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The Forest as a Resource. Conflicts in the Northern Sweden Wooded land in the 19th century

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The Forest as a Resource

Conflicts in the Northern Sweden Wooded land in the 19th century

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ABSTRACT

The forest as a resource played an important role in the structural transformation process which would change Sweden from an agrarian to an industrial economy during the 19th century. This paper will analyze some of the conflicts regarding property rights by focusing on tensions between institutional change, small scale local landowners and forest corporations in Northern Sweden 1862-1906. An aim is to provide a basis for understanding the process of institutional change in general and more specifically how property rights of wooded land develop. The enclosure documents will be examined as source information about tensions between institutions, forest corporations and land in Northern Sweden 1862-1906.

The enclosure reform in Sweden, regulated by the *laga skifte* enactment from 1827, has been emphasized as an institutional factor of great importance in the transformation process since it determined and strengthened private property rights over land. Generally the reform is considered a solution to deal the problem of poorly managed forests, with the main argument that strengthened private property rights provided better management. For several reasons however the enclosure reforms created tensions in the local society which may challenge a one-sided positive view on the enclosure reform. Property rights include many dimensions and in comparison to e.g. arable land, property rights of the wooded land was often more complex and less defined. One source of conflict was therefore the uncertainties of ownership when land was to be redistributed as part of the reform. Another source of conflict was the diverging incentives among small scale local landowners as regards their respective benefits from the reform.¹ Some researchers argue that landowners who applied for enclosure were in the forefront and consider them as “entrepreneurs”. Others argue however that the enclosure reform was a way for landowners who had mismanaged their forest to benefit from a neighbor’s saved forest thorough the redistribution of land.

Yet another source of conflict was the industrial exploitation of forests. During the early 19th century forest corporations still acquired raw materials based on monopolized rights of property and for harvesting. Throughout the 19th century it was also common for corporations to purchase forest properties from private landowners, but in 1901 this business became legally prohibited. The issue of regional resource in Northern Sweden is still a today with controversies surrounding mining and river exploration.

Keyword: Northern Sweden, enclosure, 19th century, industrial revolution, institution, conflicts, property right.

JEL Code: N

¹ The *laga skifte* enactment was not based on consensus among private landowners of a village. Instead, the will of one landowner was sufficient for the reform to be implemented.

1. Introduction

The forest industry was a key factor in Swedish industrialization and the way to modern economic growth. 1830 was the start of the period of sawmill expansion. The same year as the Companies Act came into force in Sweden, in 1848, the industry's first joint stock company was formed and the first steam sawmill built. Seven years later the wood import had increased by 350 percent. And this was just the beginning. 1866 England annulled export duties on wood and this opened up for large-scale forest export industry. In the 1870s a new era in the timber industry begun - sawmill companies begun in large scale up buying up forest land to meet their increasing needs. The sawmill companies' role as an important national industry, became apparent, and becoming a factor of change for both nature and society, and they started playing an important role in politics.² The importance of woodland can be seen in statistics. Figure shows the use land in Sweden 1870-1910, where forest and wooded grazing ground slowly increases on behalf of natural grass land.³

Figure 1: Use of land in Sweden⁴

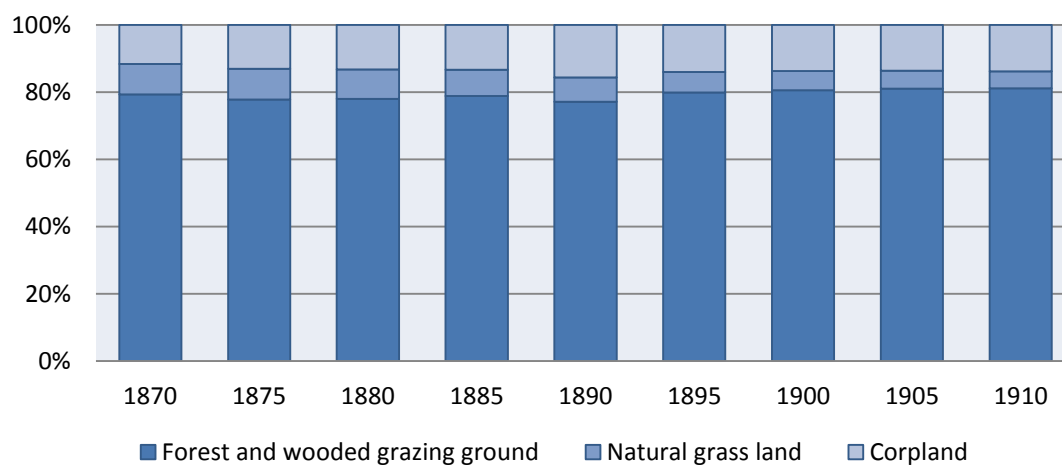


Figure 1 shows the general use of land in Sweden and how forest and wooded land slowly increases in statistics

This paper will explain the historical context, reveal some thoughts about material, methods, theoretical frame for the thesis. Analyze one conflict-area regarding property rights by focusing on the tensions between institutional change, small scale local landowners and sawmill companies in Northern Sweden. The paper will present a case study, a conflict between Limsta village and the sawmill company Kramfors. The case study will be the first test of my material and thoughts about my thesis project. This kind of case studies will provide a basis for understanding the process of institutional change in general and more specifically how property rights of wooded land develop. The overall goal of this paper is to answer the question: *How can the enclosure documents be a source to describe tension between institutions, forest corporations and landowners in Northern Sweden during the 19th century?* Furthermore, the dissertation project aims to address the institutional framework surrounding the management of forest resources and how they change in relation to the wood industry enterprises, local communities and the process of industrialization. The overall aim of the thesis is to contribute knowledge about resource utilization during this phase of industrialization and how it affected the local community.

The geographical area is set to the county of Västernorrland (see figure 2) during the 19th century. The 19th century was a time when industrialization in the North is breaking through. Also the parishes were

² SOU (1925) pp. 93ff.

³ Historisk statistik för Sverige (1959) p 79.

⁴ Historisk statistik för Sverige (1959) p 79.

reorganized into municipalities in 1863 when the municipal reform of 1862 entered into force. In 1906 a law was adopted that prevented the companies' takeover of forest properties. The specific example of conflict in this paper takes place in 1869-1873.

One way to get an interpretation of how forest as a resource played a role in society is through changes in prices. When the price of wood changes in relation to other goods, it indicates an underlying structural change. In economic institutional theory Douglass North suggests this as a force of institutional change. North also means that rigidities in the institutional transformation depends on code and habit institution complexity. Informal institutions are therefore more complex and hard to change.⁵ By analyzing conflicts between actors, it could help us understand how institutions changes and are created. Legal transactions are one material that can be approached for obtaining knowledge about conflicts between sawmill companies, local communities and woodland-owners.

Figure 2: Research area



After the introduction, part 1, this paper will largely present the geographical- and time-context in part 2 and 3. Part 4 includes the chosen source material, theoretical context and methods used. The conflict between sawmill company Kramfors and Limsta village is presented in part 5. Part 6 concludes the paper.

⁵ North (1990).

2. Woodland and industrialization: an introduction to Northern Sweden in the 19th century

The 19th century is characterized by the sawmill industry's growth and development in parallel with a major societal restructuring. To that Northern Sweden was characterized by subsistence economy and self-sufficiency, thus the forests can be seen as a surplus resource at the time.⁶ In Northern Sweden, the population grew from 245 000 in 1805, to 93 0000 in 1905. From 1805 to 1921 the population increased by 327 percent.⁷ The historian Robert Marks emphasizes that the overall growing population in Europe after the 15th century called for increased access of food and energy. This increase could come only from three sources; land reclamation, increased efforts on already cultivated surface and an increase of water or fertilizer. This part of society linked to the land-based economy Marks calls for the "biological old regime", a concept borrowed from Fernand Braudel. Whatever the political government or economic system, all the essentials for humans came from the earth.⁸

Based on the surplus-theory of economic development, Northern Sweden shows a surplus produced for export since 1860, which gave added value locally and in turn an incentive for productivity improvement. For industries, technical development and productivity went hand in hand until about 1950.⁹ The companies' large ownership share of woodland gave the companies huge assts. After the corporate prohibition law that banned companies from purchasing estates with belonging woodland, the sawmill companies in the Västernorrland county owned 441 asset units or land with an area of 1,087,002 hectares. 45.5 percent of Sweden's land was in private ownership.¹⁰ The local political system's voting-strength was based on the assessed value of property. This made it possible for an individual representative of a company to have the majority of votes in the parish meeting.¹¹

Resource value

The woodland can be a resource of more than economic aspects. Below are some alternative ways to look at the forest as a resource. The paper will mainly process the woodland as an economic resource. Woodland can also be an arena, a landscape and a resource-base for operators. The landscape has many different roles and one place can have different meanings for different individuals or groups.¹² Individuals have had different ways of seeing the landscape, depending on time, background and generation. Woodland could mean power, wealth, security and livelihood.¹³

As demand for wooded land resources increases, the monetary value of wood increases as well. Figure 3 shows an example of the monetary value of wood based on prices of standing forest timber for sale within home ranges in the Northern region of Norrbotten. The price is based on sawlog tree sold on root and applies per cubic meter. Table 3 shows how prices rise generally over time but also shows a stagnation in the sawmill industry in the first half of 1890's and the beginning of the 1900s. Lundgren says that positive deviations can be attributed to both business-cycle and to certain institutional events.¹⁴

⁶ North (1981), p 158ff.

⁷ Larsson (1923), p 2. 1921 Northern Sweden had 1 045 000 citizens.

⁸ Marks (2004), p 47ff. Wrigley (1962), p 1ff.

⁹ Lundgren (1984), p 157ff.

¹⁰ SOU (1925) p 96.

¹¹ Lundgren (1984), p 1.

¹² Saltzman, (2003), p 158 och p 203.

¹³ Ödman and Nordström (1982), p 145ff.

¹⁴ Lundgren (1984) p 106, p 211f.

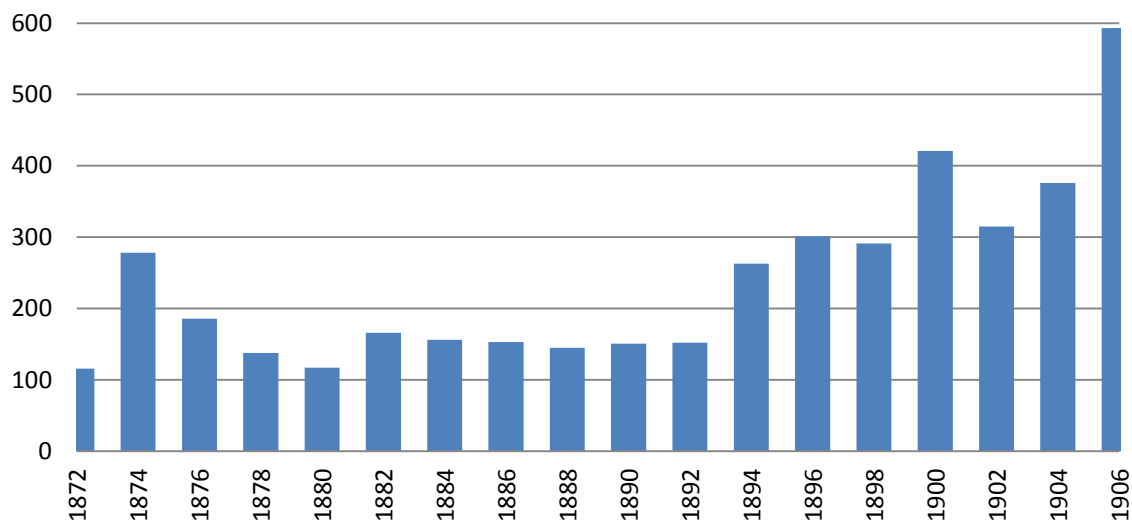
Figure 3: Prices of standing forest timber for sale¹⁵

Figure 3 shows an example of price trends of forest in Northern Sweden.

A brief literature review

Paul Warde has studied the forest resource and intent to understand early modern German society in what he calls "the wooden age". He looks at the relationships between the state and the material world. Warde sees the forest, both from an ecological perspective and from a wider economic perspective and further from the perspective of what the optimal behavior of the environment is in pre-industrial society. Warde's study demonstrates the informal institutions and formal institutions on the forest during the beginning of industrialization where the local community's institutional framework was resilient in Germany. The impact of availability and distribution of forest were complex and governed by both formal and informal rules. The distribution was not fair and hierarchies in society were a part of the resource distribution. Warde is trying to understand the economic development and shows that the overall institutional framework responded slowly to changing-pressure.¹⁶

To understand the 19th century conflicts it is necessary to understand the history of the woodland relations and ownership. By understanding how the forest was managed during the enclosure it is thereby possible to observe ownership law changes. Ronny Pettersson gives a picture of how the enclosure was used as a tool and guide for forest management. The idea was that through political controlling, private ownership rather than collective rights, would be equal with good woodland management. Within a private ownership cost and profits would flow to the same individual and therefore the enclosure would provide with good management that is sustained by itself. However, the maintenance of the forest did not result as intended. Pettersson suggests that a lot of changes in woodland-management-institution made the landowners insecure of the future and therefore the short-term woodland cultivations was preferred before a long-term management.¹⁷ According to the institutional theory that Svensson uses in his thesis on the southern Swedish plains farmers, individual behavior can change the basis for altered rule. Individual were a part of the transformation of agriculture in southern Sweden 1800-1870.¹⁸ Staffan Granér has studied property rights, possession, and the difference between owning and using, from an institutional and socio-economic perspective. Granér focuses on the forces of change, actual institutional change and how models of change can be

¹⁵ Data are from Lundgren (1984) and are based on BiSOS, Forest Guard from 1871 to 1888 and BiSOS, State Domains 1889-1908.

¹⁶ Warde (2006), p 99ff.

¹⁷ Pettersson (1995) p 130ff.

¹⁸ Svensson (2001) p 4f. Svensson aims to North (1990). North och Thomas (1993).

applied to micro studies of Värmland county woodland and relationships between farmers and service industries. The investigation also focuses on the leverage means, conflicts, patterns of action and behavior patterns.¹⁹

Nils-Gustav Lundgren studied forestry at Luleå River valley from 1870 to 1970. Lundgren studied the labour, but the focus is on industry trends. Lundgren uses an institutional framework based on labor needs, price changes and technological development as a changing-force. Lundgren describes how the industry provides and evolves into local community development. Ove Lundberg has written about sawmill companies' development around the Örnsköldsvik region 1860-1900. Lundberg's work is based on the institutional framework applied on relations local and international, between sawmill companies and agriculture. Lundberg connects sawmill industry-development with social structures in the district and how corporations affect the local community. In combination with sawmill expansion and the prevailing property rights and institutional conditions, Lundberg shows how companies got a more dominant role as the legal counterpart to the local community in relation to property acquisitions.²⁰ Mats Rolén has a social-historical approach when he writes about the sawmill industry and societal transformations in Revsund's crown court during 1820 to 1977. Rolén highlights industry expansion, the agrarian revolution, and social and demographic consequences as big impacts for the people of the Northern woodland regions. He argues that the general expansion had a significant impact on the migration propensity among farmers and crofters. Rolén means that industry expansion influenced and accelerated the market economy to breakthrough in woodlands. This made farmers and wage laborers dependent on changes in the sawmill industry and economic cycles, like the sawmill-crises of 1879-80 and in the early 1890s. A part of Rolén's study is to examine the social impact of woodland-property-sellers. The result does not show a clear link between the companies' real estate ownership and local social misery. Many of the peasants and their children retained their status. The explanation for the social tensions must be sought further back in peasant society, but property purchases became rather a precipitating cause. Rolén also sheds light on the railway as an important factor for the sawmill companies' growth and as an equalizer for the negative demographic and social effects.²¹

3. Property rights and conflicts: a historical context to conflicts in woodland in Northern Sweden

By understanding motives, we can inter alia understand why institutions are created and how they affect thought, decision and action.²² In a changing process, there may be situations where society's old institutional structures are no longer sufficient, such as when changes in relative prices occur. For example, in the 1860s the fact that the forest was no longer an abundance prompted the new institutional framework that regulated, distributed and secured the wooded land.²³

Fundamentals of how the woodland should be economized changed constantly in the legislation. In the 16th century there was a public encouragement to colonization, which was altered in the forest government in the 17th century when concerns about mismanagement increased. During the 17th century the crown took a larger interest in iron production and quarry engines and therefore new directives for the forest-managing and allocation. The state wanted to use the woodland as an access for mining in the North, which was threatened by the peasantry burning woodland and sawmill companies' uneconomical use of the forest. In the 18th century the threats of bad forests management was wood waste as an additional responsibility by the number of fireplaces, new procurement methods of plank manufacturing, shifting cultivation and export.

¹⁹ Granér (2002).

²⁰ Lundberg (1984).

²¹ Rolén (1979).

²² North, Thomas (1993), pp 162ff.

²³ Lundgren (1987).

The population grew in the 18th century and created a need for a new institutional construction. 18th century non-claimed woodland became government land and served for colonization and new settlement. But in 1794 there was a withdrawal of the positive view of colonization. 19th century politics focused on ownership concentration, which defined the private property rights by the enclosure. During the early 19th century woodland regulations were enacted restricting transfers, logging and log catch. The 1824-years statute of *avvittring*, dismembering state-owned woodland, which included the county of *Västernorrland*, gave farmers the opportunity for greater outlying land (including woodland) area. In 1842 all restrictions were lifted for the Swedish sawmill companies' right to cut wood. The woodland was damaged and in 1855 a forest committee was assigned in order to ensure regrowth and management of woodland. The Committee's proposal that the landowner should be responsible for regrowth of wood was rejected. Instead in 1857, a series of restrictions on animal husbandry was stated. In 1859 a royal forest agency was instituted with a mission to draw up various legislative proposals and instructions.²⁴

The enclosure intended mainly to shift land assets, with the result that a larger number of smaller parcels were transferred into larger units. As the effect of different enclosure reforms or stages²⁵, the ownership structure changed two times during the period 1750 to 1850. The enclosure motives was, for instance possibility to make agriculture more efficient through new work practices, introduction of new tools and new crops. By *enskiftet* the purpose was to gather all the lands, as well infield and outfield and also applied to the forest where the previous use of the property and customs was controlled much by cultivation. One of the motives for including woodland in the process was the thought of rationalization of agriculture for better forest management. Forest was shifted in the same way - in consecutive lands. The purpose was to create largely efficient forest-management but the effect became instead the opposite.²⁶

During the early 1800s, sawmill companies' raw material supply was based on privilege-woodland and reaping rights. During the 1800s the demand increased and sawmill companies bought up farm properties with belonging woodland. This started a political battle between protecting woodland and framing values and industrial monetary interests. 1906, this resulted in terms of locked ownership distribution between different groups: the crown, companies and individuals.²⁷

Table 1: Laws and implication of Swedish Woodland

Law/statute/event	Year	Implication
England annuls custom duties on wood	1866	Sweden can export wood to England, which gives the Swedish wood production and industrialization in the North a boost.
Regulation regarding the disposition of woodland	1866	Cutting beyond subsistence without official approval is prohibited. The regulation supposed to prevent the woodland from being to hardly exploit and conserve resources for the future. This Regulation is the basis of the <i>Forestry Act 1903</i> .
<i>Northern Forests Committee</i> is formed	1869	The Committee appoints on behalf of the king, in order to make suggestions for better management of woodland The committee makes a number of reports and proposals, ultimately leading up to the ban in 1906 to prevent companies from buying up forestry properties.
Temporary ban on new settlements in Norr- and Västerbotten counties in Sami pasture land	1872	The government puts a temporary ban on the grounds that the settlers in the first place interested in cutting forests not to cultivate the land. In 20 years the number of saws in Northern Sweden doubled which means that mere competition of the woodland.

²⁴ Gaunitz, (1992). Lundgren (1987). SOU (1925). Bäärnhielm, Widgren (red) (1995), pp 17ff. Holmberg (2005).

²⁵ *Storskifte 1749/57, enskifte 1803 and laga skifte in 1827.*

²⁶ Jansson i Liljewall et. al. (red) (2009), p 228. Pettersson i Widgren (red) (1995), pp 130ff.

²⁷ Lundgren (1984). Holmberg (2005).

Law/statute/event	Year	Implication
Dimensions law adopted by the Parliament	1874	An instrument to protect the young forest.
<i>Avvittring</i> -statue dismembering state-own woodland)supplemented	1880	<i>The avvittring</i> - statue is supplemented to holder to log-caching privileges allowed to post harvest return the forest to the crown.
<i>Association Forest Culture</i> in Northern Sweden formed	1883	Its purpose is to promote forestry cultivation with a good culture by seeding and planting.
The state decides to lease forest crofts	1891	Forest crofts are granted in order to satisfy the demand for labor. Six years later, 177 contracts were signed.
Parliament decides on other <i>The Forest Committee</i>	1896	The Forestry Committee is formed to promote good management of the woodland.
Forestry Committee submits report	1899	The Forestry Committee submits its report that includes the law about management, law on protection, the establishment of the <i>Forestry Board</i> and the collection of forest fees.
Bill of companies prohibition in parliament	1901	Stockholm's Mayor Carl Lindhagen writes a bill in parliament on Corporate Prohibition Act. The result is the addition of <i>The Norrland Committee</i> to examine the issue of the corporate prohibition law that would forbid sawmill companies to buy forest estates.
Parliamentary decisions on forest management fee	1903	Forest management fee based on the value of exported wood. Fees were accurately preconized in 1905.
<i>The Norrland Committee</i> submits proposals on the corporate prohibition law	1904	The Committee submits proposals to ban companies buying up forest estates in order to protect the wood from short-term use and deforestation.
The 1903 <i>Forestry Act</i> comes into force	1905	The result is that the <i>Regional Forestry Boards</i> were formed in all counties except Norrbotten, Västerbotten and Gotland. The Forestry Board's mandate was to promote forest conservation. Forest management fees were collected through a regulated export costume duty.
<i>Corporate prohibition law</i> passes	1906	After the law passed in Northern Sweden, the companies were not allowed to buy forest properties. In that way the state could prevent the buying mandate to pillage forests.

4. Reaching and visualizing conflicts: how to reach a 200-year old dispute

In order to build a structure in the work and in order to achieve the overall goal; to contribute knowledge on resource use during this phase of industrialization and how it affected the local community, I have chosen to work with three levels that will be further on featured throughout the thesis project. The overall level consists of the *institutions* that will be featured as the framework. The other levels are the operators, *sawmill companies* and *farmers*. The institutions appear as a framework and institutional transformation appears in conflicts between sawmills and farmers. The institutional rules include current legislation and regulations. The informal institutions which could include, for example, access rights and customs can be more difficult to catch.

To study sawmill companies, I have chosen one company for this paper, Kramfors AB. Kramfors is a relatively newly formed company in comparison to other Swedish companies who have a long tradition, starting out as for example ironworks and then developing into sawmill industries of the 19th century. Kramfors established as a sawmill company, located at *Ångermannanna River* with large woodland areas along the river.

Source material

Sawmill companies can be studied by accounts, different materials in the company archives, and government statistics. The conflicts between the sawmill companies and the farmers can be studied by

court material. The court material in this paper is based on copies of trials, appeals and court letters gathered in Kramfors AB's archive in a folder for conflicts with Limsta village 1869-1873. These copies give a picture of the many-year conflict, but for a more thorough study of these and other conflict the primary court material must be studied. Other source material that will be used is the enclosure protocols with descriptions and maps. The source material will primarily serve as a qualitative basis. Quantitative methods will be included further in the project to visualize social relations and development, like official statistics of forestry, foreign trade and agriculture. Also company archives contain much quantitative data regarding the individual company. Official investigations and reports like the Northern Committee's report, which is contained in several volumes, provide a picture of the ownership conditions and the current problems.

Theoretical framework

Institutions can be seen as both a legal framework and a driving force depending on how the term is defined and what is included in it. Are institutions something that drives development forward or limiting the ability to change? Douglass North makes a distinction between formal and informal institutions. The first consists of the rules enacted informal way and the other consists of norms and customs. These interaction in society and can sometimes stand in the way of each other. North emphasizes an awareness of social structures and their impact on human behavior, but also the interactions between economics and politics.²⁸ This paper has an institutional approach with a focus on property rights. By defining difference in property rights and see how forms of owning are shifting, we can understand the conflicts and by analyzing conflicts between actors, a process can clarify further how institutions change. By understanding people's motives, we can understand why institutions are created and how they in turn affect thought, decision and action.²⁹ In a structural change, situations can arise where society's old institutional structures are no longer sufficient. For example, in the 1860s in Sweden a situation occurred, where the forest was no longer in abundance. It was necessary to obtain a new institutional framework could that regulate, distribute and secure management of and access to the resource.³⁰

Method

A basic work of the historian is a comparative approach, making use of comparisons in order to understand relationships between different periods. In this way, similarities and differences can be distinguished. Through comparison it can be possible to find a causal link between static phenomena, or general laws of development in the study of dynamic objects. For overwhelmingly fact-complex studies case-based comparison is a good method. In this paper I present one case based on one company³¹.

Retrogressive method

Retrogressive method is suitable for studies in which the researcher wishes to obtain landscape patterns. And by study the younger source material it could be possible to project earlier conditions. The method gives the researcher the opportunity to analyze the patterns and structures of society even back in time. The retrogressive method was used by the medieval historian Marc Bloch, whose purpose was to provide a recap of an elusive past. Bloch's work was based on earlier source material when contemporaries were fragmentary. By laying a puzzle the researcher can go back in time and do back-writing analyzes. The method has been largely developed within agriculture-historic research where, for example, the medieval landscape and its structures are studied by geometrical material and

²⁸ North (1990). North (1997).

²⁹ North, Thomas (1993), pp 162ff.

³⁰ Lundgren (1987).

³¹ My thesis project will a case-based comparison through conflicts between farmers and sawmill companies represented by two different companies - Kramfors AB and Graningeverken AB.

enclosure documents. Within the thesis project, the method will be useful in conjunction with source pluralism and then longer timelines will be perceptible. The method allows the researcher to connect different types of data from different times for the same geographic location. By seeing how these data are consistent with each other, the landscape comes forward and tells us about continuity or change. With a wider range of sources a picture of structures can appear, which may give rise to hypotheses and reasoning. With this picture, the researcher can then make the assumption of past conditions and processes. Within the retrogressive method, both quantitative and qualitative sources can be analyzed. Quantitative data can serve as a basis for qualitative analysis.³² A useful range of the method is to analyze local ownership and property rights in woodland. At first, the legal conflict-documents, joined with enclosure maps and protocols, and other data.

5. Limsta village and Kramfors AB: a local conflict

The sawmill company in Kramfors was founded in 1741 and became a joint-stock-company, Kramfors AB, 1886 under owner JA Kjellberg & Sons. The company lasted until 1954, when Kramfors AB was merged in to SCA. Kramfors AB both manufactured forestry and agriculture; including production of sawn timber, wooden houses, sulphite and sulphate pulp, ground wood pulp, paper, wallboard, electrical power and shipping business.³³ As an example of conflicts related to growing industries, local impact and property rights, presented below a conflict between Kramfors and farmers in Limsta village, during years the 1869-1873.

The conflict is mainly between villagers Erik Bylund, Nils Hamrén, Nils Fahlén, Daniel Clemensson, Daniel Nordholm and Johan Svanholm. It was processed all the way from a district court to a court of appeal and lastly the Supreme Court. The conflict was about Kramfors's impact on Limsta village shore and nearby water. The villagers pleaded that *Ångemmana River* shore was an exception from the enclosure and therefore belonged to the village association. Instead Kramfors used the shore and water for poles, buildings, saw logs and saw dust. Since the farmers' requested for a closer investigation of Kramfors impact on the shore and water, they wrote an interjection to the court. They claimed that the company had enlarged their territory since the enclosure in 1842. In the 'interjection the farmers complain on the land-surveyors incapacity of reading the land in comparing to the enclosure map and therefore the court did not have the correct ground for a correct verdict. The interjection takes an upshot on their suffering and cost as a result of Kramfors impact, impacts as; saw dust in the water, more shallow water, intruding on act-right according to the fish-statute, more traffic in deeper water on which Kramfors makes money on behalf of Limsta village, new buildings intruding and over all limitation for Limsta village. In the appeal the undersigned demands, what they called illegal, dock-building to be demolished and Kramfors (represented by Robert Bagge) to take full responsibility.³⁴

The district court, the second time, disclosed that Kramfors should restore the shore and water beside Daniel Clemensson and Johan Svanholm's land to the condition as the enclosure 1842 endorsed. The director, Robert Bagge appealed to the verdict of the district court. Bagge claimed that he is only the despondent, not the owner of the company and can therefore not be held responsible in person. Because the verdict is set personally to Robert Bagge, Supreme Court enhanced it and sent the case

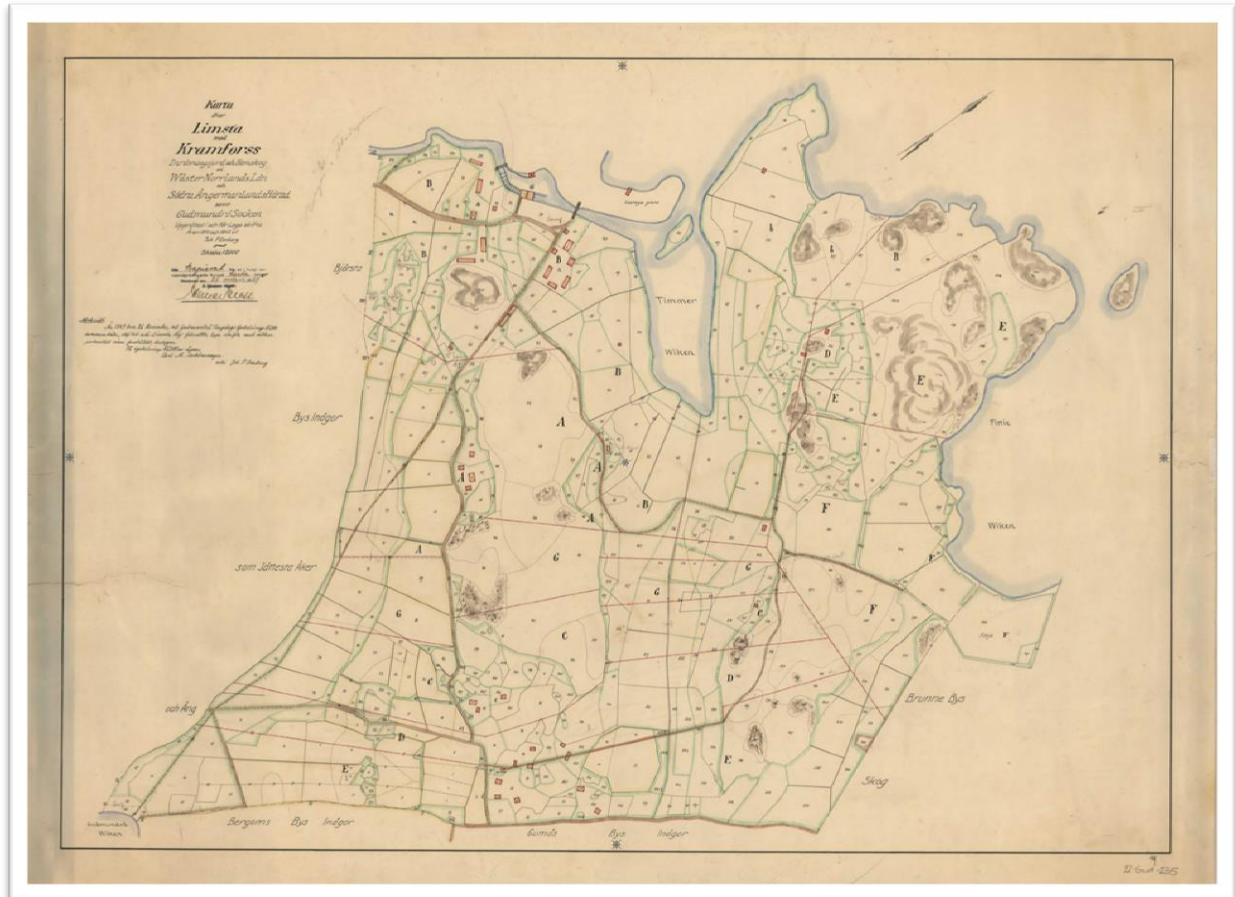
³² See for example: Karsvall (2013) pp 411ff, Widgren i Almås & Gjerdåker (red) (1999) pp 40ff, Riddersporre (1995), pp 15f. Myrdal (2007) pp 495ff. Lilja (1989), pp 47ff.

³³ Johansson (2003).

³⁴ Merlo arkiv, Kramfors AB:s arkiv, FIXd nr4, Handlingar rörande flottning i Ångemanaälven med bivatten 1787-1896. Tvist mellan Kramfors och bönder i Limsta by ang. rättigheter för bolaget att utlägga timmerbommar i älven. 1869-1873. Copy of 14 december 1869, district court.

back to appeal court for further appeals and investigations.³⁵ Bagge wrote to the appeal court an appeal against the verdict of removing Kramfors's stock beams next to Daniel Clemensson's land around *Fittie* bay and *Killing* islet. Bagge also arises the fact that Clemensson cannot accuse Bagge personally.³⁶ This time the Supreme Court stands by the appeal court verdict of Bagge being responsible for additional costs for Clemensson.³⁷

Figure 4. Enclosure map of Limsta Village³⁸



6. Summary and conclusions

The forest industry was a key factor in Swedish industrialization and the way to modern economic growth. During the time of early industrialization in the mid-19th century forest and saw log became an important material with increasing economic value. It started with England annulling custom duties on wood which made export possible. During the 19th century a lot of changes were discussed and implemented to set a standard for managing woodland. This industrial expansion demanded a changing

³⁵ Merlo arkiv, Kramfors AB:s arkiv, FIXd nr4, Handlingar rörande flottning i Ångemanaälven med bivatten 1787-1896. Tvist mellan Kramfors och bönder i Limsta by ang. rättigheter för bolaget att utlägga timmerbommar i älven. 1869-1873. Copy of 10th of January 1872, Supreme court.

³⁶ Merlo arkiv, Kramfors AB:s arkiv, FIXd nr4, Handlingar rörande flottning i Ångemanaälven med bivatten 1787-1896. Tvist mellan Kramfors och bönder i Limsta by ang. rättigheter för bolaget att utlägga timmerbommar i älven. 1869-1873. Copy of 16th of January 1872, Robert Bagge to appeal court.

³⁷ Merlo arkiv, Kramfors AB:s arkiv, FIXd nr4, Handlingar rörande flottning i Ångemanaälven med bivatten 1787-1896. Tvist mellan Kramfors och bönder i Limsta by ang. rättigheter för bolaget att utlägga timmerbommar i älven. 1869-1873. Copy of 27th June 1872, Supreme Court.

³⁸ Lantmäterimyndighetens arkiv, Västernorrlands län, Gudmundrå socken, Limsta laga skifte 1849.

institutional framework fitted to provide the industry with raw material but still with a long-term plan. Within all of these changes we can find changing woodland property rights. Related to more defined woodland property rights and growing industrialization with sawmill industries conflicts between sawmill companies and locals developed. These conflicts help us understand why institutions are created by looking at the effects in local society.

In this paper, an example is presented of conflicts between sawmill companies and local society, a conflict between the company Kramfors and villagers of Limsta. The case study will be the first test of my material and thoughts about my thesis project. This kind of case studies will provide a basis for understanding the process of institutional change in general and how property rights of woodland develop. The overall goal of this paper is to answer the question: *How can the enclosure documents be a source to describe tension between institutions, forest corporations and landowners in Northern Sweden during the 19th century?* By studying conflicts during Swedish industrialization we can get knowledge about resource utilization and how it affected the local community. The enclosure played an important role in the 19th century Limsta village conflicts between the village citizens, farmers, landowners, and the sawmill company Kramfors. The enclosure was an important part in defining property and property rights where the act defined the use of land, its value and border lines. It was the first time when the use and belonging of land was so clearly defined. After a long term of changing institutions, defining the use of land in a time of pre-industrial society changing and forming, the enclosure acts give us a picture of that framework in use. Since it was properly documented, the protocols of the enclosure were used in property right conflicts as court-martial.

The court material in this paper is based on copies of trials, appeals and court letters gathered in Kramfors AB's archive in a folder for conflicts with Limsta village 1869-1873. These copies give a picture of the many-year conflict, but for a more thorough study of this and others conflict the primary court material must be studied. With a wider range of sources in the further work, a picture of property-rights structures can appear, which may give rise to hypotheses and reasoning about how the institutions change and affect the local society.

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