KAPITTEL 7

Kin group and noble dynasty: A campaign between elite families in Jakobstad, Ostrobothnia

Tiina Miettinen
University of Tampere

Abstract: The story of Jakobstad and its changing power structure is also a story of the shades of feudalism and the landlords who tried to procure more influence in this Finnish town. The town of Jakobstad is located in Ostrobothnia, Finland, on the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia, part of the Baltic Sea. It was established in 1652 by Countess Ebba Brahe. I examine the town's two leading men and their families. The first, Henrik Tawast, was a bailiff of Countess Ebba Brahe's donated land. The other was Rasmus Påhlsson, a peasant freeholder and merchant. They tried to create their own kind of strong family dynasties, which also held leading positions in the town administration and trading business. Granted donations were problematic in terms of peasant freeholders' rights and independence. In theory, the power in towns should have been in the hands of the town council. The situation in Jakobstad was exceptional because it had been established on donation land. The town burghers and the town council in Jakobstad were not as independent as in other towns: they were subordinate to the donation administration. The power and supremacy in Jakobstad lay in the hands of Ebba Brahe, and she assigned the rights to her donation bailiff, Henrik Tawast. This patron-client relationship between Ebba Brahe and Tawast families is a key factor to understanding Jakobstad's confused administration in the 17th century. The town council was divided into two opposing forces: the Tawast family dynasty and Rasmus Påhlsson's large family network. Both struggled for pre-eminence in Jakobstad at the end of 17th century. After the Great Reduction of 1680, the Tawast family lost its power in Jakobstad, but its members found their way into high-ranking positions in both the military and the civil service.

Keywords: family, dynasty, trade, donation, burgher

Citation: Miettinen, T. (2022). Kin group and noble dynasty: A campaign between elite families in Jakobstad, Ostrobothnia. In K. Dørum (ed.), *Hvem styrte byene? Nordisk byhistorie 1500–1800* (ch. 7, pp. 187–214). Cappelen Damm Akademisk. https://doi.org/10.23865/noasp.149.ch7

The struggle over Jakobstad

The town of Jakobstad (this is the Swedish name; it is known as *Pietarsaari* in Finnish) is located in Ostrobothnia, Finland, on the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia, part of the Baltic Sea. It was established in 1652 by Countess Ebba Brahe, whose husband, the military commander Count Jacob de la Gardie, died in the same year. In memory of her husband, she named the new town Jakobstad.[1]

Early studies have assumed that the town grew slowly between 1652 and 1693 because the authorities of the town scarcely promoted any growth. This was not the case, however, as development met bigger problems, such as contradictory proprietary rights. At the same time, there was a so-called donation land (*donationsjord*), a cavalry estate and a new town in the same coastal area.

In this article, I examine the town's two most prominent men and their families. The first, Henrik Tawast, was the bailiff of Countess Ebba Brahe's donated land. The other was Rasmus Påhlsson, a peasant freeholder and merchant. Both were burghers in Jakobstad who tried to create their own strong family dynasties and also held leading positions in the town administration and trading business. The town was ruled by the Swedish Crown, a warring monarchy that reorganised its regional and state administration with the help of the church and religion.[2]

Early modern dynasties

According to the old town laws, the power structure in all Swedish towns consisted of the town council and administrative council, which acted as both town court and administrative council.

1 The Finnish name is *Pietarsaari*, which is a direct translation of the Swedish name, Pedersöre. In this article, I have used the town's Swedish name, Jakobstad, because it says more about the town's history in terms of the de la Gardie donation. Both the Finnish and Swedish names are official.

2 Glete 2006, pp. 189–197.

Members of the town council governed the town administration but also administered the law. In theory, and according to the law, the power in towns should have been in the hands of the town council and independent burghers.[3] There were no exact orders in the town laws strictly determining the town councils obligations and rights, so every town had its own way of solving problems concerning administration and the law.[4] This ambiguous situation gave rise to wealthy burghers taking power into their own hands and dividing it up among their family members and allies. The town council and administration may have been in the hands of the local elite: one or two large family networks. In Jakobstad, the town council was divided into two opposing forces: the Tawast family dynasty and Rasmus Påhlsson's large family network.

Early modern Nordic families have usually been seen as paternal constructions. When we speak, for example, of the de la Gardies, the family was, strictly speaking, only headed by male members. Men seemed to be the heads of families and the family name and property passed through the male line. All documents, such as tax and church records, focused on nuclear families. The methods of recording supported inheritance and taxation, but also shaped the families behind the official records. Quite often researchers base their studies on printed genealogies and registers of noble families or families of note, and little thought is given to why these families presented the same 'noble', patrilineal-dominated view.

Michael Hecht has noted how both the terms 'genealogy' and 'dynasty' are closely linked. According to Hecht, one of the most important means of securing a dynasty is the 'historicisation of family and kinship relations'. The documentation and presentation of genealogies played an important role in showing how long a lineage stretched back to an ancient past. In this case, 'dynasties' were mostly formed on paper, not in reality.[5]

3 See Boone & Porfyriou 2007, pp. 227–240; Glete 2006, pp. 190–192.
4 Ranta 1981, pp. 75–77. Luukko 1987, 234.
5 Hecht 2019, pp. 145–146.

Two noble dynasties were descended from the Tawast burgher family in Ostrobothnia: the Tawaststjerna and the Tawastén. Both sprang from the same ancestral burgher, Henrik Tawast, the bailiff of Count Jacob de la Gardie's donation in Ostrobothnia. His two sons established 'dynastic branches'.[6] The father and the sons may have been aware of their role in creating future noble dynasties.[7] At the same time, they were individuals who gathered power in their own hands. They fought against competitors, trying to preserve their leading position in Jakobstad town's administration. Against them was the peasant freeholder and burgher Rasmus Påhlsson, who tried to maintain his position by trusting his family and creating a large family group consisting of relatives and allies. For him, the family was not a 'dynasty' but a flexible 'kin group' that could secure his power against all threats.[8]

Both Rasmus and Henrik – and their respective families – struggled for pre-eminence in Jakobstad: on one side were the invisible, large, kin groups of the peasant freeholder and on the other was the visible Tawast family, which started to shape itself into a lineal, noble family. Researching invisible kin groups in the early modern period is a challenging task. The only historical sources where it is possible to find common people are tax registers and court books. The genealogist Leo Nylund has compiled a register called 'Befolkningen I Jakobstad 1653–1714', which contains all of the available records he was able to find. He also organised all of the men and women into nuclear family groups, with references to ordinary court documents and tax registers. With the help of this register, it is possible to reconstruct not only family connections but also the burghers' contacts with one another, and even to rebuild their invisible kin groups which included also non-relatives.[9]

6 Elgenstierna 1925–1936; Branches Tawast (no 64), Tawastén (no 728), Tawastsjerna (no 1107).
7 See Crawford 2014, p. 115.
8 See also Hedlund 1980, pp. 135–136.
9 Nylund 1996.

The town map of Jakobstad from the year 1783.
Photo: J.-O. Hedman. The Jakobstad – Pietarsaari Museum. This illustration cannot be reused without permission.

Noble donations of Ostrobothnia

In early 17th century Sweden, mercantilism was the national economic policy. It was designed to maximise exports and minimise imports, and towns were divided into hinterland towns (*uppstäder*) and staple towns

(*stapelstäder*). Staple towns had rights to foreign trade, while hinterland towns were responsible for inland trade.[10] In 1606, King Carl IX issued a decree that denied peasants the right to engage in merchant shipping, which they had practised for generations. Peasant merchants had sailed all over the Baltic Sea, selling mostly furs, handicrafts and tar in coastal towns. Following the King's decree, 'peasant sailing' became an illegal business, although it still continued on a smaller scale.

Between 1580 and 1680, Sweden experienced a period of intensive town-building.[11] The coastal areas of Ostrobothnia had been without official towns, but in the 1600s, the King granted some harbours official trading rights and ordered merchants to settle in these legal harbours, where peasants from the inland could come to sell their wares. Between the years 1601–1650, five new towns were established in Ostrobothnia's coastal area: Uleåborg (1605), Vasa (1606), Gamlakarleby (1620), Nykarleby (1620), and Kristinestad (1649).[12]

One of the main reasons why the site of the future town Jakobstad was left without town rights may have been its remote location. Both Nykarleby and Gamlakarleby were situated on the mouths of rivers, and the riverbanks were well-populated. The inland riverbanks near Pedersöre, by contrast, were sparsely populated.[13] The Swedish Crown wanted to increase and develop tar production, and tar drums were easy to transport along rivers. Tar production had become increasingly important to the economy of Sweden, as the great sailing ships and merchant fleets of European countries needed vast quantities of tar, and many central European countries had already been deforested.[14]

In 1608, Pedersöre Parish and its harbour became part of a granted donation. During the 17th century, the Swedish Crown started to reward noblemen for their military service by giving them donations. Such donations gave them the right to gather taxes for themselves. Each donation was measured in terms of the peasant houses it contained, known as

10 Hedlund 1980, pp. 24–27; Jespersen 2000, p. 105; Lilja 1995, p. 65.
11 Jespersen 2000, p. 104. Jutikkala 1968, pp. 20–22.
12 The Finnish names are Oulu, Vaasa, Kokkola, Uusikaarlepyy, and Kristiinankaupunki.
13 Luukko 1987, p. 220.
14 Luukko 1987, p. 218.

mantal, which was an official measure of land in Sweden. The Swedish high nobility had been granted donations and earldoms, which were extremely important for their economic circumstances.[15]

As early as 1608, Karl IX donated a great regional area to his loyal servant, Field Marshal and Count Jacob de la Gardie. The land consisted of two large parishes in Ostrobothnia, Finland: Pedersöre and Nykarleby. In 1614, the total sum of land taxes was approximately 6000 *daler*, which the Crown counted as a salary to de la Gardie. Later, the Crown increased the donation by giving him more *mantal*s from Ilmola and Salo Parishes and some *mantals* from Lappo Parish.[16]

In the 1650s, the Swedish Crown started to grant earldoms (*grevskap*) in Ostrobothnia to men of high nobility, such as Count Gabriel Oxentierna, Count Klas Tott, Count Gustav Banér, Baron Karl Bonde and Baron Georg Pajkull.[17] All of these men were also members of the Privy Council in Sweden. Although Count de la Gardie's donation was not an earldom, it granted him the so-called Norrköpings Condition, meaning that the land property would be passed on patrilineally. This strengthened noble families and also shaped them into more linealstructures, which differed considerably from the Middle Ages, when influential elite families were large and group-like.[18]

In the 17th century, noble families became more like modern nuclear families, although in real life they still created unofficial groups with other noble families. However, the Crown still controlled the nobility through The House of the Nobility[19] and legal decrees which remodelled the nobility by dividing large and potentially threatening family groups into small, separate nuclear families. Noble families lived and died with the male line. Also donation rights under the Norrköping Condition favoured male heirs and lineal dynastic descendance. The Crown reorganised

15 Prytz 2013, pp. 10–12.

16 Jern 1977, pp. 82–83.

17 Jern 1977, pp. 83–84. Axel Oxenstierna 1651: Korsholm and Vasa (back to the Crown 1680), Klas Tott 1652: Karleborg (back to the Crown 1674), Göran Pajkull: Vörå 1651 (back to the Crown 1674), Karl Bonde: Laihela 1651 (back to the Crown 1675), Gustav Baner: Karleby 1651 (back to the Crown 1675).

18 Crouch 2002, pp. 18–25.

19 The House of Nobility (Riddarhuset) is a palace and an organization for the nobles in Sweden.

not only the state administration, but also households and families. The Swedish House of the Nobility was established in 1626, and noble families and dynasties became more organised: a noble family had to have a coat of arms and a permanent surname. The noble line was passed through the males, and without sons, the noble family died.

Ebba Brahe's Jakobstad

Some possessors of Swedish earldoms even had the right to establish towns on their land, but none of them took advantage of this. The noble landowners lived in Sweden and seldom visited their donations in Finland. Count de la Gardie travelled to Pedersöre once, in 1615, and stayed overnight at Pedersöre Parsonage.[20] His widow, Ebba Brahe, never visited Jakobstad, the town she established. This meant that hired bailiffs and other employees supervised the implementation of the noble master's rights and collected taxes. The peasants and burghers who lived on donated estates tried to find a balance between these two administrations, namely the Swedish Crown and the donation's civil servants, who represented their noble landlords.

In 1627, Jacob de la Gardie nominated Burgher Henrik Tawast to the position of bailiff or headman (*Hauptmann*) in his Ostrobothnia donation. Henrik's duty was to administer his master's benefits and organise tax collection on the donation land with the help of hired servants. Tawast himself belonged to a well-known merchant family and he had been an esteemed burgher in Turku. The nomination gave him more opportunities and a well-paid position in Ostrobothnia. The so-called patron-client relationship between the de la Gardie and Tawast families is a key factor to understanding Jakobstad's confused administration in the 17th century.

Granted donations were problematic in terms of peasant freeholders' rights and independence.[21] Donation land and its administration cast a shadow from the ancient feudal system over the local inhabitants. It

20 Luukko 1987, pp. 555–556.
21 Jutikkala 1968, pp. 21–23; Prytz 2013, p. 23.

also affected the Jakobstad town council and regional administration between 1652 and 1682. Although feudalism was still a feature of 17th century Swedish society, it was not as pronounced as in central Europe at the same time.[22]

The noble elite created a patron-client system that helped to rule their large donations.[23] Patrons like Count Jacob de la Gardie selected educated lower class men as his servants (clients) and helped them achieve their own ambitions. Clients like Henrik Tawast offered loyalty and kept the patron aware of all the information that he (or she in the case of Ebba Brahe) needed. Over the course of two generations, Henrik Tawast and his sons formed a strong connection with both the Brahe and the de la Gardie families. A good example of this loyalty is given by the young Henrik Henriksson Tawast, who dedicated his dissertation first to Count Jacob de la Gardie and also to Count Per Brahe, who hired him to serve at the Royal Chancellery.[24] Ultimately, this loyalty was rewarded with titles of nobility, which may have been the greatest ambition of all educated clients.

In 1652, Queen Christina revised Count Jacob de la Gardie's donation, including his rights to town privileges. Jacob de la Gardie became the only high nobleman who realised his right to establish a town on his donation. The Count died unexpectedly, but his widow, Countess Ebba Brahe, put the plan into practice. In 1652, she established a new town, which she named after her late husband: Jakobstad.

The situation in the new town was exceptional because it had been established on donation land. The town burghers and the town council in Jakobstad were not as independent as in other towns: they were subordinate to the donation administration. Therefore, the power and supremacy in Jakobstad lay in the hands of Ebba Brahe, and she assigned the rights to her donation bailiff, Henrik Tawast, who had her permission to organise the town administration.[25] This very clearly meant that authority in

22 Hallenberg & Linnarsson 2014, p. 70.
23 Coster 2002, pp. 144–161; Glete 2006, p. 199; Hakanen 2011, p. 15; Lindström & Norrhem 2013, pp. 165–167.
24 Hakanen 2011, p. 81.
25 Luukko 1987, pp. 222, 237; Söderhjelm 1907, pp. 125–126.

the Jakobstad administration remained in the hands of the donation lord or, in this case, in the hands of the donation lady. A good example was the election of the burgomaster. According to the old town laws, members of town council had the right to freely choose their burgomaster and other civil servants, but in Jakobstad, it was Donation Bailiff Henrik Tawast who nominated his close relative, Jacob Munselius, as burgomaster of the town.[26]

Countess Ebba Brahe (1596-1674), a founder of the Jakobstad town.
Photo: Nationalmuseum Sweden. Wikimedia Sverige. Public domain.

26 Söderhjelm 1907, p. 136.

According to the population register, Jakobstad consisted of only 36 households in 1653, and 32 men received burgher's rights.[27] In the following decade, the situation did not change much, although the population grew. In 1669, Jakobstad was comprised of 63 households, almost twice as many as in 1653.[28] Jakobstad had not developed as much as the Crown had hoped. But in 1693, Jakobstad's own town council decided that the burghers and craftsmen should number 90, because the 'town could not give a livelihood to more of them'.[29] Jakobstad was a typical small Scandinavian town. The people's economic base was the same as in Sweden and Norway: the export trade, shipping, and the so-called peasant trade.[30]

The burghers in Jakobstad can be divided into three groups. Most of them, like Rasmus Påhlsson, were descended from peasant freeholder families. Some of the new burghers came to Jakobstad from Sweden, like Elias Gavelius, Jonas Westman and Hans Karlsson. In addition, some civil servants, like the burgomasters of the town, had Swedish backgrounds; they had been nominated by the de la Gardie family.

In 1670, Count Magnus de la Gardie nominated his client Magnus Andersson Friis as burgomaster of Jakobstad. The burghers rose up against him, mostly because he stayed for a long time in Stockholm and did not maintain his office in Jakobstad. The burghers sent complaints to Countess Ebba Brahe. These included a letter noting also that the burgomaster had nominated Jonas Westman as the town council, even though Westman 'was only a tailor, not even an official burgher'.[31] Finally, Ebba Brahe nominated Bailiff Erik Tawast to substitute for burgomaster Friis.[32]

Swedish-born burgomaster Per Larsson Alm also stayed for long periods in Sweden during his term as burgomaster. After their careers in Jakobstad, both Friis and Alm worked in different official positions on other donation lands in Ostrobothnia. Many burghers and civil

27 Kansallisarkisto (NA, National Archives of Finland), Jakobstad, population register (*mantlaslängd*) 1653 (9136: 265–266), Luukko 1987, p. 225.
28 NA Jakobstad, population register 1669 (9155: 624–626).
29 Luukko 1987, p. 225.
30 Eliassen 1995, p. 38.
31 Nylund 1996, pp. 76–77.
32 Söderhjelm 1907, p. 171.

servants left Jakobstad and found their way to other towns that offered more opportunities and higher offices. One reason for the town's high level of migration may have been the continuous difficulties and conflicts between the donation administration and the town administration. It generated a lot of complaints and long-lasting quarrels between the burghers, complicating the town's normal life, development and trade.

There was a third group of burghers. They were Finnish-speaking merchants, who moved to the town from inner parts of Finland. Some of them, like Per Viinikainen, came from Tavastia (*Häme* in Finnish) and others, like Matts Gumse, came from Savonia (*Savo* in Finnish). The situation was the same in all new towns in Ostrobothnia: the inhabitants from the inland areas started to move to coastal towns in the 1640s. The main reason was the growth in tar production, which had quickly risen to become the most important product in Jakobstad. The biggest difference between Jakobstad and the other towns in Ostrobothnia was the fact that in Jakobstad there were no burghers with German or Scottish backgrounds like there were in Uleåborg and Vasa.[33]

On the whole, the most crucial dividing factors between the burghers were wealth and rank: the wealthiest burghers created an inner circle in the town, which also ruled the town council. In Vasa, for example, both the export and import trade were in the hands of 15 burghers, and four of them were many times richer than the others.[34] The leading elite groups of Jakobstad consisted of the 11 richest burghers. However, five of them rose above the others: Rasmus Påhlsson, Erik Tawast, Elias Gavelius, Hans Karlsson and Erik Helsing. The most influential were Rasmus Påhlsson and Erik Tawast. The other burghers gathered around the two leading men, who were the 'personification of opposite forces'. Backing Erik Tawast was Countess Ebba Brahe, the civil servants of the donation and the local clergymen, whereas the 'peasant sailor burgher' Rasmus Påhlsson leaned on his own kin group and united with the other wealthy burghers of Jakobstad.

33 Luukko 1987, p. 229–232; Ranta 1981, pp. 62–63.

34 Luukko 1987, p. 231; Ranta 1981, p. 64. See also Calabi & Keene 2007, p. 286.

Basically, the power structure in the town consisted of only five men: burgomaster Jacob Munselius; Donation Bailiff Erik Tawast, a relative of Munselius; the shipowner Påhl Kröger; the town's richest burgher, Rasmus Påhlsson; and Påhlsson's adult son, Carl. All five men were members of the town council.[35] Around them gathered the other wealthiest merchants, who tried to balance themselves between Erik Tawast and Rasmus Påhlsson.

The wealthiest merchants of Jakobstad.[36] Tar was the most important export product. The burghers were granted shares in the town's calculated tar quota between 1665 and 1666, which had been ordered by the Swedish Tar Company (unit of weight: one *skeppslest* was 2,448 kg). The total quota for Jakobstad varied between 200 and 295 *skepplest*.

Name	Moved from Jakobstad	Share of tar quota (skepplest)	Position
Rasmus Påhlsson (with his son Carl)	Pedersöre	60	Member of the town council
Erik Henriksson Tawast	Turku	50	Donation Bailiff
Elias Eliasson Gavelius	Gävle	45	Leader of Jakobstad dockyard
Hans Karlsson	Pedersöre	30	
Erik Bertilsson Helsing	West Bothnia	30	Member of the town council
Jonas Eriksson Westman	Västmanland	15	Member of the town council
Påhl Eriksson	Pedersöre	10	Member of the town council
Per Mickelsson Viinikainen	Tavastia	5	
Anders Rasmusson Couragie	Pedersöre	5	
Erik Mattson Herman	Nykarleby	4	
Påhl Hansson Skutnäs	Pedersöre	3	Member of the town council

Jakobstad's development between 1652 and 1682 was so slow that in 1680 Carl XI gave an order to cancel Jakobstad's town rights, demanding that the burghers move to other coastal towns.[37] Furthermore, representatives from the nearest towns – Uleåborg, Gamlakarleby and

35 Söderhjelm 1907, p. 147.
36 Nylund 1996, pp. 330, 62, 44, 97, 52, 172, 317, 305, 30, 67, 319.
37 Luukko 1987, p. 223.

Nykarleby – applied to the *Riksdag* of the Estates to 'demolish' both Jakobstad and Brahestad, because both were 'useless' in their opinion. Brahestad and Jakobstad had the same kind of background, being in the hands of the nobility, which probably explained why both had such slow development before the Great Reduction of 1680.[38]

Other coastal towns also blamed the burghers of Jakobstad for disturbing business in bigger towns by trying to trade outside their own area. The King's order was rescinded because the Governor of Ostrobothnia Province defended Jakobstad's town rights. Armas Luukko has concluded that Jakobstad's remarkably slow growth was mostly the result of competition between other towns and the strict Trade Restraint of the Gulf of Bothnia.[39] While this is true, the burghers in Jakobstad also had to balance their rights as burghers with the donation orders.

The town's first years were complex and exceptional compared to other towns in the same coastal area. Soon after the town was established, the burghers encountered a serious problem. Usually the Swedish Crown donated the surrounding areas to new towns.[40] Small towns in Sweden and Finland were mostly 'rural' – more like villages – and dependent on cattle-breeding and other forms of agriculture.[41] Townspeople in the 17th century were entirely economically dependent on the surrounding countryside: their cattle needed meadows and the people needed grain and milk – but the people in Jakobstad did not have the right to use the surrounding lands, and the Crown had no right to grant them, nor did Ebba Brahe.[42]

An unresolved problem centred on an old and almost ruined cavalry estate called *Pinnonäs*. From a legal viewpoint, the cavalry estate owned the ground where the burghers had built their town houses. Technically, the old cavalry estate did not belong to de la Gardie's donation; according to the law, cavalry estates were independent because the owner equipped a man and a horse for military service. It was against the law

38 The largest fiefs in the Swedish realm were recaptured to the Crown by the decision of the Diet in 1680. This project is called in history books as the Great Reduction of 1680.
39 Luukko 1987, p. 223.
40 Ranta 1981, pp. 58–60.
41 Hedlund 1980, p. 7; Lilja 1995, p. 60.
42 Cowan & Keene 2007, pp. 197–206; Eliassen 1995, pp. 38–39; Luukko 1987, p. 233.

to donate cavalry estates. The estate's owner in the 1650s was Anders Jönsson Utterclo, a rich burgher from Stockholm. Although he lived in Stockholm, he owned the fields surrounding Jakobstad, including the ground on which the town had been built. According to the old City Law (*Stadslagen*), which governed life in all cities in Sweden until 1734, towns were independent.

The situation was profitable from Utterclo's viewpoint: he could extract money from the townspeople. The *Pinnonäs* Estate owned fields and meadows, as well as a mill and many islands with fishing rights. Despite this, the estate and its fields had gone to rack and ruin, but people did not have the right to use them without paying high rents.

The situation was difficult to resolve: Ebba Brahe had been given the right to establish Jakobstad but the owner of *Pinnonäs* had his own proprietary right to the estate and surrounding areas.[43] Anders Jönsson Utterclo had not maintained *Pinnonäs* or ensured its cultivation but he had taken care of his rights, and he strongly opposed Jakobstad's burghers when they tried to obtain the right to use the surrounding areas. A clash between the burghers and Anders Utterclo was to be expected. Two burghers, Rasmus Påhlsson and Pål Kröger, tried to solve the problem by negotiating between Ebba Brahe and Anders Utterclo. They did not have the Countess' unqualified approval because she had her own plans for the old estate: she was in fact their competitor, as she wanted the estate for herself![44]

This complicated situation had reached a stalemate: the town could not grow unless the land ownership issue was resolved. The burghers sent a letter direct to Countess Ebba Brahe and her son Magnus de la Gardie. They asked for advice and begged for protection, explaining how they needed the surrounding fields for their cattle to graze. They also justified their petition with the old Swedish town laws. Neither Ebba Brahe nor her son gave any concrete advice. Later, Ebba Brahe withdrew her plans to establish a manor and offered help and support to the town council if they bought the cavalry estate for the town.[45] The members of the town council

43 Söderhjelm 1907, pp. 150–151.
44 Söderhjelm 1907, p. 151.
45 Söderhjelm 1907, pp. 151–152.

had no other choice than to buy the ruined estate from Anders Jönsson Utterclo. The main problem was money: Anders Utterclo was well aware of the importance of his estate for the town's economic development. On the other hand, he had no other offers, because the Countess was no longer interested in *Pinnonäs*. She had taken the side of the Jakobstad burghers, which may have been a crucial turning point.[46]

Finally, in 1661, Utterclo agreed to the town councils offer and sold his estate for 2,200 daler, a huge sum. The town council of Jakobstad accepted his offer and they turned to the town's wealthiest burgher, Rasmus Påhlsson, who agreed to loan his own money to the town council. In 1659, the *Pinnonäs* Estate passed into the hands of the Jakobstad burghers. As a result of this, the town gained more freedom and opportunities to develop its trade, but the burghers also became indebted to Rasmus Påhlsson.

Although the burghers had at last gained the lands surrounding the town, the issue of how to deal with the property divided the community deeply for decades.[47] Long-lasting disagreements between the burghers resulted in difficult court cases, connecting pride, honour and defamation of character, which was a typical phenomenon in the early modern period and also affected the administration.[48]

Strong dynasty or invisible kin group?

In Jakobstad, two families struggled for power and both tried to build family networks to support their goal. Their aim was the same: authority in Jakobstad. In creating a dynasty, belonging to the client system was important. The headman of the donation, Burgher Henrik Tawast, educated his three sons and they obtained suitable offices and married suitable women, which enlarged the social network. Marriage also connected the Tawast family to many other wealthy families that held ecclesiastical and judicial positions.[49]

46 Söderhjelm 1907, pp. 154–155.
47 Söderhjelm 1907 pp. 160–165.
48 Bondensten 2013, pp. 130–135.
49 See also Hedlund 1980, pp. 128–132.

One of Henrik's sons, Johan Henriksson Tawast, became a priest and was nominated as Chaplain of Pedersöre Parish. He married Anna Eriksdotter, whose mother was Elisabet Fordell, a descendant of the family who had owned the *Pinnonäs* Estate in the 16th century. The connection to the Fordell family gave Henrik social capital with the clergy and civil servants in Ostrobothnia. Henrik Tawast's third son, Henrik Henriksson Tawast, was nominated as a senior judge, and he made close contacts in Stockholm with the help of his patron, Per Brahe. In 1664, Henrik Henriksson Tawast was even ennobled, which reaffirmed the Tawast family's status also in Jakobstad.[50]

Henrik's eldest son, Erik Henriksson Tawast, was nominated as District Bailiff of the Ostrobothnia judicial District in 1651. He also remained a burgher in Jakobstad. Erik Tawast was nominated to the Jakobstad town council, and he was often chairman in the town court. In 1673, Ebba Brahe nominated him as the interim burgomaster of Jakobstad. Erik Henriksson Tawast first married Beata Johansdotter Pictoria, the daughter of a vicar and dean of Kemi Parish. His second wife was Maria, a daughter of Erik Rosendahl, the assistant judge of Turku Court of Appeal.

The balance of power in Jakobstad changed radically when Henrik Tawast died in 1664 and his son Erik Tawast inherited his father's position as donation bailiff. Erik Tawast now had two different roles: he was headman and bailiff of Ebba Brahe's donation and one of the wealthiest burghers in Jakobstad. It was the other burghers' firm opinion that he took full advantage of his position and acted shamelessly. As a bailiff, Erik Tawast had the right to collect customs duties for himself, collecting these from peasants at the town gates when they came to sell goods to the town burghers. In the 17th century, the Crown had privatised customs duties and leased them to men like Erik Tawast. To the burghers, this privilege was one of the most problematic issues, and over the decades, it started to arouse increasingly stronger protests in Sweden.[51]

Burgher Rasmus Påhlsson did not create a strong and noble family dynasty like Henrik Tawast. To Rasmus, the meaning of 'dynasty' may

50 Hakanen 2011, p. 81.
51 Hallenberg & Linnarsson 2013, pp. 66–67.

have been closer to 'kin' or 'clan': a strong and flexible network consisting of loyal family members.[52] The word 'family' meant a large household with servants, but even more, he had gathered together a group of loyal people, who may or may not have descended from the same ancestor. His 'clan' consisted of people with the same aim: to develop Jakobstad and its trade.

Rasmus Påhlsson more closely represented an old-fashioned peasant freeholder than a town burgher. He was like the 16th century merchants, northern *birkmen*, who had organised wholesale trading without middlemen, town burghers or the nobility. Rasmus Påhlsson practised peasant sailing and had created his own business network with the inland peasants. He built ships in Jakobstad and, later in 1674, he established the first known sawmill in the coastal area and operated a large-scale tobacco and tar trade with the other burghers.[53]

With his wife, Brita Staffansdotter, Rasmus had a son, Carl, and daughter, Lisa. He worked together with his son and they shared the same tar quota. Just as in the Tawast family, Karl succeeded his father. Karl Rasmusson was nominated in 1655 as a member of the Jakobstad town council. His sister's husband was Burgher Hans Abbor and they had three children: Karin, Karl and Rasmus.

The priority for all early modern people was to create secure networks against poverty and hunger. Male heirs had a high profile, but in the background of families or kin groups were daughters, wives, sisters and aunts, who planned marriages and kept up contacts across the larger kin group. Julia Adams has used the term 'familial state' in her research on Dutch families and administration and, in the same sense, towns like Jakobstad were 'familial towns'.[54]

The important, even crucial role of women is highlighted by a case from Rasmus Påhlsson's own family circle, when his son and business partner Karl suddenly died without issue in 1668. His grandson, Rasmus Hansson Abbor, was nominated in 1674 as a member of the town council. His other grandson, Karl Hansson Abbor, died young in 1669, but left

52 More about spiritual kinship, see Coster 2002, pp. 144–161.
53 Nylund 1996, p. 330.
54 See Adams 2005; Hedlund 1980, pp. 123–136; Välimäki 2013 pp. 191–204.

a son, Rasmus. Like the Tawast family, the Påhlssons tried to secure a future for their descendants. After his wife died in 1671, Rasmus Påhlsson planned a new marriage, hoping to produce more children. His fiancée was the maidservant, Gertrud Larsdotter, who had served in his house. The people in town – and his own family – did not completely accept Rasmus Påhlsson's marriage plans. There were rumours in town that Gertrud had an illegal child who she had murdered.[55] The rumours seemed to be one way to shake Rasmus Påhlsson's authority; by questioning the honour of his fiancée, the whole family and its reputation were also under question.[56] In 1675, the Court of Appeal acquitted Gertrud of all charges.[57] She was now over 40 years old and the couple did not have any children, which may have been the intention of Rasmus' closest heirs.

Henrik Tawast's ambitions were directed towards higher positions, and he did not trade exclusively in Jakobstad like Rasmus Påhlsson did. Rasmus created his own network more in the present than the past, trusting that a living kin group with allies could hold its position among other burghers and within the town administration. This kind of invisible and flexible kin group became stronger than the dynasty of the Tawasts, at least if judged by the standard of holding positions in Jakobstad's administration.

Victory or defeat?

After Ebba Brahe's death in 1675, Erik Tawast's position in Jakobstad changed dramatically. He was left alone without strong supporters. His own family – or dynasty – had spread out from Jakobstad. Only his brother, Johan Tawast, a vicar, remained near Jakobstad. Both brothers had been in a long struggle against the Jakobstad burghers. Erik Tawast and the burghers had worked together only when the threat came from outside the town, for example, when the other towns demanded that Jakobstad's town rights should be taken away or when dealing with the estate owner Anders Jönsson Utterclo.

55 NA Jakobstad town council 26 May 1669: 42–43.
56 Bondensten 2013, pp. 134–136; Wallenberg Bondesson 1997, p. 125.
57 NA Jakobstad town council 7 March 1674: 8–10.

After Rasmus Påhlsson's death in 1679, Erik Tawast's most hostile enemy in Jakobstad was the burgomaster, Per Larsson Alm, who had moved from Sweden to Jakobstad in 1673. It is said that Alm and Tawast had some old resentments, which influenced their relationship in Jakobstad. It was no surprise that Rasmus Påhlsson's closest family allied with the burgomaster. However, Erik Tawast had supporters among the lower class burghers, like the members of the town council. Kristian Henriksson and Mickel Markusson. Mickel worked as a customs scribe under Erik Tawast. He was the stepfather of Rasmus Karlsson Abbor, and he tried to find some balance between Erik Tawast and his own kin group. In truth, he had quarrels over inheritance with Rasmus Påhlsson. Burgher Kristian Henriksson was a childless man, and he may have seen Erik Tawast as a kind of patron.[58]

Erik Tawast tried to continue his high-handed style in the town administration after Ebba Brahe's death in 1675, but the burghers realised that the situation had changed dramatically. The demands of the Great Reduction had grown over time. Erik Tawast had stayed apart from the burghers, while the other burghers may have even discriminated against Erik Tawast because of his close relationships with the nobility and his status as the richest man in town. They accused him of arrogance, reporting that he had called their children 'miserable, cheeky young brats'.[59] Some of their complaints sound exaggerated but they reveal how isolated Erik Tawast was after Ebba Brahe's death in 1675.

Almost immediately after Ebba Brahe's death, the town council and burghers brought Erik Tawast to court. Now it was time to get justice against him and take revenge. The burghers sent their complaints about Tawast's activities to the Swedish Parliament. First, they noted that Tawast possessed his own tavern outside Jakobstad for which he was not paying anything to the town as he should have been.[60] In this case, opposing Tawast were his old enemies, burgomaster Per Larsson Alm and Burgher Påhl Eriksson, Rasmus Påhlsson's brother-in-law. Påhl Eriksson's son Erik also worked under burgomaster Alm, and he was later nominated as

58 Nylund 1996, pp. 255, 330; Söderhjelm 1907, p. 177.
59 Söderhjelm 1907, p. 323.
60 Söderhjelm 1907, pp. 316–317.

the town's secretary.[61] Rasmus Påhlsson's large kin group still held positions of power in Jakobstad.

Erik Tawast had engaged in large-scale trading in the countryside without paying any customs duties and he sold all his products in rural areas, even though trade was only supposed to take place in town.[62] In their letter, the burghers also related how Erik Tawast took six *öre* for himself from every tar account transported from the town, explaining that it belonged to him because he was the official tar inspector. The burghers had become increasingly frustrated with the tar trade, as Erik Tawast had taken a large share of the ordered tar quota that the trading company had imposed on Jakobstad.

After 1674, Erik Tawast and his family gradually lost their struggle for supremacy in Jakobstad. One reason was Ebba Brahe's death, but another was the Great Reduction of 1680, when the Swedish nobility started to lose its power base. The Reduction had an enormous effect on the economy and status of the nobility, and not only on them but also on skilful social climbers like Erik Tawast, who had used his position too ruthlessly. Countess Ebba Brahe's donations returned to the Crown after her death in 1674. Erik Tawast was nominated in 1680 as a district judge of Northern Ostrobothnia. The Swedish Crown rewarded Erik Tawast for his career by ennobling him in 1686. He took the new noble surname of Tawaststjerna.

A noble title and a new position did not save Erik Tawast from economic catastrophe. The Crown started to research his financial mismanagement, which included the handling of customs duties. In 1690, there came an even more serious setback: the governor gave orders that all Erik Tawast's personal property should be confiscate immediately because Erik was indebted to the Crown for outstanding customs duties, which he had for many years illegally gathered for himself. His property and lands were put up for sale in Jakobstad, as was his town house a little later.[63] Meeting the same fate was one of his main supporters, the other donation bailiff, Sven Mårtensson Brocchius, who had married Erik Tawast's niece. Brocchius lost his property in 1691 in the same manner as Erik Tawast:

61 Nylund 1996, pp. 78, 317.
62 Söderhjelm 1907, p. 241.
63 Nylund 1996, pp. 62, 343.

the Crown demanded that both men pay back their customs duty debts. Both men ended up in the debt recovery procedure.[64]

Tawast's carefully built dynasty vanished from Jakobstad but, after several generations, it began to flourish in other parts of Sweden. His only son, Pontus Jacob Tawaststjerna had a career as a district judge in Northern Ostrobothnia after his father, and later also in the Savonia region. They may have lost the struggle for power in the local administration of Jakobstad but the descendants found their way into higher positions in the state administration. The Tawaststjerna family succeeded well in rapidly rising socially from wealthy merchants to the nobility. Their descendants served the Swedish Crown in the following centuries but in Jakobstad, all leading positions remained with Rasmus Påhlsson's invisible kin group. In the context of the Tawaststjerna noble family history, Jakobstad had been only a stepping stone to a higher rank. In a way, Erik Tawast lost his campaign and position in Jakobstad to Rasmus Påhlsson's surnameless kin group.

In early 18th century documents from Jakobstad, it is clear that five of the burghers were the richest: Henrik Raj, Anders Granroth, Rasmus Hansson Abbor, Rasmus Westman and Erik Johansson Bäck. It may seem that the new men had taken the place of the old families. Looking more closely into this group, this was not the whole truth. All of them belonged to the same kin group, which was connected to Rasmus Påhlsson. Burgher Henrik Raj's wife, Brita, was a sister of Anders Granroth, and his other sister, Anna, was the wife of Rasmus Hansson Abbor, whose sister, Karin Hansdotter, was the mother of Burgher Rasmus Westman. Erik Johansson Bäck was the son-in-law of Karin Hansdotter Abbor, the sister of Rasmus Hansson Abbor. It may sound confusing, but it was clear to them that they were relatives.

As seen, Rasmus Påhlsson's flexible and almost invisible dynastic kin group proved stronger than Henrik Tawast's family, although the latter man's two sons rose to the nobility. Nevertheless, all kinds of kin groups and dynasties were fated to disappear or even take on a new form. This truth also touched Rasmus's descendants. During the Great Northern

64 Söderhjelm 1907, pp. 313–320.

War of 1700–1721, Russian soldiers occupied Finland and burned down Jakobstad Town. People fled from the town and Russian soldiers killed some burghers, like Rasmus Hansson Abbor. The Ostrobothnia region suffered badly during the era of Russian domination. Under these circumstances, it was difficult to see any kind of continuity in the Jakobstad elite families between the two centuries. In 1758, only 12 merchants lived in Jakobstad, but no official burghers.[65] However, this almost ruined town started to develop surprisingly intensively in the late 18th century, during the Age of Liberty.

Usually the young men who came to town chose their wives from local burgher families. It gave them both social capital and strong ties to the town's inner circle. Marriage also helped them to gain legal rights for trading. Free business activities were not permitted and the burghers cherished their trading businesses.[66] Through marriage, old burgher families gained competent new members, who left their surnames in the town's written history. Finnish burghers' hereditary surnames started to stabilise as late as the 18th century. This is one reason why merchant dynasties became more visible in the 18th century. Rasmus Påhlsson's descendants did not have a stable surname but during the 17th century, the first name 'Rasmus' sustained the memory of the kin group's common ancestor and bound the connections between the kin group's past and present.

At the end of the 18th century, a well-known family in Jakobstad started to use the surname Malm. Niclas Malm moved to Jakobstad from Nykarleby in 1749 and married Maria Nyman, a daughter of Burgher Matts Nyman. After the Great Northern War, there were only a few left who were descended from Jakobstad's 17th century families and Matts Nyman was one of them. Niclas Malm, who started his trading business in 1766, became a ship-owner and established ironworks, sawmills and a tobacco factory. In the 18th century, the Malm family's commercial activities established it as one of the wealthiest families in Finland.[67] The background of their success was Jakobstad's older history, including the almost vanished strong kin groups, like Rasmus Påhlsson's 'dynasty',

65 Björkman 1917, pp. 31–32.
66 Keskinen 2012, pp. 83–86, 94–99; Stadin 2004, pp. 218–225.
67 Bergholm 1901, pp. 834–838; Björkman 1918, pp. 49–51.

which had also more or less successfully developed their home town's trade and administration.

Authority in an early modern donation town

Jakobstad's coat of arms still marks the town's history as part of a 17th century donation. The present-day coat of arms is a direct adaptation of that of the de la Gardie family. Jakobstad has an exceptional past, and the town and its power structure were deeply influenced in many ways by the complex history of both the 17th and 18th centuries. In its first decades, development in Jakobstad was remarkably slow and problematic, which was strongly connected to its situation as a part of a donation land and, on the other hand, a part of an old cavalry estate. Another reason was the power struggle between the donation bailiff and the burghers. In other words, power in Jakobstad had accumulated with two men: Bailiff Erik Tawast and Rasmus Påhlsson. Tawast represented the donation administration and Rasmus Påhsson tried to break away from it.

The powerful and leading Tawast dynasty and de la Gardies had their weaknesses. Lineal dynasties stayed strong only if they did not meet deep economic or political crises. In this case, the lineal structure worked as long as they had stronger supporters. After the Great Reduction of 1680, the Tawast family lost its power in Jakobstad but its members found their way into high positions in both the military and the civil service. The Tawast dynasty was not as flexible as Rasmus Påhlsson's kin dynasty, which survived better to the end of the 17th century and held leading positions in the town administration. In Sweden and Finland, lower-class people established strong kin groups to protect individuals. Strong family and kin networks were the only security against economic crises and poverty. They also adapted to the changing situations in the state administration.

Lower-class families were invisible in early modern Sweden and Finland when it comes to source materials, which consist mostly of tax records and church registers where families are marked by male lineal

constructions and as nuclear families. Every household created its own unit and the leader was master. On the documentary level, everyone else lived under his control. The rules of the noble families shaped the model by which all people were supposed to organise themselves, with the inner circle consisting of parents and their children. Behind this paperwork was the real world, where people lived and tried to survive from day to day, establishing relationships and allying with each other.

The burghers in Jakobstad were not a nameless mass as it appears in the scattered documents from the 17th century. They were intertwined in a lively network. The wealthiest of them, like Rasmus Påhlsson and his closest relatives, created a large and strong, invisible 'kinship group', which had the same intentions as the more visible Tawast family, which seemed to trust the de la Gardie noble family more than other people in Jakobstad Town.

In the 18th century, the five richest burghers in Jakobstad were all in one way or another connected to the same old kin group, which was based round Rasmus Påhlsson and his family circle. This tells us that this 'invisible dynasty' survived as a winner during all the struggles for power in the Jakobstad administration. By contrast, the powerful bailiff Erik Tawast was left isolated, and he lost his control and power over the town administration forever after the Great Reduction in 1680. At the end of the 17th century, Jakobstad became more like other towns. The power structure in all towns started to develop in a different way.

The story of Jakobstad and its changing power structure is also a story of the shades of feudalism and landlords who tried to procure more influence in this Finnish town. Some of the burghers, like the Tawast family, chose a way to benefit from the high nobility and took a chance when offered opportunities to serve them. Their prize was ennoblement. Other burghers, like Rasmus Påhlsson, trusted the old Swedish laws and learned to struggle against the powerful nobility, not with fits of rage and weapons, but by means of writing many letters of complaint and through negotiations as seemingly humble servants with their 'most honoured milady', Countess Ebba Brahe. Their prize was long-term stability in the Jakobstad administration and a successful trading business.

National Archives of Finland. NA (Finland)

Population register of Jakobstad 1653, 1669 (9136: 265–266, 9155: 624–626). Digital archives.

Protocols of Jakobstad Town Council 26.5.1669, 7.3.1674. Digital archives.

Bibliography

Adams, J. (2005): *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Bergholm, A. (1901): *Sukukirja: Suomen aatelittomia sukuja*. Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys, Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava.

Björkman, H. (1917): «Bidrag till Jakobstads historia», *Pedersöre,* (55).

Björkman, H. (1918): «Släkterna Malm och Roos i Jakobstad», *Genealogica,* (2–3).

Bondensten, E. (2013): «Heder och ära i tidigmodern politisk offentlighet. Förmoderna offentligheter», in Runefelt, L. & Sjöström, O. (red.), *Arenor och uttryck för politisk debatt 1550–1830*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Boone, M. & Porfyriou, H. (2007): 'Markets, Squares, Streets: Urban Space, a Tool for Cultural Exchange,' in Calabi, D. & Christensen, S. T. (eds.), *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Calabi, D. & Keene, D. (2007): 'Exchanges and Cultural Transfer in Europe Cities, s. 1500–1700', in Calabi, D. & Christensen, S. T. (eds.), *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coster, W. (2002): *Baptism and Spiritual Kinship in Early Modern England*, London: Routledge.

Cowan, A. & Keene, D. (2007): 'Introduction to Part II', in Calabi, D. & Christensen, S. T. (eds.), *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crawford, P. (2014): *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England*, London: Routledge.

Crouch, D. (2002): 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry 1050–1250', in Coss, P. & Keen, M. (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, Boydell Press.

Eliassen, F.-E. (1995): 'The Mainstays of the Urban Ridge: Norwegian Small Towns 1500–1800', in Clark, P. (ed.), *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge University Press.

Elgenstierna, G. (1925–1936): *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor med tillägg och rättelser I–IX*. Tawast, Tawastén and Tawaststjerna, Stockholm: Norstedt.

Glete, J. (2006): *War and the State in Early Modern Europe. Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal-Military States, 1500–1660*, London: Routledge.

Hakanen, M. (2011): *Vallan verkostoissa: Per Brahe ja hänen klienttinsä 1600-luvun Ruotsin valtakunnassa*, Jyväskylä: University Printing House.

Hallenberg, M. & Linnarsson, M. (2014): «Privat och publikt I det förmoderna samhället. konflikter om allmännyttan i frihetstidens Sverige», in Runefelt, L. & Sjöström, O. (red.) *Förmoderna offentligheter. Arenor och uttryck för politisk debatt 1550–1830*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Hecht, M. (2019): 'The Production of Genealogical Knowledge and the Invention of Princely Dynasties', in Eickmeyer, J., Friedrich, M. & Bauer, W. (red.) *Genealogical Knowledge in the Making. Tools, Practises, and Evidence in Early Modern Europe*, Oldenburg: De Gruyter.

Hedlund, R. (1980): *Västerås befolkning vid slutet av 1600-talet*. En socialhistorisk studie. Västerås kulturnämnds skriftserie nr 7. Västra Aros Tryckeri.

Jern, K. (1977): «Förvaltning, beskattning och befolkningsutveckling i svenska Österbotten före 1809», in *Svenska Österbottens historia I*, Vasa: Svenska Österbottens landskapsförbund.

Jespersen, L. (2000): *A Revolution Above? The Power State of 16th and 17th Century Scandinavia*, Denmark: University Press of Southern Denmark.

Jutikkala, E. (1968): 'Town planning in Sweden and Finland until the middle of the nineteenth century', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 16 (1), pp. 19–46.

Keskinen, J. (2012): *Oma ja yhteinen etu. Kauppiaiden keskinäinen kilpailu ja yhteistyö Porin paikallisyhteisössä 1765–1845*, Turku: University of Turku.

Lilja, S. (1995): 'Small towns in the Periphery: Population and Economy of Small Towns in Sweden and Finland during the Early Modern Period', in Clark, P. (ed.), *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lindström, P. & Norrhem, S. (2013): *Flattering Alliances: Scandinavia, Diplomacy and the Austrian-French Balance of Power, 1648–1740*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Luukko, A. (1987): *Etelä-Pohjanmaan historia III. Nuijasodasta Isoonvihaan*, Etelä-Pohjanmaan Maakuntaliitto: Seinäjoki.

Nylund, L. (1996): *Befolkningen i Jakobstad 1653–1714*, Saarijärvi: Genealogiska Samfundet i Finland.

Prytz, C. (2013): *Familjen i kronans tjänst. Donationspraxis, förhandling och statsformering under svenskt 1600-tal.* Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia historica Upsaliensia 248. Dissertation. Uppsala Universitet.

Ranta, R. (1981): «Suurvalta-ajan kaupunkilaitos», in Gardberg, C. J., Tommila, P. & Endén, R. (red.), *Suomen kaupunkilaitoksen historia I*. Keskiajalta 1870-luvulle. Vantaa: Suomen kaupunkiliitto.

Stadin, K. (2004): *Stånd och genus i stormakttidens Sverige*, Lund: Nordic Akademic Press.

Söderhjelm, A. (1907): *Jakobstad historia. Första delen,* Helsingfors: Edlundska bokhandeln.

Välimäki, M. (2013): 'Responsibility of a Seducer? Men, Women, and Breach of Promise in Early Modern Swedish Legislation', in Murravyeva, M. G. & Raisa, M. T. (eds.), *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, London: Routledge.

Wallenberg Bondesson, M. (1997): «En jämförelse mellan samhälleliga konflikter i Lillhärdal 1771–76 och i Dalarna och Hälsingland 100 år tidigare», in Oja, L. (red.), *Vägen till Blåkulla. Nya perspektiv på de stora svenska häxprocesserna*, Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.