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Source: *Scandinavian Studies*, WINTER 1979, Vol. 51, No. 1 (WINTER 1979), pp. 1-12

Published by: University of Illinois Press on behalf of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study

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GUSTAVUS III AND FINLAND IN 1775

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FROM THE MIDDLE AGES until 1809 Finland formed an integral part of the Swedish realm, sharing with the territory on the western side of the Gulf of Bothnia a common system of government, common laws and, as far at least as the upper classes were concerned, a common culture. Swedish kings, however, rarely visited or betrayed any special interest in the eastern half of their dominions.¹ A notable exception was Gustavus III, the monarch who, in August 1772, eighteen months after he had ascended the throne, brought to an end by a coup d'état the oligarchical system of government established in the early years of the century and restored a considerable degree of royal power. In the subsequent decade Gustavus used this authority to carry through reforms in many spheres, reforms from which Finland also benefited.

Interest in Finland within Sweden's governing circles had already quickened in the early eighteenth century; the potential threat from Russia, the dominant power in the Baltic after the Great Northern War, seemed in particular to make it desirable to bind Finland more firmly to the rest of the kingdom, to improve its defenses, and to encourage its economic growth.² But, while something had been done in all these areas since the Russian occupation of the country during the Russo-Swedish war in the early 1740s, party rivalries and shortage of money had prevented any great progress from being made by the time of Gustavus's accession.³ He was, as in so much else that he did, the instrument for the execution of plans which had gotten little further than the discussion stage in the previous Age of Liberty. But he also had more personal reasons for his interest in the grand duchy (as Finland was officially designated). Several of his closest friends as crown prince, like Gustaf Filip Creutz, Swedish ambassador at Versailles, had come from there.⁴ More important was the fact that the original plan for the coup of 1772 was largely composed by the Finnish colonel Jakob Magnus Sprengtporten and had as its main element the seizure of the great fortress of Sveaborg, still in process of building on the archipelago outside Helsinki, and the transport of Finnish troops to Sweden for a march on Stockholm.⁵ That Gustavus had in the end to act before Sprengtporten was able to assist him did not lessen his

sense of gratitude, and the royalism demonstrated in all sections of Finnish society even before the coup did much to endear the country to the new king.⁶

He appears to have intended originally to visit Finland in the spring or summer of 1773 (Alanen, pp. 63, 84). His father, King Adolf Fredrik, had toured the country in 1752 as part of his *eriksgata*, the journey through his kingdom expected of a Swedish king soon after his accession but rarely performed after the early seventeenth century,⁷ and, as he explained to the Diet in 1778, he wished "at se med egna ögon . . . och vinna om Landets nödortft en fullständing kunskap" before applying projects of reform which had been discussed among his advisors for some time.⁸ He also wished to inspect the country's military preparedness and the improvements in it initiated by the defense commission which had been set up after the coup.⁹ The international situation in 1773 was, however, still too unsettled, and in the year following there was a further postponement, officially because of the marriage of Gustavus's brother Charles but in fact because of the opposition of Sweden's French ally to a meeting with Catherine the Great in St. Petersburg which it had been intended to combine with the trip. By the spring of 1775 these obstacles had been removed; there was stability both at home and abroad, and Catherine was busy in Moscow.¹⁰

The visit lasted a month (a rather shorter time than Adolf Fredrik's). It began about 9:30 A.M. on May 25 (Ascension Day), when the royal squadron arrived from Stockholm in the roads outside Åbo (Turku). The king and his immediate entourage traveled on the galley-frigate (turuma) *Björn Järnsida*, the remainder on her sister ship *Ragnar Lodbrok* and a yacht. The suite of over thirty members included two members of the Royal Council—Chancellor Ulrik Scheffer and General Hans Henrik von Liewen, who had been a prominent participant in the committee appointed by the Diet to examine Finland's defenses in 1747. The town had long been preparing for the auspicious occasion, and since early morning almost the entire population had been assembling on the foreshore. The weather, which had been wet, joined in; the sun shone brightly.¹¹ Gustavus, however, complained in a letter announcing his arrival to his mother, the formidable Lovisa Ulrika, sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia, that "I have encountered (here) the winter which we left behind us a month ago in Stockholm. . . . There is not a leaf on the trees."¹² For the sun the welcoming

crowd at least must have been doubly thankful, for his Majesty lunched on board and does not appear to have stepped ashore near the Castle until about 3 P.M.¹³ Then, while cannon roared and bands played, he was introduced to the leading burghers and officials before mounting his horse and riding in procession under the inevitable triumphal arch in the direction of the Cathedral and the nearby residence of the provincial governor, where he was to stay. Gustavus emerged to inspect a guard of honor which had been drawn up on the square outside and which, as on similar occasions later in the tour, he addressed with a few words in both Swedish and Finnish (Lagus, p. 74, *IT* 43 [June 1]). Of the latter language he had gained a smattering as crown prince, and it was even reported that he spoke to a number of individual members of the guard in it, but he confessed to his mother that, while "the people have demonstrated much pleasure in seeing me and have shouted a great deal . . . what they have said to me I should be very embarrassed to have to repeat, for it was in Finnish" (Alanen, p. 23; Schück, p. 432). After the inspection he was drawn round the town in a carriage. The governor, Christoffer Rappel, had ordered that the monarch was not to be inconvenienced with petitions during this progress, but Gustavus, on hearing of this, had the order rescinded, with the result that he was bombarded with so many pieces of paper that several baskets had to be fetched to contain them. In the evening a great firework display, which included the portrayal of the royal name in several different colors, was arranged in front of the Residence, and all the houses of the city were illuminated (Lagus, pp. 74–75; Engeström, p. 15, *IT* 43 [June 1]). Lars von Engeström, a member of the king's suite, later remarked rather churlishly in his memoirs that "vi vore i Finland under de ljusaste sommandagarne, likväl voro städerne om afterne illuminerade."¹⁴ He admitted, however, that the practice did bring one benefit, for "alla stadens fruntimmer promenerade för att se illuminationerne, och . . . gatorna voro som assemblér der man råkade godt sällskap" (Engeström, p. 13).¹⁵

Engeström also complained that "vistanet i Åbo var endast märkvärdigt för middagar och arbete" (*ibid.*, p. 13).¹⁶ And Gustavus certainly combined work with pleasure during his journey. Four days after his arrival in Finland he visited the duchy's Court of Appeal, whose judges he praised for their diligence and promised to raise their salaries (Odhner, p. 332; Alanen, pp. 88–89, *IT* 44 [June 8]), and in the afternoon inspected the University. Here he was met outside the

main building by the entire faculty and sixteen selected students, who escorted him to the Great Hall to hear a speech of welcome by Bishop Mennander, a distinguished scientist soon to be elected first Finnish archbishop of Uppsala, in which he referred to previous royal visits to Finland, pointing out that “nästan alla dessa besök har Finland haft under bullersamma tider och almänna olycker; då däremot Hans Kongl. Maj:t. äfwen så wäl som Dess Herr Fader Högtal.Konung Adolph Friedrich, i fredsam och wälsignad tid hitkommit, och hugnat landet med nåd, upmuntran och wälgerningar.”¹⁷ This was followed by an academic disputation in which a thesis “Om kärleken till fäderneslandet och dess utöfning” (On Love of One’s Country and its Practice) was defended. At this stage things did not go quite according to plan. The king was impressed by the performance of the young poet Abraham Clewberg as chief opponent; he spoke, in Gustavus’s opinion, “with more grace than I have ever seen at Uppsala” and was seen to be working closely with the monarch in his theatrical enterprises. But one of the other opponents was, Engeström tells us, “den halfgalne auditor Hanell . . .” who “bragte allmänheten till löje.”¹⁸ The king, who had little time for anything which smacked of pedantry, not only took all in good part but encouraged Elis Schröderheim, a close friend who acted, among other roles, as his unofficial master of revels, to participate in the debate and to “göra löjliga oppositioner.”¹⁹ Rector Gadd, who was in the chair, “såg att man ville spela gäck med honom, blef ond, skakade sin rektorskåpa och stammade fram sin vrede,”²⁰ and the whole ceremony, not surprisingly, was cut short. The aggrieved professor, however, recovered sufficient composure to conduct the royal party round his institution’s lecture rooms and library, which the king promised to expand.²¹ Two days later, on Wednesday the thirty-first, Gustavus bade the faculty farewell at a further ceremony in the University’s botanic garden and accepted an invitation to attend a graduation ceremony on his return. Almost immediately he left for Helsinki (Lagus, p. 77, *IT* 45 [June 11]).

He arrived at the latter town finally on the evening of June 2 after spending a night at Bjernio (Perniö) rectory and visiting the *bruk* of ironmaster Johan Hisinger at Fagervik. He was met at the city boundary by the local militia and dignitaries, and after several days of inspections, balls, and council meetings he sailed on the sixth to Sveaborg (Suomenlinna).²² He there laid the foundation stone of a bastion to be named after Count Augustin Ehrensvärd, who had been largely responsible

for the planning and construction of the fortress up to his death in 1772. Both from a vantage point on shore and from the deck of the *Ragnar Lodbrok*, which had sailed round the coast from Åbo, the king watched manoeuvres by the galley fleet based on Sveaborg before returning to the mainland on the ninth.²³

Continuing his journey eastward, he left Helsinki on the tenth for the small cathedral town of Borgå (Porvoo), whence Sprengtporten's troops had set out to capture Sveaborg in 1772 and where Gustavus was now entertained in the upper hall of the grammar school to an oration delivered by Dr. Johan Bergström, which he found "written with taste and much philosophy."²⁴ He spent only one night in Borgå, for on the eleventh was in Lovisa (Loviisa), not far from the then Russian border. His welcome there included a thirty-two-gun salute from the recently constructed warship *Gustaf III*. At a reception the following morning he met a party of Russian officers, who had apparently come to convey greetings from Empress Catherine. The afternoon was spent inspecting the small fort of Svartholm, which was nearing completion on an island off the coast, and in the early morning of the thirteenth the king rode off with an escort of light dragoons to the frontier of Abborfors (Ahvenkoski).²⁵ He was met there in the afternoon by a Russian officer bearing a letter for Baron von Nolcken, the new Swedish ambassador to St. Petersburg, who had accompanied Gustavus from Helsinki. It was from the commander of Viborg (Viipuri) in the neighboring Russian province and requested permission to call on the king with a number of his officers. Gustavus agreed, and the Russian visitors, consisting of the governor himself and another general, three colonels, a lieutenant-colonel, seven majors, and eleven junior officers, arrived in Lovisa the following day, were presented to the king at his levee, and invited to eat both lunch and dinner with him.²⁶ Gustavus, however, had some difficulty in communicating with them. As he explained to his mother, "I have shown them as much consideration as is possible to people some of whom spoke only German and the others only Russian" (neither of which languages he seems to have commanded in spite of his having German parents) (Schück, p. 440). Nor, as will be seen, was he impressed with his guests' manners (see below, p. 7). On June 15, after a tour of the town, he left again for the frontier, where the Russians and Nolcken took their leave, and followed it part of the way as far as Anjala, the manor associated with a mutiny of noble officers during the war with Russia later in the reign (*IT* 50

[June 29]). After spending the night there as guests of the Wrede family, the party turned westward and followed the road along the Sepusälkä ridge to Nyby (Uusikylä) (*ibid.*). The original timetable had allowed for a day of rest at Anianpelto on the eighteenth (a Sunday), but Gustavus appears to have left there immediately after divine service to proceed to Tavastehus (Hämeenlinna) (*ibid.*).

Three nights were passed in the ancient fortress there. Engeström tells how “inne på den trånga borggården låg en stor snödrifva . . . som man låtit ligga, för att visa konungen ett profstycke af klimatet.”²⁷ But the king was not impressed. “När han maj:t fick se den, vände han om utan att säga ett ord, och dagen efter var snödrifvan borta” (Engeström, p. 13).²⁸ He did, however, inspect four companies of the local dragoon regiment, to whom he again addressed a few words in Finnish (were they, one wonders, the same on each occasion?), and examined the plans for a new town it was intended to build on a site to the south of the castle (*IT* 52 [July 6]; Hirn, p. 152; Alanen, p. 89). He left on the twenty-first for Baron Boije’s estate of Hatampää on the site of the modern city of Tammerfors (Tampere). The foundation of the latter had indeed already been discussed, and a viewing of its situation was the main reason for this diversion of the king’s route northwards (*IT* 50 [June 29]; Lagus, p. 78; Alanen, p. 90).

Gustavus was understandably impressed by the scenery of this part of Finland, of which he was able to obtain fine views during his two-day stay from both the Pynniki ridge (now a park in Tampere) and the nearby esker of Kangasala.²⁹ The journey then continued to the parsonage at Takkula near Huittinen. It was while staying there that the king was introduced to a veteran named Willberg, who claimed to be 117 years old and to have served in the armies of both Charles XI and Charles XII.³⁰

Gustavus finally returned to Turku on June 25.³¹ Three days later, as he had promised, he attended a graduation ceremony at the University. He rejected a proposal that the proceedings should be held in Swedish rather than Latin; although his knowledge of the latter was at best rudimentary, he wished everything to be conducted in the traditional form. On the evening of the same day, after a service in the Cathedral, he boarded the *Björn Järnsida* for the journey back to Stockholm (Lagus, p. 79; *IT* 51 [July 31]). Unlike his father, who had returned by land around the north of the Gulf of Bothnia, he was never to see the north of the country (Cederberg, pp. 152–53).

He had enjoyed his stay in Finland a great deal more than he had expected. From Anjala he had written to his mother (as always, in French) that

this country is more beautiful than I had believed. . . . I have also been surprised to find everyone so smart, the women well dressed and not at all foolish (*ridicules*), even very well bred, most of them speaking French and all giving the impression of a good education. The burghers and clergy are yet more cultivated than in many parts of Sweden, delivering few boring speeches and making them short and simple when custom dictates. . . . My dear mother can see that often in countries one thinks to be uncultivated, people are more civilized than are those who believed themselves to be more enlightened. [Schück, pp. 439–40]

To Creutz he wrote at the same time that ‘the women above all act as if they had been brought up in Stockholm and were not at all embarrassed to find themselves in the midst of the Court.’ He continued with the comment that the Russian officers and officials whom he had met a few days previously, although they lived in St. Petersburg and at Court, “seem more boorish than Finns who have never seen it.”³² And just over a week later, having traversed part of Finland’s lakeland plateau, he wrote to Lovisa Ulrika that

The whole country which I have come through has a singular charm and is made so pleasing by the variation in its landscape that there are very few districts in Sweden which are so beautiful. . . . I understand very well why the Finns are so attached to their country. If the climate were not so harsh, I feel that one could indeed prefer Finland to Sweden. [Schück, p. 442]

He concluded his letter to Creutz with: “I believe that Finland will not forget my visit and that this will constitute an epoch in its history. It is a country with which one can do so much.”³³ In all of which there was much truth. However much of the king’s time may have been taken up with admiring the scenery and exchanging pleasantries with cultivated Finnish ladies, his was, as intended, basically a working trip. In every administrative centre visited by him he had received reports from provincial governors and other local officials,³⁴ and at formal meetings with his advisers in Helsinki, Tavastehus, and Åbo he gave final approval to a number of measures which profoundly affected the future life of the country. In Helsinki on June 6 a reform project based largely on that presented by the king’s former tutor in fortification Colonel Nordencrantz in September 1772 was considered. This contained most of the proposals which were eventually adopted. In Tavastehus on June 20 it was finally decided to set up a second Finnish

court of appeal in Vasa (Vaasa) to serve Ostrobothnia, Savolax, Karelia, and northern Tavastia and relieve the burden of the Åbo judges, and to increase the number of judicial districts (*lagmansdomsagor*) from three to five.³⁵ At the same time agreement was reached, after consultations with Erik af Wetterstedt, the Director of the Finnish Survey, to raise the number of provinces (*län*) in Finland from four to six by dividing Ostrobothnia into two to form Uleåborg (Oulu) and Vasa (which was extended by the addition of parts of Tavastia and Satakunta) and by carving the new province of Savolax and Karelia from Kymmenegård (which in partial compensation gained a section of Tavastia and eastern Nyland [Uusimaa]) and to move two provincial capitals to more central positions in the interest of administrative efficiency: Tavastehus was to replace Helsinki for Nyland and Tavastia, and Heinola Lovisa for Kymmenegård.³⁶

Both new capitals were also to prove important stimuli for trade in their respective regions. But most important for the economic development of what was still an overwhelmingly agricultural society were decrees issued after meetings in Åbo on June 27 and 28 which laid down more detailed regulations for the reallocation of land (*storskifte*), by which the number of a farmer's individual strips or blocks in the common fields could be reduced, in Ostrobothnia, where it had already proved extremely beneficial, and introduced a more effective taxation system in eastern Finland (Savolax and Karelia). Involved in these moves was also the setting aside (*avvittring*) of large areas of the often vast common lands possessed by farms and villages to provide new holdings for a rapidly growing rural population.³⁷ The latter aspect of these reforms in particular did arouse some opposition from those affected, and certain modifications had to be made later in the reign. The nobility were especially vocal in their condemnation of what they saw as an infringement of property rights, and noble land was specifically exempted from the operation in 1780. It led nevertheless to both a considerable extension of settlement and an increase in the number of farms; some 3,000 new ones had been founded by the end of the reign, mainly in Ostrobothnia.³⁸

Among other reforms set in train as a result of the visit were the creation of three new towns (Tampere, Kuopio, and Kaskö [Kaskinen]),³⁹ work on a canal to link Tampere with Tavastehus and the lake system of central Finland with the coast at Helsinki,⁴⁰ the clearing of rivers to improve their navigability,⁴¹ and the building of highways from

Kuopio in the eastern interior to Oulu and Vasa in Ostrobothnia, a project which was strongly opposed by military experts because of its potential usefulness to an invader but one which did much to reduce the isolation of the eastern provinces.⁴²

Gustavus returned to Finland on no fewer than seven further occasions during his reign: in 1777 and 1783 on his way to confer with Catherine the Great of Russia, in 1785 and 1787, and finally in 1788, 1789 and 1790 to lead his armies against those of the latter (Neovius, pp. 110–13). No visit was, however, either as fruitful or as satisfying as his first.

¹ As king, Gustav Vasa visited the country twice (in 1530 and 1556); John III once (in 1589); Gustavus Adolphus four times (1614, 1616, 1622 and 1626); Charles XI once (in 1694 for two days) and Adolf Fredrik once (in 1752). See Ad. Neovius, "Suomalainen ajantieto-kokoelma" *Suomi*, vol. 4: 11 (1911–1913): 102–9.

² C. T. Odhner, *Sveriges politiska historia under konung Gustaf III:s regering I* (Stockholm, 1885): 331–32.

³ M. G. Schybergson, *Finlands Historia II* (Helsingfors, 1889): 149–72, 182–90; Lars G. von Bonsdorff, *Stämningar och Förhållanden i Finland före skilsmässan från Sverige* (Stockholm, 1949), pp. 41, 46–57; Kjell Kumlien, "Gustav III och Finland," *Ord och Bild* 49 (1940): 2.

⁴ Aulis J. Alanen, *Suomen historia kustavilaisella ajalla* (Porvoo-Helsinki, 1964), pp. 6–7.

⁵ Alanen, pp. 17–18, 24–37; Eirik Hornborg, *Finlands hävder III: Det svenska väldets upplösning* (Helsingfors, 1931), pp. 284–86.

⁶ Alanen, pp. 20–23, 41; Kumlien, p. 3; Gabriel Nikander, "Politiska opinioner i Gustaf III:s Finland," *Skrifter utgivna av svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland (SLS)* 142: *Förhandlingar och Uppsatser (FoU)* 32 (Helsingfors, 1919): 197–200.

⁷ A. R. Cederberg, *Suomen historia vapaudenajalla II* (Porvoo-Helsinki, 1947): 147–53; Schybergson, p. 167; Neovius, p. 109.

⁸ "to see (things) with my own eyes . . . and gain a full acquaintance with the country's needs."

⁹ Odhner, p. 332; R. G. Modée, *Utdrag utur alla ifrån den 19 augusti 1772 utkomne Publique Handlingar. . . . X* (Stockholm, 1801): 543; Alanen, pp. 57, 85, 87; Schybergson, p. 212. The treasury had been ordered in October 1772 to draw up proposals for new *storskifte* regulations. Among reform proposals were those presented by F. J. Nordencrantz, Anders de Bruce, K. F. Nordenskiöld, and K. M. Jägerhorn (Odhner, p. 332).

¹⁰ Alanen, p. 84; Wilh. Lagus, *Skalden Johan Henrik Kellgrens Lefnadsminnen* (Helsingfors, 1884), p. 73. Shortly before the trip Gustavus's closest advisor, Carl Fredrik Scheffer, composed his *Bref ifrån en Savolax-Bo till en des Patriotiska Wän i Stockholm* (Stockholm, 1775) revealing his own warm interest in the cause of Finnish progress (Alanen, pp. 84–85).

¹¹ Lagus, pp. 73–74; Hornborg, p. 301; Neovius, p. 109; Alanen, p. 88; Schyberg-

son, pp. 212–13; Lars von Engeström, *Minnen och Anteckningar* (utg. Elof Tegnér) I (Stockholm, 1876): 12. *Inrikes Tidningar* I (hereafter *IT*) (1775): 40 (May 22, where the second turuma is wrongly reported to have been the *Ivar Benlösa*), 42 (May 29), and 43 (June 1).

¹² H. Schück, *Gustav III:s och Lovisa Ulrikas brevväxling* II (Stockholm, 1919): 432. Engeström made much the same comment in his memoirs (p. 13).

¹³ *IT* 42 and 43 say “straxt eftermiddagen,” but in his letter to his mother (*loc. cit.*) Gustavus reports that “je viens de débarquer à 3 heures cet après dîner” and blames the delay on the religious festival (“ayant été obligé d’attendre le débarquement par rapport à la fête de l’Assomption [sic]”).

¹⁴ “although we were in Finland during the lightest summer days, all the towns were illuminated in the evening.”

¹⁵ “all the ladies of the town walked abroad to see the lights, and . . . the streets were like social gatherings where fine company could be met with.”

¹⁶ “the stay in Åbo was remarkable only for banquets and work.”

¹⁷ “nearly all those visits were made in times of trouble and general misfortune, while His Majesty, just like his father king Adolf Fredrik of blessed memory, has come here at a time of peace and prosperity, and has favored the country with his graciousness, encouragement, and beneficence.”

¹⁸ “the half-mad jurist Hanell . . .” who “caused the whole company to burst out laughing.”

¹⁹ “make comic objections.”

²⁰ “saw that he was being made fun of, grew angry, shook his gown, and stammered with rage.”

²¹ Lagus pp. 76–77; Engeström, pp. 14–15; Schück, p. 439; Nikander, pp. 202–3; *IT* 51 (July 3); Karl Fredrik Mennander (1712–1786), one of Linné’s most brilliant pupils, was appointed professor of medicine in 1746 and bishop of Turku in 1757 (Schybergson, p. 306; J. R. Danielson-Kalmari, *Finland under Gustavianska tiden* I [Stockholm, 1925]: 95). Abraham Niclas Clewberg (1754–1821) became director of the Royal Theatre in 1783, was among the first members of the Swedish Academy, and was ennobled as Edelcrantz in 1789 (Schybergson, p. 319; Carl Fredrik Corin, “Edelcrantz” *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* XII [Stockholm, 1949]: 54–68). Per Adrian Gadd (1727–1797) was appointed professor of chemistry in 1761 (Schybergson, pp. 307–8).

²² Lagus, p. 77; *IT* 45 (June 11) and 46 (June 15).

²³ Lagus, p. 77; Hans Hirn, *Anders de Bruce 1723–1787: En förvaltnings-historisk undersökning* (Hist. Tutkimuksia XLVI, Helsinki, 1957), p. 60; Reinh. Hansen, “Augustin Ehrensvarlds jordaförd och hans grafmonument på Sveaborg,” *SLS* 105: *FoU* 25 (Helsinki, 1912): 196–97; *IT* 47 (June 19).

²⁴ Lagus, p. 77; Hornborg, p. 285; Schück, p. 439; *IT* 47 (June 19), 52 (July 6).

²⁵ Lagus, p. 77; Odhner, p. 334; *IT* 48 (June 22), 49 (June 26), 50 (June 29), where the *Gustaf III* is reported to have just returned from the Mediterranean, possibly on its maiden voyage, and 56 (July 20).

²⁶ *IT* 49 (June 26) and 50 (June 29).

²⁷ For quotation in Swedish read: “on (its) narrow courtyard there lay a great snowdrift . . . which had been left to lie in order to demonstrate to the king the severity of the climate.”

²⁸ "When His Majesty caught sight of it, he turned round without saying a word, and the next day the drift was gone."

²⁹ The king's reactions are reflected in a story associated with his visit. According to this, when on Pynniki he turned to Schröderheim and exclaimed "Here is the whole world and its glory!" and when on Kangasala "Here might the Devil indeed have tempted our Savior," to which his companion retorted "Oh no, Your Majesty. That happened on Pynniki" (Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Kansakunta Etsii Itseään* [*Kansakunnan Historia* 2, Porvoo-Helsinki, 1970], p. 41).

³⁰ *IT* 51 (July 3). Gustavus is reputed to have asked Willberg what Charles XII looked like, to which the reply was "Konung Karl såg ut som en karl," an observation possibly prompted by the contrast between Gustavus's elegant attire and the simple guard's uniform worn by Charles during most of his life. His successor did not, it seems, take offense (Pohjolan-Pirhonen, p. 42).

³¹ According to the official itinerary (published in *IT* 43 [June 1] and [with one omission] in Alanen, p. 87), after a day of rest at Hatanpää on June 22, the party was to spend the twenty-third at Sampu-Takkula and the twenty-fourth at Kankaanpää followed by two days of rest before proceeding to Turku on the twenty-seventh. But in fact two days appear to have been spent in Sampu-Takkula and the two days of rest omitted (Neovius, p. 110; *IT* 51 [July 3]).

³² Odhner, p. 335. Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (*UUB*): Gustavianska samling F 479 (Gustavus III to Creutz, 16 June 1775): Les femmes surtout que j'ai vue n'ont point du tout l'aire compagnard ils on le meilleur ton et paroissent elleves a Stockholm et point embarasse du tout de se trouver au milieu de la Cour . . . ces gens etoit des gens qui vivoit a Petersbourg et a la Cour et ils avoit bien plus l'aire compagniar que les finnois qui n'en avoit jamais vu." (The spelling and grammar are the king's own!)

³³ *Loc. cit.*: "Je crois que la Finlande n'oubliera pas sitot mon voyage et qu'il fera epoque dans son histoire. C'est un pais du quell on pus faire bien des choses."

³⁴ See, for example, *Riksarkivet*, Stockholm (*RA*): Landshövdingars skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t II: Finland: Nylands och Tavastehus län, vol. 28 (1775); Hirn, pp. 141-43.

³⁵ Odhner, p. 334; Alanen, pp. 89, 97, 100; Hornborg, p. 304; Schybergson, pp. 215-16; *Kongl. Majts. Forordningar (KMF) år 1774-1775*, 20 juni 1775; *UUB*: F 441, no. 19. The Vasa court was officially inaugurated in June 1776 at a ceremony in Stockholm Palace (Odhner, p. 336; Alanen, pp. 97-98).

³⁶ Odhner, pp. 333, 335; Hornborg, p. 303; Alanen, p. 91; Schybergson, pp. 213-14; Danielson-Kalmari, p. 88; *KMF 1774-1775*, 20 juni 1775. Most of the new boundary changes were settled by the end of 1776. The move from Lovisa to Heinola was not, however, made until 1778. Kuopio was chosen as the capital of the new province of Savolax-Karelia in spite of a recommendation in favor of Varkaus (Alanen, pp. 94, 116-17).

³⁷ Odhner, p. 334; Schybergson, pp. 218-19; Alanen, pp. 90, 148-49, 152; *KMF 1774-1775*, 27 juni 1775, 28 juni 1775. The maximum holding for a single farm was fixed at 600 or 1200 *tunnland* (i.e., c. 300 or 600 ha.). The regulations were extended to the rest of Finland in 1777, but in 1783 the limit in Savolax-Karelia, where hunting and burn-beat cultivation were still important, was raised to 1700

tunnland (Odhner, pp. 334–35; Alanen, p. 148; Hornborg, p. 305; Nikander, pp. 203–4).

⁸⁸ Danielson-Kalmari, pp. 187–90; Eino Jutikkala, *Bonden i Finland genom tiderna* (Helsinki, 1963), pp. 278–79, 281–82; Yrjö J. von Schrowe, *Die finnischen Gemeinheitsteilungen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1928), pp. 133–36; Sven-Ulrik Palme, “Gustav III och Finland,” *Nordisk Tidskrift* 49 (1973): 145, 153.

⁸⁹ Hornborg, p. 304. Tampere received its charter 1779, and Kuopio was made a town in 1782. It had been intended to make Kaskinen a staple town for the whole of Ostrobothnia, but the opposition from its neighbors scotched such a plan; it did, however, receive the same tax privileges as Tampere and Kuopio in 1785. Heinola was given trading privileges in 1779 but was not made a town (Alanen, pp. 117, 121–22; Hornborg, p. 304; Danielson-Kalmari, p. 89; Schybergson, pp. 216, 217–18; *KMF*, 1779, 1 oktober 1779).

⁹⁰ This was begun in 1778 but got no further than lock-building at Lempäälä, and was abandoned after less than ten years of minimal but very expensive progress (Odhner, p. 336; Modée, p. 544; Alanen, p. 112; Schybergson, p. 217).

⁹¹ *KMF*, 1774–1775, 20 juni 1775; Modée, p. 544.

⁹² Odhner, p. 336; Schybergson, p. 217; Palme, p. 153. The road from Kuopio to Vasa was usable by 1786 (Alanen, p. 107).