

# Summary

## The Forest Finn colonisation in Norrland, Sweden

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### Part I Introduction

#### Chapter 1) Introduction

During the late 16<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, vast areas of the Scandinavian conifer belt were colonised by Finnish slash-and-burn cultivators, mainly originating from Savolax in eastern Finland. Referred to as Forest Finns, they settled from Tiveden in southern Sweden to Lapland in the north, from Gästrikland on the east coast to Norwegian Telemark in the west. Although this colonisation mainly occurred in a relatively short, intensive period, settlement became more concentrated during the following century.

This thesis deals with the Forest Finn colonisation in Norrland and the adjoining areas of Dalarna.

The aim of the thesis is to investigate this colonisation from a broad and comprehensive perspective. The investigation studies Forest Finn migration, colonisation, sources of livelihood, landscape and culture from a historical-geographical perspective. The aim is also to illustrate the perspectives of men and women, children and elderly.

The thesis addresses the following questions:

- 1 What aspects of Forest Finn history require further investigation, thematically and geographically, against the background of earlier and current research?
- 2 How is the concept of Forest Finns as well as related concepts to be defined? What are the characteristics of the Forest Finn colonisation and culture?
- 3 How do the Forest Finn activities manifest themselves both from a top-down perspective as well as from a perspective regarding the Forest Finns as actors and subjects? Here the main concept of the thesis, strategies, is introduced.
- 4 How can the Forest Finn strategies be illustrated and investigated from a landscape perspective?

#### Chapter 2) Forest Finn research and human geographic perspectives

The earliest publications dealing with the origins of Forest Finns are travel books and reports of study trips during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, but only as parts of wider accounts.

The late 1700s and early 1800s saw the appearance of publications concerning the Forest Finns primarily, such as those written by Porthan and Rûhs, even though they never met the Forest Finns. Gottlund was the first to make study visits to the Forest Finn areas, and his diaries from 1817-21 are of great value.

During the 1880s, Segerstedt collected information about the Forest Finns by sending questions by mail to the different areas. The collection was later deposited both at the Helsinki University Library and at the Academy of Letters, Antiquities and History (Vitterhetsakademien) in Stockholm (now deposited at the Swedish National Heritage Board, Riksantikvarieämbetet). In 1888 the first thesis was made by Petrus Nordmann, *Finnarne i mellersta Sverige* (The Forest Finns in middle Sweden). During this time study trips by Finnish scholars to the Forest Finn area of Värmland started and they continued some decades into the 1900s.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century came research and publications dealing with the Forest Finns' dispersal, economy, settlements, maps, genealogy, family names, place-names and architecture, often limited to smaller geographical areas and restricted topics. Many of these publications were based on insufficient studies of source material and characterised by a lack of scientific planning, especially when it comes to investigations about the Forest Finns in Norrland.

Many authors have used available literature as their main source and thereby quoted earlier authors instead of doing their own basic research. Some statements made by a scholar in the late 1800s, based on uncertain sources, have been repeated unquestioningly in many books, thus creating circular evidence and becoming axioms that have not been properly investigated.

Forest Finn research has hence during a long period of time been built on an uneven basis, and fundamental research is necessary from a comprehensive perspective.

From the middle of the 1990s, research methods have been improved. The Forest Finn Network FINNSAM ([www.finnsam.org](http://www.finnsam.org)) has further improved the possibilities for co-operation between both leisure-time researchers and scholars. Seminars, conferences and collaborative projects have given better opportunities for Forest Finn research. A number of books and other publications have resulted, such as the book *Det skogsfinska kulturarvet* (The Forest Finn cultural heritage) from 2001.

From the late 1900s came dissertations dealing with the Forest Finns. Per Jonssons *Finntorparna i Mången* (Forest Finn crofters in Mången) from 1989 was a historic-materialistic thesis about the proletarianisation of Forest Finns in Hällefors in Bergslagen

Tuula Eskeland wrote in 1994 her thesis *Fra Diggasborrå til Diggasbekken* (From Diggasborrå to Diggasbekken) about Forest Finn place-names in Finnskogen in Norway. The following year, Gabriel Bladh defended his thesis about the Forest Finns in northern Värmland, called *Finnskogens landskap och människor under fyra sekler* (The landscape and people of Finnskogen during 400 years). In 2002 Eija Lähtenmäki wrote a thesis about the early Forest Finn migration to Karlskoga during late 16<sup>th</sup> century, with the Finnish title *Ruotsin suomalaismetsien synty. Savolainen liikkuvuus vanhemmalla Vaasa-kaudella* (The origin of the Swedish Finn forests and Savolax mobility during the period of the Vasa kings).

None of these dissertations deals with the Forest Finns in Norrland. The conclusion is that a comprehensive study about the Forest Finn colonisation in Norrland is needed. The investigation of earlier and current research demonstrates the complexity of the Forest Finns' history. Forest Finn research is thus linked with contemporary concerns in human geography.

At the end of this chapter the introductory questions from chapter 1 are discussed and expanded and questions have been added using the concepts strategies, ethnic signs and cluster as tools.

### **Chapter 3) Methods and sources**

The chapter starts with a presentation of methods based on the different types of sources. In the investigation use has been made of a variety of sources, and methods have varied depending on the requirements of the source material, which is uneven. Not all types of sources are to be found everywhere, and the material varies between the different Forest Finn areas.

In part statistical material has been collected, allowing results to be presented in databases and diagrams. Other material, such as legal documents from court books and hearings (*rannsakningar*), needs interpretation and the use of qualitative methods. One of the methods used is the narrative perspective, where the "telling" part becomes important, especially since the empirical material is very essential for the thesis. The narrative method has its advantages by making source materials understandable, but there are also problems, for instance when it comes to selection. The reader has very little control over what type of material that is chosen or not chosen.

Among the main sources for the thesis are historical maps, mainly dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century but also some from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Some areas have maps dating back to 1639, which gives them an exceptional position among source materials. The maps were commissioned by the land-surveying

authorities and their content reflects the needs of the state authorities. In 1639 this meant calculating how much tax a Forest Finn farm could pay, so the fields were measured very thoroughly whereas their exact location was less important. The farm might sometimes be drawn in the wrong place or upside down. The name of the owner was not recorded, as the farmer was not important as a person, only as a tax payer. Gradually the information and the accuracy of the maps increased and later maps give more information. It is necessary to assess maps in relation to the purpose for which they were made.

Fiscal material provides important sources. Tax records, military records and church records, dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, provide especially information about families and individuals. Essential for the thesis are the court books, which have existed since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As the other sources mostly give information about the official owner of a farm (mostly men), the court books and church records are important to tell about women, and sometimes also children and old people.

Another important type of sources is the hearings (*rannsakingar*). They were made mostly to estimate the value of Forest Finn farms. They provide a lot of information about farms, and in some areas tell about the type of buildings on the farm and their size.

There is also other documentary material, for instance the diaries made during 1817-21 by Gottlund, as previously mentioned. As he actually visited some Forest Finn areas, his notes are very valuable for current research. But it is necessary to be critical of the source, as the documentation about the earliest Forest Finns contains some errors. The informant might have mixed names up or Gottlund might have made mistakes in his notes, but as a whole his diaries are very useful.

In addition, there are oral sources such as legends. They sometimes tell about authentic events, mostly adjusted to be told as exciting stories. However, they also include stories that cannot be proved via the court books, as for instance “wars” between Forest Finns and Swedes.

## **Part II     The Forest Finns**

### **Chapter 4) Colonisation**

The chapter starts with a brief presentation of the background of the Forest Finns in Finland.

From the 13<sup>th</sup> century until 1809, Finland was part of Sweden, and strictly speaking the Forest Finns were also Swedes, although the culture and background history of the two peoples were different. The thesis uses the term Forest Finns to denote those originating in Eastern Finland.

This was not the first migration over the Baltic Sea, as throughout history there has been a constant flow of ideas, inventions, labour and culture between the two countries. However, this was the first migration from Finland to Sweden resulting in colonisation.

In the Middle Ages, Eastern Finland was sparsely populated, although some areas, termed in Swedish *erämarker*, were used for hunting and fishing. Eastern Finnish and Slavic tribes developed a slash-and-burn technique for cultivating rye in the vast conifer forests, a technique which was later adopted by the people of Savolax.

The permanent settlement of Eastern Finland's *erämarker*, which began during the late Middle Ages, was given a boost by the Swedish king Gustav Vasa (1523–60), who tried to encourage farmers to settle new lands by granting tax exemption for as many as 6–15 years. Farmers from Western Finland and Sweden showed little interest in settling these forest areas, but the people of Savolax, who had learned an effective slash-and-burn technique, colonised the area in great numbers. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century a great number of Savo people settled in northern Tavastland, especially the area of Rautalampi, but also in Österbotten and the area of Ruovesi. The drawback with this method of

cultivation was that each farm required a vast forest area and, consequently, by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Eastern Finland, although sparsely populated by today's standards, was effectively overpopulated. Those seeking new lands to colonise had no other choice but to look westwards to the Swedish side of the Baltic Sea.

This chapter also deals with the area of distribution. The first Forest Finns who arrived during the 1580s settled in Viksjö in Ångermanland, Södermanland, Tiveden and Karlskoga in Värmland. A decade later the first Finns arrived in Gästrikland, nearby parishes in Hälsingland and Dalarna, and the border between Hälsingland and Medelpad.

During the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Gästrikland and southern Hälsingland became important gateways for a further gradual migration, even after the available forestland in the local area was settled. Many Finns stayed with relatives or friends for some time before moving north or further west towards Orsa Finnmark or southwest to Bergslagen and onwards to Värmland and Norway. In Bergslagen, in particular, severe restrictions were imposed on slash-and-burn cultivation as early as the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century as a result of strong opposition from the influential mining companies. Because of this, many forest Finns decided to move to Värmland where they could buy forest land, settle and continue to cultivate in their own way. Some of them also moved to Norway. The Forest Finn areas in northwestern Värmland and Solør in Norway were therefore settled quite late. Often the settlers were second or even third generation forest Finns. In spite of this, the Solør-Värmland areas retained the Finnish language, buildings and traditions longest.

A map of Forest Finn settlements in Scandinavia can be found in Figure 4:2. A map showing the distribution of the Forest Finns in Norrland is to be found in the plastic envelope at the back of the book.

## **Chapter 5) Forest Finn perspective**

This chapter discusses the concept of Forest Finns (Sw. *skogsfinnar*), referring also to the concept used in Norway (*skogfinner*) and Finland (*metsäsuomalaiset*) and to the Swedish concept Swidden Finns (*Svedjefinnar*) that was a common expression for some years in the 1980s and 1990s.

The terminology used for the Forest Finn areas is also discussed. Some of them have proper names like Alfta Finnskog (the Finn Forest of Alfta) or Orsa Finnmark (the Finnish Land in Orsa).

The chapter further deals with discussions about earlier Finnish migration to the Swedish part of the kingdom as well as other Fenno-Ugric groups in Sweden such as *socken-lappar* ("parish Samis")

Finally in the chapter is a discussion about power, gender and generations. Women, children and elderly were rarely seen in fiscal records. The master, who on the deed was the owner of the farm, represented the farm in official matters, although, if the husband was dead, the widow could officially be in charge of the farm.

Both according to the state authorities and the church, normal everyday life was structured in a hierarchical order, whereby men's supremacy and women's inferiority were institutionalised. However, there were also factors within the Forest Finn household that show that the interpretation of Forest Finn social life was more complex.

All farms (Swedish and Finnish) were dependent on both female and male labour. As the fields of responsibility were so different between husband and wife, the household was dependent on both as "master and matron" of the farm. The wife did not interfere with her husband's duties and vice versa.

## **Chapter 6) Ethnic signs in Forest Finn culture**

A further issue deals with the ethnic sign as a tool to investigate Forest Finn culture. That also brings up the question about how and why the Forest Finns' ethnic signs arose.

The concepts diffusion and innovation help sort out how the culture and cultural elements were spread and developed. Here slash-and-burn as a cultivation method is investigated to find out if it had spread from one culture to another or if it arose among the Forest Finns and developed there.

The result shows that slash-and-burn probably came from eastern Slavic tribes, but was on the other hand further developed by the Forest Finns.

The Forest Finns were expert in a special form of slash-and-burn cultivation in spruce forests that gave very good harvests (Fi huuhta). Slash-and-burn cultivation was the dominant form of occupation in the Forest Finn areas, particularly during the first phase of the colonisation. These skills were important for colonisation in forest areas and the Forest Finns were therefore welcomed in Sweden. During the initial years of their colonisation, they were granted exemption from payment of taxes. However, slash-and-burn cultivation demanded access to large areas of forest and from the second quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the interests of the Finnish settlers came into conflict with those of the burgeoning mining industry, which required the forest for charcoal production. Subsequent laws and regulations limited and, in some areas, prohibited slash-and-burn cultivation and soon the Forest Finns had to change their occupation.

The slash-and-burn cultivation started in early spring the first year, when the spruce trees were cut or ring-barked and left to dry. After a year or two they were burned in late June. When the ashes had cooled down the rye was sown. The type of seed was called forest rye, a special kind of rye which grows in tussocks. The forest Finns tried to time the sowing of the rye so that it would coincide with low pressure, which would bring rain. The seedlings, which grew in the summer, were grazed by cattle in the autumn. The following year the rye plants started to grow again. A 40-fold yield was not unusual. A fence was erected round the cultivated area to prevent game and cattle reaching the plants. Later the same summer or in early autumn, the rye was harvested with sickles and dried either in a drying house or, if the weather was favourable, in long ricks. The period from burning to harvest took 3-4 years.

Normally only two harvests could be obtained from one slash-and-burn site. Sometimes turnips could be grown for a year or two afterwards but then the area was left desolate. The grass, which continued to grow on the site, provided grazing or winter fodder for cattle for many years.

Cattle-raising and dairy farming were also important occupations for the Forest Finns. The old slash-and-burn sites and marshlands provided fodder. Gathering fodder, on which the cattle depended from November until beginning of May, was an important summer occupation. In the summer months the cattle were left outside to graze during the daytime. They were brought in for milking in the evening and kept indoors at night. In the morning, after milking, they were let out to graze again. Tending the cattle, dairy production and taking care of the house and children were female chores, while the men were mainly responsible for the slash-and-burn sites, hunting and fishing. Sometimes young, unmarried women could perform tasks normally done by men, but a man seldom did female work.

Usually the Finns settled close to a lake or stream where there was a good supply of fish. They used nets to catch fish as well as cages and various types of seine nets or traps set in inlets. These various types of traps were very similar throughout northern Scandinavia, Finland and northwestern Russia.

Hunting was also important. Small game such as birds and hares were caught in gins. They were not allowed to hunt big game, such as elk, freely. But, since they were known to be good hunters, many forest Finns were commissioned to hunt large game and sell the hides to the Crown. Elk hide was used extensively in the manufacture of military material. Lynx, beaver, mink, marten and squirrel were also shot and sold to the Crown.

Conventional arable farming also had some importance. First of all the Forest Finns had to cultivate a certain amount of acres along with a certain number of houses to get the farms approved. When barley

was cultivated on boulder clay it did not give as good harvests as on the slash-and-burn sites. *Finnplog* was a type of Finnish plough used in conventional farming in areas where the fields were stony.

The Forest Finns also had ancillary occupations, for example as smiths or charcoal makers, which varied with the geographical area and season.

The Forest Finns' buildings are very obvious ethnic signs, as they were made in a special traditional style. The houses were built from logs with the dovetail corner ties typical of the north Scandinavian Barents region. The dwelling was a blackhouse or "smoke cottage" (Fi *savutupa*, Sw *rökstuga*) that did not have any chimney. The main living room contained a large square stone oven ("smoke oven") that, once heated, would store the heat. It was situated in a corner of the room and could take up almost  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the floor area. A hole in the ceiling led the smoke through a wooden channel to the roof. If the construction was done properly a maximum amount of heat would be kept in the room while the smoke would be led away through the wooden channel without causing any discomfort to those in the room.

The Forest Finns also built saunas, small square houses for steam baths. The stone oven in the sauna was simpler and constructed so as to heat up quickly and to give off its heat in a few hours. A bench was constructed on the back wall of the sauna right under the ceiling. The sauna did not have any wooden channel to let the smoke out, only small apertures in the walls. When the oven was fired it was left until the fire had burnt down. After the smoke had cleared it was time to put water on the hot stones and take a bath. The heat in this type of smoke sauna is much more "smooth" than the heat in modern electric saunas. Usually the Forest Finns took a bath at least once a week, all the family together. These saunas can still be found in Bergslagen, and along with smoke cottages have been preserved in Värmland and in Norway.

The third type of building characteristic of the forest Finns was the drying house (Fi *riihi*, Sw *ria*). It resembles the sauna with a stone stove in the corner, but was higher to allow for the thin cross-timbers which made a floor on which the rye was dried. The sheaves of rye were placed standing on the timbers and dried from the heat and smoke from the stove below. Today there are drying houses left in parts of Värmland, Bergslagen in the border area between Gästrikland, southern Hälsingland and Dalarna and also in central Norrland.

An important ethnic sign was the Eastern Finnish Savolax dialect spoken by the Forest Finns. They also had family names typical for Eastern Finland traditions, such as Tarvainen. Today, remnants of the language and dialect can be traced in the place-names that still remain in many Forest Finn areas, especially in the names of small lakes (Fi. *lampi*), swamps (Fi. *suo*) and small mountains (Fi. *mäki*).

In the thesis handicraft is also investigated as an ethnic sign, but, unlike buildings and language, handicraft is less easy to characterise as an ethnic sign. The Forest Finns were skilful in working birch bark. Shoes, backpacks, sheathes for knives, storage vessels and the like were all made from birch bark, but these items resemble Swedish and Norwegian handicraft, so they might be considered typical for the conifer belt as a whole. However, there are two elements that might be seen as typical Forest Finn handicraft: one is a type of L-shaped spindle (Sw. *spånadsfäste*) and the other a type of wooden wrapped box with a lid and construction that differs somewhat from the Scandinavian types. These Forest Finn handicrafts are also to be found in northwestern Russia.

The Forest Finns brought their food traditions and some of these have remained up to this day. The most well known dish is *motti* (Fi *mutti*), a dry porridge made of water, flour and salt. *Motti* recipes vary from area to area. In the north, in Ångermanland, Medelpad and Hälsingland, *motti* is made from barley and served with lingonberry jam and milk. In some parts of Hälsingland *motti* is eaten with white sauce and bacon. In Orsa Finnmark *motti* is made of barley, but mixed with fish stock instead of water. In Bergslagen, Värmland and Norway, *motti* is made of oats with bacon and gravy on the side. *Motti* was once an everyday dish, especially for the poor, but today it is only eaten on festive occasions. No farmstead festivity in a Forest Finn area is complete without *motti* being served. In that respect *motti* becomes interesting, not only as historical phenomenon but also as an example of Forest Finn revitalisation and a modern ethnic sign.

## Part III The Forest Finns and their strategies

### Chapter 7-11 Strategies – migration, access and social strategies

A main concept in the thesis is strategy. Strategy can be defined as a long-term, comprehensive course of action in order to reach a goal. The concept is also used in the military in the meaning to use force against an enemy to reach political goals. Within economics the concept roughly means taking a long-term consideration with the aim of benefiting the company's future, related to competition, access to markets, power relations, laws and institutional frames.

In this thesis Forest Finn strategies are investigated. However, there is a problem finding a satisfactory definition of the concept in the literature. Many scholars use the concept, but without defining it. Nonetheless, concepts such as economic and household strategies, and coping strategies, are useful tools.

In addition, concepts like actors and structures supplement strategies. As examples can be mentioned intentional actions, habitual behaviour, mass actions and processes revealing goals and methods. Structures may be divided into materialistic systems, social structures, cultural structures and nature-given conditions.

I have investigated on the one hand the king's and the state authorities' strategies, seen from a top-down perspective that regarded the Forest Finns as objects, and on the other hand examined them as actors and subjects from the Forest Finn's collective and individual perspectives.

Early scholars claimed that the migration was ruled by the dynasty of the Vasa kings, especially Duke Charles. It has been argued that he imported Forest Finns because he needed settlers to establish farms in his county. Since the Forest Finns were experts in slash-and-burn cultivation, they were able to colonise successfully the vast spruce forests that previously had only been used for hunting and fishing. There are arguments to support that theory at least to some extent, but it cannot explain the migration and colonisation as a whole.

There were many reasons for migration- Several factors led farmers from Eastern Finland to seek a safer and more viable retreat in the West. During the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Sweden and Russia were in constant conflict and the battles which raged often took place in the Finnish borderlands. Besides having to suffer the ravages and deprivations of war inflicted by the enemy, farmers had to provide for billeted soldiers. Oppression by the Swedish nobility, in particular the governor Klas Fleming, further exacerbated their situation. This finally led to the outbreak of civil war during the winter of 1596–1597. The unarmed farmers sought assistance from the Swedish Duke Charles, who is said to have responded to their appeal by saying “Don't you have clubs? Use them to fight with!” Because of this the civil war was called the War of the Clubs. The farmers were beaten in every battle, but the war gave Duke Charles a chance to remove his nephew King Sigismund from the throne and to make himself regent of Sweden instead. During and after the war, a large number of Finns moved to Sweden's forest areas, large tracts of which were uncultivated and free of settlement, as the Swedish farmers lived in coastal areas or in river valleys where the soils were more suited to arable farming. Some Forest Finns escaped from military service or from punishment from a crime. Some were adventurers seeking new challenges while a few sought jobs in the mining companies.

However, the major part of the Forest Finns searched for new land to colonise, to settle and make farms (Sw. *hemman*). There were many ways a Forest Finn family could acquire a new settlement. The most common at the beginning of the colonisation was to obtain a letter of permission (*nedsättningsbrev*). Having received proper written permission, they could search for a suitable area to settle. Before they could start to build the farm, however, their application had to be confirmed by the local authorities and representatives of the local farmers. Permission was not always granted unopposed since their proposed farm might be judged to be too close to already established Swedish farms. However, King Gustav Vasa had during the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century claimed all rights over forest areas more than 10 km from established farms when he said, “All land that is not settled, belongs to God, Us and the Swedish Crown.”

To be sure to keep the land around the farm-to-be, some Finns bought forestland from the local farmers, a practice that became increasingly common from the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Some Finns took up deserted farms, while others used summer grazing cottages (*fäbodar*) in agreement with the Swedish farmers who owned them. Some Finns also became innkeepers (*gästgivare*) or royal hunters. Both occupations gave benefits and easier access to a settlement or a farm.

It is also of interest to study the social and cultural strategies used by the Forest Finns. The first generations of Forest Finns kept to themselves when it came to marriage and thereby held the tacit knowledge about for instance slash-and-burn within the group. The Finnish language could be both a strategy and a barrier. When the Forest Finns did not want the Swedes to understand what they were talking about, the language was useful, but on the other hand this could create suspicion among the Swedes. Sometimes language problems led to conflicts.

## **Chapter 12 Strategies in conflict and changes**

Not only language but also differing economic interests led to conflicts. After the early decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, during which the Crown had favoured Forest Finns and their slash-and-burn cultivation, there followed a period of conflict with the mining industry and the Scandinavian farmers who claimed that the Finns were ruining the forests. The mining industry claimed the right to the forests since it was dependent on charcoal supplies. The farmers felt that the Finns, with their slash-and-burn technique and hunting, were occupying too much of the forest. There were also complaints about the so-called “loose Finns” or “stray Finns” (*lösfinnar*). These were usually young, unmarried men who lived and worked at a Finnish settlement during periods when labour was in high demand, such as when the spruce was cut or burned and during the harvest when a single family could not meet the labour demand on its own. When these “stray Finns” were not needed, they spent their time hunting and fishing, often not asking whose land they were operating on. This led to protests and in 1636 the Swedish Queen Christina issued a decree declaring that all Finns who were not settled in farms should either go back to Finland or be conscripted as soldiers. The established Finns made sure that they had all the necessary documents in order, while the non-established Finns tried to get farms of their own. However, during 1640s there were still up to 15 “stray Finns” on some farms. The farm owners could be fined for this, but somehow it must have been a profitable enterprise since the Finn farmers still kept the illegal labour. During the mid- 1650s migration slowed down, but the population density within the Finnish areas continued to increase for another 100 years or so.

In the thesis the concept cluster is used as a tool to investigate the Forest Finn economy. An often used definition says that a cluster is a geographically limited area where companies with similar or related activities are gathered. The companies within a cluster compete but also co-operate, as they share a certain amount of tacit knowledge and “spillover” knowledge. They need access to local resources, flexible and skilled labour, and favourable laws to establish themselves and that is one reason why clusters arise.

The Forest Finn economy within a geographical area can also be seen as a cluster, with slash-and-burn cultivation as a main occupation during the settlement period. During the first part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Forest Finns had access to resources (land and forest), skilled and flexible labour (stray Finns), tacit knowledge (slash-and-burn technique) and favourable laws. However, when subsequent laws and regulations limited and, in some areas, prohibited slash-and-burn methods and they could no longer keep stray Finns, the Forest Finns had to change their strategies.

## Part IV The Forest Finns and strategies in the landscape

### Chapter 13) The Forest Finn landscape

The chapter deals with the concepts landscape and cultural landscape from a Forest Finn perspective and also the strategies in the Forest Finn landscape. There are some dichotomies used in this chapter to show differences in views and interpretations between Forest Finns, Swedes, mining companies and the state.

The dichotomy arable farming – slash-and-burn shows a difference regarding requirements for cultivation. The former needed a (more or less) static area for growing crops, whereas slash-and-burn continually needed new forest land to cut and burn.

Centre-periphery relationships show different point of views about where the centre is situated. To a South European, Sweden is peripheral, from a Stockholm view Norrland is peripheral and to the Swedes the Forest Finn areas were peripheral. On the other hand, in the Forest Finns settlements the farm was the centre for the family who lived there. Space and place in a way gives the same impression. What is “place” for one group is “space” for another. Another dichotomy has to do with the question of owning land or having the right to use it. For a farmer, owning a piece of land was very essential, whereas for the Forest Finns, the basic need was the right to use forestland.

This raises the question of who belong to the landscape and to whom the landscape belongs. There were different opinions among the different groups – Forest Finns, Swedes, mining companies and the state – and therefore conflicts arose between them. As a conclusion, it can be said that it was often impossible for them to understand the others’ points of view.

### Chapter 14) Place-names – strategies in the landscape

Forest Finn place-names are used to give examples of how the Forest Finns used the strategy of naming their surroundings in Finnish, for instance to claim the access right to an area. The chapter shows how place-names can also give indications of the sources of livelihood. The frequency of names shows that many Forest Finn place-names refer to areas of importance for haymaking and cattle-raising. However, the most common names were the names of small lakes (Sw. *tjärnar*, Fi. *lampi*) that indicate that fishing was an important part of the Forest Finn household. However, they also indicate haymaking, as the small lakes are surrounded with rushes (*sjöfräken*) and bogs (*slättermyrar*), which provided fodder. Names indicating slash-and-burn exist but are not as common as names indicating haymaking, which suggests that the regulations against swiddening reduced the amount of names referring to it.

The place-names can be used to study Forest Finn strategies or patterns in name-giving. Here are some examples:

- Economy and livelihood strategies are shown in names given to areas for slash-and-burn or haymaking or to good fishing lakes
- Ethnicity is revealed when the first element of the name is “Finn-” on the borderland belonging to Swedes and “Svensk-” in names on the Forest Finn border area
- Ownership is shown by the names that indicate borders between Forest Finn farms, such as “Raja-” (border) and “Ritta-” (fight)
- Social strategies are shown when surnames and family names are used in the place names to claim access to an area
- Culture structure can be found when a place gets a name due to an event or phenomenon.

## **Part V      Conclusions and summary**

Chapter 15 consists of conclusions and a summary. The conclusions are already embedded in this Summary.

## **Part VI      References and appendix**