

## CHAPTER 7

# Maintenance of Armies and Its Impact on Rural Everyday Life

## Local Experiences 1550–1750

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Gracious Count – these freeholders, liable to taxation, from the village of Hyvinkää, in the parish of Loppi, situated in Häme – are complaining about their misery and poverty, escalated by the proximity of a public road, as the other villages are far, and they are heavily burdened by the troops of His Royal Majesty; in addition, during the latest years, much fields, cattle, corn and other property has been taken away from them, to settle their overdue payments to the Crown, so that they can't afford to pay their taxes, unless they get some relief. – Thus, they present their petition in the hope that you would see and hear their distress and poverty, – May God Almighty reward you; and this I confirm with my seal.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Original in Swedish: ‘– these skattskyldige – bönder aff Hyffingeby Loppis Sockn J Tauasthuss – Nådige Kreff til at beklaga theres Nödh

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In 1585, the freeholders of the village of Hyvinkää, situated in the southern inland of Finland, were appealing to Count Axel Leijonhufvud, governor of the area, to get help in their economic distress. As the heaviest burden, they mentioned the proximity of the main road between the coastal town of Helsinki and the Häme Castle. At the moment that the testimony was written, the Swedish Realm was enjoying the fragile truce after a period of warfare with Russia (1570–1583), a truce that was constantly tested by guerilla warfare and escalated into open war again in 1590–1595.

The tax rolls of the area report of regular visits of troops on their way between the coast and the inland castle, as well as of the dire situation of the rural population. Moreover, the situation was not getting much better over the following decades or centuries. It was seldom that the population of inland in southern Finland witnessed any direct military action; nevertheless, the maintenance of armies and contributions to the economics of war took their toll on rural communities.<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter, I study how the changes on warfare and maintenance arrangements changed the conditions of rural inhabitants in southern Finland between c.1550 and 1750. Based on my long-term research on some villages and communities, I give a case

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armod och fatigdom som på them ligger, effter tje ähre liggandes vppå stora almmänn: wäghen, och andra byar ähr fierenn iffrå them, och ähre ther mz swårliga betunga... geno: K: M:tz Krigsfolzh, Thesliges ähr och tagit iffrå them j these framledne ähr både åker baskap spa:mål och alt annat huad ägha kunde för gamble gelder och restantier i så at the icke kunna förestå Cronones skatt och rettihgz, om the bekommer icke aff edhers nodh noghon hielp – För then skill ähr [sin?] ganska ödmiukelige bön til edhers nodh ar J welen werdigas see och höra theres nödh och armod, – edher Lönn tagand:s aff then alzmectihge gud, till yttermere wisso att så sanningen ähr vnd: mitt Signet' Testimony of the Chapelain of the Nurmijärvi parish, Henrik Göransson, Nurmijärvi 1 November 1585 (erroneously 'Joosefinpoika', Josefsson, in Tommila I, p. 159). National Archives of Finland, Voudintilit [Bailiff's Records] KA 4239, f. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Lahtinen 2017, pp. 22–23.

study of the impact of war on rural life and economics.<sup>3</sup> These villages were called Hyvinkää or Hyvinkäänkylä and Kytäjärvi, situated on the border of the provinces of Uusimaa (Sw. Nyland) and Häme (Sw. Tavastland). Since the 1550s, they had been part of Nurmijärvi parish in Uusimaa, yet they belonged to the police district of Loppi in Häme until the year 1775.

Using tax records and census rolls, archives of the congregation, court records and private archives, I aim to make visible the long-lasting effects of the various preparations for war, the supplies for war, and the crises brought by the warfare. First, I present the situation in the mid-16th century, when the burden of maintaining the armies mostly meant paying additional taxes or arranging temporary accommodation for troops. Second, I study the effects of conscriptions and other obligations typical of the 17th century, as well as the consequences of land grants. Finally, I discuss the impact and aftermath of the Great Northern War (1700–1721). The analysis ends in the mid-18th century and the recovery after the so-called Great Wrath (the Russian military occupation of Finland, 1713–1721) and Lesser Wrath (the Russo-Swedish War and period of occupation, 1741–1743).<sup>4</sup>

The population of the villages of Hyvinkää and Kytäjärvi was only some hundred people; there were no churches in the villages, and they were administrated by the minister of the Nurmijärvi parish and the police district of Loppi. Even though the sampling is small, I see a long-term local study as a chance to discuss and illustrate the varying impact of warfare on the local level of very

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<sup>3</sup> The material for his article has been partly collected as a part of my project on the history of area of the present-day city of Hyvinkää, the main outcomes of which were published in Lahtinen 2017. See also cases studies published in Lahtinen 2018a and Lahtinen 2018b. Previously, history of the whole parish of Nurmijärvi has been best covered in Tommila I; Tommila II; and the history of Kytäjärvi in Lehto 1989, which, despite lack of consequent annotation, is an important guide to many archives and sources.

<sup>4</sup> About the general lines of history see, for example, Maude 1995 and Lavery 2006.

ordinary rural communities. I will pay attention to changes in the conditions of local farmers, in the role of nobility, cavalrymen, local soldier households, and deserters, as well as the troops passing through the rural villages. To give local events a broader context, I will also relate my observations to previous Finnish and Swedish research on maintenance of armies.<sup>5</sup>

### **Arranging and (Mis)managing the Defence of the Realm, c.1550–1600**

Looking at the 16th- and 17th-century tax rolls and census records, one can see evidence of harsh living conditions for rural communities in Finland. In addition to the effects of the so-called Little Ice Age, the period of cooling climate ranging from the 16th to the 19th century, the effective taxation system and the intensified warfare took their toll. The taxation was controlled more consistently than earlier by the central administration of the crown, and the early Vasa period saw intensified warfare, conscriptions, and movements of troops.

Situated some 60 kilometres from the new coastal town of Helsinki, established in 1550, Hyvinkää and Kytäjärvi with their surroundings were affected by the development of the town. King Gustav had high hopes that the merchants of Helsinki would challenge the trading power of the mighty city of Tallinn, situated on the coast of Old Livonia. In reality, Helsinki did not grow very influential trade-wise, although the war on the Livonian side gave it some momentum. Moreover, after the 1560s, Tallinn became part of the Swedish Realm, a turn that made Helsinki less important commercially. Nevertheless, Helsinki now was an important halting-place for troops travelling between the coast and the Häme Castle, which had its effect on villages like Hyvinkää.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> About related previous research, see, for example, Österberg 1971; Lindegren 1980; Kuvaja 1995; Aalto 2012.

<sup>6</sup> About the early phase of Helsinki, see Aalto 2012.

In the mid-16th century, most of the farms were run by freeholders (Sw. *skattebonde*), who had a perfect right to their landed property. The farm was to be inherited by their offspring, as long as they were able to pay the yearly taxes. However, as discussed by Petri Talvitie in this volume, if a freeholder could not pay taxes for several years, the farm was confiscated to the crown. Its farmer was now a farmer of the crown (Sw. *kronobonde*). At least in theory, a farmer of the crown could be turned out from the farm and the landed property transferred to someone else. In practice, however, it was not so common or beneficial to drive old farmers away, and many families continued to live in the same estate. Still, crown farms could easily be donated to nobility, or enfeoffed for a while to someone as compensation for a military contribution, for example.<sup>7</sup>

Looking at the tax rolls from the 1550s to the 1590s, a change for the worse can be seen. In the 1550s there were c.50 'bows' or men over 15 years old settled in Hyvinkää and Kytäjärvi. As a bow was a tax measure referring to a man old enough to participate in hunting as an archer, the total amount of inhabitants in the villages, women and children included, might have been around 140. Most of the inhabitants were freeholders, although some estates were in hands of nobility. The overall impression is that the farmers were relatively well-to-do.<sup>8</sup>

In the later part of the 16th century, the prospects grew darker as the Swedish Realm in general and the eastern provinces especially were drawn into lengthy and devastating operations and warfare against Russia.<sup>9</sup> The neighbouring parishes nearer the coast were directly affected by attacks from Russian troops.<sup>10</sup> For Hyvinkää and other villages on the side of the road, passing troops of the

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<sup>7</sup> Tommila II, pp. 30–32; Keskitalo 1964, pp. 88–90; Lahtinen 2017, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Estimated after Tommila I, pp. 100–102; Lahtinen 2017, pp. 22–23.

<sup>9</sup> Mäkinen 2002.

<sup>10</sup> About villages burnt by the enemies, see *Uudenmaan hopeavero ja hopeaveroluettelo v. 1571*, pp. CIII–CXXXIII; Kuisma 1990, pp. 82–83.

king were the most considerable extra burden.<sup>11</sup> Even the maintenance of bridges caused an extra burden that was resented.<sup>12</sup> There were some efforts to establish a couple of inns on the road between Helsinki and the Häme Castle; however, the local farmers were most often those who had to maintain the troops. From the 1620s a denser network of inns is known, and at this point an inn was also registered in Hyvinkää. It was partly burdened by the obligation to serve the travellers, partly benefited because of its rights to prepare and sell spirits.<sup>13</sup>

The long war against Russia coincided with the crop failures of the 1580s.<sup>14</sup> In the tax records, more and more estates had tax arrears or were marked 'abandoned' (Sw. *öde*). These 'abandoned' estates were not necessarily uninhabited but incapable of paying their taxes. In some cases, the neighbours took the task of paying the back taxes of the poorest farmers.<sup>15</sup> It was in this situation that the freeholders of Hyvinkää resorted to Count Axel Leijonhufvud, asking for help as cited at the beginning of this chapter. Leijonhufvud gave an order that the payments of the villagers should be halved. However, the same persons who had been appealing to Leijonhufvud were even later mentioned in financial difficulties, or totally insolvent, 'wretched by poverty'.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Tommila I, pp. 98–99, 157–165.

<sup>12</sup> Keskitalo 1964, p. 141.

<sup>13</sup> 'Bolemännens och Fierdingmänners vnderholdh i Finlandh, huarth fougderij för sigh, som bleff revocerat effter K M breff pro Anno 1583...' KB, Finska handlingar 1427–1700 II (1557–1583). Arw. Handl. X p. 199.

<sup>14</sup> Sirkiä 1999, p. 107; Vilkuna 1998, p. 194; KA, Voudintilit 3967, f. 48v. onwards.

<sup>15</sup> KB, Finska handlingar 1427–1700 III (1584–1592 [1604]), 'Register aff Hattula häred pro an:o etc. 85, 86 och 87, Matts Simonssons restantie.'

<sup>16</sup> 'är af fattigdom fördriffuen' KB, Finska handlingar 1427–1700 III (1584–1592 [1604]), 'Register aff Hattula häred pro an:o etc. 85, 86 och 87, Matts Simonssons restantie.'

Even though the petitions may have put emphasis on hardships to have the hoped-for result, the above-mentioned tax records support the impression of impoverishment. In one of the neighbouring villages, Ridasjärvi, the number of 'bows' went down from 14 in 1539 to only one in 1600, while the number of cattle was halved.<sup>17</sup> At the end of the 16th century, all the farmers in Ridasjärvi and the Arolammi village nearby had given up their freeholder position and become crown farmers.<sup>18</sup> While Eva Österberg has observed only temporary stagnation caused by warfare on the south-west Swedish border in the 1560s<sup>19</sup>, in Finland the situation was more severe and one can hardly talk about any recovery.

During the same time period, Kytäjärvi farmers also lost their freeholder position and were transferred under the nobility. The nobility had received established privileges in 1569, and over the later part of the 16th century it took control over many new farms and estates, reducing the access of the taxable freeholders to natural resources. Many farms and villages were enfeoffed to become tenants of the nobility. While in Hyvinkää the change was slower and only some estates were transferred to the nobility, all the farmers of Kytäjärvi disappeared from the tax records by the 1580s. Two smaller groups of farms were turned to tenants, and the third one, Niemi (Fin. for cape), became a manor called Näs (Sw. for cape).<sup>20</sup> From the late 16th century to the mid-18th century, Näs was mostly another distant little estate for its owners, the Tott and then the Fleming families, who had their residences in more central areas of the realm.<sup>21</sup>

While the taxation and direct obligation to maintain troops were the most keenly felt effects of the intensifying warfare, there

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<sup>17</sup> Keskitalo 1964, pp. 59, 126–129.

<sup>18</sup> KB, Finska handlingar 1427–1700 III (1584–1592 [1604]), 'Register aff Hattula häred pro an:o etc. 85, 86 och 87, Matts Simonssons restantie'; Keskitalo 1964, p. 61.

<sup>19</sup> Österberg 1971, pp. 255–269.

<sup>20</sup> Lahtinen 2017, p. 27; Lahtinen 2018b.

<sup>21</sup> Tommila I, p. 414; Tommila II, pp. 83–84.

were even other consequences. The Russo-Swedish War of 1554–1557, short though it was, had made King Gustav Vasa aware of the problems of supporting the troops. He had thus started new projects to arrange the maintenance and finance the warfare more effectively in the future. While studying the possibility of establishing a royal estate in the area, he became very interested in the prospects of starting a mine on the rocky hill called Hyvinkäänvuori (nowadays Hopeavuori, Fin. for ‘Silver Mountain’). As Helsinki had newly been established on the coast, the plan was certainly to transport the findings of the mine via Helsinki. The first mining efforts waned after the mid-1550s, but were revived by King Gustavus Adolphus (Sw. Gustav II Adolf) in the 1610s and continued until the late 1620s. One of the reasons for Gustavus Adolphus to restart mining was the need to pay the Älvsborg Ransom 1613, as well as to invest in warfare outside the immediate borders of the realm.<sup>22</sup>

### The Toll of the Expansion of the Swedish Realm (1600–1700)

If the 16th century had seen the intensification of taxes and demands for temporary maintenance, the 17th century was marked with the shock of conscriptions. Although men had even been conscripted in the 16th century, the campaigns had been irregular.<sup>23</sup> Under the lead of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish Realm entered a period of constant warfare, expansion of the Realm and recurrent conscriptions. Adult men were counted and classified to groups of 10, a so-called *ruotu* (Sw. *rote*). From this group of 10 men, one was to face compulsory recruitment to the

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<sup>22</sup> KA, Voudintilit 4432, f. 120r; Hollolan ja Hattulan voutikunnan tilikirja 1614; Tommila II, p. 149; Lahtinen 2017, pp. 28–33; an unpublished study on mining efforts in the early Vasa period by Mirkka Lappalainen.

<sup>23</sup> Tommila I, p. 161.

war. Of the farmers under nobility, every twentieth man was to be conscripted.<sup>24</sup>

The shock impact on demography was clearly visible in the tax rolls and registers of population. In the 1570s, the estimated population in the Nurmijärvi parish had been *c.*830 inhabitants.<sup>25</sup> When the census registration was made for the first time in 1634 in its entirety, there were *c.*400 inhabitants over age 15. If the number of minors is estimated to be *c.*40% of the total of the population, Nurmijärvi now had *c.*660 inhabitants. This meant a significant decline in the parish as a whole. In Hyvinkää and Kytäjärvi, the estimated population of adults was 42 and 59 respectively; children included, the total population of the villages might have reached 160 inhabitants, not much more than in the 1550s. In several neighbouring villages in the province of Häme, the population had all but collapsed.<sup>26</sup>

By the year 1634, active warfare had been going on for four years only, but already almost 70% of the strength of the then-conscripted troops had been lost to illnesses and epidemics. There were many soldiers' wives and widows distinctly mentioned, and the ratio of men and women was distorted. After heavy participation to the warfare, in the mid-17th century, almost two-thirds of the population were women.<sup>27</sup> The picture is in many ways similar to that reported by other historians, such as Jan Lindegren in his study on conscriptions in Bygdeå in 1620–1640.<sup>28</sup>

In such small communities, every conscription mattered, and the casualties were not mere numbers but fathers, spouses, sons and brothers, many of whom did not live long enough to see the battlefield.<sup>29</sup> While the war front was far away from the Northern

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<sup>24</sup> Huhtamies 2000, pp. 5–13.

<sup>25</sup> Tommila I, p. 103.

<sup>26</sup> KA, Population records of Häme and Uusimaa 1634, Voudintilit 4528, f. 252v; Tommila II, pp. 236–243, Keskitalo 1964, pp. 49, 63; Lahtinen 2017, pp. 36–37.

<sup>27</sup> Keskitalo 1964, p. 48; Huhtamies 2000, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Lindegren 1980.

<sup>29</sup> Huhtamies 2000, p. 7. In comparison, see also Hietaniemi 2019.

Uusimaa, its consequences were thus visible in the population, as well as in the burden of taxation. Päiviö Tommila has estimated that half of the worth of each year's crop went to taxes that in turn were mostly used to finance the warfare.<sup>30</sup> The tax burden, together with what Jan Lindegren has called 'the institutionalised destruction of some of the forces of production' – i.e. premature deaths of countless human beings – certainly required intensified efforts by the remaining workforce in local communities.<sup>31</sup>

In his analysis, Jan Lindegren observes an increase in productivity after conscriptions ended, due to the intensified efforts and coping methods developed by the remaining population in Bygdeå. In this local analysis, similar benefits for Kytjärvi or Hyvinkää cannot be observed.<sup>32</sup> Overall, in the villages belonging to the Nurmijärvi parish, there were many abandoned farms and even whole villages without any inhabitants, even after the most intense warfare ended.<sup>33</sup> It was no longer a question of fiscally 'abandoned' farms; these were estates that were really left without any person who would have had the resources to rebuild them. Although the forcible recruitments ended in the 1660s – for a while – the population in Kytjärvi and Hyvinkää does not seem to have recovered. It is possible that some farmers and families had moved to the southern villages of the Nurmijärvi parish, where the soil may have been better.<sup>34</sup>

While the ordinary freeholders could, at best, ease their situation by hiring substitutes for conscriptions or by deserting to forests, some wealthier farmers saw a prospect in equipment of a cavalryman.<sup>35</sup> Cavalry farms (Sw. *rusthåll*) equipped a cavalryman and his horse, and were in return entitled to tax deductions, a benefit that enabled some of the wealthy farmers to become even wealthier.

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<sup>30</sup> Tommila II, p. 27.

<sup>31</sup> Lindegren 1980, pp. 256–258.

<sup>32</sup> Lindegren 1980, pp. 256–258.

<sup>33</sup> Tommila II, p. 246.

<sup>34</sup> Tommila I, pp. 242–244; Keskitalo 1964, pp. 46–51; Lahtinen 2017, p. 39.

<sup>35</sup> Keskitalo 1964, pp. 145–147; Huhtamies 2000, pp. 7–9.

However, many freeholders found the cavalry farm position too expensive to maintain for a longer period, and several better-off cavalry farms of the area belonged to noble persons who were not financially ruined by the loss of one cavalryman.<sup>36</sup>

A new phenomenon, land grants given to Livonian officers, became known for the inhabitants in the 1640s, when Queen Christina of Sweden donated six abandoned farms to Major Jören Berg (1603–1681), a nobleman of Livonian origins.<sup>37</sup> In addition to these land grants, Berg also bought estates in the neighbourhood. His manor Raala (Sw. *Råskog*, ‘a border forest’) was in the neighbourhood of Hyvinkää. Later, in 1646–1647, Berg took over four abandoned farms in Hyvinkää and merged them into a cavalry farm that was kept by daughter Anna Berg and her husband, Captain Roms. Yet, two farms in Hyvinkää, Pietilä and Tapola, were turned into auxiliary farms (Sw. *augmentshemman*), which paid their taxes to the cavalry farm.<sup>38</sup> Cavalry farms were larger than crown farms.<sup>39</sup>

There was hardly any previous experience of noble neighbours really living in the village. Most of other manorial estates nearby were taken care of by tenants. Jören Berg seems to have caused something of a shock when he took over his estates. For the benefit of all, he spent long periods of time on the battlefield, but when at home he was coarse and violent even to his own tenants and servants.<sup>40</sup> The returns on his estates were not good, so his aggression may have been partly caused by disappointment caused by failing crops. Coming from Livonia, where rural people were serfs bound to the soil, Berg most likely had different expectations about how he could treat his subordinates. Years on the battlefield may also have taught him to resolve problems with violence – which is not

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<sup>36</sup> Of Hausjärvi especially see Keskitalo 1964, pp. 43, 63.

<sup>37</sup> Rein 1929, pp. 14–16. Jören Berg is first mentioned as captain, and as a major for the first time in 1657. Keskitalo 1964, p. 63; Eskola 2006, p. 79; Eskola 2014, pp. 119, 125–126.

<sup>38</sup> Tommila II, p. 75.

<sup>39</sup> Ahponen 2019, pp. 14–16.

<sup>40</sup> Tommila, II, pp. 71–72.

to say that violent behaviour was alien to other noble persons of the time.<sup>41</sup>

Be that as it may, Major Berg was constantly at odds with his neighbours and he even let plunder part of the harvest of the parish minister, 'Josephus Canuti, Pastor Nurmoensium'.<sup>42</sup> However, the long-time minister was not easily scared. He had himself been an army chaplain before settling down to the Nurmijärvi parish, where he served from c.1605 until 1648, and he resisted the aggression of Berg and initiated many court actions against him.<sup>43</sup> Josephus's solid resistance against Jören Berg illustrates the significant role of the local clergy as a mediator between local communities and authorities when in a dire situation.<sup>44</sup>

Occasionally, hostile relations between Berg and local farmers escalated to violent conflicts. Local villagers took up arms when they were to meet Jören Berg for demarcation of boundaries. Berg was wounded in some confrontations, and buildings of the Raala estate were burned down. The most obvious excesses by Jören Berg resulted in sentences at the local court; however, he also managed to get his will through in many disputes.<sup>45</sup>

### **From the Disastrous Great Northern War to the Slow Recovery (1700–1775)**

The late 17th century saw several decades of relative peace, and also the introduction of the allotment farm system that replaced

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<sup>41</sup> Lahtinen 2017, pp. 47–48.

<sup>42</sup> Tommila II, pp. 70–71; Eskola 2014, pp. 123–124.

<sup>43</sup> RA, Acta Ecclesiastica vol. 88, Nurmijärvi, Josephus Canuti's several letters to the Majesty, complete with the confirmation letter of the lay representants of the Nurmijärvi congregation.

<sup>44</sup> Tommila II, pp. 303–304; about the general role of parish ministers and local communities, see Pulma 1999, pp. 162–163.

<sup>45</sup> Rein 1929, pp. 17–18; Tommila II, pp. 72–74; Eskola 2014, pp. 122–126. On rural resistance in the 16th century, see Lahtinen 2013; Lahtinen 2018b.

the old conscriptions. Every *ruotu*, a group of farms, was now obliged to equip and maintain one soldier. During peace, the farmers were expected to provide their soldier a piece of land and a little dwelling. Their status of an allotted soldier was equivalent to that of a crofter.<sup>46</sup>

In the organisational reformations made in the 1690s, the Nurmijärvi parish was divided into 26 *ruotus*, each one of them including three or four farms. In Kytäjärvi and Hyvinkää, the farmers were responsible for providing a total of five soldiers for the infantry regiment of the province of Uusimaa.<sup>47</sup> In addition, the local cavalry farms in Hyvinkää were responsible for providing one cavalryman each. It is not known how successful the villagers were in the maintenance of their first generation of allotted soldiers. The new arrangements took place close to the times of the Great Famine of 1695–1697. In some years, the crop failure was reported to have been all but total. Approximately one-fifth of the local population may have died during the devastating time of famine.<sup>48</sup>

Soon after the Great Famine, the outbreak of hostilities with Russia marked the beginning of what is called the Great Northern War (1700–1721), including the Great Wrath, the military occupation of the area of Finland in 1714–1721. Local allotted soldiers were immediately mobilised in 1700. As was often the case, there was soon need for reinforcements, so first one additional soldier per three *ruotus* was required, and then one soldier from every *ruotu*. Consequently, at the beginning of the war, most adult sons and farmhands had already been sent to war. The infantry regiment of Uusimaa was taken to fight the Russian troops at the area of historical Livonia. The cavalrymen followed the king to Poltava, and, after the fateful battle – if they lived – to

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<sup>46</sup> Tommila II, pp. 222–223.

<sup>47</sup> Tommila II, p. 216.

<sup>48</sup> HyKM, Katri Lehdon lahjoitukset, Loppi winter court sessions 17–18 February 1696, 22–23 February 1697; Tommila II, pp. 244–246; Keskitalo 1964, pp. 50–51.

captivity in Russia. The weakened Finnish troops retreated to the non-occupied area of Sweden; the military expedition to Norway became the end of some soldiers that had been taken from Kytjärvi and Hyvinkää.<sup>49</sup>

It is not easy to identify the allotted soldiers or their families in the sources. From the last decades of the 17th century, there are surviving church records from the Nurmijärvi parish. In those records, however, the demographic development of 10 years is presented on one page per farm or village. Often, there are only rather unclear omissions and additions, such as undated comments 'gone to the [battle]field' (Sw. *rest till felt*). Nevertheless, there are soldiers' widows mentioned in the documents. As long as the allotted soldier was alive, the *ruotu* was expected to support his wife. However, as there were soon several men taken from each *ruotu*, and several of them were married, there were soon quite many widows and wives with meagre prospects.<sup>50</sup> Once again, the effects of war are obvious in the ratio of men and women: there were 157 adult women in the congregation records, and only 96 men.<sup>51</sup>

Conditions were dire. In addition to the war efforts, a plague had killed tens of inhabitants in southern parts of the parish in 1711. By the next year, almost half of the farms of the Nurmijärvi parish had been marked as abandoned.<sup>52</sup> On the top of this came the military occupation. In the autumn of 1713, Russian troops overtook Helsinki, marching towards the Häme Castle.<sup>53</sup> When the Russian troops invaded southern Finland, Samuel Eriki Mechenenius (1676–1723), the parish minister, escaped. According to his own account of the events, he was forced to flee in totally

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<sup>49</sup> Tommila II, pp. 220–221; Lehto 1989, pp. 53–54.

<sup>50</sup> Lehto 1989, p. 53.

<sup>51</sup> Tommila II, p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> Records of the dead and buried of the Nurmijärvi Congregation in 1711, Nurmijärvi Congregation.

<sup>53</sup> Keskitalo 1964, p. 178.

unexpected circumstances with his wife and children, through the forests and across the sea.<sup>54</sup>

The records are incomplete during the war years that followed. During the most chaotic years of 1714–1717, much of the property of the Nurmijärvi congregation was robbed. Many inhabitants of the parish escaped to less known forest dwellings or even farther away, to unknown residences, to return again around the year 1720.<sup>55</sup> For some, however, it was enough to move from the restless Hyvinkää to Kytäjärvi, and to return after the war was over. During the military occupation, the closest support for the local communities was offered by the assistant clergyman, Thomas Kelsinius, assisted by a local tenant of Näs Manor of Kytäjärvi: Olaus Wallius, previously a student of the Royal Academy of Turku.<sup>56</sup>

It is illustrative that in comparison, most of the more remote farms of Kytäjärvi survived the military occupation in the hands of the same families, while the farms in Hyvinkää, situated roadside, were abandoned except for the Nikkilä farm, which kept the inn for travellers. From the year 1714 onwards, the road between the coast and the inland was in the use of the Russian troops, and now it was their maintenance that mattered.<sup>57</sup> The stagecoach service was heavy – again explaining why the roadside villages suffered most.<sup>58</sup> In addition, natural resources were taken for the fleet. When the assessor, statistician Ulrik Rudenschöld, travelled through the area some decades later, he noted that the biggest local

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<sup>54</sup> RA, Acta Ecclesiastica vol. 88, Nurmijärvi, Samuel Mechelinus' own account on the events, Stockholm 22.1.1718.

<sup>55</sup> Tommila II, pp. 6–10.

<sup>56</sup> Protocols of Deanery inspection, 4 May 1718, 7 March 1718, Nurmijärvi Congregation; Tommila II, pp. 8, 303–310, 315; Lehto 1989, p. 46; Yrjö Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852: Olof Wallius*. Database 2005 <https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.helsinki.fi/henkiloid.php?id=2937>.

<sup>57</sup> Keskitalo 1964, p. 178.

<sup>58</sup> Keskitalo 1964, pp. 180–181.

trees had been hewn for masts during the Russian occupation.<sup>59</sup> There are also some surviving solid stone formations called ‘Russian ovens’ (Fin. *ryssänuunit*) that may have been used by Russian troops during the occupation.<sup>60</sup>

The Russian fiscal records are not available; however, it is known that the local administration was to certain extent replaced with commissaries – doing tasks that normally would have been taken care of by a local priest, for example – and *starosti*, ordinary freeholders who were to collect the taxes. As has been pointed out by Christer Kuvaja, the flight of civil servants meant that the Russian administration did not get much local help or expertise in arranging the military government (1715–1717) or later civil administration (1717–1721).<sup>61</sup> The taxes were not heavy as such, but as many of the inhabitants had escaped and their farms were desolated; the solvency was not good. There were some economic prospects as well, however: from the 1718 onwards, there are custom entries that record the selling of beer and spirits from the villages to Russian troops stationed in Helsinki.<sup>62</sup>

Finally, in 1721, the Peace Treaty of Uusikaupunki (Sw. Nystad) was agreed on and signed. While the treaty ultimately meant the end of military occupation, there were still questions that had to be settled. The retreated regiments had to be relocated back to the Finnish soil, and there were prisoners of war who could be expected to return to their homes or regiments. The living conditions remained harsh and nourishment had to be sought in emergency food. In January 1731, the allotted soldier Hans Weikman

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<sup>59</sup> Ruuth 1899, p. 165.

<sup>60</sup> Sikopesänmäki, ID 106010003, as reported at Kyppi (Cultural Environment Service Window) of Museovirasto (Finnish Heritage Agency), see <https://www.kyppi.fi/to.aspx?id=112.106010003>; cf. Suhonen 2007.

<sup>61</sup> Kuvaja 1999, pp. 336–337.

<sup>62</sup> In December 1719, Matts Andersson from Hyvinkää reported 30 pottles (Fin. *kannu*, Sw. *kanna*) of beer, totalling some 80 litres, to Helsinki. KA, Läänintilit 7066, Turun kenraalikuvernementin tilit 1719 f. 493v; Tommila II, pp. 191–192.

from Kytjärvi went to the forest to collect pine bark for bread, got lost in the whirling snow, fell into water, and was consequently frozen to death under a tree. One farmer from his *ruotu*, Henrik Haratta, paid for the ringing of the bells in his burial.<sup>63</sup>

Because the strength of the returning regiments was low, thousands of Swedish soldiers were added to the troops that were sent to Finland, and many of them remained and were assimilated to the Finnish population as crofters and occasional craftsmen.<sup>64</sup> These soldiers were involved in restoring the Kytjä manor that had already been subject to property disputes and fallen into decay in the hands of tenants in the late 17th century.<sup>65</sup>

In the year 1740, the estate of Kytjä was bought by noble Captain Gustav Wulfcrona (1693–1754), originally a merchant's son from Stockholm, who had started his officer career at an early age.<sup>66</sup> After Wulfcrona had bought the Kytjä manor, he brought the first crofters to the village – Swedish soldiers who had been previously serving in his company in Häme. The position of these soldiers reflects the above-mentioned similarities in the status of allotted soldiers and crofters. Captain Wulfcrona may have hoped to have Swedish-speaking crofters to ease possible communication problems. The former soldiers also had skills in handicrafts and they seem to have gradually assimilated into the community; however, the marriages between soldiers' sons and daughters in the first generation may implicate that the assimilation to the local families was not straightforward.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Records of the dead and buried of the Nurmijärvi Congregation, Hans Weikman's death 9 January 1731, buried 7 February 1731; Payment for the church bells after Hans Weikman is recorded in February 1731, on the second last page of the Account Books 1724–1730 of Nurmijärvi congregation.

<sup>64</sup> Vuorimies 2015, pp. 53–70.

<sup>65</sup> Tommila II, p. 85; Lehto 1989, pp. 45–47, 84.

<sup>66</sup> Records of the dead and buried of the Nurmijärvi congregation, Captain Wulfcrona's death after 10 January and burial 31 January 1754.

<sup>67</sup> Vuorimies 2015, pp. 177, 213, 221–222, 246.

It has been pointed out by Heikki Vuorimies that, in many ways, the Swedish allotted soldiers who settled in the area of Häme – in this case, on the very southern border of Häme – could be seen as a welcomed workforce that helped in restoration and recovery.<sup>68</sup> However, not every soldier settling down was in a good shape or contributed to the prosperity of the community. The soldiers were remarkably often present in court cases, accused of excessive drinking, fighting and promiscuity.

Soldiers fined for illicit intercourse reoccur in the account books of the Nurmijärvi congregation.<sup>69</sup> In Kytäjärvi, one of the troublesome figures of the post-war period was Johan Piquett (Picett, Pikett, Pickett, Biquelt), allotted soldier of Sipilä and three other farms; he featured in many court cases in the 1720s and 1730s and was referred to as an ungodly person by the court records.<sup>70</sup> He fathered an illegitimate daughter with a servant girl in 1728 and there were doubts about bigamy, as Piquett seemed to have a bride in Sweden as well. A death sentence was passed; however, the death took its toll in another form, as Piquett eventually drowned in Kytäjärvi in 1736.<sup>71</sup>

Despite some conflicts of interests, however, the most difficult times were now in the past. Although the Russo-Swedish War (1741–1743) meant yet another mobilisation against Russia, as well as a short period of military occupation known as the Lesser Wrath, the losses were not big or long-lasting.<sup>72</sup> When it came

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<sup>68</sup> Vuorimies 2015.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Account books of Nurmijärvi congregation, May–June 1730.

<sup>70</sup> KA II 39, Loppi winter court session 1730, p. 30; Tommila II, pp. 221–222.

<sup>71</sup> Records of the baptized children of Nurmijärvi congregation, 11.2.1728; Records of the dead and buried of Nurmijärvi congregation, 27 August 1736. Ruotu farmer Erik Eriksson of Sipilä paid the ringing of the burial bells; see Account books of Nurmijärvi congregation, September 1736; Lehto 1989, pp. 179–181. About similar suspicions of bigamy in near villages, see Lehto 1989, pp. 187, 189.

<sup>72</sup> Tommila II, pp. 10–11.

to the residents of Kytjärvi and Hyvinkää, possibly the biggest damage was done to the aforementioned Captain Wulfcrona, and, more precisely, to his reputation. Wulfcrona participated to the disastrous battle in Lappeenranta in 1741 and was later rumoured to have deserted in a cowardly manner. To defend himself and his honour, he started a lawsuit and several petitions that only led to a posthumous compensation in 1755.<sup>73</sup>

Although the actual military campaigns were not very lengthy after the peace treaty in 1721, military readiness was still present in the form of the allotment system that was only dissolved in 1809. The allotted soldiers participated in the building and maintenance of Fortress Sveaborg on the islands off Helsinki shore. Via limestone supplies, Kytjärvi inhabitants also contributed to the building of the new fortress structures in the Häme Castle.<sup>74</sup> The allotted soldiers even went to the Pomeranian War, fought in 1757–1762, and came home with a plant, potato, that would later on help to support their communities. It has been observed that the cultivation of potatoes emerged most prominently on fields that were allotted to veterans of the Pomeranian War, although the plant was, at first, considered more of a luxury than a primary source of nutrition.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> HyKM, Hyvinkään historiatoimikunnan arkisto, Carl Henrik Wrangel to the court-martial prosecutor Mannerfeldt, 22 May 1742; Records of the Court of Appeal, 19 December 1752, Gustav Wulfcrona's 'humble pro memoria' 4 February 1747 and 27 January 1753, The Royal Order 21 February 1755, as copies from the Kytjä Manor Archives (copies of originals).

<sup>74</sup> Ruuth 1899, p. 139; Kalkkikallio, ID 1000028558, as reported at Kyppi (Cultural Environment Service Window) of Museovirasto (Finnish Heritage Agency), see <https://www.kyppi.fi/to.aspx?id=112.1000028558>; Koskinen 2007, pp. 294–305; A field excursion to the limestone quarries of Ridasjärvi and Kytjä with Seppo Söderholm and the archaeologist Tarja Knuutinen, 29 August 2016.

<sup>75</sup> Tommila II, pp. 126–127, 221–223.

## Conclusion

Above, I have presented and discussed the local long-term effects of the Swedish warfare and the obligation to maintain armies. While the studied area is very limited, the local experiences mostly follow the big patterns of the warfare effects. Of the period of c.1550–1750, only some three to five years involved the presence of the enemy troops in the studied area; however, the toll of war as well as the military readiness are present at almost any given moment, in the loss of the male workforce, in the growing percentage of insolvency, in the lists of soldier widows, in the dwellings of allotted soldiers.

At first, in the 16th century, there is the growing tax burden and the obligation to maintain the troops of the crown. The great shock, in the form of conscriptions, can be seen in the 1630s, along the lines with new noble landowners disturbing the local power balance. While there was a period of recovery during the late 17th century, the disastrous climate conditions, crop failures and warfare had devastating effects on local communities in the turn of the 18th century. Recovery was often slow, or just did not happen.

Being situated on the roadside posed a threat to a village in troubled times. It is also evident from the point of view of the court records that the return to peace was far from being a peaceful process: the returning soldiers were often prosecuted for restless life that disturbed the villagers. On the other hand, however, there was also assimilation of soldiers originally coming from the area of the present-day Sweden, and the effects or army maintenance had more subtle consequences on an individual level.

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