inside the borders of the empire.<sup>359</sup> Moreover, Antero Leitzinger, who has studied immigration policies and foreign-born individuals in Finland, notes that the group usually designated as “Russians”, could be divided into numerous smaller groups according to their cultural or social backgrounds and religious orientation.<sup>360</sup> Although the majority of the individuals who came from Russia to Finland belonged to the same religious group (Eastern

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<sup>355</sup> For instance, German merchant families (especially from Lübeck and Hamburg) had traditionally exerted a strong influence in Finland, especially in the city of Viipuri. See e.g. Lindberg 1966, 73–74; Ranta 1980, 284–285; Schweitzer 2008a, 162–177; Kuisma 2012, 21–23.

<sup>356</sup> See Samuelson 2008.

<sup>357</sup> Ojala 1999, 270–276; Paavilainen 2005, 42. See also Tigerstedt 1952; Bull 2002.

<sup>358</sup> See also Särkkä, Valtonen, M., Turunen & Valtonen, H. 2010.

<sup>359</sup> Polvinen 1984, 30–35.

<sup>360</sup> Leitzinger (2008, p. 213) provides a more detailed account of the ethnic groups in the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. He emphasizes the significance of the estate structure over ethnic origin. See also Jussila 1978, 5–6. For a further discussion, see Rieber 1982; Gleason 1991; Owen 1991.

Orthodox), there were also Jews and Muslim Tatars, some of whom were merchants.<sup>361</sup>

During the 40-year period studied here, foreign-born individuals were engaged in petitioning processes in 123 cases (15 percent) out of the 871 cases studied.<sup>362</sup> Their petitions and appeals are not equally distributed over the years, and there are some minor variations in their numbers. Russians formed the majority of the foreign-born applicants (59 cases amounting to 7 percent) over the reference years. A closer examination revealed that a smaller number of petitions and appeals were lodged by individuals originating from other countries (40 cases, 5 percent).<sup>363</sup> In addition, 3 percent of the petitions were collective applications in which business actors of more than one nationality were involved; they include both cases in which the applicants were either foreign-born business actors representing more than one ethnic group and those in which native Finns and foreign-born business actors were joint applicants.<sup>364</sup> It is very likely that the number of cases involving foreign-born business actors was even higher than that proposed here because it has been difficult to verify the background of a petitioner with full certainty in every case owing to the large number of the selected cases. Furthermore, foreign, in particular Russian, business actors were the respondents of petitions or appeals in several cases according to the Registers of Petitions since their rights to engage in certain businesses or their business activities were challenged in appeals submitted by Finnish businessmen.

Of those immigrant business actors who had settled in Finland and launched business activities in their new home country, many were Swedish-born, although individuals from various German-speaking parts of Europe also seem to be well represented. Their applications usually concerned questions relating to production facilities requiring official letters of privilege, indicating that they were mainly engaged in industrial production. Conversely, there were six individuals among this group of foreigners whose occupational titles indicated craft trades. Interestingly, four of them were confectioners; they were Nicolai Cantini, F. Catani, Johan Kessli, and C. Clopatt.<sup>365</sup> This trade also attracted later foreign businessmen, the most prominent of these confectioners being Karl Fazer, whose father had come to Finland via St Petersburg in the mid-nineteenth century and established a business that is still well-known today.<sup>366</sup> Although the number of merchants and industrialists coming from Sweden or central and western Europe amounted to only 5 percent in the period under examination, they are regarded as having had considerable

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<sup>361</sup> Jussila 1984, 17–20; Leitzinger 2006, 83–95.

<sup>362</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>363</sup> This number includes three applications that were submitted by the representatives of businessmen residing in Sweden.

<sup>364</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>365</sup> There are several variants of the names listed here, see Lindeqvist 1930, 132–133; Schybergson 1974b; Leitzinger 2008a, 175–177. I have followed the spellings in the Registers of Petitions.

<sup>366</sup> Engman 2004, 281; Leitzinger 2008.

importance in certain fields of the Finnish economy and business life (see also Chapters 4 and 5, in which I will deal with foreign-born merchants and industrialists respectively).

Interestingly, the content of the applications of the majority of the Russians who appear in the Registers of Petitions concerned mainly commercial issues. Craft trades, on the other hand, were referred to in only a few petitions and appeals submitted by Russians. It seems that many of these Russians started in small-scale businesses but eventually moved into the capital-intensive branches of business.<sup>367</sup> Further evidence of the interests of the Russian-born business actors can be drawn from the occupational titles provided in the sampled data. While there was only one Russian applicant who was designated as a craftsman and one as a former army officer, the majority of the titles referred to commercial occupations (see also Section 4.3).<sup>368</sup> Russians also made important contributions to several industries, including the food and beverages branch, the construction and building trade and the sawmill industry in the nineteenth century.<sup>369</sup> In addition, the social composition of the Russian merchants was not homogenous, including as it did individuals from a variety of social groups: for example, it was not uncommon that merchants were of peasant origin or even serfs.<sup>370</sup> In practice, there was a vast social gap that separated the merchantry's wealthy upper stratum from the petty traders and especially from the itinerant peddlers who roamed the Finnish countryside selling small goods.<sup>371</sup>

The emergence of immigrant business actors in increasing numbers in Finland after 1809 also signified changes at the national level as the institutional framework regulating their position and rights in society underwent some changes over time. First, individuals of other religious confessions did not have the same opportunities to participate in public life as the native Lutherans. This was due to the fact that the Lutheran faith continued to enjoy the status of a state religion in Finland after 1809. Although Finland had become a part of the multid denominational Russian Empire, where the main religion was Russian Orthodoxy, the Lutheran church was allowed to keep its hegemonic status. Thus, members of the Russian Orthodox Church (even if they were naturalised) were precluded from holding posts in the public sector in Finland because of their religion. Not until 1827 was a new decree issued allowing members of the

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<sup>367</sup> Waris 1950, 27; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 214–215; Hakala 2002, 44–46. However, the petitions and appeals concerning craftsmen of Russian origin were dealt with by town administrative courts especially in Helsinki.

<sup>368</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>369</sup> Kauppi 1993, 56–58; Yrjänä 2009b, 57; Särkkä, Turunen, Valtonen, H. & Valtonen, M. 2010, 353.

<sup>370</sup> Rieber 1982; Ruuth & Kuujo 1975, 131.

<sup>371</sup> It is estimated that in the first part of the nineteenth century there were several hundred Russian peddlers in Finland. Their legal position was problematic as their sales activities were mainly considered illegal, and government officials attempted to curb them, albeit with little success. The situation was a bit different in Old Finland, see Engman 1978b, 189–207; Naakka-Korhonen & Keynäs 1988, 28–33; Talka 2005a, 128–137; Kauppi 1993, 53–65. See also Lindeqvist 1930, 122–124; Pihkala 1970, 230–231; Ranta 1980, 290–293.

Russian Orthodox Church to hold public posts.<sup>372</sup> This decree was ratified only after a group of Orthodox parishioners from Taipale in eastern Finland had petitioned the ruler to abolish the restriction.<sup>373</sup>

Similarly, the legislation also regulated the opportunities of Jews to involve themselves in business life. In Finland, as in many other European countries, the law precluded them from obtaining citizenship, which restricted their possibilities to practise a trade.<sup>374</sup> In this study, two individuals stand out from the rest because of their Jewish background. Axel Wilhelm Wahren (1814-1885), a Swedish-born textile industrialist was a Jew, but he converted to Christianity just before he moved to Finland.<sup>375</sup> Friedrich Anton Meyer (1771-1831), born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, was also a Jew who converted to Christianity. Meyer, who was employed as a teacher of the German language in the University of Helsinki from 1802 to 1831, was engaged in the book trade from 1814 onwards and met with considerable success as a bookseller in the Baltic Sea region in the 1810s.<sup>376</sup> A business-related petition he submitted to the Senate in 1815 indicates that his faith had at least some importance in this context as the petition was accompanied by a letter testifying that he was a member of a local Lutheran parish.<sup>377</sup> It is hard not to assume that Wahren's and Meyer's decision to convert to Lutheranism had something to do with the prevailing legal and economic framework, but without further evidence there is no ground for definitely drawing such a conclusion as their decisions might well have been affected by personal reasons rather than rational business calculations.

Although an individual's confession affected his or her possibilities to participate not only in the public sphere but also in business, it has remained an issue that is rarely considered in the existing literature on Finnish economic and business life. Business actors of religious groups other than Lutheran formed a small minority in nineteenth-century Finland, but among them there were certain persons who actually benefited from their religious affiliations. The most notable example in the research period is the afore-mentioned James Finlayson, who was a Quaker and had a close relationship with Tsar Alexander I. As a result of the latter's own personal interest in Quakerism, he allowed Finlayson to practise his own religion after he settled in Finland. Finlayson's

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<sup>372</sup> Jutikkala 1956, 26-27; Halila 1962, 546-547, 560; Björn 1993, 54-59; Repo-Lehikoinen 2002, 41; Martikainen 2004, 98-105; Heininen & Heikkilä 2005, 189-191; Kinnunen 2006, 177-178; Engman 2007, 27; Ylikangas 2007, 138.

<sup>373</sup> Mäntylä 1954, 55-60; Osmonsalo 1964, 150.

<sup>374</sup> Lindberg 1966, 18. On Jewish business actors, see e.g. Landes 2007, 58-98; Bredefeldt 2008. See also Colli, Fernández Pérez, and Rose 2003, 42-45.

<sup>375</sup> Kaukovalta 1934, 12-14; Alho 1961, 38. On his career as businessman, see Kaukovalta 1934; Alho 1961, 31-58; Herranen, T. 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=130>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>376</sup> On Meyer's business activities as a book dealer, see Hakapää 2006 and 2008. See also Nurmio 1934, 48-49, 88-89; Kotivuori 2005, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640-1852: *Friedrich Anton Meyer* (online database <http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=11323>, 5.6.2012).

<sup>377</sup> NA, STO AD 27/91 1815, Friedrich Anton Meyer's petition and its appendices.

factories in Tampere also received other favours and financial support from the government.<sup>378</sup>

It was not only the legislation that caused problems for immigrant business actors after 1809. Insufficient language skills, especially in Swedish, could also hinder foreign-born individuals' participation in public life or their opportunities to engage in a trade. There were also many businessmen who were not familiar and confident with either of the local languages, Swedish and Finnish, or the local business culture and its traditional customs – in other words, all the skills and practices that were often critical for business success. Especially the lack of a common language could make communication with Finnish business actors and government officials difficult.<sup>379</sup> For example, on one occasion a translator had to acknowledge that he could not translate a Russian document into Swedish. He assumed that the text, which was included in a case file related to the burgher's rights of a Russian merchant, had originally been written in French and then translated into Russian, which resulted in its being too complicated to understand.<sup>380</sup>

### 3.5 The contents of the petitions and appeals

#### 3.5.1 The four main categories by segments of economy

[...] factories and industrialists do not generally enjoy inalienable incorporated burgher's rights; rather these rights have more often been unattainable by them than accessible to them.<sup>381</sup>

This quote from a statement issued by the Helsinki Merchant Society in 1810 reflected the institutional framework that regulated commercial and industrial activities in early-nineteenth-century Finnish towns. It also reveals the views of the established merchantry in a competitive situation, where a new candidate merchant, in this case a Russian *marketentare* called Timofei Makuschin, attempted to gain burgher's rights in order to engage in both commercial and industrial activities in Helsinki. Makuschin had submitted an appeal to the supreme decision-makers after his petition for burgher's rights had been rejected by the town court. He had arrived in the city when it was in turmoil as a result of the War of Finland and started his business activities with the

<sup>378</sup> Palmén 1911, 763–765; Haapala 1986, 22–25; Särkkä, Valtonen, M., Turunen & Valtonen, H. 2010.

<sup>379</sup> See e.g. Waris 1950, 27–28 on the situation in Helsinki. See also Ojala & Karonen 2006, 104–105.

<sup>380</sup> NA, STO AD 495/88 1810, an appeal by a group of merchants of Loviisa concerning burgher's rights granted to a Russian called Ivan Naickoff. This appeal was not successful in the Senate. NA, Digital Archives, Minutes of the Joint Session of the Economic Department of the Senate, 1811–1811, Ca:4, 14.2.1811.

<sup>381</sup> NA, STO AD 669/95 1810, Timofei Makuschin's appeal. The original text in Swedish: "[...] Fabriker och Fabrikanter aldeles icke ärö oskiljagtigt förente med Bura-rättigheten, utan tvärtom oftare existera utom denne förening, än i sammanhang därmed."



acquisition of a tobacco mill.<sup>382</sup> He – like several other merchants after him – was to learn that there were considerable differences between the Finnish and Russian systems of regulating property rights. As the quote demonstrates, the Merchant Society claimed that Makuschin did not need burgher’s rights in order to engage in tobacco processing, because the contemporary legislation did not regulate industrial production as strictly as commercial activities.

This particular case, which will be discussed in detail in a later context, highlights the fact that the contemporary institutional framework made a distinction between commerce and the industrial production of consumer goods or other artefacts. Thus this framework must be taken into account in categorizing the sampled business-related petitions and appeals in a way that would allow us to trace wider trends and developments between 1810 and 1850. Therefore, the sampled data have been divided into four categories according to the segments of the economy that were involved in the petitions and appeals. A division is made between commercial activities, manufacture in facilities requiring letters of privilege and craft trades, which reflects the contemporary institutional framework regulating these branches of the economy (see also Section 2.1). A further miscellaneous category was established for those numerous trades which for various reasons did not fit into the other three. With the help of these categories, the vast amount of data can be organized, managed and analyzed in various ways so as to allow us to examine which segments of the economy were most often referred to by the petitioners. It should be first mentioned that some minor modifications had to be made in order to strike a balance between categorizing in a manner that reflects the institutional framework and one that is realistic and amenable to analysis.

The first-mentioned category, “Commerce”, is reserved for applications dealing with commercial matters. Basically, the right to engage in this segment of the economy was under the control of town courts and merchant societies and, as later sections in Chapter 4 will show, only candidates who fulfilled the formal requirements were allowed to engage in commerce. This resulted in the fact that the category is homogeneous in terms of the content of the applications as well as in the occupational and social composition of the applicants: over 80 percent of the applicants were designated as merchants and traders in the sampled data.<sup>383</sup> Needless to say, majority of the applicants engaged in commerce resided and operated in various towns (see also Section 6.4).

The division between the second and the third categories is more complex. The fundamental problem here is that it is not possible to use the term “industry” in its modern sense; rather it is more suitable to speak of manufacture that took place in facilities in which production was controlled by the terms stipulated in letters of privilege, which were granted by the most senior decision-makers. For this reason, manufacture in facilities requiring letters of privilege is henceforth referred to as the *manufacturing industry* in order to emphasize the special characteristics of early nineteenth century

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<sup>382</sup> NA, STO AD 669/95 1810, Timofei Makuschin’s appeal.

<sup>383</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

production facilities. Moreover, the division between industrial and artisanal production was not very clear in early-nineteenth-century Finland: it was not based on the fact that so-called “industrial” production employed machines or that its output was larger; rather, the difference lay in the fact that “industrial” and “artisanal” production was controlled by different institutions.<sup>384</sup> The former was controlled by so-called “hallmark courts” (*hallrätter* in Swedish) in towns or government officials in the countryside, while artisanal production was controlled by craft guilds in towns and by government officials in the countryside.<sup>385</sup> This factor determines the line between the categories “Manufacturing industry” and “Craft trades” in this study.

This division serves the categorization well for many reasons. For example, the variety of industrial facilities was great: some consisted of nothing more than small workshops employing more artisanal than industrial production methods, whereas others were more modern facilities equipped with machinery.<sup>386</sup> Characteristic of the industrial facilities of the time was that they did not employ the same master-journeyman-apprentice system that had traditionally been in use in artisans’ workshops.<sup>387</sup> In order to start the production or to utilize certain resources or raw materials, these facilities needed privilege rights granted by government officials, ultimately the ruler. The authorities’ policy of granting privileges to these facilities was often more liberal than the practice of the craft guilds and merchant societies, which strictly controlled the number of professionals engaged in a certain trade. This made it difficult to obtain the permits and rights required for establishing an artisanal practice or entering into commerce. In addition, within the manufacturing industry, personal qualifications, education or ethnic origin did not play such an important role as in crafts or commerce.<sup>388</sup> This clearly affected the occupational and social composition of the applicants, who made applications relating to this segment of economy over the reference years. As a result, this

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<sup>384</sup> Söderlund 1949, 10–11; Schybergson 1973, 11–12; Schybergson 1980; Lunander 1988, 35–39; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 90, 96. On the term “manufactory”, see Magnusson 2000, 47–48.

<sup>385</sup> On hallmark courts, see Lindeqvist 1930, 135–136; Cederlöf 1964, 364–365; Wiherheimo 1950, 27; Kovero 1950, 468; Nikula 1981, 225; Savela 1981, 75, 121; Ericsson 1985, 119–121; Magnusson 2000, 48–49. Hallmark courts, which were set up in 1722, were municipal bodies supervising and monitoring manufacturers and the manufacturing industry. For example, they granted permits to establish manufacturing enterprises, inspected products and marked them, solved disagreements between employers and employees and kept statistics about manufactures and factories for administrative purposes. They existed side by side with the guild system and were closed down in 1859, when their tasks were transferred to the town courts. The chairmen and members of the courts were selected by industrialists and merchants. See also SAOB for the term *hallrätt*.

<sup>386</sup> See e.g. Schybergson 1980, 410–411; Haapala 1986, 35–37.

<sup>387</sup> Kovero 1950, 470. In addition, industrial units were often passed on in the family after the death of the founder or owner, while it was not possible to inherit rights to continue a craftsmen’s trade. Moreover, many accredited masters did not have their own journeymen or apprentices but worked alone: see Magnusson 2000, 42.

<sup>388</sup> Kovero 1950, 467–470; Schybergson 1973, 47; Hjerppe 1979, 126–127; Göransson 1993b, 137–138.

category is very heterogeneous in terms of applicants and the content of the applications (see also the following section).

One reason for this might well be that the level of industrial development remained low in the early nineteenth century since many branches of industry, such as brewing, engineering and the forest-based industries, did not develop strongly until after the 1850s.<sup>389</sup> It also seems that most of the cases were related to forms of production that were closer to artisanal production than industry (in the modern sense of the word) – however, as long as official letters of privileges issued by the highest decision-makers were needed in order to launch a new business, the cases were placed in this category. This accounts for the fact that scale of the production facilities varies greatly in this category: the petitions and appeals involved facilities ranging from those that produced things like buttons and toothpicks all the way up to the largest and most modern factories in the textile and metal industries, as we shall see in Chapter 5.

The fourth category, named here “Other trades”, gathers together the remaining sectors, many of which had certain special characteristics. This category includes, for example, the distillation of alcohol and the production of other beverages, the transportation trade (e.g. steamboat traffic), the construction and building industries, and the book industry. In the light of the categorization employed in this study, the book industry was a special case; printing houses and bookshops depended on privileges granted by the Economic Department of the Senate, but from the late 1820s onwards they were also supervised and controlled by censorship officials, who were mostly interested in the contents of the books, not the business activities themselves.<sup>390</sup> In addition, this category includes cases that did not fall easily into any of the other categories. Especially cases involving the trades of bakers and restaurant or innkeepers were awkward to categorize, and scholars are still divided over whether these activities should be considered commercial activities or artisanal trades.<sup>391</sup> Apart from baking, the number of cases related to these activities was very small. In this study, the bakery trade is placed in the category of craft trades, while cases related to innkeeping and restaurant proprietorship fall into the category “Other trades”.

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<sup>389</sup> See e.g. Schybergson 1980, 408–427; Heikkinen & Hoffman 1982, 52–55. See also Kaukiainen 2006.

<sup>390</sup> The supervision was based on a decree on censorship issued in 1829; see Nurmio 1934, 49–50, 326–333; Schybergson 1980, 411. See also Björkqvist 1986, 283–284. For a more detailed overview of the book industry, see Hakapää 2008 and Autero 1993. Hakapää has produced a dissertation on the history of the origins and consolidation of modern bookstores in Finland in the period 1740–1860. Autero likewise provides detailed information on J.W. Lillja (1817–1878), a remarkable businessman, who made his career in book publishing in the mid-nineteenth century. Autero also describes Lillja’s attempts to influence government officials in matters related to his business interests.

<sup>391</sup> See e.g. Söderlund 1949, 92–93; Skarin Frykman 1987, 76–80; Vainio-Korhonen 2008, 82. See also Subsection 3.3.1.

TABLE 4 The four main categories of the petitions and appeals lodged according to the segment of the economy involved (1810–1850)

Reference year	Commerce	Manufacturing industry	Craft trades	Other trades	All petitions
1810	34	26	8	14	82
1815	14	16	13	5	48
1820	13	20	17	8	58
1825	15	34	20	9	78
1830	24	20	27	19	90
1835	32	41	15	12	100
1840	33	60	27	20	140
1845	26	47	23	18	114
1850	24	72	22	43	161
Total	215	336	172	148	871
Percentage	25	39	20	17	100

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

The results displayed in Table 4 show that the two first mentioned categories account for the majority of all cases (64 percent), while in the two last-mentioned categories the proportion of cases is of about equal size.<sup>392</sup> The latter part of this study (Chapters 4 and 5) will deal with the first two segments of the economy, which account for the majority of the data.

Based on a closer analysis, the category that includes the manufacturing industry differs significantly from the other three, with a much higher proportion of petitions and appeals. The impression of the predominance of this category is reinforced if we look at the results of the last years covered by the study. To judge from the sampled data, the Economic Department received ever-growing numbers of applications for the right to establish new production facilities towards the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>393</sup> The changes in the other three categories are less visible. However, in the last reference year, 1850, the number of applications in the category “Other trades” shows a rather sharp rise compared with the previous years. According to the dataset, this rise is due to the increased activity in the book industry, which will be discussed briefly in the next section. Per Schybergson, among others, has noted that the economic and political environment was more dynamic in the period from 1840 to 1870 than in the earlier one, from 1810 to 1840. From the early 1840s onwards, diversification and specialization in production began to take place in economic

<sup>392</sup> The categorization was made after details, such as the applicants’ names, occupational information and the reasons for their petitions and appeals, had been verified and missing items of information obtained. In the most problematic cases, in which it has been difficult to ascertain what trade was actually involved in a petition owing to the incomplete nature of the entries in the Registers, the original petitions and appeals or minutes of the Senate were consulted. When needed, further information on the personal histories of the business actors and the matters they referred to in their petitions and appeals was collected from various primary and secondary sources.

<sup>393</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

and business life.<sup>394</sup> In addition, the ancient connections with Sweden loosened, and Russia became Finland's main trading partner in the 1840s. Moreover, several legislative and societal reforms which were implemented especially after the Crimean War gave a fresh impetus to economic development. Between 1859 and 1868, most of the remaining mercantilist restrictions on economic activity were abolished.<sup>395</sup>

There are, of course, both advantages and disadvantages associated with this categorization. The main advantages of the approach that has been adopted in this study are that it captures the breadth of Finnish business life in the early nineteenth century and does so in a manner that is practical. The limitations of the approach are also recognized, the most important of which relates to the fact that some the applications could fall into more than one category, while others do not fit neatly into any of them. For these reasons, each of the four main categories is subdivided into smaller groups, as will be discussed in the following section. This kind of grouping has served as analytical tool, and the results are further illustrated by the tables, which represent the entire sample of petitions and appeals. Notwithstanding its limitations, I believe that the categorization is sufficient to allow us to make claims about the attempts made by business actors to influence government instances in early-nineteenth-century Finland.

### 3.5.2 Subcategories according to the content

The first category, "Commerce", can be divided into five subcategories according to the contents of the petitions and appeals. The total number of 215 petitions and appeals in this category are related to domestic trade, foreign trade, the grain trade, shipping, and illegal trade or smuggling. The largest role is played by domestic trade, which was involved in an estimated 51 percent of the petitions and appeals, as shown in Table 5.

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<sup>394</sup> Schybergson 1973, 162–165; Schybergson 1980, 408–27.

<sup>395</sup> Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 349–351; Tiihonen 2012, 51–55. See also Myllyntaus 1980; Mauranen 1980; Kaukiainen 2006; Ojala & Karonen 2006.

TABLE 5 Subcategories of petitions and appeals related to commerce (1810–1850)

Subcategory	Number	Percentage
Domestic trade	110	51
Foreign trade	41	19
Grain trade	35	16
Shipping	20	9
Illegal trade or smuggling	9	4
Total	215	100

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

In the table, the category of foreign trade includes petitions and appeals related to trade agreements with foreign countries, commercial legislation and applications regarding claims for lower customs duties for certain consignments of imported goods. The grain trade forms a category of its own because the number of petitions and appeals concerning it was considerable, and in some cases it was impossible to unravel whether a certain case involving the grain trade was related to trade in domestic or in foreign markets. The majority of the cases reported in this category were in fact requests for importing grain duty-free or with lower custom duties into Finland.<sup>396</sup> According to Harmaja (1920), after their petitions businessmen were granted licences to import grain into Finland especially in years of crop failure.<sup>397</sup> This is also evident in the sampled data: 1835 differs from the other reference years in that the number of petitions for the import of grain duty-free or with reduced customs duties peaked in that year. Clearly, this was a result of the crop failures suffered in the early 1830s. In addition, shipping and illegal trade or smuggling form their own categories.<sup>398</sup>

The largest subcategory, “Domestic trade”, deserves closer attention. The majority of cases in this subcategory are related to acquiring the right to operate as an urban merchant, i.e. burgher’s rights (see Table 6). The second largest groups consist of cases related to the rights, permits or licences needed for small-scale commercial activities in towns as well as cases related to various payments and taxes<sup>399</sup> which individuals engaged in commerce needed to pay to the urban or state administration. The majority of the cases were appeals as the applicants sought to have decisions of the lower authorities rectified.<sup>400</sup>

<sup>396</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>397</sup> Harmaja 1920, 150–165, 835. See also Pipping 1940, 143–144; Pihkala 1970, 143; Kaukiainen 2006, 140–141.

<sup>398</sup> On smuggling in nineteenth century Finland, see e.g. Pihkala 1970, 210–212; Heikkinen 1994, 174–179; Kalleinen 1994, 151–154.

<sup>399</sup> For further information, see Nikula 1981, 226–230, 241–258.

<sup>400</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

TABLE 6 Petitions and appeals concerning domestic trade (1810–1850)

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Burghers' rights	68	62
Trading rights, permits and licences	18	16
Payments and taxes	15	14
Business agreements	6	5
Renting or building storage facilities	3	3
Total	110	100

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

The discussion has so far focused on the categorization of business-related petitions and appeals according to their content, but how does the social composition of the individuals who submitted applications concerning commerce look when viewed in the light of the information provided above? Interestingly, although the majority of the petitions and appeals related to commercial matters were lodged by merchants (179 cases), a significant proportion of their applications concerned other segments of the economy than commerce.<sup>401</sup> This is especially clear in the final years of the research period, when there are far more applicants designated as merchants than there are applications concerning commerce (see Table 7).

TABLE 7 Petitions and appeals submitted by merchants concerning commercial matters (1810–1850)

<b>Reference year</b>	<b>Petitioners designated as merchants</b>	<b>Petitions and appeals concerning commerce</b>	<b>Petitions and appeals lodged by merchants concerning commerce</b>
1810	33	34	28
1815	17	14	9
1820	20	13	12
1825	23	15	12
1830	46	24	22
1835	38	32	26
1840	47	33	24
1845	49	26	25
1850	66	24	21
Total	339	215	179

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

This finding should not come as a surprise given the fact that the scholarly attention that has been paid to the history of commerce and merchant houses in Finland has shown that towards the mid-nineteenth century the business interests of the merchantry became more diverse and merchants were

<sup>401</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

increasingly engaged in a variety of businesses ranging from commerce and shipping to the production of mass consumption goods and heavy industry. The commercial sector also provided capital for industrial investments.<sup>402</sup> An illustrative example of a business actor who was engaged in a variety of business activities is G.O. Wasenius (1789-1852), who submitted six applications in the course of the reference years (specifically in 1835, 1840 and 1850). Over the years, he was referred to as a consul, a merchant or a book trader in the Registers of Petitions, while his letters to the Senate dealt with the book industry, commercial matters (e.g. the grain trade) and the manufacture of tobacco goods.<sup>403</sup> He is mainly known for his activities in book publishing, although in his later years Wasenius also owned tobacco and paper mills and engaged in agriculture.<sup>404</sup>

As noted in the previous chapter, the majority of petitions and appeals (336 cases out of 871) fall into the second main category labelled "Manufacturing industry". However, many of the special characteristics of the units involved in this segment of the economy with regard to both the legislation regulating them and to the development of industry in early-nineteenth-century Finland made it difficult to categorize the cases into smaller groups in a manner that was both representative and practical. Some simplifications had to be made in situations when there was only one or two cases related to a certain industry, and thus in Table 8 (below) some of the smallest segments were combined into one subcategory. In this particular category, the petitions and appeals were related to the following industries: the extractive and metal industries, the textile industry,<sup>405</sup> the sawmill industry, leather crafting, the chemical industry (i.e. production of saltpetre and vinegar),<sup>406</sup> the paper industry,<sup>407</sup> sugar production,<sup>408</sup> the production of glass, faience and ceramics,<sup>409</sup> the production of various consumer goods and valuable items including e.g. pipes, clocks and silverware,<sup>410</sup> and last the

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<sup>402</sup> See e.g. Nikula 1970, 144; Heikkinen & Hoffman 1982, 87; Kallioinen 2004, 106-113; Kuisma 2006, 204-210.

<sup>403</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>404</sup> Wiherheimo & Rein 1950, 339-340; Häggman 2000 ([http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/3683/,\\_2.6.2012](http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/3683/,_2.6.2012)).

<sup>405</sup> This subcategory includes the production of textiles and dyeing. It also includes the production of sailcloth; see Schybergson 1980, 414.

<sup>406</sup> This branch of industry also includes one application concerning tar production (see Schybergson 1980, 430). See also Kunas 2007; Kaiserfeld 2009.

<sup>407</sup> Here the categorization is similar to that of Schybergson's in his study of the mass consumption goods industry (see Schybergson 1973). He includes the production of cards and wallpaper in this branch of industry. In this study, four applications concerned privileges to establish mills for the production of cards (*kortfabrique*), while nine concerned paper mills (*papperbruk*).

<sup>408</sup> On sugar refineries, see Kovero 1955; Urbans 1968; Hongisto 1987. See also Schybergson 1974a, 14-24.

<sup>409</sup> On glass factories and their privileges, see Annala 1931 (prior to 1809); Nurmi 1989, 30. Glass factories were under the control of the hallmark courts (*hallrätter*) until 1868.

<sup>410</sup> A facility that produced toothpicks is not included in this group. It did not belong to the category of the manufacturing industry during the research period (see Schybergson 1973, 16). This study contains one instance of this kind of facility in 1850.



smallest category, that of shipbuilding.<sup>411</sup> Moreover, there were two cases in which it was not possible to ascertain the specific nature of the facility concerned.

A closer examination shows that the petitions and appeals often concerned the establishment of new facilities or the expansion of existing ones in the above-mentioned industries.<sup>412</sup> In addition, the applicants referred to questions such as the acquisition of raw materials for the needs of production, the right to import or export raw materials or manufactured goods, the taxation of manufactured goods, exemption from taxes or the reimbursement of previously paid taxes and payments, the legislation regulating production, and so on.

TABLE 8 Petitions and appeals concerning the manufacturing industry (1810–1850)

Industry	Number	Percentage
Extractive and metal industries	100	30
Textiles; dying	66	20
Sawmill industry	40	12
Tobacco manufacturing	27	8
Chemical industry	20	6
Leather crafting	18	5
Glass, faience and ceramics	16	5
Sugar production	14	4
Paper industry	13	4
Wood crafting	10	3
Production of various consumer goods and valuable items	8	2
Ship building	2	1
Not known	2	1
Total	336	100

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

As the preceding table shows, the largest subgroup (30 percent of all cases) was composed of the extractive and metal industries, which include the iron industry, mechanical workshops and copper and zinc processing. All these industries were controlled by the same government organ, the Board of Mines.<sup>413</sup> The extractive and metal industries and the sawmill industry, which was the third largest subgroup, are discussed in Section 5.3 in greater detail.

One of the largest subgroups consisted of cases related to textile production and dying, the majority of which were lodged by individuals designated as craftsmen in the Records of Petitions. Based on the details provided in the entries, the majority of these cases concerned small-scale textile

<sup>411</sup> Also shipbuilding constitutes a special case (see Schybergson 1980, 435). Since the applications concerned mainly privilege rights, the applications concerning this industry are included in this category.

<sup>412</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>413</sup> Laine 1950, 22–25. See also Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 178–183; Tiihonen 2012, 45 (Table 6).

production.<sup>414</sup> This is also confirmed by the results of earlier research, which maintain that most of the 76 letters of privilege granted between 1810 and 1842 were awarded to dyers or weavers who aimed to establish facilities producing broadcloth. E.G. Palmén has estimated that only one fifth of these facilities were eventually established, owing to the fact that the craftsmen lacked the capital required by letters of privileges for investment in large-scale facilities.<sup>415</sup> The large-scale textile industry was still developing with the efforts of pioneering businessmen like James Finlayson and A.W. Wahren, who established the first modern production facilities in Finland.<sup>416</sup> The period after the Crimean War was an era of rapid growth in the export-oriented textile industry, which benefited from Russia's low customs duties.<sup>417</sup>

The third main category, "Craft trades", which contains 172 petitions and appeals, could be divided into several smaller subgroups according to the trades involved. However, only a short overview is presented here, since a more detailed survey of this segment of the economy lies outside the scope of the present study. The two largest subgroups in this category consist of petitions and appeals related to the bakery trade (22 percent), textiles (cloth making, dyeing) and leather crafting (29 percent).<sup>418</sup> The rest (49 percent), many of which were few in number, were related to various other craft trades. A far more interesting division is one made according to the content of the petitions and appeals. What matters did the petitioners refer to in their submissions? Broadly speaking, 85 percent of all petitions and appeals in this category were related to rights to practise a craftsman's trade. This number also includes licences to establish a craftsman's workshop or a bakery, various kinds of appeals regarding the rights to practise a craft trade in a town (in 86 cases the petitions concerned burgher's rights; see Section 4.3), permits to transfer or surrender privileges and appeals related to the illegal (unlicensed) practice of a craft. Rural crafts were referred to in five percent of the cases (nine cases), while two percent of the cases concerned individuals who had worked without a licence.<sup>419</sup>

What, then, was the professional or social background of those who contacted the highest decision-makers on matters related to craft trades during the reference years? The following tables provide some answers. Table 9 shows the number of individuals designated as craftsmen (including craftsmen's widows), the number of all craft-related petitions and appeals in the sampled

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<sup>414</sup> Many of these petitions concerned textile production in rural areas. Textile production is somewhat exceptional in the sampled data since the establishment of textile manufactures in the countryside was allowed by a Swedish law enacted in 1798; see Annala 1928, 182–183.

<sup>415</sup> Palmén 1911, 749; Nummela 2004, 23.

<sup>416</sup> Palmén 1911, 766–768; Kaukovalta 1934, 94–95; Alho 1949, 35–36; Hjerppe 1979, 33–34; Heikkinen & Hoffman 1982, 78; Nummela 2004, 25. On Wahren, see Section 3.4.

<sup>417</sup> Palmén 1911, 760–761; Heikkinen & Hoffman 1982, 78.

<sup>418</sup> It must also be noted that the cases related to the production of textiles and dyeing in this category concern traditional crafts, not production facilities which needed official letters of privilege.

<sup>419</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

data and, finally, the number of those craft-related petitions that were submitted by individuals whose occupation was designated as a craft trade in the Registers of Petitions.

TABLE 9 Petitions and appeals submitted by craftsmen concerning craft trades (1810-1850)

Reference year	Petitioners designated as craftsmen	Number of craft-related petitions and appeals	Number of craft-related petitions and appeals submitted by craftsmen
1810	8	8	5
1815	12	13	9
1820	18	17	14
1825	29	20	18
1830	23	27	19
1835	21	15	11
1840	39	27	22
1845	29	23	18
1850	41	22	20
Total	220	172	136

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

At the beginning of the research period, craftsmen mainly referred in their applications to various matters related to craft trades. However, over the following decades the traditional pattern changed gradually, and by the early 1850s craftsmen were submitting growing numbers of petitions related to other commercial and industrial pursuits than crafts. Table 10 shows that craftsmen submitted an increasing number of applications related to the manufacturing industry over the last reference years.

TABLE 10 Petitions and appeals submitted by craftsmen concerning the manufacturing industry (1810–1850)

Reference year	Petitioners designated as craftsmen	Petitions and appeals concerning the manufacturing industry	Petitions and appeals lodged by craftsmen concerning the manufacturing industry
1810	8	26	1
1815	12	16	2
1820	18	20	4
1825	29	34	10
1830	23	20	4
1835	21	41	10
1840	39	60	15
1845	29	47	7
1850	41	72	12
Total	220	336	65

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

The sampled data shows that the cases between 1840 and 1850 comprised petitions in which craftsmen petitioned for privileges to establish various kinds of production facilities. The manufacture of textiles, in particular, was well represented among these cases, which indicates that production was gradually developing towards larger-scale manufacture.<sup>420</sup>

Finally, the fourth main category, labelled “Other trades”, consisting of 147 cases, includes numerous lines of businesses, many of which could fall into more than one specific category. In this study they are divided into subgroups as follows:

TABLE 11 Subcategories of petitions and appeals in the category “Other trades” (1810–1850)

Trade	Number	Percentage
Book industry	38	26
Flour milling	37	25
Alcohol production	19	13
Construction and building	18	12
Pharmacy trade	14	10
Steamship traffic	9	6
Innkeeping, restaurant proprietorship	6	4
Other trades	5	3
Banking	1	1
Total	147	100

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

Table 11 shows that the largest group was the book industry, i.e. printing houses and bookshops. As already noted in the previous section, the industry

<sup>420</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

grew especially in the middle of the nineteenth century,<sup>421</sup> a fact that was naturally reflected in the number of submitted applications. The majority of all applications regarding this particular industry were submitted in the years 1845 and 1850. In addition, the vast majority of the petitions were lodged by the most prominent actors in the industry: the Cedervallers' and the Frenckells' printing houses and the book merchants Johan Wilhelm Lillja and Adolf Edvard Rongain.<sup>422</sup> Women, too – all of them widows – were present in the data: Johanna Cedervaller and Maria Simelius, who were printers' widows, and a book merchant's widow called Sofia Johnsson contacted the highest decision-makers on business-related matters in the reference years.<sup>423</sup>

The second largest subgroup in this category includes petitions and appeals related to flour mills. The cases are included in this study because flour mills were seen as a subsidiary branch of agriculture in the early part of the nineteenth century.<sup>424</sup> They often constituted an integral part of the incomes of ironworks owners and landed gentry. This group contains both petitions to establish new flour mills and appeals related to new, projected or already established mills. In most of the cases, it is not known whether the produce of a flour mill was for household use or whether its production was aimed at wider markets than just local consumption. It seems that especially the establishment of new mills caused conflicts between various individuals or groups, and in consequence the majority of the applications were in fact appeals. Some of these applications were related to steam-powered flour mills, which indicates larger-scale production.<sup>425</sup>

This category also contains cases related to the construction and building industry. Although the number is not high, it is notable that this industry emerged only in the last reference years as all but one of the applications were submitted between 1830 and 1845. Moreover, the social spectrum of the applicants is wide in these cases since they included both lower social groups and high-ranking members of society such as Counsellors of Commerce. Business actors of foreign origin were also present in this industry as especially Russian businessmen were engaged in construction and building.<sup>426</sup>

It is interesting to note that there are pronounced differences between the proportions of *petitions* and *appeals* in each of the segments of the economy examined above. As Table 12 shows, the great majority of the submitted applications concerning the manufacturing industry were in fact petitions (82

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<sup>421</sup> Schybergson 1980, 411, 426–427.

<sup>422</sup> The Frenckells submitted four applications, while the others filed three applications each. JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. On these businessmen, see e.g. Autero 1993; Hakapää 2008; Hanski 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=108>, 3.4.2012).

<sup>423</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. On Sofia Johnsson, see Section 5.4.

<sup>424</sup> Schybergson 1973, 17.

<sup>425</sup> See also Heikkinen & Hoffman 1982, 80–81.

<sup>426</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. See also Valtonen, M. 2009f; Särkkä, Turunen, Valtonen, H. & Valtonen, M. 2010.

percent). The results for commerce and crafts are almost the opposite as in their case appeals formed the major proportion of the sampled data.

TABLE 12 The distribution of petitions and appeals across the four segment of the economy (1810-1850)

Category	Commerce	Manufacturing industry	Crafts	Other trades	Total
Petitions	97 (45%)	274 (82%)	51 (30%)	97 (66%)	519 (60%)
Appeals	118 (55%)	62 (18%)	121 (70%)	51 (34%)	352 (40%)
Total	215	336	172	148	871

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

To explain this we need to bear in mind that most of the decisions concerning the manufacturing industry were made by the Senate and the Tsar, while the lower administrative bodies had power of decision over commerce and crafts, and thus the business actors involved in these trades had no reason to petition the Senate or the ruler as often as the business actors involved in certain industries. This very fact related to the decision-making structure itself makes it challenging to ascertain how commerce and trade changed over the selected reference years because the majority of the petitions concerning commerce (e.g. petitions for new burgher's rights) were dealt by lower officials not the Senate, which only dealt with *appeals* concerning rejected applications for burgher's rights. Thus the remarkable growth of commerce from the early nineteenth century onwards is not reflected in the data sampled from the Registers of Petitions. The results for the manufacturing industries are just the opposite: the number of applications increased from the early 1830s onwards as a growing number of individuals petitioned the highest decision-makers for letters of privileges. In this way, the results of this study are determined by the nature of the decision-making system.

## **4 THE MERCHANTS' PROTECTION OF THEIR INTERESTS AT THE LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS**

In the pages that follow, the discussion will turn to how business actors engaged in commerce responded to the many sources of tension and uncertainty in the period from the early 1810s to the beginning of the 1850s. In connection with this, Section 4.1 will bring to centre stage petitions and appeals relating to the damage caused by the War of Finland (1808-1809) and its consequences. Although these cases are in many ways special, they are discussed here because they shed further light on the economic and political situation that prevailed in Finland right after the restoration of peace. In Section 4.2, which is based on the archives of the Committee on Trade and Customs (1811-1812), the attempts of the most prominent merchant-shipowners to influence commercial legislation in the early 1810s is discussed.

The latter part of the present chapter concentrates on the process involved in acquiring the formal status of a merchant in Finnish towns in the first half of the nineteenth century. First, the focus is on appeals relating to burgher's rights, which, as already shown in Subsection 3.5.2, form the majority of all cases relating to domestic trade in the data sampled for this study. This group of appeals also differs from most of the others: in these cases, various actors or groups with a variety of economic and political goals were present, while many of the other cases relating to commercial issues were more like routine tasks for the highest decision-makers. Secondly, an attempt is made to gain an insight into the relationship between new immigrant merchants and their native counterparts on the one hand, and between the merchants and the highest decision-makers in matters relating to commerce on the other hand. Finally, in order that the multiplicity and complexity of early-nineteenth-century interactions between business life and the decision-makers may be adequately taken into account, it makes sense to investigate women entrepreneurs within the framework outlined in Chapters 2 and 3.

#### 4.1 The war of 1808-1809 and its consequences for commerce

At the Diet of Porvoo, in the early spring and summer of 1809, the Estate of Burghers raised the issue of the damage caused by the War of Finland and claimed that the crisis resulting from the wartime disruption had harmed local business life. The other estates, and especially the representatives of the Peasants, also emphasized the difficulties the war had brought at both local and national levels.<sup>427</sup> The consequences of the War of Finland were dealt in other arenas as well. After society had returned from a state of war to a peaceful footing, the central government authorities received a large number of petitions referring to damage incurred in the war or its aftermath from private persons around the country. The majority of the requests for compensation came from the west coast and northern parts of Central Finland, where the main theatres of war had been located.<sup>428</sup> Petitions relating to damage caused by the Russian troops as well as conflicts between the local inhabitants and the military were dealt with by various instances: the local authorities, the Civil Chancellery of the Headquarters of the Russian Commander von Buxhoevden and the Finnish Senate.<sup>429</sup> The Registers of Petitions show that in the early 1810s the Senate's Economic Department received dozens of letters submitted by individuals and various collective bodies claiming compensation for damage incurred as a result of war operations. Some of the letters recorded in the Registers referred directly to the damage resulting from the war, while some were filed by individuals whose distressed situation was related to the war and its aftermath less directly – for example, there were petitions regarding the unpaid wages of local and provincial authorities, requests to pay pensions or financial support to impoverished widows, appeals for exemption from taxes, to mention but a few.<sup>430</sup>

Certainly, the Senate also received war-related petitions submitted by representatives of business life since the wartime period had similarly disrupted their livelihoods and business activities. The effects of the war on business life can be discerned in 1810 and 1815, when eight petitions through which business actors attempted to recoup losses incurred by damage suffered during the war or by contributions to the war effort were registered.<sup>431</sup> In these cases, the business actors wanted to redress conditions or practices which they considered unfair, or they petitioned for compensation in matters relating to their businesses.<sup>432</sup>

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<sup>427</sup> Hytönen 1923, 18; Halila 1962, 527.

<sup>428</sup> Jääskeläinen 2007, 69, 73.

<sup>429</sup> Rauhala 1915, 64–65. On petitions, see especially Luttinen 2010; Uotila 2010; Jääskeläinen 2007 and 2011.

<sup>430</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1810 and 1815.

<sup>431</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1810 and 1815.

<sup>432</sup> It needs to be noted that this number does not include petitions and appeals through which a business actor petitioned for compensation on behalf of the surrounding community. Petitions of the latter kind were quite common after the war, but they have been excluded from this study because in such cases it was not possible to establish a clear connection with economic or business life.



A closer examination of the Registers of Petitions, however, demonstrates that one of the most active businessmen who after the war sought to protect both his own and collective interests in the political arena was the prominent merchant-shipowner Petter Johan Bladh, who, as mentioned above (Chapter 2), had attended the Diet of the Estates in Porvoo in 1809. Bladh himself also had personal interests to look after because he had suffered heavy losses as a result of the activities of the Russian troops in the final weeks of the war: the Russian soldiers had devastated his estates and property in Kaskinen on the west coast and he and his son were taken prisoner during the incident.<sup>433</sup> Although only one of Bladh's petitions for compensation was made in the selected reference years and is included in the dataset collected for the purposes of this study, his actions are reviewed here in more detail as they offer a window for examining a leading businessman's relationship with the highest decision-makers.

After the war, Bladh frequently contacted the most senior authorities, submitting several petitions and appeals in which he referred to the economic hardships caused by the time of war.<sup>434</sup> He was not only attempting to benefit himself but also to promote the interests of the local community by acting in the name of the common good. First, in late 1809, Bladh filed a petition on behalf of the people of Närpiö asking for exemption from taxes because of the damage caused by fire during the war.<sup>435</sup> Then in 1810 he lodged two more petitions relating to damage suffered in the war – one both on his own behalf and in the name of the people of Närpiö, and another on behalf of the inhabitants of a small village.<sup>436</sup> He continued in 1814 with a more personal petition for compensation for the damage his estate and property had suffered at the hands of Russian soldiers.<sup>437</sup> Obviously, Bladh had to work hard in order to legitimize his claims for compensation. Eventually he received considerable compensation from the government, but the money, over 26 000 silver roubles, was still not enough to cover his debts.<sup>438</sup> Bladh's relationship with the political elite was to some extent problematic. He was appointed a member of the Senate in 1809, but eventually he refused to accept the position for personal reasons – probably the fact that he was bankrupted soon after the war.<sup>439</sup> However, the war was not the only reason for his economic hardships, and his difficulties as a businessman had a longer history dating back to the turn of the century.<sup>440</sup>

After the war, other leading business actors from various towns also attempted to promote collective interests by submitting petitions and appeals in which they referred to problems relating to the war and its consequences. One of the issues that caused frequent petitions from towns to local authorities, provincial governors and also to the Senate was the obligatory billeting of

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<sup>433</sup> Heikinheimo 1955, 71–72; Jääskeläinen 2011, 72, 159, 209, 275.

<sup>434</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), years between 1809 and 1815.

<sup>435</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1809. See also Jääskeläinen 2011, 113.

<sup>436</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810.

<sup>437</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1814.

<sup>438</sup> Karonen 2004, 213.

<sup>439</sup> Rauhala 1910, 236; Halila 1962, 526; Savolainen 1994, 288.

<sup>440</sup> Karonen 2004, 210–215, 288.

Russian soldiers in private homes in urban areas.<sup>441</sup> This practice, called *inkvartering* (also *inqvartering* in contemporary documents) in Swedish, was unpopular among burghers, whom the prevailing law required to provide accommodation for the military.<sup>442</sup> In the reference years, the Registers of Petitions offer evidence of two cases relating to billeting in which a business actor clearly claimed that the practice was harmful for business. An owner of a textile mill in Porvoo, called Maria Strähle, petitioned to be exempted from the responsibility to billet soldiers because it harmed her trade.<sup>443</sup> Maria Strähle was a respectable widow who owned a large town house and also other properties beyond the town borders and whose mill employed several workers.<sup>444</sup> A similar complaint was lodged by Johan Christian Roos, the owner of a sugar refinery, who petitioned for his mill to be exempted from this duty.<sup>445</sup> In other entries, the harm to a trade or an industry was not stated as explicitly. The problems relating to the billeting of soldiers were also communicated to the Tsar via the Senate, when the Economic Department drew attention to the situation in its report to the Tsar in 1812.<sup>446</sup>

In addition, some merchants and shipowners had suffered severe setbacks during the war. In 1810, there were three cases in which merchants applied for compensation because their vessels had been seized by the military or had suffered other kinds of damage during the war.<sup>447</sup> For example, Petter Märten Unonius (1765–1815), a merchant based in the coastal town of Loviisa, and his business partner Carl Tesche, a prominent merchant in the same town, applied for compensation in 1810 since they had provided six merchant vessels for the naval fleet.<sup>448</sup> However, it was not only losses and setbacks that the war produced; it also opened up also new business opportunities for industrious individuals.<sup>449</sup> In fact, Unonius was one of those merchants who were able to take commercial advantage of the war. Despite his economic losses, he gained substantial economic advantages as a result of his willingness to do business with the Russian officials during the war, although it seems likely that this kind

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<sup>441</sup> See e.g. Rauhala 1915, 65–66, 167–168; Lehtonen 1925, 93–145; Nordström & Nordström 1966, 209–211; Hautala 1975, 2; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 40–49; Wiherheimo & Rein 1950, 288.

<sup>442</sup> Jääskeläinen 2011, 4–5. See also Rähä 2012, 153–176.

<sup>443</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810; NA, STO AD 188/133 1810. See Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 98 on the business undertakings of Maria Strähle (née Tarckman). Her son, Eric Strähle, was a co-owner of the family enterprise. He became a successful businessman, receiving the honorific title Counsellor of Commerce in 1831. Herranen, M. 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=56>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>444</sup> Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 98.

<sup>445</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810.

<sup>446</sup> *Suomen hallituskonseljin ja senaatin alamaiset kertomukset vuosilta 1812 ja 1816 Suomen taloudellisesta tilasta, hallinnosta ja lainkäytöstä = Finska Regeringskanseljens och Senatens underdåniga berättelser af åren 1812 och 1816 om Finlands ekonomiska tillstånd, förvaltning och rättsskipning* [Reports under the jurisdiction of the Governing Council and the Senate of Finland, 1812 and 1816] (1915), pp. 12–13.

<sup>447</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810.

<sup>448</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810.

<sup>449</sup> On commerce and merchants during the war, see e.g. Lehtonen 1925, 41–44; Ojala 1996, 74–76; Hårdstedt 2007, 145–158, 390.

after the war, he resigned his burgher's rights in his home town and eventually moved to Sweden.<sup>450</sup>

Many other Finnish merchants from various towns also established good relations with the Russian authorities and the army during the war. In addition to Unonius, Jacob Holmstén (1770–1814), another Loviisa-based merchant, and two merchants from Oulu, Carl Magnus Engman (1778–1852) and Zacris Wacklin, were known to have enjoyed good commercial contacts with the Russians.<sup>451</sup> Interestingly, many of those businessmen who had had good relations with the Russians during or right after the war received favours from the Tsar. For example, honorifics such as the title of Counsellor for Commerce were granted to merchants who were influential at the local or national level (see also Section 6.3). Among others, Unonius, Holmstén and Engman received this title soon after they had participated in the work of the Committee on Trade and Customs, which will be discussed next.

## 4.2 The merchant elite and the Committee on Trade and Customs (1811-12)

Finnish trade policy in the early nineteenth century continued to be based on the principles of mercantilism. It followed the fluctuations of Russian policy, and any changes that were made usually followed measures taken by the Russians. There was no public discussion on the actual tariff duties, which were ultimately decided by the Tsar.<sup>452</sup> In 1810, when a new Russian tariff was enacted, the Russian authorities aimed to harmonize the Finnish regulations with the Russian ones, and the new tariff was to be the first step. However, the implementation of the tariff would have changed the situation in Finland considerably. In these circumstances, the Senate appointed a committee, which I refer to here as the Committee on Trade and Customs, to consider the application of a Russian customs tariff in Finland and to put forward recommendations for the development of domestic trade and shipping in the future.<sup>453</sup>

Actually, the customs tariff had already been the subject of discussion before this particular committee was established. A Finnish government official, Eric Tulindberg, who was the Chief of Financial Administration of the Senate, made a statement on the Russian customs tariff, proposing that several changes

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<sup>450</sup> On Unonius, see Nikander 1932; Valtonen, M. 2009e (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=32>, 16.3.2012).

<sup>451</sup> Lehtonen 1925, 41–43; 69–70, 85–86; Nikander 1932, 14; Hautala 1975, 1–2; Turunen 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=21>, 16.3.2012); Valtonen, M. 2009d (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=33>, 16.3.2012). On Holmstén, see also Danielson-Kalmari 1920, 330–335.

<sup>452</sup> See e.g. Heikkinen 1994, 133–136; Heikkinen, Heinonen, Kuusterä & Pekkarinen 2000, 175.

<sup>453</sup> The following text is mainly based on author's article published in 2008 (see Valtonen 2008).

be made to the original version.<sup>454</sup> He suggested, for instance, that the basic principles of mercantilism, exemplified by the Swedish Navigation Act of 1724 (*produktplakat*), should remain in force in Finland. After 1809 these regulations would give a competitive advantage to Finnish merchants and shipowners over their counterparts located in the other parts of the Russian Empire and particularly in the Baltic Sea area. Tulindberg also proposed that the system of staple towns should not change. In this system, commercial law limited foreign trade to a certain group of towns, so-called “staple towns” (*stapelstäderna*), which were easier to supervise and control.<sup>455</sup> Tulindberg’s proposal was then discussed in a meeting of the Senate. Because the Finnish suggestions would have meant considerable changes to the original Russian tariff, Tsar Alexander I asked the Russian Finance Minister, Count Dmitri Guryev, to give his opinion on the issue. Guryev, however, was not familiar with the Swedish legislation, and his statements were rather general. Even so, his criticism was directed against the advantages to trade and shipping pursued by the Finns.<sup>456</sup> In this situation, the Committee on Trade and Customs began its work in December 1811.<sup>457</sup>

The committee had seven official members: two of them were Counsellors of Commerce, two merchants and the rest government civil servants. In addition to them, 18 merchants and shipowners from the most important Finnish coastal towns were invited to submit their statements on the issues the committee was to consider.<sup>458</sup> The afore-mentioned merchant-shipowner Petter Johan Bladh, who had gained a vast knowledge of economic matters and politics by participating in political debates during the time of Swedish rule, also wrote a memorandum to the committee.<sup>459</sup> This group of businessmen represented the economic elite of the Finnish merchant community. They were also prominent figures in their hometowns and, as said earlier, several of them

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<sup>454</sup> Tulindberg was also a member of a smaller committee established in 1810 to consider the organization of a customs office in Finland. See Lindström 1905, 97–116; Heikkinen 1994, 136–144; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 61–65.

<sup>455</sup> A distinction was made between staple towns and land towns. The former, which were often the largest towns, enjoyed privileges in foreign trade, while the rights of the latter were more limited. After a political debate, the towns on the Gulf of Bothnia received staple rights in 1765. The system ceased to exist in Finland in 1868. For a further discussion on the staple town system, see e.g. Lähteenoja 1935, 134–137; Cederlöf 1964, 248–250; Paloposki 1976, 221–233; Ranta & Åström 1980, 255–263; Fällström & Mäntylä 1982, 178–181; Heikkinen 1994, 90–93; Carlén 1997, 247–252; Müller 1998, 43–44; Ojala 1999, 254–258. On the role of Anders Chydenius (1729–1803), a clergyman and a politician, in the debate on the staple rights policy, see Virrankoski 1986, 109–115, 163–167; Magnusson 2012.

<sup>456</sup> Lindström 1905, 117–129; Harmaja 1920, 74–87; Joustela 1963, 36–37; Heikkinen 1994, 154.

<sup>457</sup> See also Kuusterä & Tarkka 2011, 105–106.

<sup>458</sup> JyMa, Minutes of the Economic Department of the Senate (mf), 28.12.1811. See also Lindström 1905, 128; Heikkinen 1994, 154–156. The invited merchants were: Mårten Unonius and Jacob Holmstén (from Loviisa), Erik Solitander and Johan Solitander (Porvoo), Henrik Jacob Govinius, Lars Sederholm, Jacob Wendelius, Eric Borgström and Petter Heidenstrauch (Helsinki), Carl Hultman (Tammisaari), Johan Ascholin (Pori), Pehr Malm (Pietarsaari), Abraham Wasatjerna and Herman Höckert (Vaasa), Jan Kyntzell and Joachim Donner (Kokkola), Carl Magnus Engman and Zachris Wacklin (Oulu).

<sup>459</sup> See also Björkqvist 1986, 66.

were already (or would soon become) Counsellors of Commerce.<sup>460</sup> They were given only a short period of time to submit their statements to the committee, at the latest by the end of January 1812.<sup>461</sup> Although the schedule was tight, several well-substantiated and detailed statements describing and analyzing the economic situation and its likely future development in the Grand Duchy were submitted for the consideration of the committee.

The statements were clearly based on the writers' own experiences as merchants and shipowners, and they contained very strong opinions and suggestions regarding the development of the economic environment. The fact that the issues that the committee was considering had a direct influence on their economic success in the future encouraged businessmen to use their knowledge of commercial legislation to defend their claims. These proposals and demands were typically justified with two kinds of arguments. First, the businessmen attempted to convince the government that supporting trade and shipping activities would bring wealth and prosperity to certain areas and even to the whole country. Secondly, they warned that economic problems and a recession were to be expected if the government was not able to support trade and shipping as generously as the Swedish Crown had done.

A common feature of the statements written by the businessmen was an attempt to emphasize the position of their own industries. In their statements, the businessmen elucidated the problems they had faced in their business activities after Finland's separation from Sweden, and they also made concrete claims and proposals for developing the business environment and making it more efficient. One of their concerns was about a trade agreement between Sweden and Finland which had been made after the War of Finland in 1809 as a part of the Peace Treaty of Hamina. The trade agreement was due to end soon, which would mean that the special arrangements and benefits that Finland had gained in the treaty would not continue. Several merchants pointed out that this would harm the region of Ostrobothnia in particular. Trade from Finland's west coast to Sweden and, especially, to Stockholm had been an important source of income for Ostrobothnian merchants and peasants, who had exported goods such as tar, wood, hand-made artefacts and groceries to Sweden.<sup>462</sup> Furthermore, the merchants emphasized the fact that the shipbuilding industry also needed iron ore from Sweden because the Finnish ironworks often suffered from a shortage of high-quality raw materials.<sup>463</sup> Similar arguments had already been presented at the Diet of Porvoo in 1809 (see also Section 5.3).

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<sup>460</sup> See Finnish Business Leaders online collection (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/>) for biographies and the list of Counsellors of Commerce (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?p=6>). See also Section 6.3.

<sup>461</sup> JyMa, Minutes of the Economic Department of the Senate (mf), 28.12.1812.

<sup>462</sup> See e.g. Myllyntaus 1980, 348; Ojala 1999, 175–177, 252.

<sup>463</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812. Especially Donner, Bladh and the merchants from Vaasa and Helsinki drew attention to this issue.

The role of the freight trade was also highlighted in the statements.<sup>464</sup> Many of the Finnish merchant houses had participated in the freight trade in southern Europe during the Swedish era, and they had depended on it for an income, especially in wintertime. The Finnish merchants wanted to keep the right to conduct this trade after 1809, and its economic significance was constantly mentioned in the statements. In addition, questions relating to the salt trade were often stressed. In the 1770s Finnish staple towns had been ordered to import certain amounts of salt and store it in case the trade should founder as a result of the politically unstable situation. The merchants in these staple towns had made a profit by importing salt for other towns in their regions as well. Therefore, they wanted not only to keep their former rights, but a few of them also demanded more extensive rights to expand their business activities in the salt trade.<sup>465</sup>

Furthermore, the businessmen stressed the problems they had faced right after the war of 1808-1809 and demanded government support. They also reminded the government authorities that at the turn of the century the unstable political situation in Europe and the Napoleonic Wars had created problems in international shipping and trade, the unfavourable consequences of which had also spread to Finland. The Finnish merchants and shipowners sought to draw the authorities' attention to these difficulties by emphasizing the fact that Finnish vessels had already been harried by the English, the Danish and the French in the Baltic Sea area.<sup>466</sup> They also drew attention to measures that would secure safe shipping in the Mediterranean Sea. In order to safely reach the important Mediterranean ports beyond Cape Finisterre, vessels needed special passports issued by the so called Barbary states. These documents, which had secured the right of passage for Swedish vessels, had been a part of peace treaties between Sweden and the Barbary states.<sup>467</sup> Since the Russian Tsar had not signed similar treaties with these states, the Finnish merchants and shipowners requested that the Tsar should make arrangements to obtain the necessary documents for Finnish vessels. Otherwise, they required that the state should provide them with convoys to make shipping safer in a similar manner as the Swedish Crown had previously done.<sup>468</sup>

According to the statements, one of the most important issues in the discussion was the Swedish Navigation Act of 1724 and its amendments of 1726. The act had strongly favoured Swedish (which then included Finnish)

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<sup>464</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812. Statements submitted by Ascholin, Donner, Unonius and Holmsten.

<sup>465</sup> Donner was one of those who emphasized the significance of the salt trade in their statements. For further details on the salt trade, see e.g. Alanen 1957a, 244-276; Carlén 1997.

<sup>466</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812, statements submitted by Ascholin, Donner, Malm and Unonius. On the political situation, see e.g. Kaukiainen 2008, 188-190.

<sup>467</sup> Korhonen 1963, 246; Kaukiainen 2006, 138-142; Kaukiainen 2008, 186-217; Ojala 1997b, 340-343; Ojala 1999, 258-268.

<sup>468</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812. Donner, Wasastierna and Höckert drew attention to this issue. See also Alanen 1957a, 374-382; Ojala 1996, 76-78; Müller 2004, 49-166.

merchants and shipowners over foreign competitors. The Finnish businessmen also referred to the arrangements that had, for example, allowed domestic ships reductions in dues collected by the state.<sup>469</sup> The Swedish Navigation Act was of great importance for the Finnish merchant-shipowners, who would benefit from it because Russia had no similar legislation.<sup>470</sup> Compared to Sweden, protection of property rights in Russia was seen as inadequate.<sup>471</sup> The Swedish Crown had secured merchants' property rights, and it had also supported overseas commerce and shipping with the help of different kinds of agreements, consular services and convoy protection.<sup>472</sup> Behind this policy lay the Crown's view of the important role of trade and shipping in the economy. Consequently, the merchants criticized, in particular, the afore-mentioned Russian Finance Minister Guryev, who had opposed granting these benefits to Finland. For example, Petter Johan Bladh, who wrote a very detailed memorandum, said in the first few lines that the minister had entirely misunderstood the most critical points of the Swedish Navigation Act. Other merchants, too, opposed Guryev's views. One of their criticisms was that Guryev was not well-informed about the Swedish legislation and its features.<sup>473</sup>

The merchants and shipowners also compared the Finnish situation to conditions prevailing in other European countries. They sought to gain support for their arguments by claiming that similar circumstances abroad had promoted economic growth. For example, Joachim Donner, the patriarch of the leading merchant house in the town of Kokkola, considered England and Holland as good examples because these countries favoured domestic merchants and ships built in their own country by granting them lower customs and port fees.<sup>474</sup> One of the important issues the merchants emphasized was that Finnish trade had to be protected from foreign encroachments.<sup>475</sup>

One of the subjects brought up repeatedly in the statements was found in cases where businessmen drew attention to intangible overheads. Bladh, for example, saw the creation of business networks as a factor that raised the overheads incurred in making commercial exchanges (transaction costs in more modern terminology). He metaphorically likened trade to a fast-flowing stream that once it had found its course continued to follow it.<sup>476</sup> Merchants tended to

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<sup>469</sup> The businessmen referred to the so-called *hel- och halofrihet* (whole and half exemption) that had allowed Finnish vessels a reduction in dues levied on foreign ones.

<sup>470</sup> The Swedish Navigation Act was basically very similar to the English Navigation Act of 1651. See e.g. Müller 2004, 61–65; Kaukiainen 2006, 134; Heinonen 2011, 169; Magnusson 2012, 14.

<sup>471</sup> Virrankoski 1986, 288–297; Ojala 1996, 76–77; Ojala 1999, 261; Müller 2004, 37–48; Keskinen 2010, 66–67.

<sup>472</sup> See e.g. Müller 2004.

<sup>473</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812. Bladh, Donner, Malm, Unonius, Wasastierna and Höckert criticized Guryev's views. See also Heikkinen 1994, 154–155.

<sup>474</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812, Statements written by Donner, Wasastierna and Höckert.

<sup>475</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812, Donner's statement.

<sup>476</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812, Bladh's statement. Bladh's opinions have some similarities with those put forward by Anders

act in a similar manner; they had their own agents and trading partners with whom they did business and whom they trusted. In other words, established relationships and networks affected business activities and caused merchants to act in a certain manner – in practice they did business with particular foreign merchants and merchant houses. The trust that existed between the different parties was an important factor in this. In addition to Bladh, other merchants also made comments on similar matters and provided detailed information on issues they especially wanted to emphasize. The merchant-shipowners actively referred to the above-mentioned intangible overheads as an argument in asking for government support for trade and shipping.

Furthermore, several merchants and shipowners referred to the benefits the state – and society generally – would gain if foreign trade and shipping flourished. They argued that successful business activities would bring wealth and prosperity because the recovery of trade and shipping could also improve living conditions and create employment. Obviously, the businessmen laid more weight on activities that would develop and support their own lines of business rather than other industries: for example, they claimed that it was not possible to engage in other kinds of industry in Finland owing to the harsh climate or that the small size of the population made it impossible to establish large industrial units.<sup>477</sup> Most likely, they reasoned that if other industries were not seen as profitable alternatives, it would be easier to justify their own demands and claim that trade and shipping were the only industries that could provide economic development and prosperity.

Several scholars have previously pointed out that the concept of collective benefits, or the common good, was an integral part of the language used in the statements written by business actors engaged in commercial exchange in the pre-modern period.<sup>478</sup> This kind of rhetoric was widely used in the cases under discussion, too. The merchants and shipowners argued that trade and shipping produced “national profit” (Swedish: *national vinst* or *national välmåga*), or what is more generally known as “the common good” (*allmänna bästa*, *allmänna välmågan*).<sup>479</sup> They also stressed the fact that economic progress in Finland would also be beneficial to the Russian Empire and the sovereign himself. It seems that the businessmen easily associated the common good with their own private interests. They saw their own economic success as the key to Finland’s prosperity. The merchants and shipowners were careful enough not to say this aloud, but it is evident that their own interests and the common good were interconnected in their arguments.

In the statements written by the businessmen, several sometimes conflicting goals, interests, motives and opinions were intertwined. Naturally,

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Chydenius a few decades earlier. See also Virrankoski 1986, 134–135, 138, 141–142, 168.

<sup>477</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812, especially Malm’s and Donner’s statements.

<sup>478</sup> See e.g. Karonen 2004; Nurmiainen 2009.

<sup>479</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 16 GG 1812, Malm’s and Donner’s statements.



not all the businessmen saw the economic situation in the same way. Some merchants, for example, expressed more extreme opinions and demands than others, or they took great pains to emphasize some particular question. It must also be borne in mind that the merchants were not all in the same position as some of them came from towns which enjoyed more extensive rights to practise overseas trade than others. However, it seems that in view of the uncertain situation, conflicting interests were not highlighted and the tone was usually conciliatory. The common feature connecting this group of businessmen was their aim to maintain the privileges and rights that had already been granted to their industries during the Swedish era, and they did this by emphasizing the common good and collective interests.

Certainly, the opportunity to participate in committee work was an important way to influence government decision-making. Membership of a committee or an invitation to act as an expert consultant meant an entry to the political arena in a situation where there were not many possibilities to exert direct political influence. The committee work gave representatives of business life a way to provide the decision-makers with details about the current economic environment and the issues that were hindering economic development. Here, the role of information is emphasized by the fact that, for example, the merchants and shipowners repeatedly reminded the powers that be of how well the Swedish Crown had been in touch with the economic situation in Finland. They compared the current situation with the Swedish era and explained how the Swedish authorities had taken an interest in the situation in Finland and how they had employed their knowledge to benefit the Finnish people.

The committee finished its memorandum in early February 1812, after which the Senate held a debate and drew up a proposal for a Finnish customs tariff which took into account the opinions of the businessmen.<sup>480</sup> The proposal defended the Swedish Navigation Act and opposed the extra duties Finance Minister Guryev had proposed. On the basis of this proposal, Tsar Alexander I ratified a new tariff for the Grand Duchy of Finland. It came into force in June 1812 and secured the benefits of trade and shipping in almost the same form as the Swedish legislation had done. The continuation of these economic benefits is often seen as being in line with the policy of the Tsar to win trust in Finland. Thanks to the arrangements of 1812, Finland also became a separate customs area, a factor that was to be important for future developments.<sup>481</sup>

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<sup>480</sup> JyMa, Minutes of the Economic Department of the Senate (mf), 7.2.1812.

<sup>481</sup> Lindström 1905, 117-159; Harmaja 1920, 88-116; Heikkinen 1994, 136-156; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 206-208.

### 4.3 The established merchantry and foreign-born merchants

#### 4.3.1 The process of acquiring a merchant's status in a Finnish town

Whereas customs tariffs or trade agreements with foreign nations were a major concern of the business actors involved in large-scale commerce and shipping, the majority of the ordinary merchants and traders usually contacted the highest decision-makers on issues which emerged from the local business environment. As we have already seen in Chapter 3, there were 154 appeals relating to burgher's rights (68 concerning commerce and 86 concerning crafts, that is 18 percent of the whole sampled data) and, the processes involved in acquiring burgher's rights were among the most common reasons for contacting the decision-makers over the reference years between 1810 and 1850 (see Table 13).<sup>482</sup> In view of the fact that only some of those whose petitions for burgher's rights were rejected by town courts actually appealed to higher instances, one can assume that the actual number of appeals must have been far higher. This conclusion is corroborated by local and town histories, which describe numerous such cases.<sup>483</sup>

TABLE 13 Appeals concerning burgher's rights according to the segment of the economy involved (commerce and craft trades) (1810–1850)

Reference year	Craft trades	Commerce	Total
1810	4	13	17
1815	7	6	13
1820	11	4	15
1825	10	8	18
1830	16	3	19
1835	4	3	7
1840	12	12	24
1845	10	7	17
1850	12	12	24
Total	86	68	154

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

With regard to commercial cases, the issue in question is how the established merchantry and the town courts used their authority in relation to new candidate merchants and how they defined who was to be allowed to practise a trade in a certain town and who was not. Before engaging in a more detailed account of the cases illustrating how this kind of differentiation was conducted especially in the early decades of nineteenth century, I shall discuss the process of how a "would-be merchant" petitioned for burgher's rights in a Finnish town.

<sup>482</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>483</sup> E.g. Nikander 1932; Lähteenoja 1941; Waris 1950; Cederlöf 1964; Castrén 1957; Wuorinen 1959 and 1966; Nikula 1970 and 1971; Ruuth & Kuujo 1975; Mäkelä 1985.

The procedure for obtaining burgher's rights was based on the Code of the Realm 1734, the privileges of the Estates, the Act of Union and Security (*Förenings- och säkerhetsakten*) of 1789 and regulations concerning guilds.<sup>484</sup> Actually, the legislation in Sweden – and then in Finland after 1809 – was more restrictive than in the other Nordic countries.<sup>485</sup> The law stipulated that only males could be accepted as candidates. Female candidates could only be granted rights as “titular burghers”, as was pointed out in Chapter 3. The procedure required that the candidate for burgher's rights submit a petition to the town court in the town where he wished to settle. Other town dwellers' petitions, permits and licences were also dealt with in these courts, the duties of which included the control and supervision not only of commerce but also of many other activities in urban areas.<sup>486</sup>

In order to obtain burgher's rights, a candidate had to prove that he was a qualified professional, had undergone the required training and possessed the necessary certificates, in addition to which he had to provide security for the payment of rates and taxes for a period of six years.<sup>487</sup> Candidates with physical disabilities were debarred: for example, in 1840 a certain Samuel Snellman's petition was refused by Kajaani Town Court. He complained about the decision to the Senate, but his appeal was again rejected. The reason given was that Snellman was blind and therefore he was not considered capable of taking care of a business alone.<sup>488</sup> In addition to the above-mentioned qualifications, other reasons such as wealth, personal abilities, an untarnished reputation, background and social networks could be relevant criteria for acquiring the status of a merchant. Especially in small towns, suitable contacts and good networks were of importance for the future prospects of a candidate merchant.<sup>489</sup>

Most importantly, the decisions made by town courts could be influenced by merchants' societies (composed of established merchants) since the courts were obliged to hear their views in connection with the applications. It is likely that there were internal divisions and disputes among the burghers when they discussed and evaluated the candidates' applications, but the burghers tended to have an interest in minimizing public knowledge of these issues. Needless to say, in many cases members of the established business elite attempted to complicate or hamper the process in order to limit competition in their home towns. Thus the town courts – and the merchant societies through their

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<sup>484</sup> Nikula 1971, 509–510; Ericsson 1982, 367; Fällström & Mäntylä 1982, 249–250. Crafts were regulated in the towns by the Guild Law of 1720, but in the early nineteenth century some modifications were made to the existing regulations in Finland, see e.g. Groundstroem 1911, 365–368.

<sup>485</sup> Ericsson 1982, 367.

<sup>486</sup> Talka 2005b, 298–299.

<sup>487</sup> *Ruotzin waldacunnan laki. Hywäxi luettu ja wastan otettu Herrain päiwillä wuonna 1734* [The Code of the Realm 1734] (1984), Cauppa Caari, III. Lucu. Cuinga porwari-oikeus woitetta mahta. See also Groundstroem 1911, 370; Nikula 1981, 242.

<sup>488</sup> NA, Digital Archives, Minutes of the Economic Department of the Senate, the second division, Ca:116, 10.4.1840. See also Subsection 3.4.1.

<sup>489</sup> E.g. Castrén 1957, 21–27; Mäntylä 1981, 53–64; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 127–144; Hakala 2002, 25; Rähä 2012, 135.

comments – could control the competition by defining who was seen as an eligible candidate to pursue economic activities in the town in question.<sup>490</sup> In one sense, burgher's rights could be seen as a kind of barrier to entry into commerce and craft trades.<sup>491</sup>

If the town court estimated that the candidate was qualified, he received burgher's rights for life.<sup>492</sup> However, if the candidate's petition for burgher's rights was not successful in the town court, the candidate could dispute the decision by appealing to the ruler (in effect, the Senate).<sup>493</sup> In addition, the established burghers in some Finnish towns adopted a very unfavourable attitude towards newcomers to whom the town court had granted burgher's rights, and they eventually appealed to the highest decision-makers.<sup>494</sup> Thus there were two kinds of appeals among the sampled data: those of unsuccessful candidates and those of established merchants protesting about successful ones.

In the reference years, the majority of the appeals recorded in the Registers of Petitions concerning burgher's rights were usually submitted by single individuals, and the number of collective appeals was only 32 percent. Males were, naturally, in the majority among both the appellants and respondents, but a few women are also found.<sup>495</sup> One of them was Catharina Sessling,<sup>496</sup> a widow of a craftsman (a maker of glazed tile stoves [*kakelugnsmakare*]) in the town of Vaasa. She actively participated in collective petitions and contacted the local town court or the Senate to protect her own business interests. In 1815 she submitted an appeal in her own name protesting against the decision of Vaasa Town Court to grant burgher's rights to a journeyman called J. E. Frisenfeldt.<sup>497</sup> Based on the original documents, Sessling – like many of her counterparts – was not able to write her own name, but not even her lack of education could stop her from contacting the highest decision-makers. The sampled data demonstrate that women also attempted to obtain burgher's rights during the reference years although their economic rights were formally more limited than those of males. Women's petitions and appeals concerning commercial activities are considered in the last section of the present chapter.

### 4.3.2 Foreigners' rights to engage in commerce

The uncertainty about the rights of persons of Russian origin was a burning question in Finnish towns immediately after the War of Finland, and the

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<sup>490</sup> On the influence of merchants' societies at the local level, see Paavilainen 1996, 8. See also Lindeqvist 1930; Castrén 1954, Mauranen 1981; Keskinen 2005.

<sup>491</sup> Lindberg 2001, 40–41. See also Lanzaico 2008, 302–304.

<sup>492</sup> If a merchant wanted to resign his burgher's rights – for example, owing to economic problems – he had to make a declaration to this effect to the town court in his home town, see Nikander 1932, 14–15; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 92.

<sup>493</sup> Keskinen 2005, 127; Talka 2005b, 298–299.

<sup>494</sup> See e.g. Groundstroem 1911, 365–368; Castrén 1957, 134–137; Paavilainen 1996, 9.

<sup>495</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>496</sup> Mäkelä 1985, 76–77, 223, 467.

<sup>497</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810; NA, STO AD 486/142 1815, Catharina Sessling's appeal.

attitude towards them was at first somewhat hostile. At the Diet of Porvoo in 1809, the Burghers had already sought protection from their new Russian rivals, claiming that the Russian *marketentare* were settling in all Finnish towns and encroaching on their rightful commercial privileges and rights.<sup>498</sup> The disturbance caused by the presence of Russians who operated without formal merchant's rights was raised repeatedly by the established merchantry over the years following the Diet of 1809, as we will see later in this section.

The uncertainty caused by the emergence of numerous Russians in Finland after the war brought challenges to the local and national authorities, who were not sure how questions relating to their economic rights should be treated and solved. In principle, foreign-born candidates who wanted to obtain formal rights as merchants or craftsmen in Finnish towns had to apply for burgher's rights from the local town courts just like native Finns. The legal regulations governing the rights of foreigners to trade stemmed from the Code of the Realm 1734, the stipulations of which were repeatedly appealed to by native merchants who felt that the newcomers were violating their ancient privileges and rights.<sup>499</sup>

It seems that the relationship between the established merchantry and the Russian newcomers as well as that between them and the government authorities were beset with repeated misunderstandings and in some cases maybe even ignorance. At first, immediately after the war, the Russian *marketentare* were only allowed to serve customers in the garrisons (officers, other ranks and their families) but not in other parts of Finnish towns.<sup>500</sup> However, some of them also sold their goods – albeit illegally – to local people, who preferred the cheaper prices and larger selections provided by the Russians. Often their stores offered a wide selection of goods, and they could become quite significant emporia, such as the ones in Viapori, a sea fortress on some islets just off Helsinki. After the war Viapori was under Russian military administration, and it became inhabited by a large number of Russian troops. In consequence, the fortress attracted Russian merchants.<sup>501</sup> One of the merchants in Viapori was Nikolai Sinebrychhoff, who quickly obtained monopoly rights to produce and sell beer and spirits in the fortress. He also succeeded in establishing a position in the centre of Helsinki and finally built his own brewery there.<sup>502</sup>

The established merchantry considered that the Russian *marketentare* constantly broke local regulations in various towns, and this led to some

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<sup>498</sup> *Vällöflige borgerståndets protokollef vid landtagen i Borgå år 1809* [Minutes of the Worthy Estate of Burghers at the Diet of Porvoo of 1809] (1886), 189–191 and 221–222. See also Lindström 1905, 65; Danielson-Kalmari 1920, 324; Nikander 1932, 66; Halila 1965, 527–528; Perälä 1970, 51–52; Heikkinen 2009, 88–90.

<sup>499</sup> *Ruotzin waldacunnan laki. Hyväxi luettu ja vastaan otettu Herrain päiwiällä wuonna 1734* [The Code of the Realm 1734] (1984), Cauppa Caari, III. Lucu. Cuinga porwari-oikeus woitetta mahta, 1.§. and 2. §.

<sup>500</sup> Heikkinen 2009, 94. On regulations concerning Russian *marketentare* in the early decades of the nineteenth century, see Halén 2004.

<sup>501</sup> Repo-Lehikoinen 2002, 42; Engman 2009, 222–223.

<sup>502</sup> Heikkinen 2009, 90–94.

tension between them and the Russians. Another reason for attempts to exclude the Russians from the market was that *marketentare* did not pay burghers' taxes or dues to the town administration.<sup>503</sup> It has been claimed that these factors created an atmosphere of uncertainty and competition between the two groups.<sup>504</sup> As a consequence, government officials received petitions from native merchants urging tighter control of the trade practised by the Russians.<sup>505</sup> In order to curb the numbers of Russian *marketentare* in Finland, the Governor General ordered in early December 1809 that the commanders of military units should prepare lists of those Russians merchants who were allowed to serve the Russian military in garrisons located in Finland, and that the other Russian merchants outside these garrisons should not be allowed to engage in commerce. If some of them wished to continue their commercial activities, they had to apply for burgher's rights and resign their commercial rights in Russia since, according to the Swedish commercial legislation in force in Finland, a merchant could not have commercial rights in two towns. The county governors were informed about these orders, and they in turn passed them on to the local administrative bodies. A little while later, the Senate made these orders more explicit by stating that those Russian traders who had not been selected to serve the Russian military must end their business activities by the end of March 1810.<sup>506</sup>

In practice, however, uncertainty about the position and rights of the Russian businessmen continued in various regions of the country. A petition delivered to the Senate – which was then located in Turku, the capital city of the time – in April 1810 provides an example of the situation in that city. The petition, which was signed by 12 established merchants of the town, claimed that some Russians had not followed the orders of the government authorities and had remained active in the town and thus continued to violate the burghers' legal rights and harm their businesses.<sup>507</sup> The merchants of other Finnish towns likewise experienced the newly arrived Russian merchants as a disturbance and called for stricter ordinances to regulate their commercial activities.<sup>508</sup>

Many of the Russians who decided to apply for burgher's rights in order to stay on in Finnish towns as legal merchants found that the established merchantry did not respond in a favourable manner to their applications. The most persistent of those whose applications were refused by a town court eventually appealed to the highest decision-makers. The following tables

<sup>503</sup> Lehtonen 1936, 74–75.

<sup>504</sup> Nikander 1932, 66–71; Yrjänä 2009b, 38.

<sup>505</sup> See e.g. Perälä 1970, 52; Hakala 2002, 20–31.

<sup>506</sup> See e.g. Nikander 1932, 66; Lehtonen 1936, 78–79.

<sup>507</sup> NA, STO AD 232/171 1810, the petition by the merchants of Turku. Based on the notes in the original case file, the petition was delivered by a person designated as *handlande Gestrin*, which surely refers to Gabriel Gestrin, who had also signed the petition. He was granted the honorific title of Counsellor of Commerce in 1810. See Pussinen 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=20,23.3.2012>) for more information on Gestrin and his good relationship with the highest government officials.

<sup>508</sup> See e.g. Lehtonen 1936, 74–83 on the conflicts between the town authorities, the established merchantry and Russian merchants in Oulu.

provide further evidence of the numbers of the appeals delivered to the Senate's Economic Department in the reference years between 1810 and 1850. The first table (Table 14) shows all the appeals regarding burgher's rights to practise commerce and craft trades registered in the reference years.

TABLE 14 Appeals regarding burgher's rights according to the ethnic origins of the applicants (commerce and craft trades) (1810–1850)

Reference year	Native	Russian	Other foreigners	Various nationalities*
1810	9	8	-	-
1815	13	-	-	-
1820	15	-	-	-
1825	14	3	1	-
1830	16	2	1	-
1835	6	-	1	-
1840	23	1	-	-
1845	15	1	1	-
1850	22	1	-	1
Total	133	16	4	1

\*) This category comprises collective appeals in which business actors of more than one nationality were involved; there are cases in which the applicants were either foreign-born business actors representing more than one ethnic group or native and foreign-born business actors acting as co-applicants.

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

The majority of appeals, 133 out of 154, were submitted by native Finnish business actors, while 21 appeals (16 percent) were lodged by foreign-born individuals.<sup>509</sup> In addition, foreign-born persons were mentioned as the respondents of appeals in approximately half a dozen cases. This number might well have been many times greater.<sup>510</sup> When we take a closer look at the appeals relating only to commerce (see Table 15), we find that the role of foreign-born individuals is rather more prominent in certain years.

<sup>509</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>510</sup> It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of cases in which a foreign-born individual was the respondent of an appeal. In a few cases it was clearly stated that the person in question was not a native Finn. The existence of these notes suggests that it was important for the recorders to state whether the person who was the respondent of the appeal was a foreigner.

TABLE 15 Appeals regarding burgher's rights according to the ethnic origins of the applicants (commerce) (1810–1850)

Reference year	Natives	Russians	Other foreigners	Various nationalities*
1810	5	8	-	-
1815	6	-	-	-
1820	4	-	-	-
1825	4	3	1	-
1830	2	1	-	-
1835	2	-	1	-
1840	11	1	-	-
1845	6	1	-	-
1850	10	1	-	1
Total	50	15	2	1

\*) This category comprises collective appeals in which business actors of more than one nationality were involved; there are cases in which the applicants were either foreign-born business actors representing more than one ethnic group or native and foreign-born business actors acting as co-applicants.

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

In commerce, the number of appeals regarding burgher's rights filed by foreign-born persons was highest in 1810. Their share decreased soon afterwards, and only a few appeals were filed in the last reference years. Of the appeals submitted by native Finns shown in the table, almost 29 percent came from the two major cities: Helsinki and Turku. Similarly, a considerable number of the cases lodged by business actors of foreign origins came from these cities.<sup>511</sup>

One reason for the above-mentioned decrease in the number of appeals submitted by Russians from the late 1810s onwards might be that new instructions in the form of an Imperial Missive (*Kejserliga Bref*) were issued on 13 November 1819.<sup>512</sup> The instructions introduced a new procedure for processing Russian merchant's petitions for burgher's rights: henceforward petitions submitted by Russian candidates were to be sent together with the statements of the town courts first to the provincial governors, who in turn would deliver the documents to the Governor-General and then to the Tsar.<sup>513</sup> This procedure was obviously aimed at securing the interests of Russian candidates. Although the Governor-General and the Tsar were informed of the submitted petitions, the final decision was made according to the established legislation.<sup>514</sup> Also further changes or adjustments were made concerning Russian merchants', burghers' as well as peasants' immigration to Finland in

<sup>511</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>512</sup> *Samling af de i Storfurstendömet Finland gällande och intill år 1855 utkomne författningar* [Collection of decrees issued and in force in Finland up to 1855] (1855), 256–267.

<sup>513</sup> Engman 1978b, 196–197. See also Perälä 1970, 51–53.

<sup>514</sup> *Samling af de i Storfurstendömet Finland gällande och intill år 1855 utkomne författningar* [Collection of decrees issued and in force in Finland up to 1855] (1855), 256–267.



following decades.<sup>515</sup> It is difficult to estimate the actual influence of this ordinance because the total number of the petitions filed by Russian candidates after 1819 is not known. Presumably, the number of petitions for burghers' rights grew since the proportion of the Russian merchants in Finnish towns continued to increase.

The results indicate that the foreigners (i.e. Russians and other foreign-born individuals), who appealed to the highest decision-makers, were primarily seeking the rights to engage in commerce. If we take a closer look to the figures for all appeals regarding burgher's rights, we find that there were only three cases in which a foreign-born individual designated as a craftsman complained to the Senate over burgher's rights. They concerned two Swiss confectioners and one Russian painter journeyman (*målare gesäll*).<sup>516</sup> Previous studies have also shown that the craft guilds regulated the number of newcomers entering their trades very strictly, and many of the Russian newcomers in particular were excluded. This brought about a situation whereby numerous Russian craftsmen earned their living as unofficial artisans in Finland.<sup>517</sup> It must be noted that not all of the Russian merchants and craftsmen who had come to Finland applied for burgher's rights in the early years of the Age of Autonomy as some of them soon moved back to Russia or simply went off and did not return.<sup>518</sup>

In this context, it is particularly important to note that the process of obtaining a merchant's status in a Finnish town was in many ways different from that in a Russian one: while the process was very tightly controlled in Finnish towns, where the established town burghers were able to influence the total number of new merchants, the Russian system was based on declared wealth.<sup>519</sup> Since the social order and estate system in Russia differed considerably from that in Finland and Western Europe, there was no actual estate of burghers; rather the merchants formed a kind of social group (*soslovie*) of their own. Moreover, the Russian merchantry was divided into three guilds according to the members' declared capital.<sup>520</sup> The special characteristics of the

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<sup>515</sup> Jussila 1978, 8. See also Engman 1978a and 1978b. Furthermore, an important instruction concerning foreigners seeking burgher's rights in Finland was issued in 1832 (*Samling af de i Storfurstendömet Finland gällande och intill år 1855 utkomne författningar* [Collection of decrees issued and in force in Finland up to 1855] (1855), p. 346). This concerned other foreigners than those coming from Russia. It stipulated that they must obtain Finnish citizenship and swear an oath of loyalty (*tro- och huldhetsed*) before they could apply for burgher's rights, see Mikkola 1984, 211–212; Hjerppe & Ahvenainen 1989, 287.

<sup>516</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>517</sup> Waris 1950, 27; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 214–215; Hakala 2002, 44–46.

<sup>518</sup> Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 79.

<sup>519</sup> Engman 1978b; Rieber 1982; Talka 2005b, 300; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2009, 19–20.

<sup>520</sup> On the *soslovie* organization of Russian society, see e.g. Gleason 1991, 23–27; Owen 1991, 76–77. On merchants' guilds, see Engman 1978b, 191; Ruuth & Kuujo 1975, 128–131; Ulianova 2009, 10–12; Kauppi 1993, 54 and the literature mentioned therein. The division of merchants into guilds dated back to the early 1720s, the age of Peter I. The regulations issued in the late eighteenth century (in the so-called Charter to the Towns) divided the merchantry into three guilds according to the amount of an individual's declared capital and the extent of his or her commercial activity. The

system contributed to the fact that the merchants in Russia were not such a homogeneous group and that the social spectrum engaged in commerce was wide: on the one hand, there were poorly educated merchants, many of whom had recently emerged from the peasantry<sup>521</sup> and, on the other, there was a wealthy business elite who had close connections with the policy-makers. It could be said that the merchantry was divided along both horizontal and vertical lines as a consequence of the guild system and ethnic and religious diversity. For these reasons, as Alfred J. Rieber points out, it was difficult for the Russian merchantry to act collectively in the political arena. Industrialists in Russia were also characterized by a similar social diversity.<sup>522</sup>

As the sampled data suggest, there are numerous examples which indicate that the different systems of ensuring property rights caused problematic situations in several Finnish towns after 1809 as the Russian newcomers did not know – or did not care – how to deal with the legal procedures. However, the variations in the institutional framework between Finland and Russia were not always regarded only as a disadvantage, and those who wished to establish themselves as merchants in Russia learned quickly how to take as much advantage of the Finnish system as possible.<sup>523</sup> This arose from the fact that in 1825 the Tsar had granted the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Finland unlimited rights to engage in trade in Russia.<sup>524</sup> After the enactment of this regulation, it became advantageous for businessmen who wanted to pursue business activities on the Russian side of the border to seek burgher's rights in Finnish towns. Once an applicant obtained a formal position as a burgher in a Finnish town, he received many advantages compared to the Russian guild system: while he was allowed to practise a trade in Russia, he paid taxes and duties only to the Finnish town which had granted him burgher's rights. This was an important benefit since the level of taxation was more moderate in Finnish towns than in Russian ones. Besides, burgher's rights in Finland were granted for life, unlike in Russia, where merchants who faced economic hardship could lose their positions since the system was based on declared wealth. These motives encouraged Russians, Finns and persons of other nationalities who resided on the Russian side of the border to pursue burgher's rights in Finland.<sup>525</sup>

Max Engman, who has studied Russian merchants, employs the term *skenborgare* (pseudo-burgher) to describe those who profited from the Finnish

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wealthiest merchants belonged to the first guild, in which the members had the widest rights to engage in commerce, including domestic and overseas trade. The merchants of the second guild were allowed to engage in domestic trade, while the members of the third guild were permitted to engage in petty trade in urban and rural areas. In addition to the merchantry, townspeople were allowed to engage in small-scale entrepreneurial activities.

<sup>521</sup> Rieber 1982, 45–52.

<sup>522</sup> Rieber 1984, 240.

<sup>523</sup> Nordernstreng 1912, 643.

<sup>524</sup> Engman 1978b, 189–195; Talka 2005b, 300. Behind this decision lay a long-standing uncertainty about the economic rights of Finns in Russia.

<sup>525</sup> Castrén 1957, 30–34; Engman 1978b, 189–195; Talka 2005b, 300.

system in this way. According to Engman, burgher's rights were liberally granted to applicants who never actually visited or lived in Finland.<sup>526</sup> Finnish towns accepted this phenomenon since they also benefited from it: the flood of petitions for burgher's rights was welcomed because the towns' revenues increased along with the numbers of burghers and, in any case, it was not in their interests to reject the new applicants, who – since they resided elsewhere – did not consume the town's resources. This phenomenon was typical in the towns of Old Finland such as Hamina, Loviisa and Lappeenranta, where the number of these pseudo-burghers was considerable.<sup>527</sup>

However, the primary source material consulted in this study does not capture this side-effect. Clearly, the non-resident burghers did not constitute a threat to the established merchantry in that they existed only in the official registers and did not claim their economic and political rights in their pseudo-home towns in Finland. Their real number is difficult to estimate, but at its highest it amounted to several hundred in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the town of Hamina alone in 1841, the *borgerskap* included around 500 pseudo-burghers and their family members, who likewise did not reside permanently in the town. It is estimated that the number must have been much higher in the 1850s and the 1860s. This phenomenon is connected with the economic growth that was taking place, and it has been claimed that the number of these non-resident burghers decreased after the mid-1850s as the economic situation became less favourable and the dues payable to the town administration were raised in Finland.<sup>528</sup>

Moreover, to some Russian merchants the annexed country of Finland appeared to be a suitable place to seek emerging, profitable business opportunities, and they used the situation in order to pursue their own advantages in very opportunistic ways. For example, a Russian merchant called Mathra Saitzoff, who operated in Porvoo immediately after the war, was willing to take great risks with borrowed money. He had prominent local businessmen as business partners, and from them he obtained funding for his business endeavours in both Finland and Russia (particularly St. Petersburg). Eventually, he was bankrupted and fled to Russia, where he was arrested. Certainly, Saitzoff left behind a very complicated web of unsuccessful business affairs and debts, which were not cleared up until the mid-1810s.<sup>529</sup> Saitzoff's business affairs were also brought before the highest government authorities much later: at the turn of the 1830s, one of his Finnish creditors, a merchant called Johan Fabian Kniper from Porvoo, attempted to collect unpaid debts amounting to almost 2240 roubles from Saitzoff by appealing to the Minister Secretary of State.<sup>530</sup> Saitzoff had sought financial assistance from Kniper in the 1810s, but apparently he did not repay his loans before disappearing to Russia.

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<sup>526</sup> Engman 1978b, 197–199.

<sup>527</sup> Engman 1978b; Leitzinger 2008b, 306–307; Talka 2009a, 2009b and 2009c.

<sup>528</sup> Nordernstrengh 1912, 643–644.

<sup>529</sup> Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 76–77; Yrjänä 2009b, 36–37.

<sup>530</sup> NA, Digital Archives, Archives of the Governor General's Chancellery, Folder lists translated into Finnish, 1830. See also Section 3.1.

On the basis of a brief look at the folder lists of the General Governor's Chancellery over a few reference years, it seems that Kniper's appeal was not an exception and that several Finnish merchants whose former business partners had absconded back to Russia sought for compensation with the help of the highest authorities.<sup>531</sup>

The next section presents a closer account of the relationship between native and foreign-born merchants and of their attempts to influence the opinions of the highest decision-makers in cases concerning the refusal of an application for burgher's rights. My aim is to use these cases to throw some light on the question of why businessmen became politically active and how they actually behaved in the political arena.

#### 4.3.3 The established merchantry and the newcomers in conflict

A bookkeeper called Demitri Parigin was among the first Russians whose appeal over a refused petition for obtaining burgher's rights as a petty trader was recorded in the Register of Petitions in the early years of the Age of Autonomy. Parigin's appeal, which was registered in November 1810,<sup>532</sup> reflected his frustration over the rejection of his petition by the town court in Helsinki. Parigin accused the established merchants of trying to create a monopoly of their own in Helsinki and claimed this was detrimental to the economic development of the whole country.<sup>533</sup> The Helsinki Merchant Society, whose response to Parigin's protest was included in the case file containing documents related to this case, emphasized that in the first place it had followed the local regulations and considered the prevailing economic situation in dealing with Parigin's requests. The Society also brought up the question of language skills: Parigin had not been able to take the required merchant exam because he could only speak Russian, which none of the members of the Merchant Society had a command of, and hence it had not been possible to organize the examination for him.<sup>534</sup>

Parigin's claims were not exceptionally strong, but similar arguments were employed by other merchant candidates of Russian origin such as the above-mentioned Timofei Makuschin (see Section 3.5). In June 1810 Makuschin, a former St Petersburg-based merchant and an established member of the second guild, declared his wish to gain burgher's rights and a position as a merchant with rights to engage in domestic and foreign trade in Helsinki. Makuschin had followed the Russian military to Finland in 1808. However,

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<sup>531</sup> NA, Digital Archives, Archives of the Governor General's Chancellery, Folder lists translated into Finnish, 1830-1840.

<sup>532</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810.

<sup>533</sup> NA, STO AD 623/114 1810, Demitri Parigin's appeal. In his publication on the Russian merchants in Viapori, Harry Halén (2004, p. 4) refers to the same case. Halén writes the name as *Dmitri Parygin*. Halén has consulted the correspondence between a high-ranking Russian commander and the Governor-General Steinheil. The rejection of the application by Helsinki Town Court was criticized by the Russian commander.

<sup>534</sup> NA, STO AD 623/114 1810, Demitri Parigin's appeal.

after a few months he learnt that his petition had been rejected by the town court. Much ink was used when he submitted his appeal to the Finnish Senate.<sup>535</sup>

His appeal not only shed light on the hardships a merchant of Russian origin could face in a Finnish town, but it also tells a story about the opportunities of business actors to influence the highest decision-makers in the early nineteenth-century. In his letter, registered on the 29 November 1810, Makuschin explained that he had come to Finland because of an imperial order that a certain number of merchants were to follow the Russian Army. He emphasized that he considered it to be his duty to serve the Tsar and follow the army over the border. He seemed to think that it was necessary to underline the fact that he had also suffered economic losses because of this decision. According to his written appeal, he had resigned his merchants' rights in St Petersburg and given up his flourishing business there. To his surprise, Makuschin found his position in Helsinki difficult. In his appeal, he strove to underline the fact that he was an able merchant and possessed the kind of resources – especially financial capital – that Finland needed.<sup>536</sup>

To judge from his own account, Makuschin seemed to be wealthy – at least compared to an average Finnish merchant. He was also a committed merchant and eager to establish himself as one of the leading businessmen in Helsinki: he maintained that he had already purchased property (including a town house) and a tobacco mill, the ownership of which had been divided between several partners. He said he aimed to restart the manufacture of tobacco, which had been temporarily halted, in the near future. He was clearly attempting to use these possessions to establish his position among the local merchantry, and he referred to them as an argument in applying for burgher's rights.<sup>537</sup>

However, the arguments Makuschin gave in his appeal attracted severe criticism in the Helsinki Merchant Society's reply, which is also included in the same archive file with Makuschin's appeal. Makuschin's activities must have been closely followed by the Society, which continued to strongly oppose his approval as a merchant in Helsinki. The Society stated, among other things, that he did not need burgher's rights in order to process tobacco as it was a matter of manufacturing, not commerce. Furthermore, the Society claimed that the arguments Makuschin advanced in his appeal were inaccurate and incorrect. It said that Makuschin had stated that the tobacco mill had had more

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<sup>535</sup> NA, STO AD 669/95 1810, Timofei Makuschkin's appeal.

<sup>536</sup> NA, STO AD 669/95 1810, Timofei Makuschkin's appeal. Makuschin explained his situation as follows: "The considerable capital, somewhat over a hundred thousand roubles that I owned in cash, I brought to Helsinki together with a large store of goods, and I thought that the State of Finland and the city where I settled would benefit from the importation of this wealth of mine". The original text in Swedish: "*Det betydliga Capital, något mer än Ett hundrade Tusende Rubel som i Contant ägde, medbragte jag tillika med ett stor Varu Lager till Helsingfors, och jag trodde, att Finska Staten, så väl som den Stad där jag mig nedsatte, skulle gagnas genom denna min förmögenhets hitflyttande...*".

<sup>537</sup> NA, STO AD 669/95 1810, Timofei Makuschkin's appeal.

shareholders than there had actually ever been, that he had not reported the fact that the mill had been closed down because of the war, and so on. In addition, it was claimed that Makuschin had carried out renovations which had changed the mill so much that it was no longer suitable for tobacco manufacturing.<sup>538</sup> These protests illustrate clearly how difficult it might have been for a Russian-born candidate to acquire an official position as a merchant. Indeed, for candidates of his kind it was easier to obtain a position as an owner of a manufactory or as an industrialist, which might be the reason why many foreign-born business actors became involved in industry rather than commerce (see also Chapter 5). Eventually, Makuschin's arguments were successful, and the Economic Department awarded him the right to engage in commerce.<sup>539</sup>

Parigin's and Makuschin's petitions were followed in 1810 by two similar appeals lodged by Russians who had settled in Helsinki.<sup>540</sup> Over the years between 1810 and 1850, there were altogether six similar appeals from Helsinki. Among the cases consulted in this study, three from Vaasa, a town on the west coast of Finland, are of special interests since they enable us to see how the local merchantry reacted to the advent of newcomers in a smaller town after the War of Finland.

The first case from Vaasa dates back to the early days of October 1810, when a group of leading merchants in the town complained that three Russian traders, namely Login Ivanoff, Jacob Fedahov and one called Makuschkin<sup>541</sup>, were practising their trade in the town although one Russian *marketentare* had already been chosen to serve the Russian military in the town's garrison. The Vaasa merchants argued that the townsfolk did not need more merchants to provide them with goods. In their written appeal, the common good served once again as one of the major arguments used by the merchants to protect their own commercial interests.<sup>542</sup> In the end, the Russians did not obtain petty trader's rights in the town.<sup>543</sup>

In the same year, the Vaasa merchantry also experienced another encounter with a foreign-born merchant. A petty trader (*nipperhandlande*) called Franz Zattini, who was born in Italy and came from Nice to Finland, submitted

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<sup>538</sup> NA, STO AD 669/95 1810, Timofei Makuschkin's appeal.

<sup>539</sup> NA, Digital Archives, Minutes of the Joint Session of the Economic Department of the Senate, 1811-1811, Ca:4, 14.2.1811.

<sup>540</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810.

<sup>541</sup> The first name of this Russian merchant was not given in the original documents.

<sup>542</sup> NA, STO AD 545/154 1810, an appeal by the merchants of Vaasa. The appeal was signed by 13 prominent merchants of the town, including such names as Gabriel Holmberg, Olof Lybeck and Joh. Rahm.

<sup>543</sup> NA, Digital Archives, Minutes of the Economic Department of the Senate 1811, 22.5.1811. See also Mäkelä 1985, 63. There was also a case from Kuopio that bore a close resemblance to this one: a Russian applicant called Pedri Maximoff complained to the Senate because his application for burgher's rights had been refused by the town court. In this case, too, the local merchantry maintained that there were already enough merchants in the town. The county governor had supported the merchants' view and maintained that the town did not need more merchants. For details see NA, STO AD 351/92 1810, Pedri Maximoff's appeal.

a detailed appeal to the highest decision-makers.<sup>544</sup> According to his appeal, Zattini had been fined for selling his goods in Vaasa in early 1810.<sup>545</sup> Only a year previously, Zattini had been warmly welcomed in the town, but by 1810 he had come to be regarded as an undesirable person among the inhabitants. He was badly disappointed when he met with this unkind treatment by the townsmen, who a year before had invited him to come back to sell his products in the town. In his appeal, he argued that he was not familiar with the Swedish law, nor did he speak Swedish.<sup>546</sup> In order to regain his former favour with the townsfolk and to be able to sell his high-quality products, he argued that to the best of his knowledge no Italian or any other petty trader had ever been treated in a similar manner under the Swedish regime:

... besides, during the period of Swedish government, no Italian or small goods dealer was ever prohibited from trading in Finland, nor were they ridiculed and hated by the inhabitants as, to my misfortune, has happened to me this time in Vaasa, where, invited to return by many of the inhabitants, I spent several months in the summer of the previous year pursuing my business without the slightest censure and supplying them with wines and victuals, which the whole town and the burghers living there had on the one hand lacked altogether and on the other had no way of obtaining, and I have certainly never possessed or imported anything that might cause harm to the livelihood of the merchantry, and if I had never come to Vaasa with a number of Russian traders from St Petersburg with such goods the lesser burghers and poorer inhabitants of the town, without [the resources to pay] the costly prices that the local merchants charge, would have suffered a great harm, which they themselves can bear witness to, if so required.<sup>547</sup>

Although the quotation gives a rather simplistic view of Zattini's situation, it allows us to observe his attempts to influence government officials. At the rhetorical level, his letter resembles many other appeals written by his fellow businessmen at the time. However, some of Zattini's arguments, such as the claims regarding his poor language skills and inadequate knowledge of the local legislation, seem rather unconvincing since he had already obtained burgher's rights in Turku and had been living in Finland since 1805.<sup>548</sup> On the

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<sup>544</sup> There are many variants of Zattini's first name, e.g. Frans and Francesco, in the original documents and contemporary newspapers. Here I employ the form "Franz", which was used in the archival documents consulted for this study.

<sup>545</sup> NA, STO AD 355/163 1810, Franz Zattini's appeal.

<sup>546</sup> NA, STO AD 355/163 1810, Franz Zattini's appeal.

<sup>547</sup> NA, STO AD 355/163 1810, Franz Zattini's appeal. The original text in Swedish: "...dessutom har under Svensk Regerings tid aldrig någon Italienare eller Nipper Handlare blifvit förbuden at Handla i Finland eller af Innevånare apade och hatade på sätt min olycka denne gang timat i Wasa, hvarest jag i flere Månader förledit år om sommaren utan ringaste påtal var och Idkade min näring samt anmanad af flere Invånare at återkomma och dervid förse dem med Viner och Mat Vahrör helsdt staden och därvarande Borgerskapet vore dels utblottade dels och ej i tilfälle at förskaffa dem sine förmödenheter och jag har vist adrlrig haft eller ditförd något som kunnat föranleda Handlande Borgerskapet intrång i deras näring och hade icke med flere Marketentare från St Petersburg anländt till Wasa med slike Vahrör, så hade Stadens mindre Borgerskapet och fattige Invånare utom de dyra priser som därvarande Handlande nyttjar, lidit en Stor mehn, hvilket de och sjelfve om så fordras kunna vidgå."

<sup>548</sup> According to Leitzinger (2008, p. 204) Zattini, an Italian hawker, appeared in Turku in 1811 and died in 1842 as a burgher. Wuorinen maintains (1959, p. 207) that the town court had granted burgher's rights to Zattini in 1806. He had already been in

other hand, the claims that he was ignorant of the prevailing laws are in line with the arguments employed by both Russian and other immigrants in their petitions and appeals during the research period.

Zattini made another claim that was very similar to those used by other merchants in a similar situation: he tried to persuade the decision-makers that his business activities had not harmed the interests of the local merchantry. He further claimed that the local merchants were not able to provide their customers with the variety of goods that they demanded and that their prices were too high for the customers. He also explained that the local officials had not cared whether he understood their announcements and statements or not. However, Zattini's case seemed to have been a complex one for the members of the local town court since – according to Zattini's own account – even the town mayor had been a customer of his in 1809. It seems very likely that Zattini counted the most prominent town dwellers among his clientele since the goods he listed in his appeal were usually not available to persons of lesser means.<sup>549</sup> Despite Zattini's attempts, the Economic Department did not find any reason to revoke the decision of the lower government authorities.<sup>550</sup>

The cases of Zattini and the Russian traders show that the attitudes of the Vaasa merchantry towards newcomers had grown stricter by late 1810. Their tolerance seemed to have reached its limits when several individuals from outside the community attempted to do business in the town – maybe they suspected that Zattini had co-operated with the afore-mentioned Russian merchant trio (which Zattini denied in his appeal). Although the original documents indicate that the local merchantry must have been experiencing economic difficulties immediately after the war, they did not welcome the new businessmen to the town. Instead, the local merchants demanded in the most forceful manner that the law on the right to engage in commercial activities in urban areas should be strictly followed. It is equally clear from the reply submitted by the Merchant Society that the merchants felt that the newcomers were infringing on their commercial privileges. Perhaps the Vaasa merchantry was attempting to regain its economic position now that the political situation was becoming more settled after the war.

There was also friction in the relationship between the established merchantry and merchants of foreign origins later on in Vaasa, and the former were still somewhat unsympathetic to Russian merchants in the mid-1820s. In 1825 a shop-keeper's assistant called Wasilei Smirnoff petitioned for burgher's rights, but the local town court rejected his petition.<sup>551</sup> He then appealed to the highest level, claiming that the local merchants had strong anti-Russian attitudes:

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Finland in 1805. A contemporary newspaper verifies that Zattini and his wife arrived in Turku in 1805 from Uppsala (*Åbo Tidning* 27.11.1805).

<sup>549</sup> NA, STO AD 355/163 1810, Franz Zattini's appeal. Zattini sold wine, spirits, mustard, oil, ham, salami, and so on.

<sup>550</sup> NA, Digital Archives, Minutes of the Joint session of the Economic Department of the Senate, 1810-1810, Ca:3, 12.9.1810.

<sup>551</sup> NA, STO AD 22/89 1825, Wasilei Smirnoff's appeal.



... No honour accrues to the Burgher merchantry when their standpoint seems to be that the Russian people should be completely excluded from all connection with their burghers' livelihood. [... the claim] that Russian merchants might harm Finland's industry, manufactures and handicrafts is a pretext invented by the Town Administrative Court that lacks any foundation. On the contrary, the people of Finland should thank the Russian merchants, who in their hour of need furnished them with the wares necessary for their daily bread and other goods needed for their subsistence at much lower prices than if they had had to rely on their compatriots.<sup>552</sup>

He was clearly trying to prove that the local merchantry disliked Russians and were attempting to exclude them from participation in societal and economic activities. Probably, Smirnoff was speaking only for himself, not for all Russian merchants in the town, as a few Russians had already launched businesses there. In his appeal, he maintained that he had lived in Vaasa since childhood, working as an apprentice to another Russian merchant, who had established his business in the town soon after the War of Finland.<sup>553</sup> Apparently, it was not easy for Smirnoff to make a claim to the tightly networked merchantry of the town since his qualifications for being a merchant were somewhat inadequate. For example, Smirnoff had already admitted that his knowledge of the local languages and trade practices was deficient, which gave the local merchantry a further reason to object to him. His claims were vigorously contested, and the value of his rhetorically high-flown expressions strongly suspected by the local merchantry, who were asked to comment on the claims he had made to the highest decision-makers. The merchants clearly aimed to show that Smirnoff's claims did not bear closer scrutiny – for example, they seemed to be of the view that Smirnoff suffered from problems as a result of his drinking habits.<sup>554</sup> However, it is not clear whether the merchants had any kind of evidence for their allegations. Ultimately, Smirnoff's arguments about the dislike of Russians in the town were taken seriously by the Tsar, and as a result of his appeal Smirnoff gained burgher's rights in Vaasa.<sup>555</sup>

Smirnoff's case suggests that the confrontation between the established merchantry and the Russian merchants in Vaasa had not abated by the mid-1820s. It is difficult to say whether the local merchantry were more worried about the advent of Russians, who represented a new minority in the town, or whether they were concerned about losing their source of livelihood when they protested against the newcomers. Probably, the local merchants would also have protested if the applicants had been Finnish merchants from other towns.

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<sup>552</sup> NA, STO AD 22/89 1825, Wasilei Smirnoff's appeal. The original text in Swedish: "... Handlande Borgerskap icke länder till någon heder då deras afsickt synes vara att endast helt och hållit utistänga Ryska Nationen från all gemenskap med deras borgerliga näring." --- "Att handlande af Ryska Nation skulle störa Finlands näringar, manufacturer samt arbets konstflit är af Magistraten ett upfunnerat skäl som torde sakna all grund. Tvärtom hafva Finlands inbyggare ofta nedlagt tacksamheten för de Ryska Handlande som i nödens stund försedt dem med nödige ämnen till brödföda och andra erforderlige artiklar till lifvets bärgning emot mycket billigare priser än om de derom nödgats anlita egne landmän".

<sup>553</sup> NA, STO AD 22/89 1825, Wasilei Smirnoff's appeal.

<sup>554</sup> NA, STO AD 22/89 1825, Wasilei Smirnoff's appeal (including the merchants' reply to Smirnoff's appeal).

<sup>555</sup> See Mäkelä 1985, 59–60.

As local histories have shown, the merchants commonly favoured candidates from their own community even if the town already had an adequate number of merchants; for instance, the sons of local merchants or bookkeepers were often favoured in selecting new merchants. In this respect, Vaasa did not stand out from other towns.<sup>556</sup> On the other hand, the Vaasa merchantry also protested against Russian applicants later on as well.<sup>557</sup>

Based on the cases investigated in this work, the Russians petitioned without apology or hesitation: they expected due attention and positive responses from the most senior decision-makers. Many of the appeals filed by merchants of Russian origin seemed to argue for free competition in commerce. This was not realized in practice until after the 1850s, but these and similar calls received an increasing sympathetic response among members of the political and economic elites.<sup>558</sup> Conversely, the Finnish merchantry appealed to mercantilist principles, which protected their economic privileges and provided them with a tool that could be used to exclude newcomers from the markets. In their communications with the Senate and the ruler, as pointed out previously, they also justified their claims with such arguments as the common good or the advantages of the customers.<sup>559</sup> They argued, for example, that it would be harmful if there were too many merchants in a town. These arguments were widely used, but the merchants offered little in the way of explanation of what they would mean in practice. Both the natives and the newcomers seem to have employed arguments that bore a close mutual resemblance. In a way, the new candidate merchants attempted to present themselves in the best possible light: their contribution to the local and national economy was presented as equally important, and they strove to emphasize that it was in their interests to provide the customers with a variety of goods that their native peers were unable to supply, or at least not at as low a price. Thus the common good was often presented as a core argument by both parties, but its content and meaning varied according to the petitioners' aims.

The existing research literature cites several cases from various Finnish towns in which Russian merchants attempted to gain formal rights as merchants. However, there is hardly any evidence of strong anti-Russian opinions among the established native merchantry. In this light, although the arguments Smirnoff used were very vehement when he accused the merchantry of discrimination, his words were apparently only a part of a strategy that he hoped would bring him success. Probably, he did not have many supporters in the town, and it was for this reason that he made such harsh accusations. The situation might certainly have been different in a bigger city, such as Helsinki,

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<sup>556</sup> Lindeqvist 1930, 109-110; Wiherheimo 1950, 27; Nikander 1932, 66-72; Talka 2005b, 298. See also Nikula 1971, 142; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 137-143; Einonen 2013 (forthcoming).

<sup>557</sup> See also Mäkelä 1985, 59-70. In addition to Smirnoff, Mäkelä lists six other Russian merchants whose applications for burgher's rights were refused by the town court in the early nineteenth century.

<sup>558</sup> See e.g. Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 34-39.

<sup>559</sup> See also Karonen 2004; Nurmiainen 2009.

where the Russian merchant population was far more numerous. Naturally, the large Russian merchant community in the capital city was able to provide support and help for its members in a way that was not possible in a smaller place. This can be seen, for instance, when the application of a shop-keeper's assistant called Ivan Strebulajeff for burgher's rights in Helsinki was refused in 1850. When Strebulajeff submitted his appeal to the Senate, he received support from five fellow Russian merchants, who testified that he was known to be a decent, able and industrious servant of commerce ("*...en orderntlig, kunnig och driftig tjenare vid handeln*").<sup>560</sup> It is also likely that businessmen in Helsinki had established their relationships with the newcomers in the earlier stages of the Age of Autonomy and for this reason major conflicts were avoided in later years. In addition, prominent Russian merchants had become some of the largest tax payers in the city by the mid-1850s, which made them an influential group in economic life.<sup>561</sup> By that time they had also gained a permanent position in the local decision-making organs such as the town elders, which opened up a new opportunity for them to engage in local politics.<sup>562</sup>

The appeals relating to burgher's rights do show that Finnish business actors were actively involved in these cases since appealing offered a way to protect their economic interests. If nothing else, this bureaucratic procedure could to a certain extent delay the entry of newcomers into a trade, a factor that was also acknowledged by the people of the time.<sup>563</sup> On the basis of the collated dataset on the Senate's Economic Department's decision-making processes, the decision concerning an appeal was generally given within few months of receipt of the letter. It seems that the decision-making process was shorter at the end of the era in question, when the Economic Department organized its work into two parallel sessions instead of one joint session. The duration also depended on how long it took for the various parties involved in the process to submit their statements or replies to the Senate. It was quite uncommon for the process to take over a year or more.<sup>564</sup>

In some respect, the cases investigated in this section tell more about the local business practices and the prevailing economic environment than about any attempts to practise some sort of ethnic discrimination. The novel and uncertain situation that prevailed after the war definitely fostered various forms of collectivity and solidarity in local societies, and this is also evident when the established business actors attempted to protect their own interests against newcomers.<sup>565</sup> After a kind of transition period following the War of Finland,

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<sup>560</sup> NA, STO AD 445/176 1850, Ivan Strebulajeff's appeal. The appendix attached to the appeal, dated 28 June 1850, was written in Swedish, but all of the five signatories belonged to well-known Russian merchant families in Helsinki.

<sup>561</sup> Repo-Lehikoinen 2002, 45–46.

<sup>562</sup> Waris 1950, 51–54. See also Castren 1954; Perälä 1970; Hakala 2002; Valtonen, M. 2009f (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=48>, 19.1.2012).

<sup>563</sup> Lehtonen 1936, 74–83.

<sup>564</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), the reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>565</sup> Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 101; Hakala 2002, 58.

the position of Russians residing in the Grand Duchy gradually became clearer as persons of Russian origin received wider societal rights in Finnish society.<sup>566</sup>

## 4.4 Women in commerce

### 4.4.1 From wealthy merchant widows to street sellers

The opportunities for women to engage in domestic or overseas commerce in early-nineteenth-century Finland have been mentioned several times above. In the following, this subject will be dealt with in greater detail with a discussion of interesting cases that emerged from the material collected for this research.

The data include two cases that illustrate the legal procedures involved when a woman attempted to obtain merchant's status in a Finnish town. Evidently, both cases concerned women of Russian origin. Maria Sheshunov, designated as a peasant's daughter in the Register of Petitions, had received burgher's rights in Lappeenranta in 1814 only after fierce debates in the meetings of the local town court.<sup>567</sup> Maria's father had applied for burgher's rights on her behalf when she was only 16 years old, and thus it is probable that it was not so much a case of establishing a career in commerce for the girl herself but rather of advancing her father's commercial interests. However, a group of merchants in Lappeenranta protested about the decision to the most senior decision-makers in 1815.<sup>568</sup> As a result of the appeal, the Economic Department discussed the issue but passed it on to the Procurator.<sup>569</sup> Finally, Maria Sheshunov's rights to engage in commerce was refused.<sup>570</sup> Another case was an appeal by a merchant's widow called Audotia Feodorovna Kiseleff, whose application for burgher's rights had been rejected by the town court in Hamina. In this case, the appeal met with success as the Senate's Economic Department granted her a permit to engage in petty trade.<sup>571</sup>

The first case in particular demonstrates well how women's rights to engage in businesses caused hesitation among local officials in the early years of the Age of Autonomy. The major reason for the hesitation was obviously that the town of Lappeenranta had been under Russian rule since 1743. Owing to the long period of Russian domination, this area had some special

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<sup>566</sup> Mikkola 1984, 211–213; Polvinen 1984, 213–224.

<sup>567</sup> According to Talka (2005a, p. 130) Maria Sheshunov was a serf's daughter, and thus it is reasonable to consider her family as Russian.

<sup>568</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1815. The appeal was submitted by J. Husenius, J. Wichman, J. Clandelin and H. Demitrieff among others. The original appeal is not preserved in the Archives of the Economic Department (NA).

<sup>569</sup> NA, Digital Archives, Minutes of the Joint session of the Economic Department of the Senate, 1817–1817, Ca:17, 22.8.1817.

<sup>570</sup> See also Castrén 1957, 24–25; Talka 2005a, 130.

<sup>571</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1830; NA, STO AD 468/70 1830, Audotia Kiseleff's appeal; NA, Digital Archives, Minutes of the Economic Department of the Senate, second division 1831–1831, Ca:74, 22.4.1831.

characteristics of its own,<sup>572</sup> including the enforcement of Russian urban law, i.e. the co-called Charter to the Towns, issued in the reign of Catherine the Great in 1785. The Russian commercial regulations remained in force in Old Finland until 1817, after which the Swedish law was restored in the area.<sup>573</sup> An important difference between the Swedish and Russian laws was that the latter afforded the right to engage in retail trade and manufacturing to nearly everyone. Owing to the influence of the Russian town law, women could acquire merchant status on the same basis as men.<sup>574</sup> Thus women (and not only widows) were allowed to engage in business more freely than in “Swedish Finland”, or in many other European countries for that matter.<sup>575</sup> Peasants and serfs could also acquire merchant status in Old Finland because it was the declared wealth of the merchant candidate that played the crucial role in the legal procedure of acquiring merchant status. In other words, freedom of entrepreneurship was enshrined in the law, and consequently there was a wide social spectrum engaged in commerce and industry in the regions under Russian commercial legislation.<sup>576</sup> Hence, the cases of Sheshunov and Kiseleff must be seen against the Russian legislative heritage in the towns where these women lived.

As indicated in Section 3.3, the majority of women’s petitions and appeals sent to the supreme decision-makers in the reference years between 1810 and 1850 were submitted by widows, who according to the law had the most extensive rights to engage in business activities. Apart from the above-mentioned merchant’s widow Marie Hackman and two other widows, Anna Elisabeth Baer and Eva Catharina Hartman, who both were involved in two cases, the majority of female merchants lodged only one petition or appeal each. The cases concerned both small- and large-scale businesses.<sup>577</sup> Presumably, there were more cases in which women were involved, but the entries in the Registers of Petitions seldom give all the names in the case of collective applications. A sample from regional and local histories indicates a similar finding: merchants’ widows and their interaction with the most senior decision-makers are mentioned only briefly. These results may reflect more the research methods that have been used and the way the primary sources have been consulted than the actual situation.

The petitions and appeals submitted by Marie Hackman, who was the most active female merchant in terms of submitted applications, deserve closer attention. By the early years of the nineteenth century, the Hackman merchant house had become one of the largest in Viipuri: it was an important timber

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<sup>572</sup> For example, a significant Russian population, large estates donated by the Tsar to members of the Russian aristocracy and the existence of serfdom on these estates. See e.g. Mälkönen & Redko 2005, 76–77.

<sup>573</sup> Kallio 1901, 114–117; Castrén 1957, 19–27. See also Räihä 2012, 113–116.

<sup>574</sup> Perälä 1970, 55–57; Hakala 2002, 24–29; Ijäs 2008, 31. On legislation regarding female merchants in early-nineteenth-century Russia, see Ulianova 2009, 12–16.

<sup>575</sup> Talka 2005a, 129–130; Ijäs 2008, 31.

<sup>576</sup> See Rieber 1982 and 1984; Ulianova 2009.

<sup>577</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), the reference years between 1810 and 1850.

exporter and owned shares in hydro-powered sawmills in eastern Finland. The roots of the family went back to Bremen in Germany, from where the merchant Johan Wilhelm Hackman Snr moved to Viipuri in the 1770s and established a company with another merchant. In Viipuri, Hackman married Marie Laube, who was a daughter of a civil servant and merchant also of German origin. Unfortunately, J. W. Hackman died in 1807, and his widow Marie, who was 20 years younger, was left to manage the company. Marie Hackman, who had previously devoted herself to her children and home, continued her husband's business affairs after his sudden death. She faced a new situation when an ownership dispute led to the confiscation of the property of the merchant house. The situation was not resolved until 1811. After that, in early 1813, Marie Hackman announced to the company's trading partners that in future she would be in charge of the business concerns. The name of the company was first changed J. F. Hackman's Wittwe, and then to Hackman & Co in 1816, when she took an accountant called George Augsburg as her business partner. Under her guidance the company became the leading timber exporter in Finland.<sup>578</sup>

On the basis of the sampled data, the petitions and appeals in which Hackman's merchant house was involved were lodged in the reference years 1840, 1845 and 1850. Five letters were submitted jointly with other prominent merchant-industrialists. Only one of six applications was submitted by Marie Hackman in her own name: in 1850 she petitioned for lower customs duties on imported tobacco.<sup>579</sup> Thus she continued to be involved in the family business until the early 1850s. She had kept her position after taking her eldest son, Johan Wilhelm Hackman Jnr, as her business partner in 1829, and she had even published an announcement in Finland's official newspaper reminding her business partners that she was still in charge.<sup>580</sup> This kind of position would have given her, at least in theory, many opportunities to promote her economic interests in the political arena as well. The rather low number of applications she submitted is somewhat surprising as the company was involved in a wide range of business activities. However, it is said that Marie Hackman also kept a low profile in local society.<sup>581</sup>

The examples of merchants' widows, although few in number, do demonstrate that women were engaged in large-scale commerce and held many positions of responsibility in family businesses.<sup>582</sup> Contacting the government authorities over relevant matters was an essential part of business, and this task was performed by widows after their husbands' death. Widows also participated in joint petitions and appeals, especially if they were submitted

<sup>578</sup> Tigerstedt 1940, 246–247; Heikinheimo 1955, 262–263; Yrjänä; Ahvenainen 1984, 181, 185; Yrjänä 2009b, 68–69; Kuisma 1997 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/493/>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>579</sup> NA, STO AD 45/60 1850, Marie Hackman's petition. In the entry she was referred to as a consul's widow according to her late husband's honorific title.

<sup>580</sup> *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 2.5.1829 and 5.5.1829. See also Heikinheimo 1955, 262–263; Alho 1961, 10–11; Ijäs 2008, 38–39; Ijäs 2010, 15–16.

<sup>581</sup> Ijäs 2008, 36–37.

<sup>582</sup> See e.g. NA, STO AD 415/64 1810, Catharina Hartman's petition. See also Mäkelä 1985, 153–154.

either by their late husbands' business partners or interest groups such as burghers (see also Section 5.4). Of course, not all merchants' widows were commercially active, and the world of business was certainly foreign to many of them. In such cases, the business was continued by the heirs of the deceased owners or by others, usually close male relatives, with commercial interests. As Daniel Rabuzzi remarks, bankruptcies were naturally the most extreme testimonies to women's inadequate knowledge of commerce, but in the Finnish context unsuccessful merchants' widows have remained a marginal group in the pages of the history books.<sup>583</sup>

In addition to female merchants who were engaged in domestic and overseas commerce, there were women with more limited resources who were involved in hawking or street-selling. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, town courts could grant permits to ply a trade to women if they did not have any other ways to earn their living. However, practices varied across the country. According to Wuorinen, who discusses the situation in Turku, the attitude of the town court towards hawking, which was often practised by women in distressed situations, was mainly favourable in the late eighteenth century.<sup>584</sup> It could be said that granting these permits to disadvantaged persons was a kind of social welfare measure that allowed them to support themselves and their families – and as a result they even paid some taxes to the town administration.<sup>585</sup> The following section will describe a case study of three women, a merchant's wife and two unmarried women, who had less economic power at the local level than the above-mentioned merchant widows. It paints an illustrative picture of women who were engaged in small-scale business, namely the baker's trade. The trade is interesting in this respect because it remained a male-dominated activity until the early twentieth century, and formal training was usually only available to males.<sup>586</sup> Notwithstanding this, the women's appeals, which will be presented below, proved to be very successful, although they were somewhat atypical among the cases dealt with in this study.

#### 4.4.2 The conflicting interests of male and female entrepreneurs

In 1845 a master baker named Leopold Wikman accused three women, Agatha Bastman, Hedvig Bergholm and Lovisa Ruth, of practising the baking trade in Porvoo without a proper licence. The women had been carrying on the trade for quite a long time before Wikman's protest. According to the archival documents, Bastman and Bergholm had been engaged in baking for some 20 to 30 years, while Ruth had obtained the right to engage in the baking trade in 1835.<sup>587</sup> Ruth's sister was also involved in the same business. In fact, they had

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<sup>583</sup> Rabuzzi 1995, 445; Rabuzzi 2001, 359. See e.g. Nikander 1932, 69; Ijäs 2008, 38.

<sup>584</sup> See e.g. Wuorinen 1959, 210–211.

<sup>585</sup> Wuorinen 1959, 211–212; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 37.

<sup>586</sup> Vainio-Korhonen 2008, 82.

<sup>587</sup> Lovisa Ruth obtained this right on 22 June 1835, see NA, STO AD 803/122 1845, Lovisa Ruth and Hedvig Bergholm's appeal. The original appeal was a joint one

obtained the right to bake and sell bread from the town court although they were only allowed to sell simpler confectioneries – for example, Bergholm had sold *spis bröd* (crisp bread)<sup>588</sup> – than the accredited master bakers. Wikman, originally from Helsinki and trained in St Petersburg,<sup>589</sup> had obtained his burgher's rights in Porvoo in September 1844. Shortly after that he contacted the provincial governor, claiming that the female bakers were infringing on his trade. The governor decided that the women should no longer be allowed to continue their trade in Porvoo. After hearing this decision, they submitted their appeals to the Senate in 1845.

According to the appeal of Agatha Bastman (née Keisner), a merchant's wife and mother of a large family, she had worked as a baker for some 22 years in order to look after her family members and provide for them. She had applied for the right to practise the baking trade when her husband, a merchant called Daniel Gottfried Bastman, had encountered economic difficulties in his business affairs.<sup>590</sup> The following lines filled with emotional and religious expressions are from the appeal submitted by Agatha Bastman, who for example described herself as a “weak women” and told how she desperate she had been:

When my husband fell upon hard times as a result of a [deficient] trade balance, we were all – he and I and the children – without a roof over our heads and lacking any way to get food and cloths. The humiliating feeling that we were obliged to accept the bread of charity from a stranger's hand inspired in me – a weak woman – the strength and resolution to try to feed and clothe all my own family. I taught myself the trade of baking and succeeded with the aid of the Lord above thereby to avoid public relief and in addition to benefit the public, that is the town. [...] No-one, apart from the Omniscient – can imagine how many sleepless nights I have lain awake with tear-filled eyes and what sorrows and hardships I have had to combat...<sup>591</sup>

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signed by both Ruth and Bergholm, but the case file includes additional statements which were submitted by Ruth and Bergholm separately. The age of the women bakers was around 50 to 60 years. Agatha Bastman and Hedvig Bergholm were in their early fifties in 1845. Lovisa Ruth was born in 1787 and was thus in her late 50s in 1845. Ruth and her sister died in 1866. The information is from the church registers of Porvoo (HisKi project, <http://hiski.genealogia.fi/hiski?fi>, 1.3.2012). See also Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 339.

<sup>588</sup> NA, STO AD 803/122 1845, Lovisa Ruth's and Hedvig Bergholm's appeal.

<sup>589</sup> Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 338.

<sup>590</sup> For a similar case, see Wuorinen 1959, 202. In 1775 Margareta Lusted, wife of a merchant called Anders Roos, obtained a permit to open a coffeehouse in Turku. Her husband's businesses had faced severe economic troubles, leaving the family in financial distress, which obviously influenced the decision to grant her the permit.

<sup>591</sup> NA, STO AD 536/11 1845, Agatha Bastman's appeal. The original text in Swedish: “*Då min man, genom handelsbalance råkade i obestånd, voro vi alla – han och jag och barnena utan tak öfver hufvudet och i saknad af alla utvägar till föda och kläder. Den förödmjukande känslan att af främmande hand nödgas emottaga ett nådebröd, ingaf mig – en svag qvinna – styrka och beslutsamhet att försöka föda och kläda all de mina. Jag lärde mig bagerihandtelingen och lyckades med den hægstes bistånd, att sälunda undandraga oss den allmänna nöden och att tillika gagna det allmänna eller staden. [...] Ingen utan den Alltoetande kan emellertid föreställa sig, huru många sömnlösa nätter jag med tårfyllda ägor genomakad och hvilka sorgen och svårigheter jag haft att bekämpa...*”.



Mrs. Bastman was obviously indignant about the way master baker Wikman had accused her of illegal business activities. The appeal submitted to the Senate by Lovisa Ruth and Hedvig Bergholm<sup>592</sup> favoured a similar rhetoric to that used by Bastman in her letter. Their statements emphasized that they did not want to be a burden on society but wished to support themselves and their dependents. Hedvig Bergholm in particular underlined the fact that she had supported her elderly father and two siblings, who were not able to earn their own living. For example, she said:

... I, Hedvig Bergholm, with what I have been able to save from baking bread, which I will soon have done for thirty years, have supported not only my father in the evening of his life but also my brother, who is of unsound mind, and my destitute sister, and I have been their sole, albeit weak, refuge who in other circumstances would have had no recourse but to a greater or lesser degree to turn to public relief for support.<sup>593</sup>

Uniquely among the petitions and appeals examined here, Ruth's and Bergholm's joint case file included extracts from the parish registers which showed that the women's reputation was intact. A statement relating to Bergholm's physical health was also enclosed with the appeal. According to a local doctor, Bergholm suffered from a difficult medical condition, a kind of lung sickness, which occasionally confined her to her bed. It was also mentioned in another document that Lovisa Ruth, too, was in weak health.<sup>594</sup> One can read between the lines that the women bakers were trying to suggest that without this opportunity to earn a livelihood, they and their family members would most likely need public assistance. Their poor health was used as an argument in trying to convince the authorities that they needed the earnings they obtained by baking and selling bread. On the other hand, this was not an unusual way for women to earn a living: small-scale trading seems to have been an important way for elderly or infirm women to support themselves until the early twentieth century.<sup>595</sup>

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<sup>592</sup> Their full names were Bretha Lovisa Ruth and Hedvig (Hedda) Lovisa Bergholm. According to the priest's certificate, Mademoiselle Hedvig Lovisa Bergholm, née Wesse (also written "Vessel"), was born on 11 March 1792. The church register (available online at [www.hiski.fi](http://www.hiski.fi)) confirms that her mother was a serving maid (*piga*) called Agneta Lovisa Vessel, who had come to Finland from Stockholm. The name of her daughter's father was not mentioned in the registers when the daughter was born. Three years later, Agneta Lovisa married a widower called Michael Bergholm, who was a saddler by profession. Later on Hedvig Lovisa was referred to as a saddler's daughter (*sadelmakare dotter* in the original). According to the church register, Michael Bergholm died in 1837 at the age of 78.

<sup>593</sup> NA, STO AD 803/122 1845, Lovisa Ruth's and Hedvig Bergholm's appeal. The original text in Swedish: "...jag, Hedvig Bergholm, med hvad jag genom brödbakning den jag fortsatt under snart tretio års tid kunnat inspara, underhållit, icke allenast min fader under sednare delen af hans lifstid, utan ock en af naturen vanlottad broder jemte andre oförsörjde syskon, hvilkas enda, om ock svaga stöd jag varit, och som i annat fall icke kunnat undga att i mer eller mindre grad, om understöd anlita det allmänna."

<sup>594</sup> NA, STO AD 803/122 1845, Ruth's and Bergholm's appeal, which includes a statement signed by the townsfolk.

<sup>595</sup> See e.g. Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 109–111, 170–173; Vainio-Korhonen 2010, 94–98.

Apparently, Wikman considered that the female bakers had become too successful among the townsfolk and were poaching his customers.<sup>596</sup> His comments on the women's appeals can be read from the reply which the Senate him asked to submit, and which is also included in Ruth's and Bergholm's case file. A major argument in Wikman's favour was that of legality. He based his arguments on the prevailing law and the regulations of the guild system, which he interpreted literally. He refused to accept the informal practices and conventions widely used in Porvoo. It seems that when Wikman arrived in the town, he had not been aware that certain women enjoyed commercial rights there.<sup>597</sup> Moreover, he argued that both Bergholm and Ruth had made spurious claims by saying that they and their families would be exposed to destitution (*nödtorftighet*) if they were not allowed to continue their trade. In fact, Wikman sought to prove that the women were actually well-off members of the local community, who owned substantial properties in Porvoo and thus would be able to support themselves and their dependents even if their right to bake and sell bread was now revoked. Wikman emphasized that it was highly unlikely that the women would become destitute and burden the poor relief system of the town because they had earned a good living from their businesses. Besides, according to Wikman, at least Lovisa Ruth and her sister, having being born elsewhere, did not even have the right of domicile in the parish and thus were not entitled to get assistance from the local poor relief system.<sup>598</sup> Wikman's testimony reflects the contemporary attitude to poor relief, which stressed the principle that each parish was responsible for its own paupers.<sup>599</sup>

The documents relating to the cases offer a good illustration of an accredited master's attempts to protect his own position. However, these attempts were thwarted by the female bakers, who knew how to defend themselves. Actually, Bastman and Bergholm had already faced similar charges in the 1820s, when another master baker had accused them of illegal hawking. In this case, the women had won, and the male baker had to accept the existing situation.<sup>600</sup> Two additional documents, of which one concerned Ruth and the other Bergholm, enclosed with their joint appeal demonstrate that in the course of their dispute with Wikman both Bergholm and Ruth succeeded in appealing to the sympathy of some very influential patrons and enlisting their support. The documents show that the female bakers' clientele, many of whom appeared to be in important positions in the town, wanted the women to be able to continue their trade in the future. Both documents were dated 5 August 1845. The names and occupational titles of 21 signatories suggest that Ruth's customers belonged to the upper echelon of the town's residents: academics, clergymen, public office holders and merchants had all signed the document.

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<sup>596</sup> NA, STO AD 803/122 1845, Lovisa Ruth's and Hedvig Bergholm's appeal. The case file includes Wikman's testimony. For a similar case, see Bladh 1991, 232.

<sup>597</sup> See Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000 for examples.

<sup>598</sup> NA, STO AD 803/122 1845, Lovisa Ruth's and Hedvig Bergholm's appeal.

<sup>599</sup> Pipping 1940, 113–116; Nikula 1981, 267–273; Blom 1992, 59–60; Markkola 2007, 210–213.

<sup>600</sup> Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000 (p. 91) describes the situation of the 1820s.

Among others, Bishop Karl Gustaf Ottelin<sup>601</sup>, Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804-1877), who later became the national poet of Finland, together with three fellow masters (*lector*) and the principal of the local school, an ironworks owner called Johan Solitander, merchants such as Pehr Johan Näeslind, Johan Judén and the wealthiest merchant in the town, Counsellor of Commerce Fredrik Sneckenström,<sup>602</sup> had given their support to her. Three gentlewomen also subscribed their names.<sup>603</sup> A similar document submitted by Bergholm includes almost the same names.

We can assume from these written documents that the female bakers had asked their patrons to sign them. It seems that the women were well-known figures and had established positions in the local community as even the town officials and merchants were willing to accept and support them in a conflict situation. Obviously, the fact that Ruth and Bergholm were of good reputation and had a fairly good social background had helped them in organizing such a network of supporters. It is likely that for a female baker of lower descent it would have been more difficult to create and establish a similar clientele of the most influential and wealthiest members of society. In Turku, for example, the clientele of female bakers consisted mainly of the poorest townfolk as women were only allowed to bake and sell plain bread. The better-off customers usually preferred the wider and finer selections of the accredited master bakers, all of whom were males.<sup>604</sup> In this respect, the female bakers of Porvoo had a stronger position and thus possessed some advantages in their dispute against the master baker. Wikman, on the other hand, did not enjoy similar support or networks, owing to the fact that he was young and a newcomer in the town.<sup>605</sup> In addition, there was apparently no bakers' guild in the town to uphold Wikman's interests in the situation.<sup>606</sup>

In the end, Wikman did not receive much support in the Senate. The women were allowed to continue their trade as usual, for the Senate found that both Wikman and the women would be able to earn a living in the existing circumstances.<sup>607</sup> Thus the situation remained as it was.<sup>608</sup> A local newspaper

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<sup>601</sup> On Bishop Ottelin, see Kotivuori 2005

(<http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=12366>, 20.3.2012).

<sup>602</sup> On Fredrik Sneckenström, see Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 264; Mauranen 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=80>, 20.3.2012).

<sup>603</sup> These women were a merchant's widow Augusta Elisabeth Brandt, Johanna Sophia Linderth, the wife or widow of the owner of a sugar refinery, and a consul's wife Helena Ohtman. NA, STO AD 803/122 1845, Lovisa Ruth's and Hedvig Bergholm's appeal.

<sup>604</sup> Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 110.

<sup>605</sup> Wikman was born in 1819 and married Johanna Antoinetta Zattini in 1845 (HisKi project, <http://hiski.genealogia.fi/hiski?fi>, 18.3.2012). She was the daughter of a businessman who had come to Finland from Nice around 1808. See the previous section on Franz Zattini.

<sup>606</sup> According to the guild law issued in 1720, craftsmen could establish a craft guild if there were three accredited masters in the same town. Lunander 1988, 190; Magnusson 2000, 43; Vainio-Korhonen 2007, 123.

<sup>607</sup> NA, Digital Archives, Minutes of the Joint session of the Economic Department of the Senate, 1846-1846, Ca:145, 12.2.1845.

reveals that the female bakers and Wikman were still competitors in the early 1850s: a list of the towns' craftsmen published in the paper shows that Wikman, who employed a journeyman and an apprentice, earned more than the women engaged in the same trade. It further reveals that he was the only accredited master baker working in Porvoo as the others who were engaged in the bakery business were either women or also practised other trades.<sup>609</sup> However, the baking trade did not provide enough savings to support the Ruths in their old age, and eventually they sold their house to Wikman.<sup>610</sup>

All this testifies to the fact that, despite all the complexity of the bureaucratic procedure of submitting appeals, in a competitive situation some women were persistent in their attempts to raise their economic position or to defend the economic rights that they had obtained. Even the fact that Bergholm and Ruth were probably both illiterate was not an obstacle for them, and they managed to acquire several official documents and certificates which they included in their appeal.<sup>611</sup> In this case, the women bakers seem to have been especially capable, possibly because they had been engaged in the trade for a considerable time and had faced similar charges earlier.

In general, women were permitted to engage in certain trades, but they were not allowed to enter into full competition with men. This can be explained by socio-economic factors: women who were able to provide a livelihood for themselves and their family would not be dependent on social welfare assistance. This was the most evident reason for granting the permits that the women obtained in order to engage in the baker's trade. There are other similar Finnish and Swedish cases: it seems that conflicts about female bakers' and coffeehouse owners' rights to do business arose continuously in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>612</sup> In addition, we must also draw attention to the special characteristics of the local society in this particular case: women were in the majority in Porvoo during the nineteenth century. The proportion of the female population of the town was approximately 55 percent, which was 4 percent higher than the average in other Finnish towns of that

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<sup>608</sup> As a consequence of the decision, Wikman considered moving away from Porvoo, but eventually he decided that this would be far too expensive, see Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 339.

<sup>609</sup> *Borgå Tidning* 12.05.1852, "Förteckning på de Magistraten i Borgå stad, i egenskap af Hall-Rätt, underlydande handtwerkerier, fabriker och manufaktur-inrättningar wid utgången af år 1851".

<sup>610</sup> *Borgå Tidning* 26.10.1853 and 05.11.1853.

<sup>611</sup> To judge from the original documents (NA, STO AD 803/122 1845), Ruth and Bergholm would seem to have been illiterate and only able to write the initials of their names. The documents had been written for them by official scribes or other persons.

<sup>612</sup> See e.g. Wuorinen 1959, 210–212; Nikula 1971, 527–528. Mäkelä 1985 (pp. 77–78) presents a case of a merchant's wife, Margareta Elisabeth Silfverberg, from Vaasa. Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen also refers to a similar case from Turku in the 1780s, where an unmarried woman called Maria Eek was allowed to bake and sell certain confectioneries. According to Vainio-Korhonen, male bakers submitted several complaints against her (Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 170–173; Vainio-Korhonen 2010, 94–98). See also Bladh 1991, 55.

time.<sup>613</sup> Moreover, the contemporary statistics on the amount of craftsmen in Porvoo in the early 1850s show that the number of widows practising various craft trades was relatively high in the town.<sup>614</sup> Despite these occurrences of female entrepreneurship, women's access to commerce and craft trades was still very limited in the first part of the nineteenth century owing to the legal restrictions.

Yet another conclusion can be drawn from this case. The written testimonies consulted above suggest that there were certain gender differences in the way the texts were written and in the arguments that were used. The male baker dissertated broadly on the political and economic implications, whereas the women involved in the same trade seem to have avoided openly discussing or commenting on the legislation or the government's policies. Compared with the texts submitted by Wikman, the women's testimonies were more emotional, and they even resorted to religious language when describing the problems they faced in practising a certain trade in order to support their families. This was clearly evident especially in the excerpt from Agatha Bastman's appeal cited above. The women also described their situation as distressed and themselves as weak. They clearly employed a different kind of rhetoric than their male counterpart when defending their right to engage in trade. Compared with the testimonies of the other cases in which women were involved, it could be said that the baker women's appeals were more personal than, for example, those initiated by the most prominent merchants' widows (i.e. Marie Hackman and Eva Catharina Hartman), who relied on economic arguments in their communication with the highest-decision makers.<sup>615</sup> However, this is a question that would deserve further examination using more extensive source material.

To conclude, these examples illustrate very well how married and unmarried women attempted to influence the highest decision-makers. They also make evident the fact that the formal institutional framework was flexible and at least to some extent responded to local circumstances. Thus economic rights could be granted to women who were without any other economic means to support themselves and their families. The conflicts arose in competitive situations, and it could be assumed that the extent to which female economic activity was allowed was largely dependent on the prevailing economic situation. The example of the women bakers in Porvoo demonstrates this well. However, it must be remembered that local practices and attitudes towards women's economic agency could differ across the country and that differences between the various trades could exist even at the local level.

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<sup>613</sup> On the female population of Porvoo, see Mäkelä-Alitalo 2000, 205–206.

<sup>614</sup> *Borgå Tidning* 12.05.1852, Table "Förteckning på de Magistraten i Borgå stad, i egenskap af Hall-Rätt, underlydande handtwerkerier, fabriker och manufaktur-inrättningar wid utgången af år 1851". According to the table, widows were involved in nearly every trade practised in the town – they were referred to as the owners of craftsmen's workshops and factories.

<sup>615</sup> On the differences in arguments used by males and females in their petitions, see Schmidt Blaine 2001, 59, 62; Norrhem 2007, 32, 111–113. See also Sandvik 2011, 333.

Furthermore, this and other similar cases indicate that women openly challenged the constraints restricting their rights to engage in a trade and that there was pressure for a relaxation in the legislation well before the 1860s and 1870, when the economic reforms eventually took place.

## 5 BUSINESS ACTORS ENGAGED IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

A major difference between this and Chapter 4 is that the present chapter does not pay as much attention to conflicts between various groups of business actors. This is a result of the afore-mentioned fact that the majority (82 percent) of the submitted applications concerning the manufacturing industry were in fact petitions (that is, they were not usually submitted in conflictual situations). The preponderance of petitions in the data in itself influences the way the present chapter is organized and what kind of subjects are highlighted in the following pages.

Section 5.1 begins with a discussion of the sampled data related to various manufacturing industries in the reference years and at the same time provides a brief description of industrial development in Finland in the nineteenth-century. The latter part of the section discusses the occupational and social composition of the petitioners and observes that the population covered all the main social groups, from peasants to members of the nobility. Owing to their significant contribution in major branches of industry, Section 5.2 is devoted to foreign-born business actors engaged in the manufacturing industry.

The second half of this chapter deals with the iron and sawmill industries. A closer study is motivated by the fact that it has been emphasized by many scholars that iron industrialists constituted a relatively strong (albeit small) interest group, who regularly contacted the most senior decision-makers in order to bring about policies that favoured the industry and to obtain interest-free loans or other benefits from the government. It has been suggested that the closeness of the relations between the iron industrialists and government officials arose among other things from network ties that were cemented through marriage and kinship, as a result of which the ironworks owners enjoyed substantial political leverage.<sup>616</sup> By contrast, it has been maintained that the sawmill industry was out of favour with the government, which considered

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<sup>616</sup> Gustafsson 1994, 91; Kuisma 1995, 49; Yrjänä 2009b, 123. See also Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 311–315.

that it was responsible for deforestation.<sup>617</sup> Thus Section 5.3 first examines the framework within which these industries operated in the early nineteenth century. The relationship between the highest decision-makers and the actors involved in these industries is then considered. This includes a more detailed look at a case study – that of N.L. Arppe, who was engaged in both the sawmill and the iron industries – in order to investigate how a prominent businessman attempted to bring about government decisions that were favourable for his business interests. N.L. Arppe’s and other business actors’ attempts to influence the legislation concerning the industrial utilisation of forests is then discussed in the context of the Forest Act Committee.

Finally, the concluding section 5.4 pays attention to the female owners of ironworks and their communication with the highest decision-makers. Female participation in economic and business life is also considered in a broader context in which the emphasis is on women’s roles in family-owned businesses and the way this is reflected in the sampled data. Here, the focus is on the petitions concerning the transferral of industrial privileges from one person to another and women’s role in these cases.

## 5.1 Petitions and appeals concerning major branches of industry

Before Finland’s separation from Sweden, Finnish business was confined to a narrow range of industries consisting mainly of the extractive and metal industries, the sawmill industry, the textile industry and the glass industry.<sup>618</sup> Of these, the Swedish Crown had given top priority to the interests of the iron industry in particular in its economic policy.<sup>619</sup> Since the Crown had a policy of increasing exports to generate foreign currency reserves, the iron industry had been supported in numerous ways. The economic and political competition that existed among European states also strengthened this tendency.<sup>620</sup> In this situation, the state aimed to control and prevent the misuse of forest resources by means of legislation and privilege rights that were designed to promote the interests of the iron manufacturers.<sup>621</sup>

The fact that there were few industries which had widespread importance in the Finnish economy in the early nineteenth century is also reflected in the dataset collected for this study: the extractive and metal industries (the iron

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<sup>617</sup> See e.g. Meinander 1945; Kekkonen 1987; Kalleinen 2001 (pp. 171–175). For a criticism of this approach, see Yrjänä 2009 and 2012.

<sup>618</sup> Palmén 1911, 759; Alho 1949, 15–49; Pihkala 1970, 94–100; Hjerpppe 1979, 31–34; Schybergson 1980, 408, 411, 414–424; Nummela 2004, 23–27; Ojala & Karonen 2006, 101–106.

<sup>619</sup> Kuisma 2006, 67; Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 35; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 209–210.

<sup>620</sup> See e.g. Heikkinen 1994, 45–48; Müller 1998, 120–141; Müller 2004, 49–74; Winton 2011b, 217–228.

<sup>621</sup> Vilkuna 1994, 91–107; Gustafsson 1994, 42–45. On the debate on forest resources in eighteenth-century Sweden, see e.g. Niemelä 1998, 258–264; Kuisma 2009, 79–80.



industry in particular) together with the textile and the sawmill industries made up over 60 percent of all applications in the category “Manufacturing industry”, whereas some other industries appeared only occasionally over the reference years (for details see Section 3.5).<sup>622</sup> Also the growing importance of the tobacco industry can be observed from the sampled data: petitions concerning the establishment of new production units or the import of tobacco and snuff were recorded in increasing numbers from 1840 onwards.<sup>623</sup> However, only some of the imported tobacco was processed in factories as a part was sold directly to the consumers, who produced home-made tobacco products for own consumption.<sup>624</sup> There were also some instances of applications concerning emerging industries like the paper industry, which did not engage in large-scale production until after the mid-nineteenth-century, when its growth was based on exports.<sup>625</sup> In the first part of the century, production depended on the supply of linen rags, and thus the paper mills did not compete with the iron and sawmilling industries for forest resources.<sup>626</sup>

In the case of the manufacturing industry, the geographical distribution of the sampled applications is wide, although the largest proportion of the activities concerned were located in south-western and southern Finland as will be discussed further in Section 6.3. There were also perceptible urban-rural differences in the regional distribution of the industries. The significant difference compared with the results for commerce presented in Chapters 3 and 4 is that over 85 percent of all cases in this category concerned industrial activities that took place in rural areas.<sup>627</sup> An obvious reason for this kind of concentration was the availability of the raw materials that were needed in order to set up large-scale industrial facilities. Thus industrial units – notably sawmills, ironworks and brickworks – were usually established in the countryside, where they became centres of trade and hubs of transport communications.<sup>628</sup> Before the introduction of steam engines, the location of industrial facilities was determined among other things by the availability of waterpower (fast-flowing rivers and rapids) and the presence of navigable bodies of water, which were important for the transportation of raw materials and products.<sup>629</sup> These factors lost their importance as determinants of location when steam power was introduced in Finnish industry in the 1840s and as the media of transportation developed.<sup>630</sup> In particular, the opening of the Saimaa

<sup>622</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>623</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. Before 1840 there were only five cases reported in the sampled data. See also Schybergson 1974, 33–40.

<sup>624</sup> Schybergson 1974, 34–35.

<sup>625</sup> Kaukiainen 2006, 139–142; Kuisma 2006, 191–204.

<sup>626</sup> On the early paper industry in Finland, see Nikander & Sourander 1955. See also Tuuri 1999, 11–13; Keskisarja 2010, 76–78.

<sup>627</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>628</sup> Annala 1928, 328; Nordström & Nordström 1966, 147; Kuisma 1982, 234; Vilkuna 1994, 34–35; Mauranen 1999, 374, 378; Kuisma 2009, 87; Virrankoski 2009, 425–427.

<sup>629</sup> Heikkinen & Hoffman 1982, 57–58.

<sup>630</sup> However, steam-powered sawmills were allowed only after 1857, see Ahvenainen 1984, 203–209; Kuisma 2006, 243–244.

Canal in 1856, connecting Lake Saimaa with the Gulf of Finland near Viipuri, was of importance for the remotest eastern and central parts of Finland. Above all, it facilitated the growth of the sawmill industry in central parts of Finland.<sup>631</sup>

The above-mentioned circumstances are significant for the analysis of the sampled data. It seems likely that the concentration of certain industries in particular regions for reasons connected with the acquisition of raw materials and so on had an effect on the political activity of the individuals engaged in these industries. The iron industry is a good example of this since the production of the ironworks located in southern Finland was based on iron ore and pig iron imported from Sweden, whereas the iron foundries of another centre of the Finnish iron industry that grew up in eastern parts of Finland (mainly in the Provinces of Viipuri and Kuopio) from the early nineteenth century onwards were not dependent on imported raw materials but employed domestic ones: lake and bog ore.<sup>632</sup> Another important difference was related to ownership structure. In southern parts of Finland, the iron industry had already established a strong foothold in the era under Swedish rule, and members of the highest social groups, including a notable Swedish element, had traditionally predominated among its leaders. Many of the ironworks owners belonged to the established gentry and possessed inherited wealth and land. Thus the ironworks often represented only a part of the economy of their large estates, which also obtained substantial revenues from agriculture and other commercial or industrial activities.<sup>633</sup> The iron industry in the eastern regions had a different basis as the owners came from the commercial segment. This subject will be discussed in greater detail in Section 5.3.

When considering the applicants who contacted the Economic Department on matters concerning this segment of the economy, we find that only a small number of them were designated as factory owners, manufacturers or industrialists (i.e. *fabriksidkare*, *manufakturist*, *bruksidkare*) in contemporary documents. Instead, merchants, craftsmen, government officials and former army officers, among others, were common designations.<sup>634</sup> Thus it seems that the occupational and social backgrounds of the applicants were more heterogeneous, since the institutional framework did not set similar barriers to entering the manufacturing industry as it did in commerce and crafts. As a result, no one occupational or social group predominated in the results. The proportions of three groups – merchant-traders, craftsmen and industrialists – were almost of equal size, covering together nearly 70 percent of the total

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<sup>631</sup> On this development, see Mauranen 1999, 389–392; Katajala (ed.) 1997, 66–68; Kaukiainen 2006, 140–141; Virrankoski 2009, 421–422; Yrjänä 2012, 73.

<sup>632</sup> Laine 1948 and 1950; Hämynen 1977.

<sup>633</sup> See e.g. Laine 1948; Nordström & Nordström 1966; Vilkkuna 1994 (especially pp. 261–271).

<sup>634</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

population engaged in this segment of the economy.<sup>635</sup> Some 15 percent of the applicants were civil servants, many of them high-ranking officials of the central government. These results differ clearly from those for commerce and crafts, which were dominated by merchant-traders (commerce) and different kinds of artisans (crafts), as was discussed above.

Indeed, the role of the merchantry was somewhat smaller than anticipated given the results of previous studies. Their attraction to manufactories and industrial units is commonly put down to the fact that diversification offered clear advantages in an environment characterized by high commercial costs. As noted earlier, merchants or merchant houses began to invest in various branches of industry from the mid-nineteenth century on.<sup>636</sup> Another group of business actors who are frequently mentioned as having had a keen interest in various manufacturing industries was apothecaries. For example, it has been maintained that the pharmacy trade constituted a suitable background for many business ventures and also provided a specialized knowledge which could be exploited in various branches such as the chemical industry and the paper industry.<sup>637</sup> However, there were only a few persons designated as apothecaries who contacted the highest instances on matters related to the manufacturing industry in the reference years.<sup>638</sup> This result is consistent with an earlier study by Per Schybergson, who maintains that the role of apothecaries in certain industries was fairly modest and only rarely were they founders or owners of manufactures or other industrial facilities in the early part of the nineteenth century.<sup>639</sup>

Moreover, a closer analysis indicates that the entries of the Registers of Petitions reveal a wide variety in the occupational and social composition of persons who sent applications concerning the textiles industry. There were, for example, craftsmen and former army officers and soldiers, some of whom resided in the countryside, as well as persons who had received technical training abroad. Of these, professional craftsmen constituted the dominant group in the population.<sup>640</sup> These features reflect the fact that the textile industry was divided into smaller and larger-scale production and that the production facilities were located in both urban and rural areas (see also Section 3.5). Textile production did not develop into a large-scale industry until around the mid-nineteenth century, when the major catalyst of the growth was increasing demand on the Russian market. Several new companies were established by both native and foreign-born businessmen. Over the reference

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<sup>635</sup> The proportions are as follows: merchant-traders 23 percent, industrialists 25 percent and craftsmen 19 percent. Source: JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>636</sup> Mauranen 1980, 436–437; Ojala 1997b, 107–115; Kallioinen 2004, 12, 106–109.

<sup>637</sup> Myllyntaus 1988, 152; Schybergson 1995, 91–92; Keskiarja 2010, 35–36, 52.

<sup>638</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. Their proportion was higher in the category “Other trades”, which included all cases related to their main line of business, the pharmacy trade (see Section 3.5).

<sup>639</sup> Schybergson 1977, 134–135, 139–140; Schybergson 1995, 95.

<sup>640</sup> Similar findings are provided by Per Schybergson, who studies founders of industrial units in the early nineteenth century, see Schybergson 1977, 131.

years, firms like *Forssa Bomulls-Spinneri Bolag*, *Littois Klädesfabrik* (established 1823) and the afore-mentioned *Finlayson & Co*, whose owners belonged to the Finnish business elite, were important in this industry.<sup>641</sup>

It has been maintained that privileges for establishing industrial units were granted quite liberally in Finland in the first part of the century. The reason was that ultimately many of them remained unused as the projected facilities were never built.<sup>642</sup> A similar observation concerning industrial policy in late-eighteenth-century Sweden has been made by Petri Karonen and Jouko Nurmiainen.<sup>643</sup> Per Schybergson, who has examined the consumer goods industry in several of his studies, suggests that from the 1840s onwards there was a kind of “boom” in the granting of letters of privilege for various industries.<sup>644</sup> Similar conclusions can also be drawn from the dataset constructed for this study – though the results are not fully comparable with those of Schybergson because the data sampled here do not concentrate only on manufacturing privileges but include a broader spectrum of industry-related cases.

## 5.2 The influence of the foreign-born industrialists

Previous research has shed light on the role of foreign-born actors in the iron, sawmill, textile, sugar brewing and other industries.<sup>645</sup> It has been noted that experts from Continental Europe and beyond played crucial roles in industries in which higher education and technical knowledge were needed. They also brought technical innovations to Finland.<sup>646</sup> From the early nineteenth century onwards, Russian businessmen emerged in capital-intensive branches such as sugar refining, the iron industry and the sawmill industry in growing numbers, while in the final decades of the century it was mainly entrepreneurs from Central European countries like Germany who emerged in Finnish industry.<sup>647</sup>

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<sup>641</sup> Palmén 1911, 761–763; Schybergson 1982, 416–417; Kallioinen 2004, 43–45; Karonen 2004, 226.

<sup>642</sup> See e.g. Palmén 1911, 759; Kovero 1950; Schybergson 1973, 47; Hjerpe 1979, 126–127; Karonen 2004, 75.

<sup>643</sup> Karonen 2004, 80–81; Nurmiainen 2009, 194.

<sup>644</sup> Schybergson 1977, 137–139.

<sup>645</sup> On foreign-born businessmen in various branches of industry, see e.g. Schybergson 1974b; on immigrant entrepreneurs in the iron industry, see Laine 1948 and 1950; on the sawmill industry, see Ahvenainen 1984; Kuisma 2006; on businessmen of Russian origin in sugar production, see e.g. Kovero 1955; Urbans 1968. Some of the studies focus on particular ethnic groups and their economic activities either in a certain geographic region or in the whole country (e.g. Castrén 1954; Ranta 1984; Mikkola 1984; Hämynen 1997; Von Witzleben 2002; Leitzinger 2006 and 2008a; Schweitzer 2002; Pullinen 2002; Helenius 2006; Heikkinen 2009; Kuisma 2012).

<sup>646</sup> Myllyntaus 1988, 154; Nummela 2004, 16.

<sup>647</sup> See e.g. Jensen-Eriksen 2006; Westerlund 2011, 7–8; Kuisma 2012, 19, 21. In addition, Norwegian entrepreneurs had a considerable influence in the Finnish sawmill

Judged from the data sampled for the purposes of this study, the incidence of foreign-born business actors is by no means insignificant in the manufacturing industry: in 15 percent of the applications (49 cases) there was at least one individual of foreign origin involved.<sup>648</sup> The iron and sawmill industries make up over 40 percent of these cases. Most commonly, the reason for the application was related to manufacturing privileges. The majority of the applications concerning various industries in which at least one individual of foreign origin was involved were submitted from 1830 onwards – there were fewer than ten such applications submitted before 1830. In addition, 10 applications were lodged concerning the construction and building industries, the book industry and alcohol production, which have here been placed in the fourth main category “Other trades”.

As noted elsewhere in this study, these results must be regarded as suggestive rather than definitive since certain difficulties arose in trying to identify foreign-born individuals among the sampled population. In general, business actors who were engaged in small-scale production or who did not succeed in establishing stable and profitable businesses are seldom mentioned in previous research. Therefore, it has naturally been easier to find personal information about individuals engaged in large-scale industrial production than in small-scale manufacture (e.g. craftsmen who established small workshops). The very nature of the primary source material consulted here caused some confusion in the case of craftsmen, since the entries occasionally reported only the city from which the particular professional had come to Finland, which means that there is no certainty about the person’s place of origin. Some of the professionals who arrived in Finland in the early nineteenth century had previously travelled in Europe and/or Russia in order to obtain experience by working in different workshops.<sup>649</sup> This was a traditional way of training new professionals in many craft trades, and artisans needed to get experience and training in several places in order to obtain a more comprehensive mastery of their craft.<sup>650</sup>

The findings presented here concerning the proportion of foreigners’ participation in economic and business life are consistent with those presented by Per Schybergson. In his article on entrepreneurs in Finnish industry in the early nineteenth century, Schybergson maintains that 13 percent of industrial units established between 1809 and 1867 were founded by individuals who were not of Finnish descent.<sup>651</sup> Since many of these facilities were among the

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industry from the late nineteenth century onwards, see Ahvenainen 1984, 219–228; Hjerppé & Ahvenainen 1989, 288–289; Tuuri 1999, 47–48; Kuisma 2011, 174–177.

<sup>648</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. This number includes eight applications which were sent jointly by native and foreign-born business actors. Persons of Russian origin are also included in this number.

<sup>649</sup> Lindberg 1966; Myllyntaus 1988, 154; Engman 2004, 277–281; Leitzinger 2008a, 182–183.

<sup>650</sup> Stabel 2007, 159; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 127, 134–135.

<sup>651</sup> Schybergson’s article focuses on the food and beverage, brewery, tobacco, textile, paper, chemical, and glass and ceramic industries in the period between 1809 and 1867. Schybergson 1977, 144–147.

largest enterprises of their time in terms of both production and employment, their economic impact was naturally larger than the above-mentioned numbers indicate. A more recent quantitative study of the role of foreign-born founders and owners of early Finnish industrial companies emphasizes the important contribution they made to the country's industrialization.<sup>652</sup> Its results show that, in the first reference year (1841/1842) of the study, 12 of the top 30 industrial companies were actually founded by foreign-born individuals and 11 of them were owned by foreigners. Among the largest in terms of employment were companies such as Finlayson & Co (Tampere), Rokkala Glass Factory and St Anna's Iron Works, the last two of which were located in the Province of Viipuri.<sup>653</sup> The results for the second reference year (1860/1862) reveal that 17 of the companies in the top 30 list were founded by foreign-born persons and 11 of them were also foreign-owned at that time. It must be noted that this number includes companies that were established by foreigners before the 1840s, of which several were involved in the extractive and metal industry.

Among the foreign-born petitioners were several businessmen who are regarded as prominent business actors in the early Finnish mill industry. In addition to the previously mentioned James Finlayson and Axel Wilhelm Wahren, John Barker (1791–1854)<sup>654</sup>, David Cowie (1803–1874), Anders Thalus Ericsson (b. 1791), Per Cerelius Rettig (1811–1871)<sup>655</sup> and Feodor P. Kiseleff (1772–1847)<sup>656</sup> appear in the data. Interestingly, Finlayson, Barker and Cowie were all mechanics from Scotland. They had received a training in engineering and had worked in the workshop of the renowned British-Swedish industrialist Samuel Owen in Stockholm<sup>657</sup> before their arrival in Finland. Barker was the founder of a textile mill, later named Barker & Co, which was established in Turku in 1843. Cowie obtained the rights to establish a foundry and mechanical workshop with together with Anders Thalus Ericsson in 1842.<sup>658</sup> The company, Ericsson & Cowie, was established in 1844 in Turku.<sup>659</sup> The two men had together come to Finland in 1836 to work for John Julin (1787–1853) at Fiskars

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<sup>652</sup> See Särkkä, Valtonen, M., Turunen & Valtonen, H. 2010. The study is based on the lists of top 30 companies in selected years which were originally published by Riitta Hjerppe (see Hjerppe 1977).

<sup>653</sup> Särkkä, Valtonen, M., Turunen & Valtonen, H. 2010.

<sup>654</sup> Palmén 1911, 765–766; Herranen 2002 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/5783/>, 3.9.2012); Nummela 2004, 25.  
<sup>655</sup> On Rettig's business career, see Bahne 1950, 41–114; Kauranen 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=111>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>656</sup> Yrjänä 2009a (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=61>, 3.6.2012).

<sup>657</sup> Kent 2008, 158.

<sup>658</sup> For more on their careers in Finland, see Nykänen 2000 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/4275/>, 2.6.2012); Särkkä, Valtonen, M., Turunen & Valtonen, H. 2010.

<sup>659</sup> Laine 1952, 343, 427–429, 433–435, 484; Von Knorring 1995, 17–19; Grönros 1996, 11–12; Leitzinger 2008, 198. After the Crimean War, the workshop was owned by an Englishman William Crichton. Von Knorring refers to the networks formed by British persons engaged in industry in Turku. See also Savela 1981, 76–78.

Ironworks, where they stayed for five years.<sup>660</sup> In addition to the above-mentioned businessmen, a numerous group of less well-known entrepreneurs of foreign origin turned up in the sample data, among them Hampus Julius Oldenburg, Christian Kröger and L.R.L Heimberger, who all were from Sweden.<sup>661</sup>

At first sight, it is surprising that some of these leading businessmen seldom contacted the Economic Department on business-related matters over the reference years. For example, James Finlayson submitted only two business-related applications, and Wilhem (von) Nottbeck, who bought the former's textile mill in Tampere in the mid-1830s, submitted just one in 1850. Similarly, to judge from the sampled data, another pioneering entrepreneur in the Finnish textile industry, A.W. Wahren, spent little time petitioning the Senate in the years studied here: he submitted only one application, in 1840, requesting the right to import machines for his textile mill duty-free.<sup>662</sup> However, it is known from previous studies that he gained remarkable rights to import duty-free raw materials for his factory, which produced broadcloth in Jokioinen.<sup>663</sup> One reason for the lack of correspondence might be that the reference years do not coincide with their requests, but, of course, one also can speculate that it might be a result of the methods they used to promote their interests in the political arena.<sup>664</sup> Another reason might be related to the location of the factories in towns (i.e. Tampere) which enjoyed special privileges absolving various trades and industries practised in them from some of the constraints of economic regulation. This matter is addressed in more detail in Section 6.4.

In the case of sawmill owners of Russian origin, petitions appear quite regularly in the observed data. Here one might mention such well-known families involved in both commerce and the manufacturing industry as the Gromoffs, the Tichanoffs and the Tschuhoffs, all of whom were based in the town of Viipuri.<sup>665</sup> On the other hand, those Russians who are known to have been engaged in the extractive and metal industries in eastern parts of Finland remain clearly underrepresented. Only the Russian owners of a copper mine and foundry in Herajoki in eastern Finland initiated two petitions,<sup>666</sup> and the

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<sup>660</sup> Hjerppe 1979, 32–33; Schybergson 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=65>, 3.9.2012). On Julin, see also Nordström & Nordström 1966, 215–216, 222–230; Björkqvist 1986, 374.

<sup>661</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. On the factories these businessmen established, see Schybergson 1974b. See also Kaukovalta 1934, 31, 268–270; Schybergson 1995, 94.

<sup>662</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>663</sup> Harmaja 1920, 836–837; 845.

<sup>664</sup> Finlayson, Nottbeck and Wahren had good relations with the political elite and it is known that they also utilized these relations on various occasions, see Kaukovalta 1934, 24–26, 39, 55; Kalleinen 1994, 134–135; Keskisarja 2010, 45, 56. See also Helenius 2006.

<sup>665</sup> Hämynen 1997, 81–86; Pullinen 2002; Kalleinen 2009, 233–234; Hämynen 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=89>, 5.4.2012).

<sup>666</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. According to Evert Laine, the Finnish government officials were very optimistic about the copper mine and foundry, and they supported it eagerly. However, the foundry was

afore-mentioned Gromoffs, who had purchased St Anna's Iron Foundry in Suojärvi in the mid-1820s, submitted one.<sup>667</sup>

First, it is well to recall a few points before proceeding to further analysis. As said, the iron industry in eastern parts of Finland experienced a rapid growth in the early nineteenth century.<sup>668</sup> Three major ironworks, originally owned by members of the Russian aristocracy, were established in the Province of Viipuri (that is, Old Finland).<sup>669</sup> Rich lake and bog ore deposits and cheap charcoal<sup>670</sup>, together with new technological innovations such as the puddling method (introduced in the mid-1800s in Finland), which was of importance for furnaces using lake and bog ore, boosted the economy of the region and increased investments in it.<sup>671</sup> The owners' important role in the industry of Old Finland was based on landed property which had been donated to them by the ruler. These vast land properties and cheap labour (serfs) provided a secure base for economic development.<sup>672</sup> In addition, the Russian government supported the extractive and metal industry in Old Finland, and it also had far-reaching plans to utilize the natural resources in the region.<sup>673</sup>

Eastern Finland's natural resources and the markets in the proximity of the constantly growing city of St Petersburg attracted more Russian business actors and investors to the region during the following decades.<sup>674</sup> At the same time, Finnish businessmen, too, invested in growing numbers in the iron industry in the region, and the number of furnaces refining lake and bog ore continued to grow, as will become evident in the following sections. During the nineteenth century there were some twenty ironworks refining lake and bog ore in Finland (including Old Finland).<sup>675</sup> In the 1850s and 1860s, a well-known Russian industrialist, Nikolai Putilov, became the owner of three ironworks located in central parts of Finland (in Huutokoski, Haapakoski and Oravi), which produced iron for his manufacturing plants near St Petersburg.<sup>676</sup> Putilov had good relations and networks with the Russian political elite, which enhanced his economic and political power. He depended on orders from the

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abandoned because of poor results, the financier's economic problems and disagreements between the owners. Laine 1948, 52-63.

<sup>667</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. See also Laine 1950, 358-359; Joustela 1963, 197; Hämynen 1997, 88.

<sup>668</sup> A part of the following text is based on the author's contribution to a conference paper presented at the 14th Annual Conference of the European Business History Association (EBHA) in Glasgow in 2010 (Särkkä, Valtonen, Turunen and Valtonen 2010).

<sup>669</sup> Two of the ironworks were established in the first years of the nineteenth century, see Laine 1950, 358-359; Joustela 1963, 197.

<sup>670</sup> Charcoal was the main fuel used in ironworks in Finland.

<sup>671</sup> Alho 1949, 32-33; Laine 1950, 366-368; Heikkinen & Hoffman 1982, 71-72; Herranen 1986, 20.

<sup>672</sup> Annala 1931, 121-123; Hämynen 1997, 98.

<sup>673</sup> Laine 1950, 359-361; Katajala (ed.) 1997, 72-73.

<sup>674</sup> See e.g. Laine 1948; Mikkola 1984; Katajala (ed.) 1997; Hämynen 1997.

<sup>675</sup> Laine 1950, 357-366.

<sup>676</sup> On Putilov's industrial empire, see Gant 1999; Engman 1976, 289-290; Bater 1986, 48. On his ironworks in Finland, see Laine 1948, 640-642, 679-687, 715-717; Laine 1950, 368-369; Mikkola 1984, 220-223; Hämynen 1997, 91-92.



state.<sup>677</sup> Also three other ironworks were owned for shorter or longer periods of time by industrialists or financiers of Russian origin in the nineteenth century.<sup>678</sup>

Returning to the previously presented findings concerning the low number of applications submitted by Russians engaged especially in the iron industry during the research period, one set of possible explanations originates from the unique situation of Old Finland. As mentioned earlier, the province was incorporated into Finland proper in 1812, but even after that the Finnish Board of Mines had no jurisdiction over the ironworks in the region, and the division of administrative responsibility between the Finnish and the Russian authorities remained unclear. Therefore, the representatives of the central government in Finland were not in a position to administer the development of the industry in this region.<sup>679</sup>

### 5.3 The pursuit of government favours by iron and sawmill industrialists

#### 5.3.1 Increasing economic and political activity

As the discussion in the preceding section suggests, it was not only the merchantry who were activated by the events of 1808 and 1809 in the political arena but also iron industrialists made significant efforts in pursuing their economic interests through political means. Their efforts to influence the highest instances using various methods during and after the War of Finland have been well-recognized in previous studies, which have described how certain influential figures contacted leading policy-makers in order to get their concerns heard. For instance, the iron industrialists, whose trade had suffered because the war had prevented the import of iron from Sweden, pressurized the Swedish (Finnish) negotiators who were preparing the Peace Treaty of Hamina. Some of their concerns were taken into account in the negotiations, and as a result the import of iron from Sweden was allowed to continue after the war.<sup>680</sup>

Similarly, the Diet of Porvoo became a central political forum for promoting the views of the iron industry since the Noble Estate included prominent ironworks owners as members.<sup>681</sup> For example, Mikael Hisinger,

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<sup>677</sup> Gant 1999; Laine 1948, 715; Engman 1976, 289; Mikkola 1984, 220–223.

<sup>678</sup> They were Strömsdahl Ironworks in Juankoski, Möhkö Ironworks in Ilomantsi and Souru Ironworks in Karttula, see Laine 1950, 539–546, 558–559, 712–715. On the production of the ironworks owned by Russian businessmen, see also Hämynen 1997, 99.

<sup>679</sup> Kallio 1905, 221–223; Laine 1907, 85–105; Laine 1950, 561–563.

<sup>680</sup> See e.g. Heikkinen 1994, 135–136; Karonen 2010, 174.

<sup>681</sup> They were Mikael Hisinger (the owner of Fagervik Ironworks), E.G. von Willebrand (Jokioinen), Carl de Carnall (Noormarkku) and a representative of the af Forselles family (Strömfors). In addition, one ironworks owner, Johan Solitander, was a member of the Estate of Burghers; see Laine 1907, 37.

who was a representative of the Nobles and an ironworks owner, presented a petition that emphasized the numerous undesirable consequences that the iron industry and other sectors like commerce and shipping, as well as society generally, would face if the import of Swedish iron ore and pig iron did not continue after 1809.<sup>682</sup> The petition was presented on behalf of the iron industrialists of southern Finland.<sup>683</sup> Perhaps an even more important effort to gain political leverage at the Diet of the Estates was actually made when the Diet was constituted. The Nobles proposed that a special committee be appointed to prepare matters of high economic importance. The proposal stressed that matters of such significance required secrecy and thus the number of members of the committee needed to be restricted. However, the Burghers strongly opposed the proposal for a secret committee, and in the end only an ordinary committee was set up. Evidently, the Burghers were concerned that the establishment of a secret committee would leave some of representatives of economic and business life without access to participation in discussions on important questions.<sup>684</sup>

One of the main reasons for the iron industrialists' political activity was that they wanted to ensure that the import of raw materials from Sweden to Finland would continue after 1809, since the Finnish iron industry at that time relied heavily on the supply of imported raw materials. In fact, all but one of the ironworks in operation immediately after the annexation of Finland into the Russian Empire refined Swedish ore or pig iron since there were no iron mines of good quality in Finland itself.<sup>685</sup> Only Strömsdahl [Juantehdas] Ironworks, which had been established in 1746 in northern Savo, refined domestic lake and bog ore.<sup>686</sup> In addition to this, the markets were different: the products of the ironworks of southern Finland were mainly exported to the Baltic region, while the ironworks which were established in eastern Finland provided iron primarily for industry in St Petersburg. The proximity of the St Petersburg markets and the increasing need for iron in Russia guaranteed the success of the new ironworks in eastern parts of Finland.<sup>687</sup>

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<sup>682</sup> *Protokoll, hålta hos Högloflige Ridderskapet och Adeln vid Landtagen i Borgå år 1809* [Minutes of the Exalted Estate of Nobles at the Diet of Porvoo of 1809] (1862), 213–217. See also Laine 1907, 42–44; Halila 1962, 529–530; Nordström & Nordström 1966, 218.

<sup>683</sup> Laine 1907, 29, 42–49; Nordström 1962, 406–407. Two women had also signed the petition; one of them was Fredrika Sophia Baer, the owner of Mustio (Svartå) Ironworks, who is presented in Section 5.4. Another was Cath. Augustin, a niece of the merchant Maria Augustin (see Section 3.3).

<sup>684</sup> Laine 1907; Harmaja 1920, 24–25; See also Herlitz 1959, 160; Karonen 2003, 295–298; Karonen 2011, 233–235; Magnusson 2012, 8. Karonen's article (2011) on the Swedish Diet as a place for gathering commercial and political information during the Age of Liberty draws attention to the importance of the Secret Committee for the representatives of the Burghers.

<sup>685</sup> According to Schybergson 1980 (p. 420), there were nine ironworks in operation in Finland after the war. The number also includes the ironworks located in Old Finland.

<sup>686</sup> On Strömsdahl Ironworks, see Hoving 1946.

<sup>687</sup> See e.g. Laine 1948, 11–52, 546–557, 557–571, 596–607; Mikkola 1984, 216, 218–227; Hämynen 1997, 75–79.

The question of raw materials and markets is important in the context of this study since it offers an explanation for the political behaviour of the iron industrialists. In fact, the results of this study indicate that they were not particularly interested in shaping the prevailing institutional framework through collective petitions. Only one collective application by a group of iron industrialists from southern Finland in 1850 concerning the import of Swedish iron ore and pig iron to Finland was reported.<sup>688</sup> Instead, the majority of the studied applications mainly concerned the interests of individual ironworks owners, who petitioned, for example, for lower taxation in particular years, lower duties for certain cargoes of imported iron, or new letters of privilege for furnaces.<sup>689</sup> Obviously, the interests of the iron industrialists of southern Finland and those of eastern Finland did not coincide owing to the different basis of their industrial production and markets.

The growth of the iron industry is reflected in the dataset constructed for this study: between 1835 and 1850 a significant proportion of the applications concerned ironworks that refined lake and bog ore (see Table 16 below).

TABLE 16 Petitions and appeals concerning the iron and sawmill industries (1810–1850)

Reference year	The iron industry	The sawmill industry	All industries*
1810	13	3	26
1815	2	1	16
1820	2	2	20
1825	2	6	34
1830	3	2	20
1835	13	4	41
1840	20	12	60
1845	10	6	47
1850	18	4	72
Total	83	40	336

\*) The numbers include all cases related to the manufacturing industry in the reference years. Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

Generally speaking, the growth of the iron industry was a result of several factors. Firstly, the favourable market situation in Russia and Europe promoted the growth of the industry. The industry also benefited from the Senate's economic policy from the early 1820s on, which aimed to stimulate industrial growth, and which gave particular attention to prospecting for iron ore in Finland. In the 1830s, the officials responsible for the development of mining and the metal industry were optimistic about the success of these industries. The optimism was also encouraged by the opportunities envisaged in processing domestic lake and bog iron ore into pig iron.<sup>690</sup> Similarly, the

<sup>688</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>689</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>690</sup> Alho 1949, 30–31; Laine 1950, 366–367; Myllyntaus 1980, 354–355; Schybergson 1980, 421–422.

interest-free loans granted to the metal industry buoyed up the iron industrialists throughout the first part of the century. Other segments of economy (i.e. the sawmill industry) did not enjoy similar support as the iron industry.<sup>691</sup> Finally, in the mid-nineteenth century the development of the infrastructure and transport systems as well as technological innovations further stimulated the production of those ironworks that refined lake and bog ore (see also the previous sections). However, by the late nineteenth century the prospects for the continued success of the industry had dimmed, partly owing to international competition and partly to technological development – by that time Finnish ironworks had inevitably become obsolete and were forced to shut down. Also the hopes of finding rich iron ore deposits had proved to be vain. The iron industry that was based on using lake and bog ore also suffered greatly in the mid-1880s, when a change in the customs duties between Finland and Russia affected the profitability of the industry.<sup>692</sup>

As mentioned above, the interests of the iron industrialists are often seen as conflicting with those of the sawmill owners in the early nineteenth century. It is suggested that the conflicts arose from the right to use the forest resources in areas where both ironworks and sawmills operated.<sup>693</sup> As the volume of sawmilling grew – the 1830s witnessed a significant increase in sawmill production, and sawn goods became the most important Finnish export – the demand for timber increased.<sup>694</sup> Gradually the industry spread over the country to the outskirts of the lake districts (e.g. the areas round Saimaa and Päijänne lake systems), reaching the northern parts of Finland by the 1840s and 1850s. Also the means by which the sawmill owners acquired the timber for their mills changed; logging became more organized and timber was floated to the sawmills from more extensive areas.<sup>695</sup> By the 1860s, even more remote parts could be accessed thanks to the development of transport systems, technological innovations and the relaxation in the regulation of the industry.<sup>696</sup> Simultaneously, the sawmill owners' extensive logging operations, which reached the economic hinterlands of Finland, increased concerns over deforestation. In this situation, the government's policy on the growth of the industry was not very structured. The development of the sawmill industry was restricted by very heavy export duties in 1840, which effectively ended the growth of the industry.<sup>697</sup> In addition, initiatives aimed at regulation of the use

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<sup>691</sup> Laine 1950, 77–94, 261–274; Kuusterä 1989, 194, 200, 346; Kalleinen 1994, 147; Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 53.

<sup>692</sup> For a further discussion, see Alho 1949, 98–100; Joustela 1970, 114–115; Pihkala 1970, 115–121; Schybergson 1980, 422–223; Heikkinen & Hoffman 1982, 73; Mikkola 1985, 216–217; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 429.

<sup>693</sup> For a further discussion and criticism, see Yrjänä 2009b, 125–130; Yrjänä 2012, 77–81.

<sup>694</sup> Alho 1949, 22–25; Hoffman 1980, 32–36; Åström 1988, 34–35, 44–45; Tasanen 2004, 76–81.

<sup>695</sup> See e.g. Yrjänä 2012, 73–74.

<sup>696</sup> Hautala 1975, 274–277; Hoffman 1980, 32–36; Åström 1988, 34–35, 44–45; Tasanen 2004, 76–81.

<sup>697</sup> Yrjänä 2012, 75–76, 82–84. A new, lower tariff was issued already in 1843.

of forest resources became a political issue in the early 1840s, as will become evident in the following sections.

Interestingly, the sampled data do not suggest that possible conflicts between business actors in the iron industry and those in the sawmill industry were brought before the Economic Department in the form of petitions and appeals.<sup>698</sup> Rather, the appeals made by iron industrialists in the reference years concerned others engaged in the same industry, while sawmill owners complained about other sawmill owners. However, such cases were few in number. The results are, of course, influenced by the fact that possible disputes were usually dealt in special inspection visitations conducted by the authorities, which were held at the site of the projected production unit before it was decided whether a letter of privileges was to be granted for a certain project. Although there were differences between the inspections carried out for ironworks and those for sawmills, in both cases other entrepreneurs and members of the local community had the opportunity to make statements and comments.<sup>699</sup>

Over the research period, the cases connected with the sawmill industry were mainly applications for privileges to establish new sawmills, which were filed in growing numbers after the mid-1820s, as is indicated in Table 16.<sup>700</sup> The success of these petitions was uncertain since the Senate tended to cut down the petitioned production quotas of projected sawmills.<sup>701</sup> Petitions concerning various payments or taxes were the second largest group in the sampled data.<sup>702</sup> The iron industrialists, on the other hand, depended heavily on the government's generosity: government loans or terms of payment were the subject of one fifth of their applications.<sup>703</sup> A significant number of these applications were filed after 1835. The loans granted by the government and its various funds and the Bank of Finland were important sources of funding for the iron industry in a situation where capital markets were still underdeveloped.<sup>704</sup> The iron industrialists also petitioned the government to

<sup>698</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>699</sup> Local officials gathered information during the visitation and would then report to the higher authorities about, for example, the availability and quality of natural resources in the immediate vicinity and any possible damage the factory could cause to neighbouring areas. Once the inspection had been completed, the provincial governor or officials from the central agencies evaluated the case and issued their statement. Finally, the Senate would decide whether to grant a letter of privileges to establish a new industrial facility. In most cases, the process was not that simple - if members of the local community or competing entrepreneurs voiced an objection, the process could become protracted. See Kuisma 1983, 78-81; Valtonen 2006, 39-41 and the literature referred to therein.

<sup>700</sup> The majority of these cases were appeals which were sent to the Senate after the provincial governors had rejected the original petitions. See Hoffman 1980 (pp. 9, 40) for comparisons. Hoffman maintains that between 1849 and 1859, 120 petitions about the establishment of sawmills were submitted to the Senate. Only 58 of the petitions were approved, along with 20 petitions regarding the enlargement of an old sawmill. Hoffman 1980, 40; Yrjänä 2012, 75-76.

<sup>701</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>702</sup> This concerns the iron industry; engineering (mechanical workshops) is not included.

<sup>703</sup> Laine 1950, 264-274; Kuusterä 1989, 194-200; Myllyntaus 1988, 153; Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 50-55. In the early nineteenth century, businesses had to satisfy their

support efforts in prospecting for new iron mines; this can also be regarded as a form of government support for the industry.<sup>705</sup> Another difference between these two industries is that the iron industrialists contacted the Senate more often over matters concerning the acquisition of forest resources: they petitioned for privileges to use timber from the state-owned forests for making charcoal.<sup>706</sup>

A question that deserves more attention is the occupational and social composition of the applicants engaged in the iron and sawmill industries. In the first reference years, the iron industrialists presented in the data were mostly members of the highest estate.<sup>707</sup> Such notables as Joseph Bremer and V.Z. Bremer (Teijo Ironworks), A.H. Falck (Kauttua Ironworks) and, in the later reference years, John Julin (Fiskars Ironworks) and Magnus Linder III (Mustio Ironworks) could be mentioned here as examples, many of whom mentioned already in the previous chapters. The iron industry in southern Finland remained in the hands of this established elite, whose members had already been closely related to the political elite in the Swedish era.<sup>708</sup> High-ranking government officials were also owners or co-owners of some ironworks, which strengthened the connections between the industry and the political elite (see also Section 3.3). It must be remembered that these individuals were also engaged in various other businesses: e.g. in copper mining, engineering and commerce.<sup>709</sup>

As stated in Section 5.1, the emerging iron industry of eastern Finland did not have similar connections with the influential land-owning class as in southern Finland; rather the owners' position in society was based more on economic achievements than on inherited land, wealth or titles – that is, the traditional attributes of well-established members of the society of the estates. This is also reflected in the data sampled for this study: merchants such as Jean Bruun,<sup>710</sup> Zacharias Franzén,<sup>711</sup> Erik Johan Långman and Carl Jacob Mellberg as well as lower government officials are well represented in the data concerning the iron industry in eastern parts of Finland.<sup>712</sup> Furthermore, there were some applications submitted by persons with more humble backgrounds. Especially the case of a civil servant called Carl Gustaf Nygren is interesting as his activities happen to reveal something about foreign-born business actors' opportunities to be involved in economic decision-making. Nygren seems to

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need for capital primarily through the private credit market. Credit relations were based on personal networks rather than banks; see e.g. Ojala 1999, 279–294; Kallioinen 2003, 138–144; Ojala & Karonen 2006, 104; Keskinen 2008, 148–155. On the development in Sweden, see Nyberg 2010.

<sup>705</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. See also Laine 1950, 58–65; Yrjänä 2009b, 122–123.

<sup>706</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>707</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>708</sup> See Laine 1948 and 1950.

<sup>709</sup> See e.g. Myllyntaus 1988, 152–153; Yrjänä 2009, 129–130; Kuisma 2011, 50–64.

<sup>710</sup> Yrjänä 2009b, 129.

<sup>711</sup> Ahvenainen 1984, 176, 272; Jäntti 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=55>, 5.6.2012).

<sup>712</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

have been a very active and persistent individual, who devoted himself to establishing an ironworks in the parish of Iломantsi, a remote corner of eastern Finland. Between 1837 and 1847, he filed three petitions for privileges to establish a furnace to refine lake ore: after the initial request had been granted, it was renewed twice because Nygren was not able to carry out the project on his own. A closer study reveals that the applicant possessed neither the skills nor the means to realize the project. By contrast, he successfully worked as an agent of foreign financiers for several years, petitioning for privileges and rights on their behalf.<sup>713</sup> However, his case does not represent anything exceptional as the Economic Department regularly renewed industrial privileges without further question.

This particular instance and other similar cases – also in other segments of the economy – testify to the fact that industry attracted members of the middle orders of the traditional estate society and in particular those who had previously tended to take up careers in the army, the church or the law. Some of them were members of a group of men who came to dominate the country's industrial life, a new industrial elite that was slowly taking shape. This development was inspired by a phase of rapid growth in domestic industries as well as by international influences.<sup>714</sup> An even more visible change can be seen among the businessmen who were active in the sawmill industry in the 1830s as a new type of entrepreneur emerged in this industry. From the beginning, these entrepreneurs sought to engage in as large-scale production as possible. Since there were many constraints impeding the sawmill industry and its growth into a large-scale industry, this meant that they owned or rented several sawmills spread over a wide geographical area. The afore-mentioned businessmen, Nils Ludvig Arppe and Erik Johan Längman, are often referred to as the first true industrial capitalists who sought new ways to make their fortune.<sup>715</sup> Their names appear in various contexts in the sampled data over the selected reference years.

Most importantly, the above-mentioned developments – changes in ownership structure, the composition of the entrepreneur class and the emergence of a new industrial elite, whose members included both native Finns and foreign-born business actors – certainly had an influence on the ways business actors behaved in the political arena. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the change was manifested particularly in the actions of N.L. Arppe and E.J. Längman, both of them pioneering entrepreneurs in the sawmill industry. They were active players in the political arena, employing various

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<sup>713</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1837, 1840 and 1847. See also Valtonen 2006, 68–90. In the 1830s Nygren worked for an Englishman, and later on he was employed by a financier from St Petersburg. In the end he received a generous compensation for his efforts.

<sup>714</sup> Paavilainen 2005, 24–25; Kaukiainen 2006, 138–142; Ojala & Karonen 2006, 106; Kuisma 2006, 208–214; Kuisma 2011, 61–64. On the wider developments see e.g. Konttinen 1991, 89, 102–179.

<sup>715</sup> Alho 1949, 26–27; Kuisma 1995, 51–53; Kuisma 2006, 208–210. For a detailed discussion, see Yrjänä 2009b.

ways to influence the supreme decision-makers – not always with great success. Their relations with the highest authorities were occasionally strained, and this was also reflected in the way certain members of the Senate reacted to them.<sup>716</sup> However, the lot of a pioneering entrepreneur in the sawmill industry was not an easy one: in the end Längman invested his money in other industries, while Arppe, tired out by constant conflicts with the authorities, it is said, turned his attention to the iron industry in the early 1850s.<sup>717</sup> The following section will examine his business engagements and relationship with the political elite in more detail.

### 5.3.2 N.L. Arppe's relationship with the highest decision-makers

N.L. Arppe made 30 business-related petitions or appeals to the Senate during his active career as a businessman from the early 1820s to the early 1860s (see also Chapter 6).<sup>718</sup> It must be noted, however, that the number of letters related to business activities that he submitted was actually even larger since some of them were dealt only by local and provincial authorities. In addition, Arppe was involved in legal cases which handled by local courts or the Justice Department of the Senate. Some of these cases took several years and produced more paperwork.<sup>719</sup>

An examination of N.L. Arppe's career shows that the political activity of an industrialist in the business environment of the time studied was more than just reactive and ad hoc. Furthermore, his case is interesting because, in the light of earlier research and the available primary sources, it seems that Arppe attempted to bolster his position by transforming disappointing experiences and even setbacks into focused political action. Arppe's behaviour manifested attitudes and opinions which can be considered liberal in the context of the 1830s and 1840s, but his openly critical attitude of the prevailing government policies did not help him to gain the support of the most senior government officials. This is evident in Arppe's relationship with the key policy-makers, which was occasionally characterized by mutual hostility. Especially his relationship with L.G. von Haartman, a strong political figure and the real leader of the Finnish Senate in the 1840s and 1850s, was conflictual.<sup>720</sup>

Arppe's social networks played a key role in his political involvement, and through his contacts he had opportunities to influence decision-making. He secured access to the highest decision-makers by using his relatives as agents. For instance, in 1844 he had asked a relation called Clas Herman Molander (1817-1897), who was a civil servant working in the Senate, to help him in some

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<sup>716</sup> E.g. Yrjänä 2009b; Mustelin 1973.

<sup>717</sup> See, for example, Mustelin 1973.

<sup>718</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), various years between 1809 and 1863. The following text is mainly based on author's unpublished licentiate thesis (Valtonen 2006) and primary source material consulted therein.

<sup>719</sup> Blomstedt et al. 1927, 149-151; Tennes 1955; Mustelin 1973; Valtonen 2006.

<sup>720</sup> Mustelin 1973, 168; Valtonen 2006, 92-97; Yrjänä 2009b, 89.



minor tasks related his business endeavours.<sup>721</sup> The role of Molander became more important over the years as his career as a government official flourished. He also worked for a few years in St Petersburg as assistant to the Governor General, and he was eventually assigned to a high-ranking position in the Finnish Senate in Helsinki.<sup>722</sup> Consequently, he undoubtedly possessed valuable political connections.

When asking Molander for help at the beginning of the 1840s, Arppe promised him financial support as Molander's financial situation was, to Arppe's knowledge, not very "flourishing".<sup>723</sup> The relationship between Arppe and Molander became even closer when Molander married Arppe's cousin – a young woman who happened to be the daughter of Arppe's financier Johan Hallonblad. Hallonblad was a wealthy government official in the Province of Viipuri, who also belonged to Arppe's familial network since his wife was Arppe's aunt. It seems that Hallonblad did not actively participate in running the business, and Arppe had full control over all decisions, both minor and major, concerning it.<sup>724</sup> Hallonblad passed away in 1848, and his property and businesses were transferred to his one son and four daughters. As Hallonblad's son-in-law, Molander held a significant position among Hallonblad's heirs.<sup>725</sup> In a similar manner, the other men married to Hallonblad's daughters also became involved in his business interests. Thus Arppe and Molander became bound even more tightly by both family and economic interests.

From the beginning, Arppe corresponded regularly with Molander to advise him how to act. He sent his contact letters containing instructions by which he aimed to promote his own business interests in the capital. In his letters, Arppe often outlined a plan of action stipulating what was to be said and to whom. In addition to Molander, Arppe appears to have had other contacts in the capital city: later his half brother, Adolf Edvard Arppe (1818-1894), also came to play a role in his networks.<sup>726</sup> In a way, his contacts served as his "eyes and ears", and he occasionally authorized them to act on his or the firm's behalf if, for example, he was not able to travel to meetings with government officials himself.

N.L. Arppe was a lawyer but became a businessman<sup>727</sup> when his brother-in-law, who had inherited two large sawmills in eastern Finland, asked him to become his business partner in the early 1820s. Arppe did not have any significant capital to invest in the businesses because his father had recently

<sup>721</sup> NA, Archives of Clas Herman Molander, Arppe to Molander, 3.12.1844.

<sup>722</sup> On Molander's career, see Kuusterä 1989, 97-105; Sjöblom 1993, 247-248; Pihkala 2001 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/>, 16.4.2012); Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 373-374.

<sup>723</sup> NA, Archives of Clas Herman Molander, Arppe to Molander 3.12.1844.

<sup>724</sup> Valtonen 2006, 30-32. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Hallonblad's name was never mentioned in the Registers of Petitions as a petitioner. The petitions and appeals were always submitted by N.L. Arppe himself.

<sup>725</sup> On women's inheritance rights, see Chapters 2 and 4.

<sup>726</sup> Michelsen 1999, 136-137, 374. A.E. Arppe was a professor of chemistry and later Rector of the University of Helsinki, see e.g. Blomstedt et al. 1927, 151-153. In the 1880s, he was appointed to be a Senator. See also Valtonen 2006, 33.

<sup>727</sup> He resided in the countryside and thus did not hold burgher's rights in a town.

died, and the heirs were in financial distress after the father's estate had been declared bankrupt. He soon took over the administration of the businesses as a result of his brother-in-law's mental problems.<sup>728</sup> Arppe and his brother-in-law had planned to establish a large sawmill in eastern Finland, but their collaboration ended in the early 1830s, and Arppe then set up his own business and continued with the sawmill project.<sup>729</sup> However, the Senate did not grant him as extensive production privileges as he had petitioned for. Eventually, the facility, Kuurna Sawmill, was established in 1832, and it became one of the largest in Finland at that time. Arppe could not afford to finance such a big project on his own, and he secured financial support from Johan Hallonblad.<sup>730</sup>

Arppe was an energetic and innovative businessman, and he applied to the Senate for permits to establish two steam-powered sawmills in the mid-1830s.<sup>731</sup> The Senate considered that his plans were far too ambitious and refused permission. However, this was only the start of his endeavours in sawmilling, and he finally went on to own, wholly or partly, four sawmills and rented two more. From the early 1830s to the early 1850s, he concentrated on running these sawmills and acquiring land (forest) in order to secure raw material for them.<sup>732</sup> This was a new way of operating in the sawmill industry since previously sawmill owners' had bought timber from the peasants or they had rented land for logging.<sup>733</sup>

As a sawmill owner, Arppe made strenuous efforts to contact the highest decision-makers in order to bring about decisions that would benefit his own business interests. These efforts were not always successful, and he found himself in conflict with the government on several occasions in the 1830s and 1840s. He was, for example, prosecuted by the state after a local governmental official accused him of illegal logging activities in state-owned forest land in eastern Finland. This incident did certainly not improve Arppe's reputation in the highest political circles.<sup>734</sup> The Senate also pressured him to demolish Kuurna Sawmill as it was alleged that the dam of the sawmill obstructed boat traffic and caused flooding, which harmed farming and damaged the fields along the river.<sup>735</sup> This conflict was a serious setback to Arppe, and he attempted to turn things round in several ways. He asked his contacts in Helsinki to make full use of their close relations with the decision-makers on behalf of his business. Arppe's correspondence reveals how he perceived the

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<sup>728</sup> Mustelin 1973, 29–32. Arppe was forced to give up his career as a lawyer after his father died, and he had to support his younger siblings. According to a newspaper announcement, the family was bankrupted after the father died in 1823. *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 22.7.1823. See also Valtonen 2006, 29–30.

<sup>729</sup> Arppe and his brother-in-law announced that their co-operation had ended in January 1832 according to a newspaper announcement in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 9.1.1832.

<sup>730</sup> Ahvenainen 1984, 189–190.

<sup>731</sup> At that time there were no steam-powered sawmills in Finland; only water-powered sawmills were allowed, see Ahvenainen 1984, 203–206; Kekkonen 1987, 89.

<sup>732</sup> Mustelin 1973; Tennes 1955.

<sup>733</sup> Kuisma 2006, 214–215

<sup>734</sup> On the background behind this conflict, see Yrjänä 2012, 89.

<sup>735</sup> NA, STO AD 256/2 1850. See also Tennes 1955; Mustelin 1973, 186–190.

situation: he considered that a certain government official, who had an influential position on the administrative board in charge of waterways, had given him false promises regarding the situation of Kuurna Sawmill. On the basis of these promises, he had expected the sawmill to be able to operate for a longer time. The tone in his private letters reveals his bitterness towards the authorities, who eventually ordered him to pull down this, the most productive sawmill he owned.<sup>736</sup>

It has been maintained that the disappointments which N.L. Arppe experienced as a sawmill owner made him turn to the iron industry in the early 1850s. He established a large ironworks in Värtsilä (Tohmajärvi) and bought Möhkö Ironworks in Ilomantsi, and he developed these two foundries into a productive large-scale industrial company. It is evident that Arppe saw this shift to a new line of business as an opportunity to burnish his image in the eyes of the Senate. He tried to gain the acceptance of the highest decision-makers – or specifically of certain persons with whom he had had disagreements – to which end he employed a wide variety of methods, including an attempt to shape public opinion by means of newspaper articles. Once again he turned to his contact in Helsinki, Clas Herman Molander, for a favour. Molander was at that point the acting head of newspaper censorship in Finland. This position was influential, since the head of censorship controlled publishing activities and decided on censorship policy.<sup>737</sup> Arppe asked Molander to use his connections in order to get an article published in a newspaper which would stress the advantages of his latest business venture, the purchase of Möhkö Ironworks from an investor who lived in St Petersburg. He also hoped that the editor would highlight the benefits that would accrue to the whole country since the profits obtained from the ironworks, which was now in “strong hands”, would not drain away abroad but stay in Finland. In the letter Arppe also revealed that the aim was to influence von Haartman's opinion of him. Arppe wanted to vindicate his actions in the eyes of von Haartman, who was the Vice Chairman of the Economic Department at the time, and whose attitude towards Arppe's manoeuvres had grown more or less suspicious by that time.<sup>738</sup> Two weeks after Arppe's letter, an article that bore a striking resemblance to the lines from Arppe's letter – indeed it reproduced his words almost verbatim – was

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<sup>736</sup> Valtonen 2006, 58–67.

<sup>737</sup> Apunen 1970, 68–71; Sjöblom 1993, 228, 247–248.

<sup>738</sup> NA, Archives of Clas Herman Molander, Arppe to Molander 12.8.1851. The original text in Swedish: *”Skulle det ej gå an att i någon tidning omtala öfver detta jernbruks köp och deri yttra fågnad deröfver, att den möjliga winsten nu kommer att förlefoas inom landet och ej utgå till afslagna orter. Om Redactionen äfven ville yttra något hopp derom att inrättningen som nu råkat i starka händer, enligt sannolikhet med framgång kommer att drifvoas, så vore det mig kärt, måhända skulle denna framställning försona Hans Förskräcklighet med tanken, att en så förtappad warelse som jag blifvit ägare af hans så ömt omhuldade Möhkö.”* The expression “Hans Förskräcklighet” [His Frightfulness] refers to von Haartman, whose nickname this was (see e.g. Kalleinen 2001, 12). On Arppe's relationship with von Haartman, see Gripenberg 1922, 42, 77; Kaukoranta 1935, 138; Mustelin 1973, 196–197.

published in *Helsingfors Tidningar*.<sup>739</sup> Although it is not known whether this attempt had the effect Arppe hoped for, at least the news of his latest business affair reached the reading public since the article was published in several other newspapers, albeit in a shorter form.<sup>740</sup>

To sum up the observations made above, it seems that N.L. Arppe's background as a lawyer gave him certain advantages in the political arena. His knowledge of the dynamics of political processes facilitated his efforts to influence decision-making, and he did not need to expend additional resources in trying to achieve minor objectives. Without this kind of knowledge or access to insiders in the political process, it would have been more difficult for him to get results in the political arena. As he was familiar with the hierarchical structure of the administration, he was able to focus his efforts on several different officials or representatives of the central government in order to gain influence: if the first official did not support his views, he turned to another. This was a method he employed several times, making his way up the hierarchy if the issue permitted it. In other words, he was able to exploit the bureaucracy in order to delay the decision-making process by making new petitions or appeals.<sup>741</sup> For example, when the Senate ordered him to pull down Kuurna Sawmill, he tried to delay the implementation of the decision in this way in order to gain more time for his sawmilling operations. In the most complex cases, Arppe communicated directly with the most senior decision-makers, and he tried to find a way to solve problematic issues through personal correspondence and informal meetings with them. On occasion, he also asked his contacts to meet senators and made sure that they had exact instructions about how to behave or what to say to the government officials concerned.

A closer look at Arppe's political involvement indicates that he did not actively seek to build coalitions with other businessmen but preferred to act alone. According to the information provided by the Registers of Petitions, he did not join in collective petitions or appeals even though his interests were fairly similar to those of some other industrialists. One reason for this reluctance might have been that working within established interest groups has disadvantages: decision-making is more time-consuming when several individuals are involved, and co-operation reduces flexibility, raises costs and requires that the benefits of the political action are shared with others. On the other hand, Arppe's wide social networks may have been one reason which reduced his interest in collective action. His family and kinship networks included lawyers and government officials, some of them in high positions. The

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<sup>739</sup> Helsingfors Tidningar, 23.08.1851. The original text in Swedish: "... Hrr Rauch i S:t Petersbufig hafva nyligen för en anseelig köpeskilling -- försålt Möhkö masugninsrättning -- åt Brukspatronen Arppe ... Möhkö jernverk i Hr. A:s hand skall drifvas med den framgång och på sätt, som befördrar både enskild och allman nytta, oberäknadt att den möjligen winsten af werket nu kommer att stadna inom landet och ej utgå till afslägsnare orter."

<sup>740</sup> The article was published at least in the following newspapers: *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 25.8.1851; *Åbo Tidningar* 29.8.1851; *Suometar* 2.9.1851 and *Maamiehen Ystävä* 20.9.1851.

<sup>741</sup> Arppe explained his plans to Molander in a letter. NA, The Archive of Clas Herman Molander, Arppe to Molander 25.2.1850. See also Valtonen 2006, 62–63.

members of the family and even some more distant relatives were also called upon to support his cause when needed. The rationale behind this was based on the participants' joint benefit since they were bound together by economic ties. This system seemed to work well as long as they all spoke with one voice. However, according to his private correspondence, there were some minor disputes among the network of relatives.<sup>742</sup>

It could be said that as long as Arppe was engaged in sawmilling, he did not meet with the approbation of the most senior decision-makers. Partly this was due to the fact that his personal relations with certain high government officials were characterized by mutual personal antipathy, and partly to the fact that his business endeavours did not find favour with the government.<sup>743</sup> In his activities as a sawmill owner, he took considerable risks and suffered great economic losses as a result of this, but obviously he thought that the profits exceeded the costs and losses involved; for example, his sawmills were known to exceed the permitted production quotas many times. It is maintained that two of Arppe's sawmills used over 113,000 logs a year although their annual quotas were for only 12,500 logs.<sup>744</sup> He was not the only sawmill owner who exceeded the production quotas: sawmill owners were openly criticized for circumventing their privileges, and it is said that the practice was widespread. The alleged corruption of local authorities has also been claimed as a contributory factor to such activity.<sup>745</sup> The peripheral location of the sawmills was an advantage, and the fact that the government authorities did not have the resources or the tools to supervise and control the industry efficiently in the remote countryside of eastern Finland encouraged the sawmill owners to engage in this kind of behaviour.<sup>746</sup>

### 5.3.3 The Forest Act Committee and the question of forest legislation

An interesting case that allows us to study how the iron industrialists and sawmill owners attempted to influence government policy making is related to the reform of forest legislation in the 1840s. The major figure behind the reform was L. G. von Haartman, who was a strong proponent of legislative change. Von Haartman's role in this issue has been highlighted by Jouni Yrjänä in his recent studies in which he has revised many of the traditional views and opinions existing in previous research.<sup>747</sup> According to Yrjänä's detailed account, von Haartman's main aim was to protect the state's interests and secure its position as an owner of extensive forest resources in Finland. In a broad sense, this meant that the state had to adopt a more active forest policy and to take measures to prevent the depletion of forest resources (especially state-owned

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<sup>742</sup> See also Valtonen 2006, 33–34.

<sup>743</sup> Blomstedt et al.1927, 150–151.

<sup>744</sup> Hanho 1915, 50. The numbers are based on the company's accounts book.

<sup>745</sup> See e.g. Yrjänä 2009b, 119–120, 195, 338.

<sup>746</sup> Hanho 1915, 49–50; Kuisma 2006, 183–184.

<sup>747</sup> Yrjänä 2009b; Yrjänä 2012.

forests).<sup>748</sup> He argues that the reform of forest legislation that was enacted in the early 1840s has to be seen against this backdrop and maintains that previous studies have generally misunderstood the ultimate goals of the legislative reform that was so eagerly supported by von Haartman. He considers that the dispute about the depletion of forests by the sawmills was largely an ideological one.<sup>749</sup>

It has been claimed that there had been calls for reforming forest legislation ever since the era of Swedish rule, but it was not until the early 1840s that the first concrete proposal was made. Formally, the process for reforming forest legislation was initiated in autumn 1840 by the iron industrialists of southern Finland, who, motivated by a fear of a shortage in the supply of raw material from the forests and supported by the L.G. von Haartman himself, submitted a letter to Governor-General Menshikov demanding measures to prevent the depletion of the Finnish forests. However, the letter was not directed against the sawmill industry, unlike a report by Gustaf Idestam, an official of the Board of Mines. In the late 1840, Idestam accused the sawmill industry of causing deforestation especially in eastern Finland. His annual report on the state of the iron industry in Finland was also published in the state's official newspaper *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* in 1841.<sup>750</sup> The original idea, however, did not actually come from Idestam himself: he was pressured into publishing the report by von Haartman, who sought thereby to promote his own ideas.<sup>751</sup>

Soon afterwards, the Senate suggested to the Tsar that a legislative committee be established to consider the existing legislation.<sup>752</sup> A committee of seven members was therefore established in 1841. It is commonly acknowledged that the interests of the iron industrialists were well-represented in the committee since most of the members had close connections with the iron industry. The only member representing the interests of the sawmill industry is considered to have been the afore-mentioned Johan Hallonblad, N.L. Arppe's financier and close relative.<sup>753</sup>

The committee published the first proposal for a new bill after half a year's deliberation, at the beginning of 1842. The proposal followed traditional lines and urged that the existing government policies be continued.<sup>754</sup> Statements and comments were requested from governmental officials, the provincial governors and the Courts of Appeal, and also from the public at large when it was announced in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* that comments from persons

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<sup>748</sup> Yrjänä 2009b, 122–123; Kuisma 2011, 81–83.

<sup>749</sup> Yrjänä 2009b, 125–126; Yrjänä 2012, 85.

<sup>750</sup> Hanho 1915, 36; Ahvenainen 1984, 157; Kuisma 2006, 216–217. The report was published in issues 235 and 236 of *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* in 1841.

<sup>751</sup> Yrjänä 2009b, 124.

<sup>752</sup> Hanho 1915, 36–37; Ahvenainen 1984, 157–158; Kalleinen 1994, 171–172; Yrjänä 2009b, 124.

<sup>753</sup> Hanho 1915, 36–37; Blomstedt et al.1927, 150; Tasanen 2004, 232.

<sup>754</sup> On the simultaneous legislative reforms in Sweden, see Yrjänä 2009b, 135.

acquainted with the subject were welcomed by the committee.<sup>755</sup> This was a rare opportunity for business actors because such opportunities were not usually made accessible either to them or the wider public.

The announcement received an enthusiastic reception, and dozens of individuals from prominent industrialists to clergymen and country folk took up their pens in order to communicate their views to the committee. Among others, industrialists like John Julin and his brother Erik Julin,<sup>756</sup> sawmill owners, several prominent merchants and merchant houses like Hackman & Co. and Rosenius & Seseman all submitted their comments to the committee.<sup>757</sup> One of the most lengthy comments was written by N.L. Arppe – it comprised dozens of handwritten pages, in which the proposed reforms received detailed criticism from him. His statement is still among the one of the most cited documents of the responses received by the Committee.<sup>758</sup>

The private correspondence of N.L. Arppe gives us an opportunity to see how a contemporary businessman perceived the situation. It also shows that Arppe benefited from his connections with Hallonblad, who, as noted above, was a member of the committee. Membership in the committee provided Hallonblad with inside information, and he naturally informed his business partner Arppe about the objectives of the committee when it began its work.<sup>759</sup> With the aid of this contact, the latter obtained information that helped him to anticipate changes in the political environment. However, he knew only too well that the comments Hallonblad made before the committee could easily be interpreted as originally his rather than Hallonblad's own. Through his contact, Arppe obtained prior information that the Committee intended arrange an opportunity to comment on its first proposal. Although Arppe was rather pessimistic about his possibilities to influence the views of the committee and the highest decision-makers, he considered that this opportunity was an indication of liberal thinking in government circles.<sup>760</sup> In any case, he definitely did not want to miss this possibility to participate in the legislative process, and in a letter to his close relative Eric von Fieandt, a high-ranking army officer and owner of a large estate in the province of Viipuri, he wrote:

All this sounds more than liberal. I am of a mind to write something about this subject, even though I do not think I will achieve anything special.<sup>761</sup>

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<sup>755</sup> The issue of the newspaper is not known. For example, the ironworks owner John Julin referred to the newspaper announcement in his statement. NA, STO KD 10/478 1842, John Julin's statement, dated 16 August 1842.

<sup>756</sup> On Erik Julin, see Carpelan 1910, 91–95; Cygnaeus 1897, 427–428.

<sup>757</sup> NA, STO KD 10/478 1842.

<sup>758</sup> See e.g. Hanho 1905, 54; Meinander 1945, 233; Kuisma 2006, 216–217.

<sup>759</sup> NA, Archives of Alahovi Manor, File 20, Arppe to Eric von Fieandt 9.4.1842. Arppe told his close relative and business partner about the committee and Hallonblad's work as a committee member.

<sup>760</sup> NA, Archives of Alahovi Manor, File 20, Arppe to Eric von Fieandt 9.4.1842.

<sup>761</sup> NA, Archives of Alahovi Manor, File 20, Arppe to Eric von Fieandt 9.4.1842. The original text in Swedish: "Allt detta låter mer än liberalt. Jag är äfven sinnad att skrifva något i detta ämne, ehuru jag ej tror mig dermed uträtta något särdeles."

Arppe's correspondence indicates that in the end he took considerable pains in writing his comments for the Committee in spring 1842. He told von Fieandt that he had been busy preparing his comments since he intended to do everything he could to prevent the injurious effects that the proposed act might have on the sawmill industry.<sup>762</sup> Von Fieandt also commented on the Committee's proposal; possibly he was encouraged by Arppe's example. The comment Arppe eventually submitted to the Committee was almost a book-length document, putting forward detailed suggestions or amendments to several proposals regarding their influence on the forests and forestry or their internal contradictions.

In his statement, Arppe considered that the proposed actions to control the consumption of the forest resources were, from an industrialist's point of view, not only expensive and bureaucratic but also inaccurately formulated. However, he not only criticized the achievements of the committee, but he also offered some new ideas. He was, for example, interested in the development of silviculture and forest administration in Finland.<sup>763</sup> As a sawmill owner, he had an extensive knowledge of the issues he commented on; he had gained further information about silviculture while travelling in central Europe.<sup>764</sup> The examples he had witnessed abroad encouraged him to argue in particular for the building of steam-powered sawmills in Finland – by this time he had already petitioned for the right to establish a steam-powered sawmill, but it had been refused by the Senate – and he pointed out that the legislation regarding steam-powered mills was already more liberal abroad. He also emphasized the fact that four steam-powered sawmills had already been established in Russia near St. Petersburg. As the government was not convinced that it was possible to control the production of steam-powered sawmills efficiently, Arppe presented his ideas for technological solutions to control the production.<sup>765</sup> He aimed to convince the government that the production of steam-powered sawmills could be controlled in a reliable way so that the production quotas of individual sawmills would not be exceeded.

It seems clear that Arppe's opinions were coloured by his previous experience of refused petitions for the establishment of steam-powered sawmills, and he ended up by criticizing the government's policy of restricting the establishment of such facilities. Furthermore, he emphasized that the existing government policy did not treat the sawmill industry and the iron industry equally. His frustration was evident as he went on to criticize the prevailing situation:

Have the ironworks served to sow prosperity around them in any significant way?  
Have they, like the sawmills, caused the price of land with considerable forest

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<sup>762</sup> NA, Archives of Alahovi Manor, File 20, Arppe to Eric von Fieandt 5.6.1842.

<sup>763</sup> NA, STO KD 10/478 1842, N.L. Arppe's comment.

<sup>764</sup> NA, Archives of Alahovi Manor, File 20, N.L. Arppe's Diary from the journey to Central Europe; Mustelin 1973.

<sup>765</sup> NA, STO KD 10/478 1842, N.L. Arppe's comment. See also Hanho 1915, 43.



resources to multiply? Have they increased the value of Finland's export trade in a way that can be compared with the achievements of the sawmill industry...?<sup>766</sup>

He attempted to convince the committee that sawmilling was an important branch of industry for the economy of Finland. For example, he was of the opinion that the restrictions on the sawmill industry would slow economic development. He also argued that the sawmill industry did not cause the feared shortage of forest resources because it used old, mature timber as its raw material. Instead, it was the iron industry that was responsible for the depletion of forest resources by burning young timber for charcoal.<sup>767</sup>

Other businessmen, including the owners of some merchant houses, shared some of Arppe's opinions. It was, of course, in the interests of several other business actors engaged in forest-based industries to minimize any negative effects the legislative reforms might have on the development of their lines of business. The Finnish Economic Society (*Finska Hushållningsällskapet*) also criticized the committee's work. The Society, which had gained an important role in political and economic life in this period, considered that the proposal for a new bill contained major deficiencies such as the fact that the formulation of the proposed law was too vague.<sup>768</sup> Although the criticism was extensive, the legislative reform also received some support. However, the legislative process was protracted and the committee did not make its second proposal for the bill (which allowed, for example, the establishment of steam-powered sawmills) until 1843.<sup>769</sup>

There were also debates on forest legislation and the state of the forests in the Finnish press. This was partly connected with a political game that was being played in the Senate, but partly it was also an unintended consequence of the policy-making process.<sup>770</sup> An intellectual contribution to the ongoing discussion was provided by J. V. Snellman, regarded as an outstanding philosopher and an influential economic thinker, who commented on the issue on the pages of the newspaper *Saima*, of which he was the editor.<sup>771</sup> Snellman's circle of acquaintances included the previously mentioned sawmill owner Erik Johan Längman, who provided Snellman with information about the challenges the sawmill industry was facing from government regulation.<sup>772</sup> In his writings,

<sup>766</sup> The original text in Swedish: "Hafva jernverken i betydlig mån bidragit att spira välstånd omkring sig, hafva de, såsom sågarne mångdubblat värdet af jordegendom med betydlig skogstillgång, hafva de uppå Finlands utrikes handel utöfoat ett inflytande, som kan jemföras med hvad sågrörelsen åstadkommit..." NA, STO KD 10/478 1842, N.L. Arppe's comment.

<sup>767</sup> NA, STO KD 10/478 1842, N.L. Arppe's comment.

<sup>768</sup> The Society was established in 1797; see Kirby 2006, 66-67. On the role of the Economic Society in Finland, see Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 30; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 211. See also Cygnaeus 1897.

<sup>769</sup> Hanho 1915, 43.

<sup>770</sup> Yrjänä 2009b, 125-126. See also Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 30.

<sup>771</sup> *Saima* 13.11.1845; *Saima* 20.11.1845. On Snellman, see Björkqvist 1986, 156-201; Heikkinen, Heinonen, Kuusterä & Pekkarinen 2000, 69-81; Savolainen 2006.

<sup>772</sup> Yrjänä 2009b, 157-159, 338. See also Savolainen 2006, 455-457, 461-463. Snellman had joined Längman on his excursion to Central Europe, where they had, for example, visited local forest institutes.

Snellman criticized the Committee's proposal and called for more liberal reforms. His critical attitude towards the whole system of regulations restricting economic activity aroused discussion in the press, and he became involved in a fierce debate with Professor J.J. Nordström, who was the Secretary of the Committee.<sup>773</sup> Even though the regulations proposed for the sawmill industry were discussed in the press, the level of public discussion remained rather limited as a result of the censorship laws governing newspapers. It was not until later that these censorship laws were relaxed.<sup>774</sup>

The Committee's proposal reached the Senate at the beginning of 1848. The process made no progress because L. G. von Haartman was not satisfied with the details. Von Haartman, using his connections with the Governor General, demanded that a number of changes be made. As a result of his dissent, another committee was set up to continue the process.<sup>775</sup> The protracted progress and the uncertainty about government policy on the sawmill industry gave the sawmill owners cause for concern. N.L. Arppe, for one, was worried about the situation, as his correspondence reveals, especially as he was no longer able to obtain insider information about the legislative process since Johan Hallonblad, his financier and a member of the committee, had passed away in 1848. As the legislative process dragged on year after year, Arppe frequently asked his contact Clas Herman Molander if he could give him new information about the latest developments in the Senate. In 1848, Arppe planned to end the rental agreements of two sawmills if the new forest act came into force at the end of that year. However, the information Molander gave him encouraged him to continue the contracts, and he rented the sawmills until 1856.<sup>776</sup>

The Forest Act was finally passed in 1851.<sup>777</sup> The new decree set strict limitations on sawmill production and, for example, prohibited steam-powered sawmills. Scholars have debated its influence and consequences: it has been maintained that the strict legislation led to undesirable consequences such as the fact that hand sawing became once again more common and that the supervisory officials were bribed by the sawmill owners, who sought ways to engage in large-scale production despite the new regulations.<sup>778</sup> The act has usually been regarded as a measure that targeted the sawmill industry, but it also included other provisions, such as orders and instructions concerning the establishment of an office for the administration of forestry. According to recent studies by Jouni Yrjänä, this reflects von Haartman's aims and interests in the legislative process. In addition, Yrjänä claims that, stemming from academic

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<sup>773</sup> On Snellman's views concerning economic regulation and the forest industry, see Meinander 1945, 233–237; Tasanen 2004, 231–232; Yrjänä 2009b, 157–158; Kuisma 2011, 83–85; Yrjänä 2012, 84–87.

<sup>774</sup> See e.g. Nurmiö 1934. See also Tommila 1999, 94–95.

<sup>775</sup> Hanho 1915, 55–57; Yrjänä 2012, 87–88.

<sup>776</sup> NA, Archives of Clas Herman Molander, Arppe to Molander 20.8.1848. See also Hirvonen 2003, 92–96; Valtonen 2006, 48–49.

<sup>777</sup> The act was passed on 9 September 1851. Yrjänä 2009b, 194–196.

<sup>778</sup> See e.g. Hanho 1905; Meinander 1984; Ahvenainen 1984; Perälä 1987; Kuisma 2006.

studies published in the early twentieth century, the conflict between the iron industry and the sawmill industry has been regarded as too acerbated in this context. One factor contributing to this interpretation has been the sharp comments that N.L. Arppe, a passionate spokesman for the sawmill industry, used to employ in his communication with the supreme policy makers. As a result, the sawmill and iron industries have been seen as competing industries in the early nineteenth century.<sup>779</sup>

In the end, the act remained in force only for a decade before it was replaced by a new and more liberal one in early 1861. Even before that, in 1857, provisions allowing the establishment of steam-powered sawmills had been enacted.<sup>780</sup> The political climate became more liberal in the mid-1850s, when Tsar Alexander II came to the throne and some of the highest officials in the Grand Duchy were replaced or resigned.<sup>781</sup> The change in the political atmosphere was reflected in attitudes towards business life. The Tsar, who visited in Finland in 1855, urged the Finnish Senate to promote economic growth in the Grand Duchy, and two committees were set up to find ways to advance industrial development. A group of liberal-minded industrialists, among them N.L. Arppe and Erik Julin, were asked to participate in a committee established to outline guidelines for promoting the prospects of the extractive and metal industry.<sup>782</sup>

## 5.4 Women in industry

As we saw in Chapters 3 and 4, women's opportunities to engage in commerce were limited by a whole gamut of constraints, but industrial activities were not regulated as strictly which obviously opened up more opportunities for women to engage in various industries. Of course, a woman's personal skills, wealth, social status (widowhood) and the branch of industry involved, among other things, influenced her opportunities for action. Although the proportion of women engaged in the manufacturing industry in the studied population was low compared with that of men – female applicants were involved in six percent of all the cases related to the manufacturing industry, as was stated in Chapter 3 – some of them were engaged in businesses of major economic importance, and they ran production units which were in fact large-scale enterprises.

The research concerning the economic activities of women in the early phases of industrial development in Finland is fragmented and usually remains on a rather general level. However, a study by the Swedish researcher Kerstin

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<sup>779</sup> Yrjänä 2012. See also Kuisma 2009, 81–85.

<sup>780</sup> Meinander 1945, 241–242; Heikkinen & Hoffman 1982, 61; Ahvenainen 1984, 203–211; Kekkonen 1987, 89. See also Perälä 1987.

<sup>781</sup> Tiihonen & Ylikangas 1992, 238–242. See also Heikkinen 1994, 206–211.

<sup>782</sup> Alho 1949, 50–51; Kekkonen 1987, 48–49; Savolainen 2006, 608–614; Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 2009, 50–61.

Westerlund can be used as a source of reference. Her work *Kvinnliga brukspatronen* (2004) is the first research focusing solely on female iron industrialists in Sweden over a long time period, covering as it does approx. 400 years. The study points out that there were 292 women engaged in the iron industry – some for shorter periods of time, some for up to several decades. Although her contribution on the female ironworks owners in Finland remains somewhat limited owing to Finland's separation from Sweden in 1809, her study offers a wider perspective on the engagement of women in this industry.<sup>783</sup> In addition, the study provides some illustrative examples of the political influence of female ironworks owners.

As in Sweden, members of the highest social group were clearly prominent among the female ironworks owners in Finland. The dataset constructed for the present study shows that the female applicants belonged to the highest echelons of society. An obvious reason for these females' appearance in the political arena was that the iron industry's prospects were uncertain after the War of Finland, as has been pointed out in the previous sections. As a result, the petitions of female ironworks owners to the most senior decision-makers also primarily concerned taxation and payments due to the state. Apart from the above-mentioned petition by a group of iron industrialists at the Diet of the Estates in 1809, in which Fredrika Sophia Baer (1759–1814) participated as the owner of Mustio Ironworks, female ironworks owners are not mentioned in collective petitions that had broader relevance for the whole industry over the research period.<sup>784</sup>

Fredrika Sophia Baer actively sought to influence political decision-making. She was a high-born noblewoman who ran Mustio Ironworks for some 12 years until 1812.<sup>785</sup> She inherited the property after her husband, Magnus Linder II, died of a lung illness in 1801. The married couple had signed a mutual will, and according to the document she inherited the ironworks and the estate from her deceased husband.<sup>786</sup> The husband had earlier advised his brother to help Fredrika Sophia in taking care of the management of the ironworks and its estate.<sup>787</sup> However, the widow refused the help of her brother-in-law. She chose to run the ironworks as a family enterprise and put into effect the terms of the will, taking into account the rights of her two minor

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<sup>783</sup> Westerlund mentions 12 female ironworks owners in Finland before 1809. Westerlund 2004, 44–45, 51–52, 205. Vilkuna (1996, p. 8–62) provides a more detailed account of two widowed ironworks owners, Elin Såger (1614–1669) and Hedvig Eleonora Stenbock (1664–1729), in Finland during the era when Sweden was a great power in Europe (1616–1720). Elin Såger, in particular, appears to have been an influential figure in the iron industry. See also Mäkelä–Alitalo 1998 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/5121/>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>784</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>785</sup> Annala 1928, 101; Laine 1958, 70; Westerlund 2004, 44–45, 51–52, 205. Mustio Ironworks was founded in the mid-sixteenth century and was the first permanent ironworks on the Finnish side of the Kingdom of Sweden.

<sup>786</sup> Nordström 1962, 397; Laine 1948, 70. On women's rights to inherit small and large-scale industrial facilities and landed property in Sweden in the early modern age, see Westerlund 2004, 22–23, 39.

<sup>787</sup> Nordström 1962, 391; Westerlund 2004, 165–166.

sons. As a result, a family enterprise, Fredrika Sofia Baer & Söner, was formed in 1803.<sup>788</sup> Soon afterwards Baer remarried.<sup>789</sup> However, she insisted on making a marriage contract with her new husband in which it was agreed that neither the latter nor his heirs had any rights to the ironworks or its property.<sup>790</sup> In itself, this case demonstrates how a woman – at least one in a good social position – was able to navigate her way in society so as to protect her property and the economic interests of her heirs.

According to the sampled data from the reference years, Baer contacted the Senate in 1810, complaining about the taxation of ironworks products. She submitted the appeal because she had asked for an exemption from taxes for the years 1808 and 1809, but the county governor had rejected her petition.<sup>791</sup> She also sent another letter in 1814, but it was not business-related.<sup>792</sup> Obviously Baer's main aim was not to gain large economic profits as an ironworks owner but to preserve the business in the family. In 1812, the management was transferred to her first-born son, Magnus Linder III (1792–1863), who had studied law in Sweden. When Baer died in 1814, the ownership was divided between Magnus Linder III and his younger brother, who subsequently sold his share to the former. Magnus Linder III became an influential and politically active businessman in his time.<sup>793</sup> However, the Registers of Petitions for the reference years report only two applications filed by him, both in 1840.<sup>794</sup>

In terms of submitted applications, the most active female industrialist in the reference years was Virginia af Forselles, née Carlskjöd, (1759–1847). She can be considered a prominent business figure by other standards as well: she was one of the ten wealthiest business actors in Finland in 1800 and was the only woman among them.<sup>795</sup> In the reference years, she submitted four applications, three of which were filed in 1810 and one as late as 1840.<sup>796</sup> The fact that she outlived the other female ironworks owners may be the reason why she is most highly represented in terms of the number of submitted petitions.

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<sup>788</sup> Nordström 1962, 398–399.

<sup>789</sup> Her second husband was *lagman* (“lawspeaker”, judge) Gustaf Adolf Sederholm, who was a son of Counsellor of Commerce Johan Sederholm from Helsinki. Nordström 1962, 399.

<sup>790</sup> Nordström 1962; Westerlund 2004, 165–168.

<sup>791</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810.

<sup>792</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1809–1815. The petitions submitted in 1810 and 1814 were recorded under the name Baer. According to Nordström (1962, p. 404), Baer applied for compensation for the damage that Swedish troops had deliberately caused at Mustio Ironworks, but she received no restitution. On petitions for compensation, see Uotila 2010, 454–456; Jääskeläinen 2011, 15–25.

<sup>793</sup> Laine 1948, 70–79; Marttila 2009b (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=83>, 1.6.2012); Valtonen, H. 2009a (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=101>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>794</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1840.

<sup>795</sup> Ojala & Karonen 2006, 103.

<sup>796</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. The applications submitted by af Forselles were related to the taxation of the ironworks and an estate belonging to it.

Virginia af Forselles was married to the iron industrialist Johan Henrik af Forselles (b. 1754), who had inherited the Strömfors ironworks in south-east Finland from his father.<sup>797</sup> The ironworks was founded in the early eighteenth century, but its operations had suffered from several interruptions not least because of wars. Johan Henrik af Forselles restored the site in the 1780s and developed it further.<sup>798</sup> Virginia af Forselles was widowed in 1790, when she became the sole owner of Strömfors Ironworks in south-east Finland and took control of the plant and its landed property. She ran her husband's business for 57 years with the help of her sons. She accomplished major construction works at the ironworks' site in the late eighteenth century and continued to develop iron manufacturing there after the War of Finland.<sup>799</sup>

Virginia af Forselles, who evidently took a considerable risk in engaging in the iron industry, became a hardworking and resolute manager.<sup>800</sup> She also knew how to bring her economic concerns to the government's attention. She sought to secure her economic interests in the area surrounding the ironworks, which led to continued disagreements between her and members of the local gentry and peasantry. A more detailed look of the Registers of Petitions between 1810 and 1850 shows that she was not afraid to contact the Senate on matters that affected her interests: by the early 1850s she had submitted several applications, but they were not filed in the reference years.

The third woman engaged in the iron industry was Baroness (*Friherrinna*) Wendla von Willebrand, née von Wright (1755–1820). She became the owner of Jokioinen Manor, which possessed some industrial facilities, after her husband Ernst Gustaf von Willebrand (1751–1809) died.<sup>801</sup> He had made a remarkable administrative career as a civil servant, and he was also engaged in various lines of business including the tobacco, iron, textile and sawmill industries, shipping and commerce.<sup>802</sup> The Willebrands were closely connected to the Finnish economic and political elite, and E.G. von Willebrand was a central figure in high society in Turku.<sup>803</sup> In 1810 Wendla von Willebrand submitted two applications to the Senate. In her first letter she petitioned for exemption from taxation of an ironworks (*hammarskatt afgift*), because she had not been

<sup>797</sup> Autio 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=8>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>798</sup> Johan Henrik af Forselles was also active in politics. His work and merits were recognized by the government, and he was granted the honorific title of Counsellor of Mining in 1784, see Autio 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=8>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>799</sup> Laine 1948, 313–314; 316–317; Laine 1952, 378–379.

<sup>800</sup> Obviously, she was a determined person and a prominent local character since she was referred to in her lifetime as "Her Grace" by the local inhabitants. Her influence – which exceeded just that of an employer – was wide-ranging in a small rural community. See Autio 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=8>, 1.6.2012).

<sup>801</sup> Kaukovalta 1934, 7.

<sup>802</sup> Palmén 1911, 761; Annala 1928, 264–271; Kaukovalta 1934, 5–7; Heikinheimo 1955, 827; Haggren 2001 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/3955/>, 2.6.2012); Wuorinen 1959, 198–199.

<sup>803</sup> On E.G. von Willebrand's good relationship with the highest Russian authorities and the family's networks, see Savolainen 1994, 59; Katajisto 2008, 10, 15–16, 18–20; Samuelson 2008, 40–41.

able to import enough raw material to the foundry as a result of the war.<sup>804</sup> The second letter was an appeal regarding a permit granted to a neighbour who was intending to build a flour mill.<sup>805</sup> A closer look at the Registers of Petitions between 1809 and 1820, the period during which she was supposedly active in business life, reveals that she filed seven more applications, all but one of which were related to business matters.<sup>806</sup> After her death in 1820, her two sons-in-law took care of the estates and industrial units belonging to Jokioinen Manor. In the late 1830s, the industrialist Axel Wilhelm Wahren rented a textile mill that had once belonged to the von Willebrands.<sup>807</sup>

The backgrounds of the gentlewomen Fredrika Sophia Baer, Virginia af Forselles, and Vendla von Willebrand were similar in many ways. Owing to their high social standing, the women's background gave them an advantage over many other women: as members of the upper echelons of society they had better opportunities to make claims before the top decision-makers than those belonging to lower social groups. Furthermore, as widows none of them was under male guardianship. Although Fredrika Sophia Baer remarried, her second husband did not have control over the business, and Baer's eldest son was given an education that enabled him to take over the management of the ironworks.<sup>808</sup> These women took care of their interests in both local and national seats of decision-making, and their actions in the political arena are demonstrated in the petitions and appeals they submitted in their own names. On the other hand, according to Kerstin Westerlund's study there are many examples in Sweden which it is difficult to ascertain whether a woman actually led the enterprise she owned herself or whether she employed a man to manage it.<sup>809</sup>

In addition to the women engaged in the iron industry, there were also a few women who were involved in the sawmill industry. For example, Sophie Holmstén (the widow of Counsellor of Commerce Jacob Holmstén), Paraskovia Tichanoff (the widow Counsellor of Commerce Timofei Tichanoff and mother of the sawmill owner Michael Tichanoff)<sup>810</sup> and Katarina Tschusoff (the widow of the sawmill owner Petter Tschusoff)<sup>811</sup> contacted the Senate over questions related to sawmilling in the reference years. However, information about these and a few other women who operated in this industry in the early nineteenth

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<sup>804</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1810; NA, STO AD 290/152 1810, Wendla von Willebrand's petition.

<sup>805</sup> Von Willebrand's petition STO AD 429/153 1810 is not preserved in the archives of the Economic Department.

<sup>806</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1809–1820.

<sup>807</sup> Palmén 1911, 761; Heikinheimo 1955, 795.

<sup>808</sup> Nordström 1962, 409–413. Nordström maintains that Fredrika Sophia Baer gave up her family name after she remarried and was then called *Lagmanska Sederholm*. However, even after her remarriage she was referred to as Baer in the entries of The Register of Petitions.

<sup>809</sup> See Westerlund 2004.

<sup>810</sup> For a brief treatment of Paraskovia Tichanoff (or Tichanova) as the head of her late husband's merchant house, see Hämynen 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=52>, 1.5.2012). See also Yrjänä 2009b, 83, 117.

<sup>811</sup> The petition was submitted in the name of the company Petter Tschusoffs Enka & Söner. See also Hämynen 1997, 83–84.

century is very scarce, and they are barely mentioned in the existing studies. It seems that the most important motivation for these women's economic and political involvement was to keep their businesses in the family and ensure that they were passed on to the next generation.

Indeed, the role of widows in preserving the family patrimony as interim owners and managers, who nevertheless sometimes ran the companies for many years, has been highlighted in numerous studies concerning family businesses.<sup>812</sup> With the help of the dataset constructed for this study, this subject can be considered in a broader context. In early-nineteenth-century Finland, it was not permissible to sell on economic privileges, e.g. privileges to prosecute a trade which an individual had obtained from the government, and a separate application was needed in order to transfer the privileges to another individual.<sup>813</sup> When we consider the petitions related to the transferral of economic privileges from one person to another, the role of women as "intermediaries" in family businesses becomes more prominent.

In the reference years between 1810 and 1850, the transferral of privileges was the subject of 24 petitions. It needs to be emphasized that all these cases were related to the manufacturing industry.<sup>814</sup> The sampled data show that in six cases the applicants were widows, and in one case there was a joint application by a widow and a male applicant. In four out of the six cases, the widows applied for the transferral of their deceased husband's economic rights in order to continue the business themselves. In the remaining two cases, the widows petitioned for the economic rights to be passed on to male entrepreneurs.<sup>815</sup> Needless to say, transferring privilege rights must have been far more common than the data suggest: according to previous studies, the ownership of industrial facilities changed frequently in the first part of the nineteenth century, and it was common that a production unit was owned by numerous shareholders. In this context, it must be stressed that in the reference years there were no applications from women for the resignation of economic privileges (resignation also had to be reported to the highest decision-makers),<sup>816</sup> and there were only four cases in which male applicants petitioned that their privileges to engage in a certain trade should be revoked. All these applications were related to small-scale manufacturing activities.<sup>817</sup>

Four of the above-mentioned petitions for the transferral of privileges concerned manufacturing industries, while two concerned the book industry.

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<sup>812</sup> See e.g. Wunder 1998, 94; Beachy 2001, 309; Colli, Fernández Pérez, and Rose 2003, 42. Widows sometimes also employed their sons or other close male relatives as their representatives and assistants (see Wuorinen 1966, 59–63, 65–66; Nikula 1970, 296).

<sup>813</sup> See Schybergson 1973.

<sup>814</sup> The commercial legislation regulated the inheritance of domestic and overseas commerce.

<sup>815</sup> NA, STO AD 245/75 1850 (Johnsson) and 81/33 1850 (Ekman).

<sup>816</sup> If a merchant or a craftsman wished to resign his burgher's rights, he had to apply to the town court of his home town. *Ruotzin waldacunnan laki. Hywäxi luettu ja wastan otettu Herrain päiwillä wuonna 1734* [The Code of the Realm 1734] (1984), Cauppa Caari, III. Lucu. Cuinga porwari-oikeus woitetta mahta, 5. §.

<sup>817</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.



Although the final outcomes of these petitions have not been examined in this study, one widow called Sofia Johnsson, the former wife of a book merchant, stands out from the rest since the selected reference years capture both her petition to assume her deceased husband's privileges in 1845 and the transferral of these rights to another book merchant five years later. Actually, Sofia Johnsson was the only female book merchant in the Grand Duchy of Finland before the 1860s.<sup>818</sup> Apparently, she was prepared to take over the business since – according to a short obituary in a newspaper – her husband had been ill for a long time and eventually died at the age of 35 in late 1845.<sup>819</sup> Only a few weeks after her husband's death, the widowed Sofia Johnsson applied for her husband's privileges to sell books in Hämeenlinna, and her petition was granted in January 1846. Five years later, in April 1850, she petitioned for permission to transfer the rights to another book merchant.<sup>820</sup> During this short intervening period she was actively involved in the book trade and even attempted to limit competition in her home town by appealing to the Senate to prevent another book merchant from being allowed to open a shop there.<sup>821</sup>

There were also other families in which we can observe women's role in the succession of the family business: the Cedervaller and the Simelius families in the book industry, the af Forselles and the Linder (Baer) families in the iron industry, the Hackmans in domestic and overseas trade, the Tichanoffs and the Tschusoffs in the sawmill industry, the Richters and the Strähles in textiles and leather crafting, and the Polons, a less well-known family engaged in textile manufacturing in the rural parish of Hollola, were all families in which widows continued their deceased husbands' businesses and were active in the political arena. These families were represented by two or more generations in the sampled data over between 1810 and 1850.<sup>822</sup> What is clear from these examples is that in these families the widows passed the ownership of the business on to the next generation.<sup>823</sup>

The Richter family in particular offers a good example of how a widow passed the ownership of the company on to the next generation. The first member of the family, Cristoffer Richter, was a tanner in Turku in the early eighteenth century. His sons continued this work, and by the early nineteenth century the family had obtained an established economic and political position. With the help of the data contained in the Registers for the reference years, it is possible to follow the development of their business endeavours and how they

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<sup>818</sup> For a brief treatment of Johnsson's career as a book merchant, see Hakapää 2008, 46, 79, 278, 300, 352.

<sup>819</sup> *Borgå Tidning* 10.12.1845; HisKi project (<http://hiski.genealogia.fi/hiski?fi+t1579348,20.4.2012>).

<sup>820</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1845 and 1850.

<sup>821</sup> NA, Digital Archives, Register of Petitions, 1848. A closer study verifies that Johnsson did not submit any other letter under her own name between 1845 and 1850.

<sup>822</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>823</sup> The details can be verified from previous research, see e.g. Nordström 1962; Wuorinen 1959 and 1966; Hakapää 2008; Autio 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=8,1.6.2012>); Herranen, M. 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=56,1.6.2012>).

attempted to promote the family's business interests: in 1810 Jacob Christoffer Richter Snr, representing the third generation engaged in the family business, submitted a business-related petition, then in 1820 his son Christoffer Richter Jnr filed two applications. In 1835 his widow Agatha Richter (née Hjelt), submitted one petition, as did their son Franz Christoffer in 1840.<sup>824</sup>

To summarize, the role of women is mainly evident in the context of family-owned businesses, and their engagement was prominent especially in times when the interests of the firm and the family were closely intertwined. In studies concerning the early stages of industrialisation, women's active – albeit sometimes hidden – role has been regarded as important in family business since via marriage they were vital direct and indirect sources of finance and contacts. Marriage was also seen as an important way of reducing business transaction costs in that it extended the family network of trust.<sup>825</sup> Several scholars have maintained that women sometimes played important roles in merchant households, for example as co-managers, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As widows, they were able to preserve their children's inheritance and continue the family traditions in economic and business life.<sup>826</sup>

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<sup>824</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1810, 1820, 1835 and 1840.

<sup>825</sup> See e.g. Beachy 2001, 309; Rabuzzi 2001, 356–357; Colli, Fernández Pérez & Rose 2003, 40; Hunt 1996, 151–153. In addition, marriage strategies in business families have been discussed by several scholars in various fields of history; see e.g. Bull 2002; Göransson 1990; Ojala 1999 (pp. 288–294); Keskinen 2005; Vainio-Korhonen 2008 (pp. 85–86, 94); Taussi Sjöberg 2009; Parland-von Essen 2010 (pp. 73–76).

<sup>826</sup> Wunder 1998, 89–94; Colli, Fernández Pérez & Rose 2003, 41; Erickson 2005, 4–5; Bull 2000, 34–35; Bull 2002, 216–218. Women's participation was important for the smooth running of the business: for instance, merchants' wives could replace their husbands as the head of the household if the husbands' business activities involved considerable travel and lengthy periods away from home such as long journeys to meet business partners.

## 6 BUSINESS LIFE IN PURSUIT OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ADVANTAGES IN EARLY-NINETEENTH-CENTURY FINLAND

In this chapter, the objective is to examine the sampled data as a whole and collate the results of the study. First, Section 6.1 briefly summarizes the key aspects of individual action in the political arena over the research period before moving on to Section 6.2, which considers collectively submitted applications. The sampled data indicate that it was fairly typical that businessmen who were in positions of power and prestige played a critical role in many collective petitions and appeals in the reference years. For example, on many occasions the contribution of the most outstanding business actors was mentioned first when the specific case was presented in the original document, or, more importantly, the letters were submitted in their names when they were acting on behalf of a wider group of business actors. Certainly, it cannot be just a coincidence that especially businessmen who had received the title “Counsellor” were repeatedly the initiators of business-related petitions and appeals in the reference years. Since these business actors represented the economic and business elite<sup>827</sup> of their time, Section 6.3 will examine their participation in petitions and appeals in greater detail.

Finally, Section 6.4 concludes the chapter with a discussion of the regional distribution of business-related petitions and appeals. The sampled data are used to sketch out some suggestions about the regional distribution of the business-related petitions and appeals submitted to the Economic Department in the reference years between 1810 and 1850. Here the aim is to study whether the applications concerned only those areas that were economically more developed and whether the sampled data show any correlation between regional differences and segments of the economy.

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<sup>827</sup> Kallioinen 2003, 39, 170–171; Kallioinen 2004, 15, 18; Särkkä, Turunen, Valtonen, H. & Valtonen, M. 2010, 352–353.

## 6.1 Individual action as the most common form of political activity

Co-operation is often described as having been a necessity in business life in early-nineteenth-century Finland.<sup>828</sup> It was an attractive option since families belonging to the established business elite were often closely interconnected and shared similar interests in business and politics. In addition, the importance of economic co-operation in particular for business actors who were engaged in long-distance trade and shipping has been emphasized in several studies on early modern commerce.<sup>829</sup> Previous research has, however, paid less attention to the question of whether business actors of the early nineteenth century co-operated when attempting to influence government policy-making regarding economic issues such as duties, taxes, legislation and so on.<sup>830</sup> Whereas the attempts to influence these questions are better documented for the era when the regular meetings of the Diet of the Estates offered a way to influence economic policy at the national level, the period between 1809 and 1863 has received insufficient scholarly attention in this respect. The present study is able to shed more light to this issue as the detailed information provided in the Registers of Petitions over the nine selected reference years allows us to make some observations about the subject.

Turning to the results in more detail, we find that individual activity<sup>831</sup> in the political arena was more common than cooperation in the reference years. The largest number of petitions and appeals – altogether 678 applications, equivalent to 78 percent of the sample – were submitted by single individuals, while there were 194 collectively submitted letters, equivalent to 22 percent of the total (see the following section for details). The majority of the petitions and appeals submitted by single individuals were related to the manufacturing industry, while the rest were divided almost equally into three categories as shown in Table 17.

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<sup>828</sup> I use the term co-operation to refer to activity involving two or more interrelated actors pursuing a common objective. The objective may be economic or political, but essentially what is involved is a rational action in which, while taking each other's interests into consideration, the parties concerned strove to achieve a jointly set goal. In this context, I also employ the concept interest group to refer to a group of individuals organized to defend a specific goal. Their organization may be formal or informal and of short or long duration.

<sup>829</sup> See for example Kaukiainen 1991, 127–128; Ojala 1997a, 112–115; Ojala & Karonen 2006, 98–106; Keskinen 2008, 149–150; Keskinen 2010, 65; Ojala & Luoma-aho 2008, 126–127, 136–137.

<sup>830</sup> On various forms of co-operation in business life in the late eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries, see e.g. Kuisma 1983; Kuisma 2006; Ojala 1999; Karonen 2004; Ojala & Karonen 2006; Nurmiainen 2010. For a further discussion on co-operation in the political arena, see e.g. Peacey 2007; Lanza-laco 2008; Daeryoon 2011.

<sup>831</sup> See also Section 3.3 for definitions.

TABLE 17 Petitions and appeals submitted by single individuals (1810–1850)

Reference year	Commerce	Manufacturing industry	Crafts	Other trades
1810	18	25	7	12
1815	8	15	11	2
1820	7	18	13	7
1825	13	29	12	7
1830	10	17	17	15
1835	27	37	15	11
1840	16	51	17	16
1845	19	42	14	14
1850	17	65	20	34
Total	135	299	126	118

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

What is interesting in the sample is that the proportion of petitions and appeals concerning the manufacturing industry increased towards the end of the research period. A major factor in this growth is that both new and established business actors increasingly applied for privileges to establish new industrial facilities or to expand the production of existing ones, for example, by petitioning for larger production quotas. This should hardly come as a surprise given the fact that in the early decades of the century the rate of change in the Finnish economy and business life resulting from industrial expansion had been slow. The first phases of industrialization were manifested especially in the production of textiles, which is also evident in the sampled data (see also Chapter 5).

Equally noteworthy in this context is the fact that the individuals who submitted applications concerning various branches of industry in the final reference years between 1835 and 1850 came from four groups in almost equal numbers. There were 299 applications in the manufacturing category, of which 51 were filed by merchants and traders, 50 by industrialists and similar entrepreneurs, 48 applications by individuals designated as craftsmen and 38 by public officials, while the rest were submitted by members of other occupational or social groups.<sup>832</sup> Who, then, were the most active individuals in terms of submitted petitions and appeals in the research period? First, it must be noted that the majority of individuals engaged in various kinds of business activities over the reference years appeared only once or twice in the entries of the Registers of Petitions, which is, of course, understandable since only every fifth year was selected as a reference year. However, there were also individuals who continued to be active over several decades. Among them were many businessmen who have already been mentioned in previous contexts: the merchant-industrialist Abraham Kingelin Snr (1788–1849),<sup>833</sup> the ironworks

<sup>832</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>833</sup> Carpelan 1910, 58–61. See also Cygnaeus 1897, 380–381.

owner Josef Bremer (1789–1874),<sup>834</sup> Anders Henrik Falck (1772–1851), a high-ranking government official and ironworks owner, John Julin and Erik Julin, who were both involved in a wide variety of business activities, and the book merchant and industrialist G. O. Wasenius (1789–1852).<sup>835</sup> The active participation of two previously mentioned women, Virginia af Forselles and Marie Hackman, should also be noted here (see also Chapters 4 and 5).

The most active business actors in terms of submitted petitions and appeals was John Julin, who was ennobled in 1849 and thereafter titled von Julin. He takes first place with his 22 business-related applications recorded in the Registers of Petitions over the reference years between 1825 and 1850. A more detailed survey shows that Julin submitted several petitions every year, mainly in the 1840s. He was thus an extremely active businessman in terms of the number of applications he submitted since, according to the sampled data, a contemporary businessman or woman who submitted five or six applications in the reference years could be considered to be an active agent.<sup>836</sup> The pharmacy trade was the basis for Julin's diverse businesses activities, creating as it did synergies with other lines of business. It obviously produced significant profits in the hands of this skilful businessman.<sup>837</sup> Julin clearly preferred individual activity: among the applications which were sampled for the current study there is only one petition which he submitted together with another businessman in 1850. Julin was not the only prominent businessman engaged in commerce and industry who did not favour co-operation with other business actors. Because of their economic power and political influence, these businessmen cannot be regarded as merely a group of active entrepreneurs; on the contrary, they were outstanding business figures who had both the opportunities and the resources to obtain decisions that benefited their own business engagements.

In order to get a more realistic picture of the political involvement of contemporary business actors, I surveyed the Registers of Petitions in a more detailed manner from the early 1810s to the early 1860s and looked for business-related applications lodged by two businessmen, Zacharias Franzén and N. L. Arppe. As stated in Chapter 5, both of them had a keen interest in commercial and industrial development in early-nineteenth-century Finland. According to this survey, Franzén submitted 14 business-related applications to the Senate between 1828 and 1845, while Arppe referred to business matters in

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<sup>834</sup> Blomstedt et al. 1927, 325–326.

<sup>835</sup> Abraham Kingelin Snr was involved in seven applications in the reference years between 1825 and 1845, A.H. Falck in seven (1810–1850), Erik Julin in seven (1830–1850), G. O. Wasenius in eight (1835–1850). Joseph Bremer was involved in seven applications (1840–1850).

<sup>836</sup> For example, a Helsinki-based businessman called Henrik Borgström (1799–1883) was involved in six cases in the reference years of 1835 and 1850. On his career as a businessman, see Ojala 2009 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=79>, 1.6.2012)

<sup>837</sup> See also Keskisarja 2010, 54–57, 65–76 on the various businesses of the pioneering paper industrialist G. A. Serlachius, who also started his business career as a pharmacist.

30 applications between 1830 and 1860.<sup>838</sup> Both of them also submitted petitions on matters other than business. The entries in the Registers of Petitions show that Franzén's applications were mainly to do with inland and overseas commerce and with the sawmill and iron industries. A large proportion of Arppe's applications likewise dealt with the sawmill and iron industries, but he also submitted applications concerning the grain trade, steamboat traffic, the development of infrastructure, and he even submitted an application for letters of privilege for a faience factory.<sup>839</sup> An interesting difference between these two men was that Arppe did not participate in collective applications, while Franzén, as the owner-manager of a merchant house in the town of Raahe, was a more frequent signatory of collective applications.<sup>840</sup>

## 6.2 The various forms of co-operation

Over the reference years, various groups involved in business life made significant attempts to influence the most senior decision-makers. These more or less organized interest groups, who included both male and female business and native and foreign-born actors, attempted to obtain advantages in matters which were of major importance to their businesses. To judge from the sampled data, collective petitions were particularly favoured by merchants and shipowners, many of whom were prominent figures at both local and national levels.<sup>841</sup> The most common form of co-operation consisted in a small group of merchants from the same town engaged in domestic or overseas commerce submitting applications on their joint account. However, applications initiated by a merchant society constitute only a minor part of the sampled data: a society was stated to be the petitioner in 10-15 cases.<sup>842</sup> To a limited extent, craftsmen and individuals engaged in other segments of the economy also acted together in order to gain economic goals. Craftsmen's guilds were reported as petitioners as they contacted the Senate over questions related to establishing their own guilds. This is not to say that other groups than the afore-mentioned did not employ collective applications at all – on the contrary, the Registers of Petitions include a large number of applications filed by various collective bodies pursuing other than economic goals. As already mentioned in the beginning of the work, peasants in particular lodged numerous collective applications over the research period.

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<sup>838</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), various years.

<sup>839</sup> On N. L. Arppe's business interests, see e.g. Kaukoranta 1935, 117-153; Gripenberg 1922; Mustelin 1973; Valtonen 2006; Yrjänä 2009b, 82-87.

<sup>840</sup> On Franzén's networks, see Ojala 2002; Ojala & Luoma-aho 2008, 137. On Arppe's networks, see Section 5.3 and Valtonen 2006, 28-34, 52-53.

<sup>841</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>842</sup> The entries in the Registers of Petitions employ various terms when recording petitions and appeals lodged by collective bodies. The use of expressions such as *Åtskillige af Tavastehus Handels Societet* makes the evaluation of their role more difficult to detect.

The commercial sector was involved in the majority of all collectively submitted petitions and appeals. The rest of the petitions and appeals fall fairly equally into the remaining three segments of the economy. A substantial proportion of the collectively filed applications in commerce and crafts in fact consisted of appeals concerning burgher's rights (over 60 percent in each category). The other issues that were raised ranged from legislation and infrastructure to the illegal practice of a trade and smuggling. Table 18 below presents more detailed information about the numbers of petitions and appeals in each segment.

TABLE 18 Collectively submitted petitions and appeals (1810–1850)

Reference year	Commerce	Manufacturing industry	Crafts	Other trades
1810	16	1	1	2
1815	6	1	2	3
1820	6	2	4	1
1825	2	5	8	2
1830	14	3	10	4
1835	5	4	–	1
1840	17	9	10	4
1845	7	5	9	4
1850	7	7	2	9
Total	80	37	46	30

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

What is especially noteworthy in this context is that individuals engaged in commerce collectively attempted to influence issues which were of importance for this segment of the economy: all but one petition concerning commercial legislation or regulation controlling commercial activities were collectively submitted.<sup>843</sup> More precisely, there were six collective petitions related to local regulations (for example, a regulation concerning market days<sup>844</sup> in a certain town) or to national commercial legislation.<sup>845</sup> In 1810, for instance, a group of prominent business actors from Turku petitioned that changes be made to the provisions of the Peace Treaty of Hamina, especially to those regarding imported goods.<sup>846</sup>

<sup>843</sup> Owing to the special characteristics of the decision-making system, it was not possible to file *appeals* concerning legislation or regulations.

<sup>844</sup> See also Mauranen 1980, 445–446.

<sup>845</sup> For the sake of clarity, it must be noted that cases regarding customs duties on imported or exported products are not included in this figure because in most of the cases the petitioners sent applications with reference only to a certain cargo or certain vessels. Only one petition initiated by a group of merchants concerned an issue of broader scope: the customs duties on imported coffee (NA, STO AD 377/229 1850, a petition by J. H. Lindroos et al.)

<sup>846</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1810; NA, STO AD 197/170 1810. The petition was signed by Counsellors of Commerce Michael Rosendahl and Christian Trapp Jnr



By contrast, the sampled data suggest that in there were fewer collective applications concerning industry. In this category, the majority of the collective applications referred to matters of minor economic importance at the national level. These applications were most probably lodged by business partners or shareholders of production units. There were only a few petitions initiated by broader groups of industrialists, or what we could call "interest groups". It seems that business actors engaged in various industries took this measure in order to influence trade agreements, custom tariffs or other issues of major importance. For instance, the iron industrialists attempted to influence the agreements on imported iron ore and pig iron in the reference years 1830 and 1850, claiming that the Swedish raw materials that needed to be imported for Finnish ironworks should be either duty free or at least subject to reduced duties.<sup>847</sup> The representatives of the sawmill industry, for their part, became active in 1820, when a group of sawmill owners from the Province of Kuopio made a submission to the ruler for a change in the customs tariff on sawn timber between Finland and England.<sup>848</sup>

It might not come as a surprise that those cases in which co-operation took more developed and organized forms were initiatives taken not by industrialists but by merchant-shipowners, who formed networks in order to pursue collective aims in the political arena. Clearly the upper echelon of the commercial class played a central role in these cases (this issue is discussed in the next section). The first example from the mid-1810s demonstrates not only how merchant-shipowners from various towns were networked, but it also shows the significance of localized commercial networks in organizing political action. The reference year 1815 includes an entry describing a petition from Vaasa filed by burghers engaged in commerce (*handlande borgeskaps*), who literally petitioned for the restoration of Finland's old legislation on trade and shipping (*..söka i underdånighet återställandet af Landets älldre Lagar, rörandet Ultrikes handelen, samt skepps-farten*).<sup>849</sup> A closer study reveals that these merchants were attempting to influence regulations concerning the salt trade in particular. The same issue was also the subject of eight petitions from various coastal towns which the Economic Department received in late 1814 and early 1815.<sup>850</sup> The petitions were signed by 139 merchant shipowners from Pietarsaari (16 individuals), Turku (43), Raahe (9), Helsinki (17), Pori (12), Uusikaarlepyy (8), Kristiinankaupunki (6), Kokkola (16) and Vaasa (12).<sup>851</sup> The Economic Department discussed the petitions in April, 1815 and eventually passed them on to the Tsar since the issue was of special importance and it was not within

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together with eight merchant shipowners from Turku. One of the petitioners was the earlier mentioned Anna E. Baer.

<sup>847</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1830 and 1850.

<sup>848</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1820. For similar cases in the 1840s, see Meinander 1945, 172-174.

<sup>849</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1815.

<sup>850</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), 1814 and 1815.

<sup>851</sup> The original petitions are preserved in the Archives of the Minister Secretary of State. See NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 218 GG 1815.

the Senate's remit to make such a decision.<sup>852</sup> The ruler's final decision is not known.

Of all the consulted petitions and appeals, this particular instance provides the clearest evidence of well-planned collective activity in the reference years. The notes which the Senate's officials wrote on the cover pages of the original petition letters reveal that the merchants of Turku had played a vital role in organizing this activity. Merchants Jean Gabriel Tjäder (also written Tjaeder, made a Counsellor of Commerce in 1810) and Jacob Johan Maexmontan (made a Counsellor of Commerce in 1819) were key figures in this network and personally delivered most of the letters to the Senate, then located in Turku. Tjäder delivered four and Maexmontan two letters to the Senate. All petitions emphasized similar matters, and there was a considerable overlap between the argumentation used in them; for example, arguments referring to the common good were emphasized in many of them.<sup>853</sup>

Another similar instance which sheds more light on co-operation of this kind dates back to 1830 and 1831, when the Economic Department received seven collective petitions from merchant shipowners in various coastal towns requesting that the government should build one or two lighthouses in the Gulf of Bothnia. The Senate received petitions from Kristiinankaupunki, Kokkola, Pori, Oulu and Uusikaarlepyy almost simultaneously in late 1830, which indicates that merchants and shipowners had planned this action collectively.<sup>854</sup> Two similar petitions were submitted the following year by businessmen from the towns of Vaasa and Raahe.<sup>855</sup> These petitions led to a decision-making process that lasted about a decade and finally – after several intervening stages – the matter was presented to the Tsar.<sup>856</sup>

It must be added that, according to the data sampled for this study, this kind of co-operation involving a large, seemingly well-networked group of business actors from various towns was rare in the reference years. However, a sample from the Registers of Petitions and Minutes of the Economic Department over the reference years demonstrates that attempts to influence commercial legislation or customs tariffs were certainly made every now and then.<sup>857</sup> It is also possible that only some of the collective petitions of this kind were submitted to the Senate and others were addressed directly to the Governor General or the Minister Secretary of State.

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<sup>852</sup> NA, Digital Archives, Minutes of the joint session of the Economic Department of the Senate I, Ca:12, 6.4.1815.

<sup>853</sup> NA, Archives of the Minister Secretary of State, VSV 218 GG 1815.

<sup>854</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1830. One of the petitions was received on 15 December 1830 and the rest on 29 December 1830.

<sup>855</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1831.

<sup>856</sup> JyMa, Register of Petitions (mf), 1830. The petitions were sent to the Tsar on 10 April 1840. It seems likely that Norrskär Lighthouse was built as a result of these petitions. The lighthouse was built in 1847.

<sup>857</sup> JyMa, Minutes of the Economic Department (mf), 6.4.1843 (a petition filed by E.J. Längman, A. Kellgren and others) and 19.5.1849 (petitions submitted by merchants from Kokkola, Pietarsaari and Raahe). For a similar example, see Meinander 1945, 172–174.

Finally, a few general remarks might be added concerning the participation of female and foreign-born business actors in collective petitions over the reference years. While women did sign collective petitions and appeals together with men over the reference years, as was noted in Chapters 3 and 5, they were rarely involved in applications concerning matters of larger economic importance. Similarly, business actors of foreign origin were seldom engaged in collective petitions or appeals concerning matters of wider import. Between 1810 and 1850, there were 23 collective applications in which one or more of the petitioners were of foreign origin. The applications primarily concerned commercial issues. In only two collective petitions were all of the petitioners of Russian origin. In the rest of the cases, the petitioners represented various nationalities, and there were also cases in which businessmen of foreign origin, such as Swedes, Germans or Russians, lodged collective petitions together with native business actors. However, co-operation between Finnish and Russian business actors was very rare (only four cases). Apparently, in these cases, there was a close relationship between the petitioners arising out of joint business endeavours; for example, they owned shares in the same industrial establishments.<sup>858</sup>

In the light of the above observations, we can speculate on the possible reasons for the lack of co-operation between native and foreign-born business actors. Clearly, there were several factors contributing to this. The first explanation is that the immigrant business actors were themselves able to benefit from the initiatives of their native peers. Even though the established merchantry every now and then called for stricter implementation of the existing commercial legislation and attempted in that way to limit the entry of foreigners in particular into their fields of business, their requests concerning commercial legislation, lower import or export duties and so on would eventually promote the interests of all actors engaged in the same trade or in the same segment of the economy. Secondly, the small size of the foreign-born population in Finland is another obvious contributory factor. Furthermore, with regard to co-operation between native and business actors of Russian origin, there are grounds to believe that the lack of collective action resulted from the existence of different kinds of social networks. In previous studies, it has been suggested that the webs of contacts of Russian business actors were rather closed – with the exception of a few prominent families whose strategy was to integrate into the Swedish-speaking business elite – and business actors of Russian origin also seemed to reinforce their mutual bonds by intermarriage.<sup>859</sup> Thirdly, Finnish and Russian business actors probably did not have equal rights to engage in commerce; for example, the rights of Russian merchants to engage

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<sup>858</sup> On the joint business ventures of Finnish and Russian businessmen in south-east Finland in early nineteenth century, see e.g. Kauppi 1993, 55–68; Talka 2005a, 134–137.

<sup>859</sup> See also Section 3.4 and 4.3. On marriages, see Halén 2004, 4. Whether this took place on a nation-wide scale or only in Helsinki is still unknown as the family-based networks of the Russian population in Finland have remained an understudied subject.

in foreign trade may have been more limited. More specifically, not all members of the merchantry had the right to engage in both domestic and foreign trade and the majority were only allowed to practise small-scale domestic trade. Thus, merchants did not share the same economic and political interests, which may have led to the absence of any common grounds for co-operation in the political arena. In other words, one must look at the wider context and consider whether there were other factors involved apart from ethnicity.

To sum up the findings so far, the proportion of collective petitions among the sampled data suggests that the level of collective activity was surprisingly low. This result partly contradicts those presented in previous studies. There were several cases in which considerable numbers of business actors were involved, but even so the tendency was towards individual activity. On the other hand, these findings apply only to issues which were submitted for the consideration of the Senate and the Tsar, and the results might well be different if the documents of lower government instances were consulted.

What does seem clear is that the tendency to prefer individual petitions and appeals resulted from the prevailing situation in which the Diet of the Estates was not regularly summoned. If we take a look at the wider context, we find that the Finnish situation bears a similarity to that of Denmark – which then also included Norway – in the Age of Absolutism. As in early-nineteenth-century Finnish society, the opportunities to influence the highest political decision-makers were limited in Denmark in the eighteenth century, since there existed no formal representative body like the Diet of the Estates in Sweden. During that period, Danish subjects had the right to send their petitions directly to the king, who, as a result, became burdened with overwhelming amounts of letters on various matters.<sup>860</sup> The Danish historian Michael Bregnsbo maintains that collective political activity was not favoured in the Age of Absolutism, and instead political involvement through petitioning was an individual process in Denmark, too, owing to the special characteristics of the political and administrative structures that existed there.<sup>861</sup>

### 6.3 Political involvement of the Finnish business elite

The examples of merchants' and shipowners' collective petitions presented in the previous section demonstrated how prominent businessmen like Councillors of Commerce J.G. Tjäder and J.J. Maexmontan took leading roles in initiating and organizing co-operation between merchant shipowners from various towns. Indeed, when we examine the social standings and backgrounds of the petitioners more closely, we notice that a very significant proportion of the petitioners were actually Counsellors of Commerce or Counsellors of

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<sup>860</sup> Bregnsbo 1997, 87–90; Bregnsbo 2011, 63–64.

<sup>861</sup> Bregnsbo 1997, 37.

Mining. This group of individuals was fairly small, as we will find, but it was clearly overrepresented in the sampled data in the reference years.

To begin with, these honorific titles indicated that the bearers were favourites of the sovereign and thus enjoyed high status and public prestige in the hierarchical society of the time.<sup>862</sup> Honorific titles were a part of the contemporary system of ranks, which went back to the era of Swedish rule and was originally intended to reflect the hierarchy of government offices.<sup>863</sup> The system was preserved after Finland's shift from Swedish rule to being part of the Russian Empire, but it was adjusted to fit the new situation in various ways. One significant change was that even the highest honorific titles were now granted to Finnish government officials as dozens of new high-ranking offices were established in the Finnish central government after 1809.<sup>864</sup> Soon almost the whole national elite, including prominent businessmen, enjoyed an unprecedented flood of imperial tokens of recognition, such as decorations, ennoblements and economic favours, which also served to adjust the prevailing Finnish system of ranks to correlate better with the Russian Table of Ranks (*Tabel' o rangakh*).<sup>865</sup> The first modified Finnish system of ranks was introduced in 1826; it covered not only office titles and ranks (as in the Russian system) but also the old honorific titles of the Swedish system. It was subsequently revised three times in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The system was also maintained after Finland's independence in 1917, albeit with major changes.<sup>866</sup>

It is important to note that the honorific title of "Counsellor" had already been included in the system of ranks in the Swedish era. This was one of the differences between the Finnish and Russian systems. To put it more precisely, the prevailing Finnish system included honorific titles which were not based on actual offices. However, the rank of the honorific titles of counsellors in the system was slightly changed in 1826 and, for example, the title "Counsellor of Commerce" was placed in the eighth class, while the other counsellors were two classes higher in the hierarchy.<sup>867</sup> This Finnish title, which was awarded to prominent businessmen, thereby became equivalent to a similar title granted to merchants in Russia. The Russian Tsars granted honorific titles fairly generously to business actors who operated in Finland, and almost 70

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<sup>862</sup> Savolainen 1994, 102.

<sup>863</sup> Sjöblom 1993, 232–235; Tiihonen 1994, 323–324; Savolainen 1994, 101–133; Martin 1986, 28–34. For a detailed account, see Inkinen 1953.

<sup>864</sup> This was a clear change from the situation in the Swedish era, when Finns did not have access to the highest government offices, see Savolainen 1994, 104. See also Tandefelt 2006, 140–145.

<sup>865</sup> The Russian ranking system was created for the government services and was introduced by Peter the Great in 1722. The Table of Ranks was divided into separate categories for military, civil service and court ranks. Inkinen 1953, 220–228; Hassel 1970, 283; Tiihonen 1994, 203–210, 256–259; Savolainen 1994, 101–103; Tillander-Godenhielm 2005, 9–11; Tillander-Godenhielm 2007, 62–68, 76–85.

<sup>866</sup> After Finland became independent, the system of ranks was radically reformed, for example by removing noble titles from the official criteria for rank. Lindman 1962, 55; Martin 1986, 35–37; Tiihonen & Ylikangas 1992, 181–189.

<sup>867</sup> Inkinen 1953, 242–243, 253–254. In addition to Counsellor of Commerce and Counsellor of Mining, there were several other honorific titles: for example, Counsellor of State, etc.

businessmen received the title “Counsellor” before the beginning of the Crimean war.<sup>868</sup> The second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries witnessed an even faster growth as the numbers of counsellors of commerce and counsellors of mining rose to over 130 by 1917.<sup>869</sup> This was soon reflected in the composition of the business elite.<sup>870</sup>

Based on the online collection of biographies of the early-nineteenth-century counsellors of commerce and counsellors of mining, the title was awarded to an individual who had enjoyed an outstanding career in business and was often involved in local and national politics.<sup>871</sup> One can with good reason assume that these persons benefitted from many advantages which eased their way in contacting the highest decision-makers. Thus it is interesting to examine how well they are represented in the population studied here. In order to conduct the following analysis, I have consulted the lists of persons who were awarded the titles “Counsellor of Commerce” and “Counsellor of Mining” in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>872</sup> It must be noted that Table 19 does not include applications in which women were the sole petitioners owing to the fact that female business actors were not awarded such titles in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Finland – the honorific title “Counsellor of Commerce” was first granted to a woman in 1926.<sup>873</sup> Consequently, the following table covers 839 cases.

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<sup>868</sup> The Finnish Business Leaders online collection provides lists of individuals who have been granted the title of Counsellor since 1762 (available at <http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?p=3>, 18.3.2012). It must be noted that certain conditions applied to the process of awarding an individual such an honorific title: for example, the application for the award had to be submitted by someone other than the recipient, and the applicant undertook to pay the stamp duty involved to the government. See Martin 1986, 28–34; Särkkä, Turunen, Valtonen, H. and Valtonen, M. 2010, 343–345.

<sup>869</sup> Tillander-Godenhjelm 2007, 84.

<sup>870</sup> Särkkä, Turunen, Valtonen, H. & Valtonen, M. 2010.

<sup>871</sup> This finding is based on dozens of articles provided by The Finnish Business Leaders online collection (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/>, 18.3.2012).

<sup>872</sup> The Finnish Business Leaders online collection (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?p=3>, 18.3.2012). I have consulted the biographies of those individuals who appeared in the dataset collected for the purposes of the present study. In my analysis, the exact time of the award was not of importance, and all the petitioners who received an honorific title are included in the data presented in Table 20.

<sup>873</sup> Pohls 2011 (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=327>, 18.3.2012).

TABLE 19 The proportion of petitions and appeals in which a person holding the title "Counsellor" was among petitioners (1810–1850)

Reference year	Petitions and appeals*	Counsellors**	Percentage
1810	72	13	18
1815	46	4	9
1820	58	4	7
1825	78	11	14
1830	86	22	26
1835	98	23	23
1840	136	27	20
1845	110	19	17
1850	155	22	14
Total	839	145	17

\*) Petitions and appeals submitted by male or male and female petitioners together.

\*\*) The number of petitions and appeals in which the petitioner or one of them held the title "Counsellor".

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

The group consisting of counsellors seemed to be involved in several undertakings in the reference years.<sup>874</sup> On the one hand, they were involved in business activities and segments of the economy such as overseas trade, the iron industry and sawmilling that required them to contact the decision-makers most repeatedly. On the other hand, it is obvious that their presence among a group of applicants gave a particular petition or appeal more weight and prestige in the eyes of the petitioned authority, and this may result in their appearing particularly active. The role of counsellors of commerce is – naturally – prominent in matters related to the commercial sector. For example, in some 40 percent of all petitions and appeals concerning foreign trade and shipping, at least one of the petitioners was a counsellor of commerce.<sup>875</sup> They were especially actively involved in these applications in the 1830s, as is evident in the table above.

It seems that towards the end of the nineteenth century not only social achievements but also political and other criteria came to play even more important role in rewarding outstanding individuals with the honorific title "Counsellor". This becomes more evident if we take a closer look especially at the careers of businessmen of Russian origin who were awarded the title in the latter part of the nineteenth century, for we find that some of the counsellors were not as highly distinguished in business life as those who received the title at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>876</sup> The first Russian businessman so honoured in Finland was Jegor Uschakoff. Uschakoff, who was involved in

<sup>874</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>875</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. This number also includes two applications submitted solely by a female petitioner.

<sup>876</sup> This observation is based on the biographies of the Russian-born counsellors of commerce available in The Finnish Business Leaders online collection <http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/> (23.4.2012) See also Särkkä, Turunen, Valtonen, H. & Valtonen, M. 2010.

commerce and the construction and building trade in Helsinki, received the title in 1822. His economic influence was indisputable, and by the early 1830s this former Russian serf had become one of the highest taxpayers in the capital city.<sup>877</sup> By the late 1850s, almost ten Russia-born businessmen had obtained the title “Counsellor of Commerce”, and their numbers rose to almost 30 by the turn of the next century.<sup>878</sup> However, some of those who were so honoured in the late nineteenth century never actually lived permanently in Finland.<sup>879</sup>

Another obvious indication that it was not only economically successful individuals who were honoured and that titles were awarded to certain individuals for political reasons becomes evident when we consider those businessmen who were asked to participate in legislative work as committee members or experts. In this respect, the members of the above-mentioned Committee on Trade and Customs (see Section 4.2), appointed in late 1811, received special attention from the Tsar: the majority of businessmen who were asked to submit a statement to the committee, were honoured with the title “Counsellor of Commerce”.<sup>880</sup>

#### 6.4 The regional distribution of business-related petitions and appeals

As Chapters 4 and 5 have made clear, there were considerable regional differences in economic development in early-nineteenth-century Finland. For example, western Finland (Ostrobothnia) had traditionally been commercially active and it had had long-established commercial ties with Sweden and Stockholm in particular. The small towns in the coastal areas flourished through the shipping of tar, timber and groceries, to mention but a few.<sup>881</sup> On the other hand, eastern parts of Finland were for geographical and historical reasons more clearly oriented towards Russia, and this orientation was strengthened as a consequence of Finland’s altered political status after 1809.<sup>882</sup> Indeed, the conditions for the growth of the Finnish manufacturing industry benefited

<sup>877</sup> Castren 1954, 223–224; Perälä 1970, 54–56; Valtonen, M. 2009f (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?iid=48>, 19.1.2012). See also Yrjänä 2009b, 47.

<sup>878</sup> They were: Uschakoff, Jegor (1822); Tichanoff, Timofei (1826); Kiseleff, Feodor (1833); Sinebrychoff, Nikolai (1835), Sinebrychoff, Ivan (1839); Beloff, Michael (1856); Tichanoff, Michael (1856); Adaridi, Michail (Mihail) (1858). In addition, four Russian merchants were honoured in the 1860s. They were: Utin, Isak (1861); Sinebrychoff, Paul (1863); Tschetschulin, Feodor (1868); Tschernischeff, Jakov (1869). Source: The Finnish Business Leaders online collection <http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/>.

<sup>879</sup> See e.g. Talka 2009a; Talka 2009b. See also Section 4.3 on the so-called “pseudo-burghers”.

<sup>880</sup> The Finnish Business Leaders online collection (<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/?p=6>, 18.3.2012).

<sup>881</sup> E.g. Schybergson 1986, 120; Ojala 1996, 15, 65–87; Virrankoski 2009, 428–429; Kuisma 2006, 204–208; Kuisma 2011, 45–49.

<sup>882</sup> Mauranen 1999, 378–392.



considerably from the St Petersburg markets during the nineteenth century.<sup>883</sup> It is interesting to see whether the regional distribution of the sampled data offers support for this view of the regional specialization and geographic concentration of various lines of business in the early nineteenth century.

It is possible to conduct this kind of analysis since almost every entry in the Registers of Petitions contained information about the petitioner's place of abode and also stated the location of the particular business activity that was the subject of the submitted application (see Section 1.4).<sup>884</sup> In a few instances, incomplete information in the entries made it possible to learn only the province.<sup>885</sup> This was the case especially when the application concerned small-scale manufactures located in rural areas. However, by combining the details provided in the entries and consulting other primary and secondary sources, it was possible to get enough information in most of the cases. The fact that a many of the applicants sent petitions more than once made the data collection and categorization easier.

The analysis indicates that the applications sampled for the purposes of this study were submitted from all regions of the Grand Duchy of Finland except the most northern parts. The northernmost town represented was Tornio, which was reported five times.<sup>886</sup> In order to obtain more finely articulated results, I have divided the area of the Grand Duchy of Finland into six distinct regions, which are defined as follows:

- Region 1: South-west Finland, covering the Turku area and smaller towns in its environs. The Åland Islands are also included in this region.
- Region 2: South Finland, covering the Helsinki area and its surrounding small towns such as Tammissaari, Porvoo and Loviisa.
- Region 3: West Finland, covering the coastal area (mainly Ostrobothnia) and including the towns from Kristiinankaupunki up to Tornio in the north.
- Region 4: Central Finland, including the inland areas around Hämeenlinna, Tampere, Heinola, Jyväskylä and areas all the way to Kajaani.
- Region 5: East Finland, including areas east of Nurmes, Kuopio and Varkaus and extending to the Joensuu, Ilomantsi, Liperi, Mikkeli and Savonlinna areas.
- Region 6: South-east Finland, the area of Old Finland (in practice the Province of Viipuri), including the towns of Viipuri, Hamina and Lappeenranta.

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<sup>883</sup> Pihkala 1970, 216–219; Schybergson 1986, 134; Hämynen 1997, 75–79; Mauranen 1999, 389–392.

<sup>884</sup> In most cases, it was possible to elicit detailed information about the town, parish or village where the business activity in question took place.

<sup>885</sup> Only the province is known in six percent of all cases. Usually it is possible to ascertain at least the province from the applications. This is due to the fact that provincial governors were often consulted during the decision-making processes, or they had already dealt with the case if it was an appeal. In such cases the province was mentioned in the entries.

<sup>886</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

The first two regions and the last one, for practical reasons follow the division of provinces that was implemented in 1831. For the other regions, I have departed from the provincial division, regarding a more general division as adequate for the purposes of this research. Even though contemporary maps were consulted when categorizing the sampled data, it was occasionally challenging to establish a distinction between various regions with full certainty (see also Map 2 for the geographical areas as defined in the division presented above). Thus we must consider the results reported in Table 20 as approximate.

TABLE 20 The regional distribution of petitions and appeals (1810–1850)

Region	Total	Percentage
South-west Finland	234	27
South Finland	217	25
West Finland	127	15
Central Finland	89	10
East Finland	75	9
South-east Finland	95	11
Various regions	8	1
Region not known	26	3

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

In terms of the regional distribution of the sampled applications, the south-western and southern parts of Finland stand out from the rest, which suggests that the majority of the applications referring to business activities took place in these regions. The results clearly reflect the fact that the majority of economic activities were geographically concentrated in those areas that were most densely populated.<sup>887</sup> A closer examination of the data reveals that a large number of the petitions and appeals concerned the two largest towns, Turku and Helsinki. Approximately 12 percent of applications concerned Turku and 15 percent Helsinki over the reference years.<sup>888</sup> We get similar results if we consider the applicants' places of residence: the majority of the applicants resided in these largest cities. In addition, approximately 60 percent of the applicants referred to business activities that took place in their own home towns or nearby.<sup>889</sup>

<sup>887</sup> The most populated areas of early-nineteenth-century Finland were the southern parts of Finland proper and certain parts of Old Finland (especially the town of Viipuri and its environs). However, there were great differences within these areas, see e.g. Rasila 1982, 145–146.

<sup>888</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. These numbers can be considered reliable since the name of the city was clearly indicated in these cases. The fact that the area covered by a town or city has been very strictly defined here has a bearing on the results. Only cases in which it was clearly mentioned that the petition concerned a particular town or city have been included in this category.

<sup>889</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.



MAP 2 Map of the Grand Duchy of Finland: The geographical areas according to the division presented in Section 6.4. Drawn by Jussi Santaniemi (2012).

These figures greatly exceed the numbers of business-related petitions and appeals concerning other Finnish towns: the second highest numbers came from Viipuri and Porvoo, accounting for some four percent of the sampled cases respectively. If we compare the results for, say, Turku and Viipuri, we find some differences. In the case of Viipuri, which was the largest town in Old Finland and had a vibrant economic life in the early nineteenth century, the results reflect the fact that the merchant houses based there were major actors in the iron and sawmill industries in central and eastern parts of Finland. The close involvement of merchant houses like Hackman, Rosenius & Seseman, Tichanoff and Paul Wahl & Co. is seen in their applications referring to economic issues in these regions. In the case of Turku, there is not as clear a concentration of particular industries.

With regard to more remote parts of Finland and especially eastern and northern regions, the lower level of political activity in terms of submitted applications results from the fact that these areas were less developed than the areas where the towns were economically more advanced thanks to various privileges concerning domestic and overseas trade.<sup>890</sup> In peripheral parts of Finland, where the economy was largely based on agriculture, the towns were

<sup>890</sup> Briefly on regional differences between western and eastern Finland, see e.g. Katajala (ed.) 1997, 51–74; Karonen 2008, 425–426.

not only very small but also geographically scattered and more recently established: for example, Mikkeli (1838) and Joensuu (1848)<sup>891</sup> are scarcely represented in the observed data. Interestingly, the findings suggest that Tampere, which began to develop into a centre of the large-scale mill industry from the 1820s onwards, is also rather poorly represented.<sup>892</sup> In view of the fact that the textile industry in particular played a leading role in the town's development, this finding is somewhat unexpected. Most probably, it was a result of the fact that in 1821 Tampere had been granted free trade rights, which made various trades and industries free of economic regulations.<sup>893</sup> Other towns, such as Kuopio and Kaskinen had received similar rights.<sup>894</sup> Their status meant that the craft guilds did not operate in these towns nor were burgher's rights required for entry into the commercial sector.<sup>895</sup> As a result, industrial facilities enjoyed certain advantages such as the duty-free import of raw materials and machines. However, it was not always clear what kinds of goods were allowed to be imported duty-free. In the case of Tampere, the Senate eventually contacted the Tsar in the early 1850s in order to ask for further information about the situation. Finally, Tampere lost gradually all its privileges by 1863 as the criticism of its rights gained force.<sup>896</sup> It seems likely that the lower level of economic regulation reduced the number of applications from towns which enjoyed free trade rights. Of course, there may well have been other reasons why certain towns or regions appeared only rarely in the sampled data: for example, it might be worth enquiring more closely whether the business actors from smaller towns or provincial areas also contacted provincial governors to achieve their various political goals or whether they contacted the Senate and the Tsar only with petitions in their own names without employing intermediaries.

This discussion leads us to consider whether the sampled data show any correlation between the regions and different segments of the economy. For example, do the sampled data suggest that the applications related to towns in Ostrobothnia, which held privileges for foreign trade, concerned only matters related to the commercial sector, or did the applications concerning some other region, say East Finland, reflected only the interests of the sawmilling industry? The following table summarizes the findings.

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<sup>891</sup> Nikula 1981, 221–223.

<sup>892</sup> The Registers of Petitions reported fewer than 20 applications filed by business actors from Tampere in the reference years. Half of the petitions (mainly applications for letters of privilege to establish new production facilities) concerned industry.

<sup>893</sup> Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 214–216.

<sup>894</sup> See e.g. Myllyntaus 1980, 354; Heikkinen & Kuusterä 2007, 38; Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 214. On the development of industries in Tampere, see Voionmaa 1929; Haapala 1986.

<sup>895</sup> Groundstroem 1911, 367.

<sup>896</sup> On the communication between the ruler and the Senate, see Harmaja 1920, 838–844.

TABLE 21 The regional and sectoral distribution of petitions and appeals (1810–1850)

Region	Commerce	Manufacturing industry	Crafts	Other trades	Total
South-west Finland	52	108	41	33	234
South Finland	69	65	52	31	217
West Finland	40	39	30	18	127
Central Finland	10	46	15	18	89
East Finland	10	40	8	17	75
South-east Finland	24	27	22	22	95
Various regions	2	1	1	4	8
Not known	8	10	3	5	26
Total	215	336	172	148	871
Percentage	25	39	20	17	100

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

A closer examination of this data reveals that regional differences are perceptible but not striking. South-west Finland, with Turku as its centre, stands out as an exception since the number of applications concerning various industries was high in this area.<sup>897</sup> This is a result of the significant position that the textile industry and the extractive and metal industries had in this particular region. In other regions where there were cities and large towns, such as South Finland, West Finland and South-east Finland, there would seem to be no clear sectoral differences, and the petitions and appeals are evenly distributed between different segments of the economy. This is probably a consequence of the fact that the economy was more diversified in these regions than in remote parts of the country.

By contrast, there were some variations in the results for the regions of East and Central Finland. The dominant position of the iron and sawmill industries is evident in the results for East Finland, while the textile industry's strong foothold in central areas of Finland is reflected in the figures for this region.<sup>898</sup> As one might expect, the numbers of applications concerning these branches of industry clearly rose in the final reference years. It must be added here that, if we consider the applications as a whole, we find that there were also discernible urban-rural differences between the four segments of the

<sup>897</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850.

<sup>898</sup> JyMa, Registers of Petitions (mf), reference years between 1810 and 1850. See also Section 5.3.

economy. In other words, applications concerning commerce and crafts were clearly located in urban areas, while the applications referring to the manufacturing industry show that this kind of economic activity was primarily located in rural areas.

In addition, the leading positions of the regions of Turku and Helsinki, that is South-west and South Finland, in the above distribution are explained by the fact that that economic growth in both these cities was favourable in the early nineteenth century and the local business actors were actively engaged in all segments of the economy over the reference years. The growth of Helsinki with its economically active ambience seems to have contributed to the higher number of applications over the studied years. In addition, it would be tempting to suggest that the high density of applications sent by business actors from Turku and Helsinki could be a result of the fact that business actors in these cities might have had better opportunities to establish and maintain relationships with the most senior government officials than their counterparts in other towns since the Finnish Senate was located first in Turku, and then, from 1818 onwards, in Helsinki.<sup>899</sup> However, there is not enough empirical evidence to make such a claim directly on the basis of the data sampled for the purposes of the present study. Definitely such an argument would require a further examination of the social contacts of the petitioners and the success of their applications. At least in theory, business actors from various regions of Finland should have had equal opportunities to contact the highest decision-makers through petitioning. The decision-making processes were regulated, and each petition should have received the same treatment by government authorities regardless of the petitioner's background, place of abode or the economic importance of the request. The broad social spectrum of petitioners engaged in various business activities and the very existence of business-related applications in such numbers point to the fact that business actors trusted that those in power would heed and give their concerns due consideration. The presence of female and foreign-born individuals among the petitioners in business-related cases points to a similar conclusion.

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<sup>899</sup> A similar question has been studied by Bård Frydenlund, who considers the interaction of the merchants of Copenhagen and Christiania (today Oslo) with the state authorities in the twin-kingdom of Denmark-Norway in the Age of Absolutism. Frydenlund concludes that the merchants of Copenhagen, who were close to the highest national decision-making instances and thus had easier access to them, gained certain benefits over their fellow merchants in Christiania. According to Frydenlund, the nature of the political culture in these cities was also different; see Frydenlund 2011, 252-253.

## 7 CONCLUSIONS

The present study has examined business actors' attempts to influence government decision-making in early-nineteenth-century Finland. Since the Diet of the four Estates did not convene between 1809 and 1863, there ceased to exist the same kind of opportunity for maintaining a strong connection between business life (represented in practice by the Estate of Burghers) and the state institutions to that which had existed prior to 1809, when Finland was an integral part of the Kingdom of Sweden. Under Swedish rule, the functioning of the Diet had provided the representatives of business life with a forum where they could promote their economic and political goals at the national level. In this work, the change of ruler in 1809 has served as a starting point for an analysis of the means by which the representatives of Finnish business life contacted the highest decision-makers. This has included a study of the kind of issues Finnish business actors, including women and foreign-born individuals, brought before the ruler (in practice, the Senate) via the available formal channels of influence, that is petitioning and the committee system.

The main source material employed in this study is the so-called Registers of Petitions, which were kept in order to record the letters that subjects submitted to the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate. Owing to the vast amount of source material available, nine years between 1810 and 1850 were selected as reference years for a closer analysis of business actors' petitions and appeals. In addition, the study has drawn on the documents of two committees, the Committee on Trade and Customs (1811-1812) and the Forest Act Committee (the 1840s), in order to examine business actors' attempts to influence the institutional framework. In practice, the study has here focused on the statements and memoranda that business actors submitted to the committees. It has been maintained that an opportunity to submit statements to a committee or an appointment as a committee member afforded a rare opportunity to participate in legislative processes since, in the early nineteenth century, merchants and industrialists were seldom invited to join committees as outside experts.

As a result of painstaking archival work, an extensive dataset including detailed information on 871 business-related petitions and appeals submitted by persons engaged in various segments of the economy was compiled. The results suggest that 13 percent of the applications lodged with the Senate's Economic Department over the selected nine reference years were in fact business-related. The petitioners represented a broad occupational and social spectrum. In fact, this is one of the advantages of the present study: it does not deal with only a certain strictly defined corporation or occupational group but rather covers business actors from all social groups including both native Finns and persons of foreign origin as well as women who were engaged in business life. The observed population includes not only the most successful businessmen and -women involved in large-scale enterprises, whose economic contributions have often been dealt with in previous studies, but also less successful individuals who never made any really significant contribution to contemporary economic and business life. Thus the findings enhance our understanding of the economic and political activity of persons of both genders and of various backgrounds in early-nineteenth-century Finland. Moreover, the fact that the study covers all of the major segments of the economy in both urban and rural areas over the whole area of the Grand Duchy of Finland, adds further value to its findings.

Certainly, the picture of Finnish business life and its political involvement becomes more variegated – but also more fragmented and complex – when we take into account the ethnic origin and the gender of the business actors involved. At a time when business life was dominated by men, the majority of business-related applications were initiated by them, and female applicants were in the minority: women were represented in 6 percent of the sampled cases, including those in which they were co-applicants. Moreover, the results show that in some 15 percent of the sampled applications persons of foreign origin were involved as applicants, although here this figure must be regarded as approximate.

A close scrutiny of the content of the sampled petitions and appeals led to the division of the applications into four main categories representing the different segments of the economy. The categorization was based, albeit with some minor modifications, on the contemporary institutional framework regulating economic activity, which originated in the Swedish economic legislation. It was shown that the manufacturing industry was represented in significantly more applications (39 percent of the sampled data) than the other three segments. The second largest category was that of commerce (25 percent), while the proportions of the two last categories, labelled here "Crafts" and "Other trades", were of about equal size (20 and 17 percent respectively).

It was noted that to a certain extent the results were affected by the nature of the decision-making system. It was suggested that the reason why the manufacturing industry was significantly more highly represented in the reference years than the other segments was due to the way economic decision-making proceeded at the local, provincial and national levels of the administration. A petition to launch a new industrial business or to establish a



new manufacturing facility did not come under the jurisdiction of the regional or provincial officials, since the privileges required for this could be granted only by the highest decision-makers. In addition to economic privileges and rights, persons engaged in the manufacturing industry contacted the top decision-makers over requests for exemption from taxes and applications for government loans and other kinds of support as well as on other similar matters that were also under the jurisdiction of the highest instances. While most of the issues concerning the manufacturing industry were dealt with by the Senate and the Tsar, the lower administrative bodies (town courts and provincial governors) had power of decision over the commercial sector and crafts. As a result, an individual engaged in commerce or a craft usually sent an appeal to the highest level only if he or she sought to have a decision of the lower authorities rectified.

As a result of these features of the economic decision-making process, there was a pronounced difference between the proportions of petitions and appeals in the different segments of the economy: for example, the Economic Department received far fewer petitions than appeals from commerce and the craft trades in the reference years, while conversely the manufacturing industry submitted more petitions than appeals. The appeals regarding commercial matters were usually filed against the decisions of local town courts or provincial governors. The most common reason for contacting the highest decision-makers was related to so-called burgher's rights (i.e. the right to engage in an urban trade). Owing to their significant representation in the sampled data, this group of appeals was examined in greater detail in Chapter 4. The finding that the commerce and craft segments produced a high number of appeals yields interesting information since appeals, which were submitted in conflictual situations, sometimes tell us far more about the workings of the decision-making system and the prevailing institutional context than petitions, which often concerned more routine administrative questions.

For the sake of clarity, the further results concerning the different segments of the economy are gathered in Table 22 below. This summary of the results according to the segment of the economy involved shows that there existed pronounced differences between the results for the different segments.

TABLE 22 Summary of the results

	Commerce	Manufacturing industry	Crafts	Other trades	Total
<b>Number of applications</b>	215 (25%)	336 (39%)	172 (20%)	148 (17%)	871
<b>Proportions of petitions and appeals</b>	45%/55%	82% /18%	30% / 70%	66%/34%	60% /40%
<b>Largest groups among applicants</b>	Merchants and traders (83%)	No single dominant group	Craftsmen (79%)	Merchants and traders (41%)	—
<b>Proportion of foreign-born individuals among applicants</b>	21%	15%	4%	14%	14%
<b>Proportion of women among applicants</b>	7%	6%	3%	6%	6%
<b>Most important sector</b>	Domestic trade (51%)	Extractive and metal industries (30%)	Textiles and dyeing (28%)	Book industry (26%)	—
<b>Proportion of collective applications</b>	37%	11%	27%	20%	22%
<b>Regional distribution of applications</b>	Concentrated in major cities in southern Finland	Concentrated in major cities in southern Finland	Less clear differences	No clear differences	—

Source: The sampled data, reference years between 1810 and 1850 (JyMa, microfilmed copies of the Registers of Petitions of the Economic Department)

The present study showed that the majority of the applicants who submitted business-related petitions and appeals to the highest decision-makers were designated as merchant-traders in the Registers of Petitions. Together with the second largest group, that of craftsmen, they made up over 60 percent of the applicants. It was noted that the group of merchant-traders was actually very heterogeneous since the members of this group came from various backgrounds and their applications covered both large and small business enterprises. As can be seen from Table 22, merchant-traders constituted the largest occupational group that lodged applications in the category of commerce (83 percent). However, especially in the last reference years persons designated as merchants and traders also lodged a significant number of applications concerning other segments of the economy as well. This is a consequence of the fact that towards the mid-nineteenth century the business interests of the merchantry became more diverse, and its members became increasingly engaged in a variety of businesses ranging from inland and overseas commerce to the industrial production of textiles, tobacco, sugar, mass consumption goods and heavy industry. This reflects a change that started

during the research period: there emerged a new industrial elite, which drew its members from the merchantry and from those whose previous careers had been in the army, the church or the law. More generally, it is an indication that the era of merchant capitalism was drawing to a close in the early nineteenth century and was about to give way to industrial capitalism. This change was manifested especially in the sawmilling industry, in which pioneering entrepreneurs inspired by a capitalist ethos emerged from the 1830s onwards.

Not surprisingly, the petitions and appeals related to the manufacturing industries were submitted by a very mixed group of persons. As the table above demonstrates, no single occupational group predominated in this category. It was argued that this was due to the fact that the manufacturing industry was not as strictly regulated as commerce and crafts, where admission to a trade was controlled by merchant societies and craft guilds. It seems that this made it easier for foreign-born and female business actors to engage in the manufacturing industry. The results for this segment show that the majority of applications concerned the extractive and metal, the textile and the sawmilling industries.

The study has devoted considerable attention to the iron industry and the sawmill industry. The data sampled for the purposes of this study did not indicate any significant conflicts between the representatives of these two groups. A further examination of the iron and sawmill industries indicated that there was little cooperation between the business actors engaged in either of these industries. It was suggested that the lack of cooperation particularly in the iron industry was a result of the fact that the iron industrialists became an increasingly heterogeneous group during the research period owing to the growth of the industry in East Finland. Importantly, the absence of co-operation was most likely related to the fact that production in the traditional iron-manufacturing region of South Finland was highly dependent on raw materials imported from Sweden, while the emerging iron industry in East Finland relied on domestic lake and bog ore. It was maintained that the interests of the iron industrialists of South Finland and East Finland did not coincide in economic or political issues owing to the different basis of their industrial production and markets.

This discussion about the political activity of business actors engaged in the iron and sawmill industries continued with a case study of a prominent businessman, N.L. Arppe, who was active in both industries. His example clearly demonstrated that the advantages and the limitations of political involvement were well understood by a contemporary business actor. This became evident in an examination of his attempts to have decisions of lower government authorities revoked by appealing to the highest instances as well as in his attempts to influence the Forest Act Committee in the early 1840s. His actions and case studies of other business actors indicated that, rather than the common advantages of the industry or trade, it was the business actors' personal interests, ambitions and success that were involved when they operated in the political arena. Moreover, their reputation and trust were either increased or decreased through the success and failure of their activities in the

local or national political arenas. At the most general level, the cases examined in more detail in this study show that the petitions and appeals were well planned and cogently argued texts aiming at specific goals that were of importance for the petitioners' economic and business interests. In addition, business actors appraised developments on the broader political horizon and acted before an issue became a major challenge. Therefore, it was maintained that the petitions and appeals initiated by business actors in the period under scrutiny can hardly be described as just random or spontaneous acts.

This study has discussed the increased ethnic diversification of business life, since especially the advent of Russian merchants attracted the attention of the established merchantry after the War of Finland. In particular, issues related to the economic rights of business actors of Russian origin were strongly represented in the sampled data immediately after the War of Finland. Examples from Helsinki and Vaasa were employed to illustrate the situation that prevailed after the war, when Russian merchants and traders, known as *marketentare*, spread over the country in large numbers. It was observed that the highest decision-makers received several petitions and appeals submitted by native merchants as the emergence of Russian businessmen in local communities caused conflicts. In many cases related to these newcomers, the aim of Finnish businessmen was to exclude the newcomers by appealing to institutionalized practices (for example, the ancient privileges of the established merchantry) and using arguments which stressed the collective good of the community. It could be said that this kind of activity was part of a larger pattern of business operations in early-nineteenth-century Finland, when business activities were based not on free competition but on privileges and monopoly rights endorsed by the ruler. Despite the protests of the established merchantry, a considerable number of persons of Russian origin, many of whom came from modest backgrounds, obtained a formal position in Finnish business life and experienced a considerable rise in the social and economic hierarchy. Judged from the sampled data, the emergence of foreign-born persons was evident especially in the commercial sector and the manufacturing industry. Their proportion of the applicants was highest in commerce, as is shown in Table 22.

In order to obtain further information on this subject, it is essential to study more carefully how the economic and political rights of foreigners developed in Finland, and how this issue was discussed in politics and in public. Another subject for further enquiry could be the ways in which business actors of foreign origin succeeded in exploiting their economic (commercial) power to influence their interaction with the highest decision-makers after the mid-nineteenth century. This is an important matter, since by the 1850s some businessmen of foreign origin in the capital city had gained very influential positions in the economy and had established close relations with the political elite. A further study would also contribute to our understanding of the development of economic nationalism in Finland. The picture of foreign-born businessmen's economic and political influence offered in previous research has been to some extent contradictory. On the one hand, it has been maintained that

Finland needed foreign know-how and investments and, as a consequence, foreign entrepreneurs were encouraged to launch their businesses in Finland. On the other hand, more stringent conditions were imposed to control their engagement in certain branches of industry in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

Women's involvement in contemporary economic and business life was discussed in several contexts in the present study. It was shown that women submitted applications related to all four segments of the economy (for details see Table 22 above). The sampled data included women from various social groups, from the lowest social orders to the highest echelons of society. The case studies described here show that it was not only wealthy merchant widows who had the opportunity to influence decision-making in economic and business matters but that also persons from lower groups could voice their opinions. To judge from the examples presented here and the existing body of research concerning female entrepreneurs, the formal institutional framework, which was based on legislation dating back to the Swedish era, at least to some extent responded to local circumstances. Furthermore, the right to engage especially in small-scale businesses was granted to women who were especially needy and had no other means of supporting themselves and their dependents. However, it must be remembered that local practices and attitudes towards women's economic agency could differ across the country, and most certainly there existed differences between the various trades at the local level. In comparison with females in many European countries, Finnish women had to wait a long time to obtain more equal economic rights with men – for example, this happened later in Finland (in the 1860s and 1870s) than in Sweden.

The final empirical chapter, which summates the results from a broader perspective than the previous chapters, maintained that, contrary to expectations, individual activity was far more common in the political arena than cooperation. The evidence suggests that instead of collective action business life favoured individual activity in contacting the senior decision-makers through petitions and appeals as 78 percent of the sampled petitions and appeals were initiated by single individuals. Some of the collectively submitted applications, for their part, were lodged by a large number of business actors, as a result of which the actual numbers of persons involved become incalculable since the Registers of Petitions rarely listed the names of all the signatories involved. This was dictated by practical factors since there could be dozens of individuals involved in a single case, as was demonstrated in Section 6.1. The results were also affected by the fact that some of the individuals engaged in business activities were active for several decades and thus submitted a number of applications during the reference years, while others appeared in the sample only once.

The proportion of collective applications of the total number of applications was largest in the commercial segment, as shown in Table 22, whereas they were less prevalent in the manufacturing industry. In a few cases, significant interest groups were prominently represented. The merchant shipowners in particular sought to influence decision-making on a wide scale

with their petitions. They clearly brought up broader issues, which were in the interests of all actors in the same line of business; this was evident, for example, in those business actors' petitions that concerned details of commercial legislation or customs tariffs. A similar example of an occasion in which business actors' interests were united was provided by the case study of the Committee on Trade and Customs, which was established to deal with issues of importance to the commercial sector. In many cases the cooperation, it seems, was based on already existing networks, and thus it is reasonable to assume that it was more than just an ad hoc form of activity. A closer investigation also indicated that members of the contemporary business elite, to which Counsellors of Commerce and Counsellors of Mining were regarded as belonging in this study, were clearly overrepresented in the sampled data and occasionally took leading roles in the petitioning activities.

Finally, the analysis of the regional distribution of the business-related applications submitted to the Economic Department in the reference years between 1810 and 1850 suggested that the majority of the business activities to which the applications referred were located in southern parts of Finland. The largest cities, Turku and Helsinki, dominated the results (see also Table 22). To some extent, the regional distribution of the business-related applications reflected the great economic regional differences that were typical of early-nineteenth-century Finland. In particular, the urban nature of commercial activities was clearly reflected in the sampled data. Based on the findings of this study, it seems that one factor that contributed to the differences was the heterogeneous nature of the geographical area of Finland. As stated earlier, the area of Old Finland, which was rejoined to Finland proper in 1812, had some special characteristics of its own owing to the long period of Russian domination of the region. For instance, the area had a significant Russian population, and Russian commercial law remained in force in this region until the late 1810s. In addition, the major production facilities of Old Finland were dominated by members of the Russian aristocracy, whose economic position was largely based on landed property given to them by the Tsar. These factors are also reflected in the findings of this study.

To summarize, it has been observed that some groups of persons (e.g. the business elite) or some segments of the economy (the manufacturing industry) were over-represented in the data sampled from the Registers of Petitions owing to the special characteristics of the economic decision-making system. Even so, the dataset compiled for the purposes of this work does show that petitioning opened up an opportunity for business actors from various occupational and social groups to participate in and influence decision-making processes. It also provides us with a series of insights into the prevailing economic and political situation, and it reveals the economic and political goals which the business actors considered important at a given time and the realization of which they sought to influence. For instance, the sampled data demonstrate how difficult it was to end Finland's economic dependence on its former mother country, Sweden, and how business actors engaged in various businesses perceived Finland's shift and its consequences from Swedish rule to

being a part of the Russian Empire. They also illustrate the increase in economic activity from the 1840s onwards and the emergence of new industries. Clearly, the Registers of Petitions do not exactly reflect the economic importance in society of the different segments of the economy. However, the documents of two committees and other primary and secondary sources to some extent make up for the limitations of the dataset. In addition, the case studies of the two committees brought out the interests of the government authorities, demonstrating the fact that different authorities had different interests at the same time as they played a central role in the decision-making processes. This was especially clear in the case of the Forest Act Committee.

To conclude, the geopolitical upheaval of 1809 had many consequences in Finnish economic and business life, and for various reasons the business-government relationship was strained immediately after the War of Finland. Although some of the same business and political actors continued to operate at the local and national levels after the War of Finland, the changes that took place at the highest levels of the administration and the decision-making system affected the relationship between business life and the government authorities. During the 40-year period studied, the basis for contacting the decision-makers was to be found in the local or national business environment. The existing national and global economic and political situation which was created by such matters as the restoration of peace after 1809 in Finland and the on-going wars in Europe and beyond in the early nineteenth century, the changes in the political temper and in the economic operational environment, the birth of new industries and technological transfer, among others, influenced the issues that business actors brought before the highest decision-makers. On a more general level, changes in Finnish society, the rapid growth of the population, industrialization and its consequences necessarily had an influence on the number and contents of the business-related applications which were received by the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate in the first half of the nineteenth century. As for early-nineteenth-century Finland, a period when the Diet of Estates was not summoned, one cannot argue that business life did not have other ways to influence government decision-making over matters closely pertaining to its interests.

## YHTEENVETO (SUMMARY)

Liike-elämä taloudellisia ja poliittisia etuja tavoittelemassa 1800-luvun alun Suomessa

### Johdanto

Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan taloudellisten toimijoiden mahdollisuuksia vaikuttaa keskushallinnon päätöksentekoon omiin taloudellisiin ja poliittisiin etuihinsa liittyvissä kysymyksissä autonomian ajan alun Suomessa. Tutkimus lähtee liikkeelle siitä miten valtioyhteyden katkeaminen entiseen emämaahan Ruotsiin vaikutti Venäjän valtakuntaan liitetyn Suomen talouteen sekä sen edustajien ja ylimmän hallinnon väliseen vuorovaikutukseen. Tarkastelu ulottuu Suomen sodan (1808–1809) jälkeisestä ajasta aina 1850-luvun alkuun asti. Keskeisenä elementtinä tässä vuorovaikutuksessa nähdään taloudellisten toimijoiden hallinnolle osoittamat anomukset ja valitukset. Anomukset ja valitukset – ts. koko anomusinstituutio – ymmärretään keskeisenä formaalina vaikuttamiskanavana aikana, jolloin valtiopäivät (maapäivät) eivät kokoontuneet Suomessa. Lisäksi esille nostetaan taloudellisiin kysymyksiin keskittyneiden komiteoiden rooli ja merkitys tämän vuorovaikutuksen kentässä. Erityisen huomion kohteena on kaksi komiteaa, joiden toimintaan kutsuttiin mukaan kauppiaita ja teollisuuden edustajia hallinnon ulkopuolisina asiantuntijoina. Tutkimus selvittää muun muassa sitä miten laajamittaisesti taloudelliset toimijat käyttivät näitä vaikuttamiskanavia pyrkiessään vaikuttamaan hallintoon. Peruslähtökohtana on se, että näitä kanavia hyödyntämällä toimijat pystyivät hankkimaan taloudellisia tai poliittisia etuja.

Tutkimusta motivoi erityisesti se, että tietämys 1800-luvun alun taloudellisten toimijoiden mahdollisuuksista vaikuttaa hallinnon talouspolitiikkaan ja taloudellisia kysymyksiä koskeviin päätöksentekoprosesseihin on toistaiseksi jäänyt vähälle huomiolle. Ajanjaksoa vuodesta 1809 vuoteen 1863, jolloin valtiopäiviä ei suomalaisten odotuksista ja toiveista huolimatta kutsuttu koolle, on usein kuvattu virkavaltaiseksi ja byrokraattiseksi. Yksilöiden ja erilaisten ryhmien mahdollisuudet vaikuttaa omia asioita koskevaan päätöksentekoon moniportaisen hallinnon eri tasoilla on nähty vähäisinä. Vastaavasti vuosisadan puoliväli – Aleksanteri II valtaannousua (1855) seurannut kausi – on nähty eräänlaisena murroskautena Suomen historiassa. Muun muassa hallinnolliset, taloudelliset ja sosiaaliset uudistukset ja muutokset ovat vaikuttaneet siihen, että 1800-luvun loppupuoli on saanut osakseen huomattavasti enemmän tutkijoiden huomiota kuin vuosisadan alkupuoli.

Vuoden 1809 mukanaan tuomista muutoksista huolimatta Ruotsin vallan ajan perintö oli selkeästi läsnä 1800-luvun alun Suomessa. Jatkuvuutta edustivat muun muassa tietyt elementit keskushallinnossa sekä erityisesti läänin- ja paikallishallinnon rakenteiden säilyminen muuttamattomina. Myös ensimmäiset valtiopäivät, jotka pidettiin uuden hallitsijan vallan alla Porvoossa vuoden 1809 keväällä ja kesällä, edustivat Ruotsin ajan perinteitä. Ruotsin ja Venäjän välinen rauhansopimus, Haminan rauha, joka loi pohjaa Venäjän (Suomen) ja



Ruotsin välisten taloudellisten suhteiden kehittymiselle, allekirjoitettiin Porvoon valtiopäivien jälkeen syyskuussa 1809. Paluu sodasta rauhaan merkitsi Suomessa myös oman keskushallinnon rakentamista. Suomen suuriruhtinaskunnan ylimmäksi hallintoelimeksi perustettiin hallituskonselji. Konseljin nimi muutettiin *Keisarilliseksi Suomen Senaatiksi* vuonna 1816 – selkeyden vuoksi tässä käytetään jatkossa vain nimitystä senaatti –, joka jakaantui talous- ja oikeusosastoon. Talousosasto, joka on tässä tutkimuksessa keskeisellä sijalla, vastasi yleiseen hallintoon ja talouteen liittyvistä kysymyksistä ja käsitteli siviiliasioita, kun taas oikeusosasto toimi suuriruhtinaskunnan ylimpänä oikeusasteena. Osastojen apuna olivat toimituskunnat, minkä lisäksi senaatin alaisuuteen perustettiin lukuisia keskusvirastoja. Erilaisia komiteoita käytettiin tilapäisluontoisten asioiden valmistelutyössä, niiden avulla voitiin hoitaa hallinnollisia asioita valtiopäivien kokoontumisen välillä.

### **Aikaisempi tutkimus ja tutkimuskysymykset**

Anomukset ja valitukset olivat keskeinen elementti alamaisten ja hallitsijan välisessä kommunikaatiossa ja vuorovaikutuksessa eri puolilla Eurooppaa sekä Pohjois-Amerikkaa varhaismodernilla ajanjaksolla (n. 1500–1800/1850). Etenkin englannin- ja saksankielisissä maissa niin yksilöiden kuin erilaisten ryhmien anomuksia ja valituksia sekä niiden ympärille syntyneitä joukkoliikkeitä on tutkittu runsaasti. Hallitsijalle tai muille institutionaalisen vallan haltijoille osoitettujen anomusten on painotettu mahdollistavan erityisesti ”tavallisen kansan” poliittisten päämäärien ja vaikutusvallan tarkastelun. Koska anomuksissa esiin nousseet aiheet saattoivat aiheuttaa laajempaakin yhteiskunnallista protestiliikettä, keskushallinnon edustajat suhtautuivat anomuksiin varauksellisesti ja anomusoikeutta saatettiin tarkoituksellisesti rajoittaa. Tutkijat ovat myös korostaneet anomusinstituution mahdollistaneen formaalia poliittista asemaa tai valtaa vailla olleiden yksilöiden ja ryhmien, kuten naisten ja erilaisten vähemmistöjen, osallistumisen ja vaikuttamisen päätöksentekoprosesseihin.

Pohjoismaisessa tutkimustraditiossa huomiota on saanut keskusvallan ja paikallisyhteisön vuorovaikutus. Useissa tutkimuksissa huomio on kohdistunut jonkin tietyn ryhmän, kuten talonpoikien, pyrkimykseen vaikuttaa keskushallintoon. Keskeistä näissä tutkimuksissa on kuitenkin se, että anomusinstituutio on ymmärretty osaksi poliittista kulttuuria ja se on nähty erääksi keskeiseksi tekijäksi, joka edisti ja vahvisti alamaisten ja hallinnon välistä keskustelua ja neuvottelua. Anomusaineistoja on käytetty myös taloudellisesti orientoituneissa tutkimuksissa. Suomen osalta tämä tarkoittaa lähinnä sitä, että huomio on ollut Ruotsin vallan ajan anomuskäytänteissä kuten eri säätyjen valtiopäiville tekemissä esityksissä. Erityisesti porvarissäädyn poliittinen toiminta valtiopäivillä – ja niiden ulkopuolella – on kiinnostanut tutkijoita. Tässä suhteessa vuosien 1809 ja 1863 välinen Suomi muodostaa tutkimuksellisen aukon: valtiopäivätoiminnan keskeytyminen Porvoon valtiopäivien jälkeen sulki talouselämän edustajilta – kuten muiltakin ryhmiltä – tämän perinteisen vaikutuskanavan. Anomusinstituution merkitys kuitenkin säilyi muuttuneessa tilanteessa, mikä näkyi hallitsijalle (käytännössä senaatille) toimitettujen anomuskirjelmien suures-

sa määrässä. Samalla tavoin komitealaitoksen asema säilyi ja osittain jopa korostui valtiopäivätoiminnan pysähtyessä vuosikymmenien ajaksi.

Tässä tutkimuksessa huomio kiinnittyy taloudellisiin kysymyksiin liittyviin anomus- ja valituskirjelmiin sekä lausuntoihin ja muistioihin, joita taloudelliset toimijat lähettivät kahdelle komitealle. Tutkimuksessa selvitetään erityisesti sitä miten laajasti taloudelliset toimijat käyttivät anomuksia ja valituksia pyrkivänsä vaikuttamaan hallinnon päätöksentekoon, ketkä niitä oikeastaan käyttivät ja mihin asioihin niillä pyrittiin vaikuttamaan. Esimerkiksi oliko jokin tietty ryhmä kuten asemansa vakiinnuttaneet elinkeinoprivilegioiden haltijat tai taloudellinen eliitti yliedustettuina hakijoiden joukossa? Lisäksi pohditaan yksittäisten hakijoiden ja erilaisten kollektiivien jättämien hakemusten lukumäärää ja suhdetta: kumpia käytettiin enemmän tutkimusajanjaksolla? Lopuksi tutkimuksen tuloksia kootaan yhteen selvittämällä anomusten ja valitusten maantieteellistä jakaantumista.

Tarkasteltaessa liike-elämän edustajien pyrkimyksiä vaikuttaa päätöksentekoon ja päätöksentekijöihin edellä mainittujen formaalien vaikuttamiskanavi- en kautta tässä työssä puhutaan poliittisesta toiminnasta ja vaikuttamisesta (ks. kappale 1.2). On syytä huomauttaa, että tämä talouselämän edustajien poliittinen toiminta ymmärretään tutkimuksessa laajasta näkökulmasta. Tarkoituksena tuoda esille se, että tarkastelun keskiössä on taloudellisten toimijoiden pyrkimykset vaikuttaa voimassa olleen taloudelliseen järjestelmän toimintaan ja sen reunaehtoihin sekä niihin instituutioihin tai tahoihin, joilla oli poliittista valtaa ja mahdollisuuksia muokata tätä järjestelmää.

Tutkimusajankohtana anomukset ja valitukset osoitettiin muodollisesti hallitsijalle, vaikka niiden käsittelystä vastasi pääosin senaatti, joka käytti hallitsijan sille delegoimaa valtaa. Luonnollisesti merkittävimmät asiat esiteltiin hallitsijalle lopullista päätöksentekoa varten. Tutkimuksen keskeisin lähdeaineiston muodostaa senaatin talousosaston niin kutsutut anomus- ja valitusdiarit (jatkossa anomusdiarit), jotka mahdollistavat anomus- ja valitusaineiston systemaattisen tarkastelun koko tutkimusaikana. Talousosasto vastasi yleisestä hallinnosta ja käsitteli muitakin asioita kuin vain taloudellisia kysymyksiä. Näin ollen anomusdiarit kertovat hyvinkin erilaisten toimijoiden ja tahojen yrityksistä vaikuttaa päätöksentekijöihin.

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena ei ole selvittää kaikkien tutkimukseen mukaan valittujen anomusten ja valitusten osalta päätöksentekoprosessin tuloksia tai senaatin talousosaston tehokkuutta päätöksentekijänä. Tutkimusten varten kerätty aineisto on tähän tarkoitukseen aivan liian laaja eikä näiden kysymysten pohtiminen ole ollut työekonomisesta syistä järkevää. Erilaisten tapaustutkimusten avulla voidaan kuitenkin tarkastella taloudellisiin kysymyksiin liittyneitä päätöksentekoprosesseja ja näin syventää tietämystä siitä, miksi eri ryhmien edustajat pyrkivät vaikuttamaan päättäviin tahoihin ja miten tuloksellisia nämä yritykset olivat.

Edellä mainittuja komitea-aineistoja käytetään täydentämään anomus- ja valitusaineistoa. Lähempään tarkasteluun valitut komiteat ovat kauppa- ja tullikysymyksiin keskittynyt komitea (1811–1812) sekä metsälakikomitea, joka

koottiin pohtimaan metsälainsäädännön uudistamista 1840-luvun alussa. 1800-luvun alkupuolella komiteoiden jäsenet olivat pääosin korkeita virkamiehiä ja hallinnon ulkopuolisia asiantuntijoita – esimerkiksi kauppiaita tai teollisuudenharjoittajia – kutsuttiin vain harvoin osallistumaan komiteoiden tekemään valmistelutyöhön. Mahdollisuutta osallistua komitean työskentelyyn voidaankin pitää merkittävänä tilaisuutena vaikuttaa talouslainsäädäntöön ja muihin laajempiin kysymyksiin. Lisäksi komiteoiden merkitystä korostaa se, että niiden voidaan nähdä edustavan hallinnon intressejä kiinnittää talouselämän asiantuntijoita entistä paremmin omaan vaikutuspiiriinsä. Tämän työn kannalta komitea-aineistojen etu on nimenomaan siinä, että talouselämän edustajien komiteoille toimittamat lausunnot olivat laajoja ja subjektiivisia, minkä takia täydentävät hyvin tässä työssä käytettyä anomus- ja valitusaineistoa.

### **Alkuperäisaineisto ja tutkimusta varten muodostettu tietokanta**

Senaatin talousosaston anomusdiarin kirjattiin vuosien 1809 ja 1850 välillä yli 30 000 saapunutta kirjettä. Asiamäärä kasvoi jatkuvasti vuosisadan puoliväliä kohden: tuhannen kirjeen raja ylitettiin ensimmäisen kerran vuonna 1853. Krimin sodan (1853–1856) jälkeen anomusten ja valitusten määrä lisääntyi entisestään. Lähdeaineiston runsauden takia tarkasteluvuosiksi valittiin joka viides vuosi alkaen vuodesta 1810 ja päättyen vuoteen 1850. Valittujen yhdeksän tarkasteluvuoden aikana anomusdiareihin kirjattiin lähes 6600 anomusta ja valitusta. Tästä aineistosta valittiin tutkimukseen mukaan tapaukset, jotka olivat taloudelliseksi toimijaksi määriteltävän henkilön tai tahon lähettämiä ja jotka liittyivät nimenomaan liiketoiminnan harjoittamiseen tai laajempaan taloudellisesti merkittävään kysymykseen. Tutkimuksen ulkopuolelle on rajattu muun muassa taloudellisten toimijoiden henkilökohtaisiin asioihin ja kotitalouteen liittyneet tapaukset (esim. muihin tarkoituksiin kuin liiketoimintaan tarkoitettut lainat) sekä erilaisia yleishyödyllisiä hankkeita koskeneet anomukset ja valitukset.

Aineisto kerättiin Jyväskylän maakunta-arkistossa säilytettävistä senaatin talousosaston anomusdiarien mikrofilmikopioista.<sup>1</sup> Työn myöhemmässä vaiheessa hyödynnettiin Arkistolaitoksen Digitaaliarkistoon (<http://digi.narc.fi/digi/>) tallennettuja aineistoja. Diaariaineiston käyttökelpoisuutta lisää se, että tietoja on ollut mahdollista tarkistaa muista alkuperäislähteistä (osa saatavilla Digitaaliarkistossa), jotka liittyvät päätöksentekoprosesseihin tai dokumentoivat päätöksentekoprosessien etenemistä hallinnossa. Tässä tutkimuksessa on käytetty esimerkiksi senaatin talousosaston pöytäkirjoja ja osin myös Kenraalikuvernöörin kanslian suomenkielisiä aktiiviteltoita. 1800-luvun alun senaatin talousosaston anomusdiarit tarjoavat yksityiskohtaisia tietoja talousosastolle toimialaan kuuluneista anomus- ja valitusasioista, mikä mahdollistaa anomusten ja valitusaineiston systemaattisen tarkastelun tutkimusajanjaksolla. 1860-luvulle tultaessa diaarimerkinnät alkoivat kuitenkin selvästi muuttua ja niistä tuli lyhyempiä ja yleisluontoisempia. Tutkimusajalla merkinnät kirjoitettiin ruotsiksi – suomi yleistyi asteittain vasta 1800-luvun lopulla – ja niihin kirjattiin

<sup>1</sup> Alkuperäisiä senaatin talousosaston anomusdiareja säilytetään Kansallisarkistossa Helsingissä.

yksityiskohtaisia tietoja hakijoista, kirjelmän keskeisin aihe sekä ja päätöksenteon eri vaiheet. Merkintöjen perusteella voidaan päätellä hakijan sukupuoli, paikkakunta (vähintään läänin tarkkuudella) ja toisinaan myös etninen alkuperä (usein lähtömaa tai -kaupunki). Merkinnöistä käy aina ilmi oliko kyseessä anomus- vai valitusasia.

Diaarimerkintöjen perusteella tutkimukseen valittiin 871 anomus- tai valitustapausta. Tämä tarkoittaa käytännössä sitä, että senaatin talousosaston anomusdiareihin tarkasteluvuosina kirjatusta anomus- ja valituskirjelmistä 13 % liittyi taloudellisiin kysymyksiin ja liike-elämän intresseihin. Anomusdiareista kerätyn anomus- ja valitusaineiston etuna on se, että se ei kuvasta vain tietyn rajatun ryhmän pyrkimyksiä vaikuttaa valtaapitäviin vaan aineiston avulla saadaan tietoa eri elinkeinoja harjoittaneista toimijoista, jotka edustivat useita ammatti- ja sosiaaliryhmiä. Tutkimusta varten kerätystä aineistosta luotiin laaja tietokanta, johon kirjattiin tarkempaa analyysiä varten mm. seuraavat tiedot anomus- ja valitustapauksista: hakijoiden nimi (tai nimet), ammatti- tai sosiaaliryhmä(t), sukupuoli, etninen alkuperä, oliko kyseessä anomus- vai valitus ja mikä kirjelmän aihe oli. Lisäksi huomioitiin se oliko kyseessä yksityinen henkilön vai kollektiivinen toimija ja mitä maantieteellistä aluetta tapaus koski. Mikäli jokin edellä mainituista tiedoista ei käynyt ilmi diaarimerkinnöistä, tietoja pyrittiin järjestelmällisesti täydentämään muista alkuperäislähteistä. Anomuksia ja valituksia lähettäneiden henkilöiden taustatietoja etsittiin tutkimuskirjallisuudesta, tietokannoista (esim. *Kansallisbiografia* [<http://kansallisbiografia.fi/>] ja *Suomen talouselämän vaikuttajat* [<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/talousvaikuttajat/>]) ja aikakauden sanomalehdistä.

Taloudellisiin kysymyksiin liittyneitä anomuksia ja valituksia lähettäneet toimijat jaettiin ammattia ja sosiaaliryhmää koskevien tietojen perusteella kymmeneen eri ryhmään. Lisäksi toimijat jaettiin vielä edelleen suomalaisiin, venäläisiin ja muihin ulkomaalaisiin. Venäläisten ja muiden ulkomaalaistaustaisten henkilöiden erottaminen toisistaan on perusteltua, sillä lainsäädäntö kohteli näitä ryhmiä eri tavoin. Vaikka Suomesta tuli vuoden 1809 jälkeen osa monikansallista Venäjää, venäläiset rinnastettiin Suomessa käytännössä ulkomaalaisiin; he eivät voineet muuttaa vapaasti Suomeen eikä heillä ollut yhtä laajoja oikeuksia kuin syntyperäisillä suomalaisilla. Venäjän tsaarin alamaisina he kuitenkin poikkesivat Suomeen muutettuaankin muista ulkomaalaistaustaisista henkilöistä. Taustalla oli osittain myös venäläisten ortodoksinen uskonto (toki kaikki venäläiset eivät olleet ortodokseja vaan Suomeen muuttaneiden joukossa oli muidenkin uskontokuntien edustajia). Suomessa voimaan jääneen Ruotsin vallan aikaisen lainsäädännön mukaisesti ortodokseilla ei ollut pääsyä esimerkiksi julkisiin virkoihin tai luottamustehtäviin. Tilanne muuttui vasta vuonna 1827.

Tutkimuksesta varten kerätty aineisto jaoteltiin edelleen aiheen mukaan neljään eri kategoriaan sen mukaan mihin toimialaan ne liittyivät. Ryhmät ovat kaupan ala, privilegioituihin tuotantolaitoksiin liittyvät tapaukset, käsityöelinkeinot ja muut alat. Toimialapohjainen jaottelu perustui tutkimusajanjakson lainsäädäntöön. Yksinkertaistetusti voidaan esittää, että kaupanalan toimintaa

ja käsityöammatteja sääteli Ruotsin vallan ajalta peräisin oleva taloudellinen lainsäädäntö ja kiltoja koskevat säännökset kun taas erilaisia manufaktuurien ja tuotantolaitosten toimintaa ohjailtiin erioikeuksien, privilegioiden, avulla. Neljänteen kategoriaan sijoitettiin mm. uudet alat (höyrylaivaliikenne, pankkitoiminta) sekä alat, joiden toimintaan säädeltiin erikoisehdoin (kirjapainot ja kirja-kauppa). On kuitenkin huomautettava, että taloudellista toimintaa koskeva lainsäädäntö ei kaikilta osin ollut yksityiskohtainen tai yksiselitteinen, minkä lisäksi sitä saatettiin tulkita paikallistasolla hyvinkin erilaisilla tavoilla. Esimerkiksi kaupan alan ja käsityön välinen raja oli häilyvä, minkä takia ei ollut itsessään selvää kuuluivatko tietyt elinkeinot kaupanalan ammatteihin vai käsityöelinkeinoihin. Lisäksi teollisuudenaloista osa oli tiukemman valvonnan alaisia: esimerkiksi metsävaroja hyödyntävien laitosten, kuten rautatehtaiden ja sahatehtaiden, perustaminen oli muita laitoksia kontrolloidumpaa. Tässä yhteydessä on myös syytä korostaa, että eri teollisuudenaloihin liittyvissä tapauksissa ei ole kyse vain uusien laitosten perustamisprivilegioista, vaan aineistoon sisältyy esimerkiksi tapauksia olemassa olevien laitosten laajentamisesta tai tarvittavien raaka-aineiden hankkimisesta, privilegioiden lakkauttamisesta tai siirtämisestä. Tämä seikka hankaloittaa tulosten vertailua aikaisempien tutkimusten tuloksiin. Jokainen neljästä toimialasta jaettiin vielä edelleen pienempiin alaryhmiin (ks. kappale 3.5). Niistä poimittiin tutkimuksen lopussa tarkempaan analyysiin kotimaankauppaan liittyneiden porvarisoikeusvalitusten ryhmä sekä teollisuuden osalta rauta- ja sahateollisuuden liittyneet tapaukset, jotka tutkimuksen mukaan kuuluivat suurimpiin asiaryhmiin omilla toimialoillaan.

### **Tutkimuksen rakenne**

Edellä esitellyjä kokonaisuuksia tarkastellaan kuudessa pääluvussa, joiden sisällä käsittely etenee pääosin temaattisesti. Luvussa 7 kerätään tutkimuksen tulokset yhteen. Johdantoluvun, joka esittelee tutkimusaiheen, -kysymykset sekä lähtökohdat, jälkeen taustoitetaan tutkimusaihetta ja -aikaa esittelemällä 1800-luvun alun suomalaisen yhteiskunnan kehitystä sekä eri säätyjen taloudellisia ja poliittisia oikeuksia. Tämän jälkeen siirrytään käsittelemään Suomen suuriruhtinaskunnan keskushallinnon organisaatiota ja komitealaitoksen roolia päätöksenteossa. Tässä luvussa huomio kiinnittyy erityisesti jatkuvuuteen ja muutokseen Suomen suuriruhtinaskunnan hallinnossa.

Luvut 3–6 käsittelevät tutkimusprosessia ja esittelevät tutkimuksen tuloksia. Luvun 3 alussa esitellään tutkimuksen tärkein alkuperäisaineisto, senaatin talousosaston anomusdiarit ja käydään läpi myös tietokantaa varten kerättyjen tietojen luokittelussa ja tutkimuksen rajauksessa ilmenneitä haasteita, joita laaja aineisto ja suuri toimijamäärä aiheuttivat. Seuraavaksi käsitellään taloudellisiin kysymyksiin liittyneitä anomuksia ja valituksia tehneiden toimijoiden ammatillista ja sosiaalista taustaa, sukupuolijakaumaa ja etnistä taustaa. Tutkimusote on paikoitellen yksityiskohtainen. Tällä tavalla on haluttu tuoda esille tutkimuksen aikana tehtyjen ratkaisujen perustelut ja mahdollistaa vertailujen tekeminen eri ryhmien ja toimialojen välillä.

Luvut 4–6 pohjautuvat tutkimuksen kolmannessa luvussa esitetyille tuloksille, jotka osoittavat että suurin osa tutkimukseen valituista tapauksista liittyi nimenomaan kauppaan ja privilegioiden varassa toimiviin tuotantolaitoksiin. Luvussa 4 käsitellään kaupalliseen toimintaan liittynyttä aineistoa. Huomiota kiinnitetään etenkin kauppiaiden välisiin konflikteihin, mikä on suoraa seurausta siitä että kauppiastaustaiset hakijat lähettivät ylimmälle hallinnolle enemmän valituksia kuin anomuksia. Ulkomaalaisten – erityisesti venäläisten – ja naisten oikeuksia kauppatoiminnan harjoittamiseen käsitellään esimerkkitapausten avulla. Anomus- ja valitusaineiston perusteella saatuja tuloksia syvennetään edellä mainitun kauppa- ja tullikomitean tarkastelulla, minkä avulla voidaan keskittyä lähemmin kansallisen ja kansainvälisen tason kysymyksiinkin ja rajatun ryhmän edunvalvontatoimintaan.

Luku 5 keskittyy privilegioiden varassa toimiviin tuotantolaitoksiin ja niiden toimintaan liittyviin anomuksiin ja valituksiin. Päähuomio on kaivannais- ja metalliteollisuuteen (erityisesti rautateollisuus) sekä sahateollisuuteen liittyvissä tapauksissa. Rauta- ja sahateollisuuden välistä suhdetta käsitellään lähemmin itäsuomalaiseen teollisuudenharjoittajaan Nils Ludvig Arpeen (1803–1861) keskittyvän tapaustutkimuksen avulla. Laaja-alaista liiketoimintaa harjoittanut sahanomistaja-rautaruukinpatruuna ei aina nauttinut korkeiden virkamiesten luottamusta, joten tapaustutkimuksen avulla päästään sivuamaan taloudellisen toimijan ja korkeimpien virkamiesten suhteen käänköpuoliakin. Viimeinen käsittelyluku, Luku 6, kokoaa yhteen tutkimuksen tuloksia ja tarkastelee niitä aikaisempia lukuja laajemmasta näkökulmasta.

### **Taloudelliset toimijat ja taloudelliseen toimintaan liittyneet anomukset ja valitukset tarkasteluvuosina (1810–1850)**

Tutkimusta varten kerätty taloudelliseen toimintaan liittynyt anomus- ja valitusaineisto käsitteli hyvinkin erilaisia kysymyksiä ja aiheita. Aiheet vaihtelivat taloudellisen toiminnan harjoittamiseen tarvittavista luvista ja lainaanomuksista aina anomuksiin, joilla pyrittiin vaikuttamaan esimerkiksi talouslainsäädännön yksityiskohtiin tai Suomen (Venäjän) ja ulkomaiden välisten kauppasopimuksiin ja tulleihin. Aiheiden monimuotoisuus johtui luonnollisesti siitä, että taloudelliseen toimintaan liittyviä anomuksia ja valituksia tekivät hyvinkin erilaiset toimijat kuten esimerkiksi kauppa- ja vuorineuvokset, alemmat virkamiehet ja käsityöläiset. Tutkimuksessa näkyvimmiiksi ryhmiksi nousivat kauppiat ja käsityöläiset, joiden anomus- ja valituskirjelmistä suurin osa liittyi kauppa- ja käsityöalojen erityiskysymyksiin. Näiden ryhmien edustajat olivat kuitenkin tarkasteluajanjakson lopulla enenevässä määrin mukana tapauksissa, jotka liittyivät erilaisten privilegioiden varassa toimivien tuotantolaitoksien perustamiseen ja toimintaan.

Varsinaisia teollisuudenharjoittajia (tehtailijoita, ruukinomistajia ja vastaavia) oli verrattain vähän tutkittujen toimijoiden joukossa, mutta kyse lienee enemmänkin siitä, että tehtailija tai teollisuudenharjoittaja eivät olleet vakiintuneita käsitteitä tutkimusajanjaksoilla. Taloudellisten toimijoiden rekrytoituminen hyvinkin erilaisista ryhmistä tulee esille erityisesti eri teollisuudenaloihin

liittyneitä tapauksia tarkasteltaessa. Toisaalta juuri se, että taloudelliseen toimintaan liittyviä anomuksia ja valituksia tekivät muutkin kuin vain asemansa vakiinnuttaneet elinkeinoprivilegioiden haltijat, teki mahdolltomaksi rajata jonkin tietyn ryhmän edustajat tutkimuksen ulkopuolelle.

Erityisesti rauta- ja sahateollisuuden kohdalla hahmotellaan laajempia kehityskulkuja ja yrittäjätyyppien muutosta tutkimusajanjaksolla. Ensimmäisten teollisuuskapitalistien joukkoon luettu Nils Ludvig Arppe nostetaan tässä yhteydessä esille. Työssä valotetaan myös yksityiskohtaisemmin N. L. Arppen ja hallinnon edustajien konfliktien sävyttämiä suhteita; Arppen liiketoimet ja toimintamenetelmät venyttivät sahateollisuuden valvonnasta vastaavien tahojen kärsivällisyyttä. Itäsuomalainen sahanomistaja kommentoi myös painokkaasti 1840-luvun alussa työnsä aloittaneen metsälakikomitean mietintöä. Metsälainsäädännön uudistamista pohtineen komitean työskentely on usein nähty nimenomaan sahateollisuutta vastaan suunnattuna toimenpiteenä, mutta komitean toiminta asettuu valtion metsänomistusintressien tarkastelun kautta uuteen valoon (ks. Yrjänä 2012). Komitean työskentelyn tuloksena muotoutunut sahateollisuuden toimintamahdollisuuksia kaventanut laki astui voimaan lopulta vuonna 1851, mutta se kumottiin jo seuraavan vuosikymmenen alussa liberaalimman talouspolitiikan myötä.

Tutkitusta aineistosta heijastuu myös se, kuinka taloudelliset oikeudet eivät jakaantuneet tasaisesti väestön keskuudessa. Naisia oli mukana 6 prosentissa tutkituista tapauksista. Näissä tapauksissa leskien asema korostui, mihin vaikutti leskien muita naisia laajemmat taloudelliset oikeudet. Tutkimuksessa naisten oikeuksia harjoittaa taloudellista toimintaa käsiteltiin useissa eri yhteyksissä. Merkittävimmät naistoimijat harjoittivat koti- ja ulkomaankauppaa sekä rauta- ja sahateollisuutta. Kyse oli poikkeuksesta leskistä. Ulkomaalaistaustaisiksi luokiteltuja taloudellisia toimijoita oli mukana 14 prosentissa tapauksista. Lähemmässä tarkastelussa huomioidaan erityisesti suurimmilla teollisuudenaloilla ja kaupallisella alalla toimineet ulkomaalaiset. Etenkin venäläistaustaisten henkilöiden taloudellisten ja poliittisten oikeuksien nostaminen tarkastelun kohteeksi on perusteltua siksi, että aihetta käsiteltiin useilla eri foorumeilla Suomen sodan jälkeen. Venäläisten sotaväenkauppiaiden, marketenttien, oikeudet harjoittaa kauppaa Suomessa kyseenalaistettiin mm. Porvoon maapäivillä, senaatin hallitsijalle lähettämässä tiedonannoissa ja selvityksessä sekä yksityishenkilöiden ja eri ryhmien anomus- ja valituskirjelmissä. Venäläisten ja muiden ulkomaalaistaustaisten henkilöiden oikeuksiin ja niiden laajuuteen Suomessa jouduttiin palaamaan toistuvasti 1800-luvun kuluessa. Keskustelu sai entistä enemmän poliittisia piirteitä vuosisadan lopulla.

Tässä tutkimuksessa asemansa vakiinnuttaneiden suomalaiskauppiaiden ja uusien tulokkaiden välisiä suhteita ja niiden ongelmakohtia käsitellään porvarisoikeuskysymyksiin keskittyneiden tapaustutkimusten kautta. Suomalaiskaupungeista kauppiasoikeuksia hakeneet venäläiset vaativat anomuksissaan ja valituksissaan muun muassa kauppaa säatelevän lainsäädännön vapauttamista – vaatimusten taustalla oli tietenkin heidän omat etunsa mutta varmasti osittain

se, että kaupan ala ei ollut Venäjällä samalla tavoin säädeltyä kuin Suomessa. Ristiriidat pakottivat eri viranomaistahot ottamaan kantaa asiaan.

Eri ryhmien vaikuttamispyrkimyksiä tarkasteltaessa keskitytään myös taloudellisen eliitin näkyvyyteen aineistossa. Tässä yhteydessä kauppa- ja vuorineuvoksen arvonimillä palkitut liikemiehet nähdään taloudellisen eliitin edustajina. Neuvosarvo kertoo osaltaan siitä, että palkittu henkilö nautti hallitsijan suosiota. *Suomen talouselämän vaikuttajat*-tietokannan elämäkerta-artikkelit osoittavat arvonimellä palkittujen henkilöiden olleen usein poikkeuksellisen menestyneitä henkilöitä. Vaikka kauppa- ja vuorineuvosten joukko ei ollut tarkasteluajankana suuri, on tämä ryhmä selvästi yliedustettu tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellussa anomusaineistossa (ks. kappale 6.3). Toisaalta neuvokset olivat useimmiten mukana taloudellisessa toiminnassa, jonka harjoittaminen edellytti erilaisia privilegioita ja lupia, mutta toisaalta neuvosten läsnäolo toi mukanaan arvovaltaa (sosiaalista pääomaa) hakijajoukolle. Tässä yhteydessä tuodaan esille kauppa- ja tullikysymyksiin keskittyneen komitean toimintaan osallistuneiden kauppias-laivanvarustajien avokätinen palkitseminen neuvosarvoilla.

Tutkimuksen keskeisimmät tulokset on selkeyden vuoksi koottu taulukkomuotoon, mikä mahdollistaa eri toimialojen väliset vertailut:

TAULUKKO 1 Tulosten yhteenveto toimialoittain

	Kauppa	Privilegioidut tuotantolaitokset	Käsityö	Muut alat	Yhteensä koko aineistossa
<b>Anomusten ja valitusten määrä yht.</b>	215 (25%)	336 (39%)	172 (20%)	148 (17%)	871
<b>Anomusten osuus ja valitusten osuus %</b>	45/ 55	82/ 18	30/ 70	66 / 34	60/40
<b>Suurin toimijaryhmä</b>	Kauppias-taustaiset toimijat (83%)	Ei yhtä hallitsevaa ryhmää	Käsityöläis-taustaiset toimijat (79%)	Kauppias-taustaiset toimijat (41%)	—
<b>Ulkomaalaisien osuus %</b>	21	15	4	14	14
<b>Naisten osuus %</b>	7	6	3	6	6
<b>Suurin toimiala</b>	Kotimaan kauppa (51%)	Kaivannais- ja metalliteollisuus (30%)	Tekstiilit ja värjäys (28%)	Kirja-ala (26%)	—
<b>Kollektiivisten hakemusten osuus %</b>	37	11	27	20	22
<b>Alueellinen jakautuminen</b>	Keskittymisen Suomen eteläisiin osiin	Keskittyminen Suomen eteläisiin osiin	Vähäisiä eroja	Ei selviä eroja	—



Taulukosta käy ilmi se, kuinka kerätty aineisto heijastelee päätöksentekojärjestelmän erityispiirteitä. Nimenomaan *anomusten* ja *valitusten* suhde sekä jakaantuminen eri toimialojen mukaan on eräs osoitus tästä. Kaupanalan tulokset osoittavat, että suurin osa tapauksista (55 %) oli valituksia. Ero oli vielä merkittävämpi käsityön kohdalla, jossa tutkituista tapauksista 70 % oli valituksia. Teollisen toiminnan ja muiden toimialojen kohdalla tilanne oli lähes päinvastainen. Todennäköinen selitys anomusten ja valitusten epätasaiselle jakaantumiselle eri toimialojen kohdalla on se, että kauppaan ja käsityöhön liittyneet anomusasiat voitiin pitkälti ratkaista paikallis- tai läänintasolla kun taas erilaisiin tuotantolaitoksiin ja erikoisehtojen alla toimiviin aloihin liittyvät anomukset toimitettiin hallinnon ylimmälle tasolle. Näin ollen kaupanalan toimijat ja käsityöläiselinkeinojen harjoittajat ennemminkin valittivat ylemmille viranomaisille alemman portaan tekemistä päätöksistä. Suurin osa valitusasioista olikin joko maistraatin tai maaherran (vuodesta 1837 kuvernöörin) päätöksistä tehtyjä valituksia.

Tarkasteluvuosina valtaosa anomuksista ja valituksista oli yksittäisten taloudellisten toimijoiden lähettämiä. Niiden aihepiirit käsittelivät useimmiten toimijoiden omia liiketoimia ja harvemmin laajempia taloudellisesti merkittäviä kysymyksiä. Kollektiivisten anomusten ja valitusten osuus oli huomattavasti pienempi, n. 22 % koko aineistosta. Aineiston perusteella erityisesti kauppiaskunnan edustajat käyttivät kollektiivisiä anomuksia ja valituksia pyrkiessään vaikuttamaan laajempiin asiakokonaisuuksiin. Myös naiset – erityisesti kauppiaiden lesket – osallistuivat kollektiivisiin anomuksiin ja valituksiin. Tarkasteluvuosilta on muutamia tapauksia, joissa useiden eri kaupungin kauppiaat tekivät anomuksia samasta asiasta liki samanaikaisesti. Siinä missä rannikkokaupunkien kauppiaskunta pyrki vaikuttamaan koko alan toimijoiden etuihin esimerkiksi tullitasoon tai infrastruktuurin liittyvillä anomuksillaan, teollisuuden edustajat käyttivät kollektiivisiä anomuksia ja valituksia harvemmin. Rautateollisuuden kohdalla tätä voi selittää etenkin se, että 1800-luvun alussa toimineiden rautaruukkien omistajien intressit eivät kohdanneet raaka-aineisiin ja markkinoihin liittyvien kysymysten takia.

Tutkimuksen lopussa luodaan lyhyt katsaus siihen mihin maantieteellisiin alueisiin anomukset ja valitukset liittyivät. Tulosten perusteella aineisto kattoi Suomen suuriruhtinaskunnan alueen pohjoisosaa lukuun ottamatta. Suomen alue jaettiin karkeasti kuuteen osaan: Lounais-Suomi (keskuksena Turku), Etelä-Suomi (keskuksena Helsinki), Länsi-Suomi (pääasiallisesti Pohjanmaan alue), sisämaan alueet (laaja alue kattaen useita kaupunkeja), itäinen Suomi ja Kaakkois-Suomi (käytännössä Viipurin lääni). Aluejako noudattelee osittain vuoden 1831 läänijakoa, mutta läänirajojen seuraaminen ei ole ollut kaikilta osin mahdollista tai tarkoituksenmukaista. Tulokset heijastelevat taloudellisen toiminnan selkeää painottumista tiheimmin asutuille seuduille, mutta käytetyn aineiston perusteella on syytä välttää liian pitkälle meneviä päätelmiä. Kaupungeista Turku ja Helsinki erottuivat selkeästi muista. Muiden kaupunkien näkyvyys oli huomattavasti vähäisempää eikä esimerkiksi voimakkaasti teollistuva Tampere erottunut muista kaupungeista. Todennäköisesti syynä tähän on kaupungin

vuonna 1821 saamat vapaakaupunkioikeudet, minkä takia kaupungin talouselämän edustajilla ei ollut tarvetta anoa erioikeuksia hallinnon ylätasolta formaalia vaikutuskanavaa käyttäen.

### **Yhteenveto**

Tutkimuksessa käytetty laaja aineisto osoittaa, että talouselämän edustajat käyttivät anomuksia ja valituksia aktiivisesti hyväkseen pyrkiessään vaikuttamaan ylimpiin päätöksentekijöihin taloudellisissa kysymyksissä. Anomusten ja valitusten määrä ja niiden aiheet osoittavat, että ne koettiin tärkeinä vaikuttamiskeinoina. Taloudelliseen eliittiin kuuluneiden toimijoiden lisäksi myös pienimuotoisempaa taloudellista toimintaa harjoittaneet henkilöt saivat anomusten ja valitusten avulla mahdollisuuden puolustaa omia etujaan esimerkiksi kilpailutilanteissa. Se, että tutkimus kattaa useiden eri ammatti- ja sosiaaliryhmien edustajia, naisia ja ulkomaalaistaustaisia toimijoita, jotka harjoittivat sekä pienemmän mittakaavan taloudellista toimintaa että suurteollisuutta niin kaupungeissa kuin maaseudullakin, toisaalta hajottaa kokonaiskuvaa mutta toisaalta tuo myös esille seikkoja, joita aiemmassa tutkimuksessa ei ole tavoitettu. Taloudelliseen toimintaan liittyneiden anomuksien ja valitusten sekä kahden talouskysymyksiä käsitelleen komitean toimintaan liittyvien aineistojen avulla voidaan havainnoida muun muassa sitä millaisia vaikutuksia vuoden 1809 tapahtumilla oli liike-elämän edustajien ja valtion välisiin suhteisiin ja miten talouspolitiikan muutokset (erityisesti rauta- ja sahateollisuuden kohdalla) vaikuttivat taloudellisiin toimijoihin. Lisäksi aineisto mahdollistaa tiettyjen erityiskysymyksien kuten ulkomaalaistaustaisten taloudellisten toimijoiden ja naisten taloudellisten oikeuksien tarkastelun.

Anomusinstituution ja komitealaitoksen kautta voitiin joko kritisoida tai puolustaa vallitsevaa taloudellista järjestelmää – suhtautumiseen vaikutti toimijan oma asema ja tilanne. Esimerkkitapaukset osoittavat, että venäläiskauppias tai itäsuomalainen sahanomistaja saattoi ruotia talouspolitiikan epäkohtia voimakkain sanakääntein, kun taas kauppaprivilegioista hyötyvän kauppiaslaivanvarustajan näkökulma oli päinvastainen ja korosti jatkuvuuden merkitystä. Paikallistasolta nouseva kritiikki, joka kohdistui toimintaympäristön ja taloudellisen järjestelmän epäkohtiin, osoitti kuitenkin muutospaineiden läsnäolon. Talouselämää koskevan lainsäädännön laajemmat muutokset toteutettiin vasta 1850-luvun lopulta alkaen, Aleksanteri II liberaalien uudistusohjelmien ja taloudellisen kasvun siivittämisenä. Valtiopäivien kutsuminen koolle vuonna 1863 avasi mahdollisuudet yhteiskunnan ja talouden rakenteiden uudistamiselle.

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