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Sarah Linden Pasay

Stable Media in the Age of Revolutions

Depictions of Economic Matters in British and
Swedish State Newspapers, 1770–1820



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Dissertation presented at Uppsala University to be publicly examined in Hörsal 1, Ekonomikum, Kyrkogårdsgatan 10, Uppsala, Friday, 3 March 2017 at 10:15 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The examination will be conducted in Swedish. Faculty examiner: Docent Joachim Östlund (Lunds universitet, Historiska institutionen).

Abstract

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The dissertation examines how economic matters were depicted between 1770 and 1820 in two European kingdoms. Britain and Sweden are studied during this Age of Revolutions from the state's perspective; state-managed newspapers are examined, one from Britain, the *London Gazette*, and two from Sweden, *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* and *Inrikes Tidningar*. These were stable types of media that transformed slowly alongside the changing popular press. State-managed newspapers were produced both to inform and manage the loyalty of populations. Aside from the continued development of the centralized state, this was also the time when Enlightenment ideals were spreading, the public sphere was transforming, notions of the nation and nationalism were developing, and communication strategies were changing; these concepts are the basis for the model of the development of modernity used in this study.

Economic matters are seen as existing in a value-realm model that gradually disintegrated over time, expressing the birth of the modern world. This model included political, social-cultural, and technological values, in addition to economic matters. This disintegration involved a sense of uniformity. In both Britain and Sweden, economic objects, practices, ideas, and discourses received similar treatments over time. This process was, however, non-linear and not complete by the dawn of industrial transformation.

The first two chapters discuss the theory and methodological approaches. The form, order, and content of the newspapers are analyzed to show how economic matters became separate or unembedded to varying degrees over a fifty-year time span. British and Swedish descriptions are compared, as well as how the other state was portrayed in the opposing newspapers. These observations are described in three empirical chapters, relating events and analyses from 1770 to 1775, 1790 to 1795, and 1815 to 1820.

The results of this dissertation show how early modern economic matters can be viewed beyond quantitative contents as an expression of becoming modern, offering complimentary context. Advances in thinking about data generated modern numerical indicators, also reflected by form and order qualities. The unembeddedness of economic matters was an ongoing and non-linear process that was expressed by increased abstractness, separation, and emphasis.

Keywords: economic language, Sweden, Britain, newspapers, public sphere, embeddedness, Enlightenment, modernity, London Gazette

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Contents

List of Tables and Figures	9
Acknowledgements	11
CHAPTER 1. Economic Matters in an Early Modern World	15
1.1 Birth of Economic Matters in the Age of Revolutions	15
1.1.1 State of Disintegration and Uniformity	19
1.1.2 Controlling the Public Sphere and Creating Legitimacy	22
1.1.3 Economic Objects, Practices, Ideas, and Discourses	25
1.1.4 Research Questions and Aims	29
1.2 Representing a Revolutionary Age	29
1.2.1 Maturing States, Transitioning Presses, Learning Nations	30
1.2.2 Expanding British State, Public, and Empire	35
1.2.3 Sweden's Loss of Power, the Crown, and a Loyal Crowd	37
1.3 Contextualizing Economy and Economic Matters	39
1.3.1 Modern Developments with Early Modern Origins	39
1.3.2 British Economy and the Colonial Sphere	43
1.3.3 Sweden and the Agricultural Transformation	45
1.3.4 Contrasting States before the Industrial Breakthrough	47
1.4 Structure and Contents of the Dissertation	48
CHAPTER 2. Reading Eighteenth-Century News	50
2.1 Publications and Styles before Modernity	50
2.1.1 <i>Gazetting</i> and the Official Word	55
2.1.2 Two Swedish Papers and Changing Regimes	56
2.1.3 Other Voices and Analyses	58
2.2 Forms of Stability and State Legitimacy	60
Advertisements	67
Articles	68
Letters	68
Lists	69
Notices	70
Proclamations	70
Tables: Numbers and People	71
Other Category	71
2.2.1 Connecting Forms to the Research Aims	72

2.3 Organization and Order	72
2.3.1 International and Domestic News Ordering	72
2.4 Legitimacy and the State Voice.....	74
2.4.1 Indicating Trustworthiness through Presentation	74
2.4.2 Assessing Content and Defining the Value Realms	78
2.4.3 Selecting the Reviewed Material and Translations.....	80
2.5 Analyzing Newspapers for Economic Matters	82
CHAPTER 3. 1770–1775: Towards Coups and Revolutions	83
3.1 A Mid-Eighteenth Century World	83
3.1.1 Troubles in the Colonies and at Home for Britain.....	85
3.1.2 Growing Autocracy and Agricultural Change in Sweden	86
3.1.3 Structure of the Chapter.....	89
3.2 Transforming Eighteenth-Century Publications	89
3.2.1 Confronting Press Restrictions with More News	89
3.2.2 Competition and Limits for the British Press	91
3.2.3 Censorship and Controlled Media in Sweden	92
3.2.4 Representative Editions from 1770–75	93
<i>London Gazette</i> : December 1773	94
<i>Post-Tidningar</i> : January 1771	95
<i>Inrikes Tidningar</i> : January 1771.....	97
3.2.5 Equilibrium between Domestic and International.....	98
3.3 Economic News from Empire to Potatoes.....	98
3.3.1 Politics, Deluded Rebels, and Sugar in Britain	99
Economic and Political News near the American Revolt.....	99
Social and Economic Connections with Political Touches	104
Separating Economic Matters and Foreign Goods.....	108
3.3.2 Good Intentions and a Day’s Work in Sweden.....	110
Economic Matters and the Domestic Perspective	110
Political Actions, Social and Economic Consequences.....	113
Social and Economic Matters with the Political.....	116
3.3.3 Harvests, Harbours, and Views of the Other	119
British Perspective on Sweden and Europe.....	119
Sweden and the Political Prominence of Britain.....	123
3.3.4 Non-Enemy and Rival Economic Matters.....	128
3.4 Tensions and Solutions before Industrialization.....	128
CHAPTER 4. 1790–1795: So-Called Budgets and War Economies	131
4.1 Crises and the Revolutionary World.....	131
4.1.1 Britain and the Territories under Pitt’s Policies.....	133
4.1.2 Russian Conflict and Assassination in Sweden	135
4.1.3 Times of Constant Adjustments and Tensions	138
4.2 Growing Newspapers and State Pressure	138
4.2.1 Communicating Ideas During Upheaval	139

4.2.2	<i>London Gazette</i> and the Reach of Britain.....	140
4.2.3	Press Restrictions and the Swedish Regimes	142
4.2.4	Stability, Transforming Presses, and Contrasting Milieus.....	143
	<i>London Gazette</i> : March 1793	144
	<i>Post-Tidningar</i> : September 1793.....	146
	<i>Inrikes Tidningar</i> : September 1793	148
4.2.5	Difficulties for State Publishing Systems	150
4.3	Threatened Resources, Peoples, and Kings	150
4.3.1	Costs of War for the British Public.....	150
	Political and Economic Consequences of Revolution.....	151
	Lottery and Integrated Social Matters	155
	Separate and Separating Economic Matters	158
4.3.2	Gustav III's Death, Giving, and Working Together.....	159
	Continued Complexity of Tables and Marketplaces.....	159
	Politics and Representing Collective Economic Activities	161
	Social and Economic Involvement with Reputation	163
4.3.3	Enemies, Worldly Views, and International Trade	166
	Less Sweden, More Focus on War from Britain	167
	Benefits to Sweden through British Notions	169
4.3.4	Exchanging and Shaping Economic Portrayals.....	178
4.4	Positive and Negative Depictions During Conflict.....	179
CHAPTER 5.	1815–1820: Global Shifts, Uncertain Futures	181
5.1	Industrializing a Changed World	181
5.1.1	Troubles around the Globe and a New George.....	183
5.1.2	Different Dynasty and Union with Norway.....	185
5.1.3	Endings of the Early Modern.....	187
5.2	Newspapers and the State in a New Century	187
5.2.1	Emerging Opportunities and Challenges	188
5.2.2	Official News and its British Rivals	189
5.2.3	New Competition for the <i>Post-Tidningar</i> and <i>Inrikes</i>	189
5.2.4	Diverging Layouts and State Growth	191
	<i>London Gazette</i> : June 1818	191
	<i>Post-Tidningar</i> : November 1817.....	193
	<i>Inrikes Tidningar</i> : June 1818.....	195
5.2.5	Twilight for Early Modern State Newspapers	197
5.3	Clarifying New and Old Systems	197
5.3.1	Warring Britain and a Global and Local Divide.....	198
	Parliament, the King, and Temporary Political Panic	198
	Social Contexts and Economic Connections.....	204
	Economic Expressions, Increased Data, and Technology	206
5.3.2	Frugality, Unity, and the Swedish Perspective	210
	Economic Matters, Official Articles, and Steadiness	210
	Political Impacts on Economic Orientation.....	214

Social Connections to a New Kingdom.....	218
5.3.3 Europeanness and Matters in Crises.....	220
Limited View of Sweden (and the World) Continued.....	220
Britain's Growing Power as Seen in Sweden.....	222
5.3.4 Conflicting Economic Matters at Home and Abroad.....	229
5.4 A Modernizing World in Flux.....	230
CHAPTER 6. The Embedded Economic Voice of the State.....	232
6.1 Questioning and Concluding Economic Matters.....	232
6.2 Form, Order, Content, and the Total View.....	234
6.2.1 Dividing Newspapers, Separating Values.....	235
6.3 Uniformity, Revolutions, and Non-Linear Progress.....	238
6.3.1 From a Calm Period to Insecurities, 1770–75.....	238
6.3.2 Reduced Emphasis on Economic Matters, 1790–95.....	239
6.3.3 On the Edge of the Modern Age, 1815–20.....	239
6.4 Changing and Parallel Values.....	240
6.5 From a Stable Media to Stabilizing Realms.....	242
6.5.1 Summarizing Significance.....	244
References.....	245
Published Sources.....	245
British Newspapers.....	245
Swedish Newspapers.....	245
Printed Sources.....	245
Internet Resources.....	245
Literature.....	246

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 2.1 <i>Item forms or genres</i>	61
Table 2.2 <i>Oral tag and presentation approaches</i>	76

Figures

<i>Figure 1.1</i> The theorized early modern value-realm model	21
<i>Figure 2.1</i> <i>London Gazette</i> first page, 1773.....	62
<i>Figure 2.2</i> <i>London Gazette</i> first page, 1775.....	63
<i>Figure 2.3</i> <i>Inrikes Tidningar</i> first page, 1790	64
<i>Figure 2.4</i> <i>Inrikes Tidningar</i> inside page, 1790.....	65
<i>Figure 2.5</i> <i>Stockholms Post-Tidningar</i> first page, 1816.....	66
<i>Figure 2.6</i> <i>Stockholms Post-Tidningar</i> third page, 1817	67

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Uppsala, Sweden (all the way from Redwater, Alberta, Canada).
January 2017
Sarah Linden Pasay

CHAPTER 1

Economic Matters in an Early Modern World

In 1770 a state-managed Swedish newspaper published a table of information describing the costs of wars in Great Britain over the previous eighty years.¹ Other details of British society were presented alongside it, from parliamentary proceedings to news from the king. Printed in the middle of the publication, the information about British debt was preceded by various items from other areas of Europe, but not Sweden. As it assigned the costs a monetary value, this item expressed economic matters. This national debt was connected to political terms, seen as an economic idea; wars and times of peace were linked to the financial decisions of regimes as part of an overall discourse of resource management. Explained with data in a tabular format, a neighbouring state was represented by monetary loss through political decisions and poor planning. Another example is the introduction of the idea of the budget, also from the British context, which was not featured between 1770 and 1775 in the Swedish newspapers. When the term appeared in the 1790s, however, different phrases were used to explain it. These examples represent this project, namely how economic matters were depicted at the end of the early modern period during a time of economic and political tensions in two contrasting European states.

1.1 Birth of Economic Matters in the Age of Revolutions

Economic matters, as they are understood and expressed today, are linked to data-driven indicators like unemployment or inflation. Concepts like these were inventions of the twentieth century.² This dissertation explores discussions and descriptions of economic matters, but deals with an earlier period: the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries — the end of the early modern period. Three newspapers are studied in order to investigate how the state used and responded to new or changed notions. These are the *London Gazette* from Britain, the *Post-Tidningar*, and *Inrikes Tidningar*. The latter two are both from Sweden.

¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 92, 22 Nov. 1770.

² Karabell (2014), p. 7.

The twenty-first century definition of “economy” conveys logical choice and numerical efficiency.³ The parts of the invented indicators, however, have earlier origins. While the empirical material is examined from its unique, early modern contexts, I also use a modern perspective to construct subjective and objective categories of economic matters.⁴ From a broad perspective, economic matters are based on notions of need, want, exchange, value, and other indicators of scarcity.⁵ Before the early modern period, thinkers rarely examined these economic activities because of their fundamental sustenance qualities.⁶

An interconnected model, encompassing economic, political, social-cultural, and technological realms of value helps understand the early modern period.⁷ I connect the disintegration of this model to the gradual uniformity of descriptions in the developing media of newspapers. Economic matters are addressed to highlight descriptions by states during times of transformations. This disintegration, or textual unembeddedness, is measured by observing changes among the four realms over time. The shifts are related to the values held by the state and how thinking altered over time.

Previous research has stressed that the time period under consideration witnessed the disintegration of unity between these realms. In *The Birth of the Modern World*, historian C.A. Bayly describes how global tensions between politics and the economy led to uniformity after the eighteenth century.⁸ Economic historian Karl Polanyi observed a similar development regarding the inherent embeddedness of the market and human economy in early modern society and an unembeddedness of the economy in the development of the modern.⁹ Sociologist Jürgen Habermas also discusses similar features in his descriptions of the development of the public sphere; the end of feudalism was due to the combined economic and political tensions, leading to the eventual movement of a separate society, and the creation of the centralizing state.¹⁰ A common trait for these scholars is that the eighteenth century — especially the latter decades — is viewed as a transitioning period for economic thinking, as well as communication strategies. This was a time of thought revolutions; this dissertation studies textual unembeddedness to express these changes.

In the modern world, everyday life, including conceptions of economic matters, is built upon established forms of understanding. Bayly’s description of the global Age of Revolutions is a starting point for approaching how this

³ Tribe (2015), p. 2.

⁴ Zúñiga (1999), citing Menger.

⁵ Zúñiga (1999), p. 310; Tribe (2015).

⁶ Tribe (2015), p. 3.

⁷ Parsons (1991); Habermas (1991); Klein (1995); Ryu (2002). Ryu uses modern descriptions of functions of only three spheres, which receive exclusive values in the modern context. Both Klein and Ryu expand the ideas proposed by Habermas. This model is also an elaboration of the sociology of Talcott Parsons.

⁸ Bayly (2004), p. 119.

⁹ Polanyi (2001), p. 45.

¹⁰ Habermas (1991), p. 11.

occurred. He poses a question about investigating how “the modern” came into being beyond expressions of ideologies.¹¹ States experienced different rates of progress, spread through exchange or accelerated by internal variation. States overcame differences, represented by growing uniformity.¹² This is why two countries are investigated here, to show contrasts over time.

Modern society is defined from a broad perspective. Essentially, it is seen here as something different from the early modern societies due to many of the developments involved in this investigation, but not limited to them. It was both a period and a process.¹³ Like the early modern, the modern did not emerge fully formed, simultaneously, across the world.¹⁴ For instance, medieval society changed when the tensions between the culturally guiding church and politically driven state could no longer be resolved; the economy was part of this transformation, embedded in the system.¹⁵ Processes occurring during these times included shifts in economic ideologies and society,¹⁶ leading to the formation of the modern, democratic, industrial nation state.

Previous research points to five key aspects in the development of modernity: the evolution of Enlightenment thought, the rise of the modern state, the transformation of the public sphere, the emergence of nationalism and the nation, and advances in communication and news. Portrayals of economic matters were related to these progressions. This study reflects on the early modern period and the Enlightenment from a modern perspective, while acknowledging the contexts of the time.¹⁷ By studying economic matters this way, traditional narratives defined by other scholars regarding revolutionary ages are built on and expanded.¹⁸

Sweden and Britain are analyzed independently and in a comparative sense. The two states attempted to control messages connected to the ruling regimes, despite the development of public spheres where critique circulated. Maintaining this oversight was essential, but impossible. Each state experienced

¹¹ Bayly (2004), p. 11.

¹² Bayly (2004), p. 17.

¹³ Bayly (2004), p. 11.

¹⁴ Parker (2010), p. 11.

¹⁵ Parsons (1991), p. 124; Habermas (1991), pp. 10–11.

¹⁶ Bayly (2004), pp. 5–6.

¹⁷ These terms follow the accepted division of the medieval (ca. 1000–1500), the early modern (ca. 1500–1800) and the modern (ca. 1800–today). The use of the terms early modern and modern periods recognizes the progress seen in most historiographical work. These are also important distinctions regarding collective identities and the formation of the modern concept of the nation and the advancements of capitalism and democracy, part of the research that frames this study. For example, see: Hobsbawm (1962); Kirby (1990); Brotton (1998). These works generally stand against some of Jack Gladstone’s arguments about a non-Eurocentric world history. He advocates for the term “advanced organic societies” rather than what he sees as pejorative and negative meanings surrounding the term “modern.” See: Gladstone (1998). Even when expanding to a global perspective, while limited to areas of European control, these divisions of time and the concept of modernity defined by primarily Bayly are used throughout.

¹⁸ For example, see: Hobsbawm (1962); Mokyr (1990); Breen (2004).

varying degrees of progress regarding the spread of Enlightenment ideas, industrial growth, national identity, and the formation of an open, bourgeois public sphere. The two are contrasted by looking at how the other was described in the papers, as illustrated by the initial examples. This perspective builds on previous research about the “other” during times of war,¹⁹ and on the notion of the confessional other.²⁰ This study goes beyond these traditional definitions by putting economic descriptions at the centre. Here, studying how regimes portrayed economic matters adds to the understanding of the internal values held by mercantilist states prior to modern industrial capitalism.

The state is the central focus here due to the relative control the organized-power structures had in both kingdoms, as well as the choice of material. Three state-managed newspapers are analyzed in three chronological chapters. State newspapers had relatively consistent formats, while other aspects of the wider press changed, leading to shifts for the state as well. Between 1760 and 1821, the *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* were published under separate, yet coordinated, titles: *Inrikes Tidningar* and *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*.²¹ Meanwhile, the *London Gazette* was the paper of authority in Britain. While not a direct investigation into the history of the press, this project investigates how depictions of concepts changed over time in a stable yet transforming media as the state attempted to maintain a sense of legitimacy.

Due to the voice of the state being placed at the centre of this study, the readers are not dealt with directly. They are instead viewed through a critical elaboration on the theories of the public sphere.²² I argue that the state attempted to maintain a loyal or persuadable public by reflecting everyday speech and actions and avoiding opinions that openly clashed with widely held beliefs.²³ This is termed as the semi-public sphere.²⁴ Illiterate and literate people were brought into the purview of the court — the metaphorical centre of the state — through recognizable ideas and language.²⁵ This is similarly observed in paradoxical relationship between communicators and the audience in mass media, questioning which group is driving the forms of discourse.²⁶

¹⁹ For example, see: Malmstedt (1999); Forssberg (2005); Östlund (2007).

²⁰ For example, see: Haydon (1993); Nordin (2000); Ihalainen (2010).

²¹ These are shortened to *Inrikes* and *Post-Tidningar* throughout this study.

²² Fraser (1993); Lake & Pincus (2006).

²³ Forssberg (2005) looks at cooperative people and war propaganda in seventeenth-century Sweden; Östlund (2007) investigates the building of the rhetoric of community and prosperity, also starting with the seventeenth and continuing to the twentieth century. From the British perspective, Dean (2006) argues that the public were brought closer to the court and how language of the newspapers established a sense of trustworthiness between the court and the readers.

²⁴ Fraser (1993) and Dean (2006) work with ideas about Habermas and his critics, noting the usefulness of state-controlled documents.

²⁵ Dean (2006) refers to these as oral tags, the term also used in this study.

²⁶ Bell (1991), p. 103.

Three five-year periods are selected in three decades around the turn of the eighteenth century. While Britain and Sweden are the central focus, other states were also influential. France and the USA, for instance, changed dramatically and offer concurrent developments. The first empirical chapter starts at the age prior to the coup that brought Gustav III to power in Sweden and during the leadership of Lord North in Britain, covering material from 1770 until 1775. The second looks at publications from 1790 until 1795, taking into account the French Revolution, William Pitt's turn as prime minister in Britain, and the death of Gustav III. The last empirical chapter encompasses 1815 to 1820, covering the years after Napoleon and early industrialization. By looking at five-year spans, disruptions like lengthy wars and crises are put into balanced frameworks to be contrasted over time.

This chapter introduces how studying economic matters is linked to these five aspects of modernity: the Enlightenment, the rise of the state, the transformation of the public sphere, the growth of the nation and of nationalism, and communication developments. Embeddedness, disintegration or unembeddedness, and the processes of society are discussed next. The public sphere is described in the subsection that follows, defining the semi-public in relation to state-controlled media. Stating what economic matters are in this study is done here and in Chapter Two. The research questions are presented at the close of this section. The discussion about newspapers is a central aspect of the empirical chapters; Chapter Two expands on this, where I present my methodological approaches. Previous research on the time period, economic developments, and the structure of the dissertation are presented in the major sections of this chapter.

1.1.1 State of Disintegration and Uniformity

At the end of the early modern period, the value realms of political, social, economic, and technological concerns occurred as interrelated or embedded components of society's spheres of communication.²⁷ Tensions increase over time, but matters never totally separate. Elements of political notions, social and cultural influences, as well as technological dimensions cannot be fully removed when considering economic matters. As the value realms disintegrated, modern definitions were created or altered, taking on more uniform ideals. Bayly discusses how thinkers of the time were aware of the changes they were experiencing and describing.²⁸ While the modern state has defined value realms, the early modern period was a site of tensions and disintegration. The Enlightenment was a time when these values began to be questioned and investigated.

²⁷ Ryu (2002); Boyd & Kvande (2008), p. 22.

²⁸ Bayly (2004), pp. 86–87.

Value is understood from the perspective of news gathering and processing done by the state.²⁹ For sociologist Talcott Parsons, these had moral implications; opposing values were deviations from social norms.³⁰ My view challenges this by including changing notions in the process of shaping the realms; these are the origins of tensions that cause disintegration. The terms “value” and “concern” reflect ideals of a society, whether positive or negative.

The terms unembeddedness and disintegration are used to express the same process. This is a different interpretation than disembodiedness, to separate this study from neo-substantivism and other similar interpretations of Polanyi.³¹ He associates embeddedness with how the economy is connected to “politics, religion, and social relations.”³² Polanyi sees tensions occurring, viewing it as a disintegration that only results in further embeddedness, rather than the perspective of uniformity through disintegration taken here. Embeddedness is studied here from a textual perspective as an expression of tensions between the realms that defined modern values.

Parsons’s works also helps with understanding my perspective. In his views of social systems and values, he also observes four categories; he relates politics to goal attainment, economics to adaptation, cultural and social systems to integration, and latency to the roles in society that transmit and create its elements.³³ Technology is part of the final category in my model, reflecting Parsons’s technical aspect. He focuses on the actors and actions in social systems from a theoretical perspective, along with their relations.³⁴ My approach avoids these issues of agency and structure, building on arguments about social interaction and communication.³⁵

In order to define the economic realm, the other three must also be considered. The political value realm is the easiest to define, but also the largest. This includes descriptions linked to the power of the state.³⁶ In the early modern period, the king is at the centre when he is making decisions. This changed over time, however, as parliamentary systems and modern democracy developed. Parsons notes that the state was organized with force and technology.³⁷ The state was central because of this control over political influence, means, and territory.³⁸ From this perspective, the economic and political realms were strongly connected, primarily related to the state.

²⁹ Bell (1991), p. 155.

³⁰ Parsons (1991), p. xxiii, 114, & 124.

³¹ Disembodiedness is associated with the self-regulation of the market economy.

³² Polanyi (2001), pp. xxiii–xxiv & 60.

³³ Parsons (1991), p. xviii.

³⁴ Parsons (1991), pp. 1 & 15.

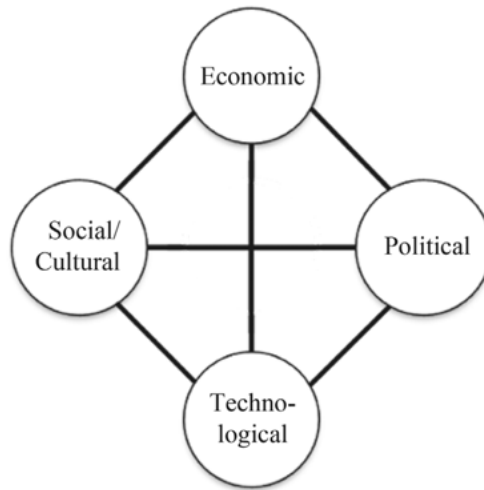
³⁵ Habermas (1987), p. 203. Anthony Giddens relates Habermas’s critique of Parsons’s to the split between the object and the symbolic, also noting tensions. Giddens (1987), pp. 236–237.

³⁶ Wilke (1987), p. 172.

³⁷ Parsons (1991), p. 112.

³⁸ Parsons (1991), pp. 85–86.

Figure 1.1 The theorized early modern value-realm model



The term social/cultural is also encompassing, including recorded social performances and cultural activities. As this model is unique in every society, the social/cultural realm could be considered the most diverse.³⁹ Elements of culture are connected to religious expressions or artistic documentations. Parsons observed tensions between his perception of religion as culture and the political role of the medieval state, leading to value divisions.⁴⁰ This area is significant regarding the shift from political to social values in relation to economic matters about human welfare, for example.

In terms of this study, the technological realm is the newest. Technological advances are linked to the emergence of the modern period through the developments of agricultural techniques, proto-industrial transformation, and finally industrialization.⁴¹ These expressions, however, are connected to the economic realm during the early modern. The earliest technologies involved sustaining life and later maintaining wealth. The sixteenth-century scientific revolution expressed tensions between the political and cultural realms, but did not disintegrate fully until economic stresses were realized. When the Industrial Revolution spread from Britain, connected to the industrialization in neighbouring states, there were contrasting degrees of uniformity and disintegration with the technological realm.

Figure 1.1 illustrates the central hypothesis to the critical theories of communication and societal disintegration and uniformity I pursue. Although the lines are of equal weight here, the influence of one area or tensions among multiple areas was not the same. The transition from the early modern to the modern era is linked to the progress of modern economic thought and a

³⁹ Bodeker (1990), pp. 424–425.

⁴⁰ Parsons (1991), p. 124.

⁴¹ Landes (2003), pp. 4–5.

functioning media network. The modern state, public sphere, and the nation developed in independent and interrelated contexts.⁴² I modify Bayly's ideals about the modern world, complimenting his work with tools of embeddedness and the critical semi-public sphere, elaborations on Polanyi and Habermas. Bayly's categories are limited to four value realms. Studies could be carried out by looking at the political, social/cultural, or technological realms and arrive at complementary results. This model is used to understand developments in communications and perspectives towards economic matters.⁴³

1.1.2 Controlling the Public Sphere and Creating Legitimacy

The expansion of printed communication helped form the modern state, public sphere, and the nation. Global exchanges and interactions contributed to increased uniformity.⁴⁴ From the seventeenth century onward, Sweden and Britain provided international and local materials to their populations. There were some differences in the amount of control and the functions of state-managed newspapers over time, but their beginnings were a product of comparable strategies. They were assembled from local networks, state agents located throughout Europe, as well as translations of other sources. With these publications, the state attempted to persuade the population into supporting their regimes through consistent language and topics. These were not overt statements of ideological intentions or propaganda, despite being inherently ideological documents.⁴⁵ My theoretical position requires comparable and consistent source material to trace developments.

Limiting this investigation to economic matters is useful with respect to the amount of information the publications presented. They were politically driven, explaining why the contextual narratives in the empirical chapters focus on those sort of happenings. In Sweden, the *Inrikes Tidningar* provided mainly domestic news while the *Post-Tidningar* was internationally focused. In Britain, the *London Gazette* was one of three official *Gazettes* printed, along with the *Edinburgh Gazette* and *Dublin Gazette*. The paper from London, however, was the most influential and often the source of information for the other two.

Regimes used addresses to maintain confidence in both the state and the information it spread. These descriptions are devices meant to keep a public in cooperation with the functions of the state, but not in a full dialogue; this is termed the semi-public sphere, an elaboration on Habermas's public sphere. The public received "news," which the state attempted to keep as legitimate

⁴² Bayly (2004), p. 86.

⁴³ Adelman & Morris (1967), pp. 38–39.

⁴⁴ Bayly (2004), pp. 17–19.

⁴⁵ Peter Ericsson observes these types of addresses in his analysis of the Great Northern War. While the Swedish newspapers were a form of proclamations, the ideological perspective was not equal to propaganda in the modern sense. See: Ericsson (2002).

and persuadable as possible. State papers were produced alongside popular, financial, and intellectual newspapers, pamphlets, and journals; competition existed, but at varying degrees. Private letters, group meetings, and other correspondence also circulated increasingly so the state's efforts of control were steadily threatened. The state panic over inequalities and these tensions generated different ways of describing a changing world.⁴⁶

Dealing with state-controlled newspapers critically connects to Habermas's concept of the public sphere. He has described newspapers as part of the historical elements of the literary public sphere.⁴⁷ According to Habermas, the bourgeois public sphere was an inclusive space where private individuals could come together to create meaning and address common concerns as "the public," regardless of status and away from the authorities.⁴⁸ Using state publications focuses on a specific aspect of the development of this space. For Habermas, there was an important separation between the state and the elite. It developed, according to his historical analysis, from congregations in English coffeehouses, French salons, German table societies, and the rise of a new civil society.⁴⁹ It depended on the conditions of the eighteenth century, and the need for a freer exchange of both news and commercial matters.

This aspect of restriction explains why other studies have not included state-managed newspapers as part of this space, or have created critical theories in response to Habermas. For example, literary scholar Thomas O'Malley has looked at the positive uses of the *London Gazette*, concluding that from 1660–1685 the monarchy was portrayed according to the views of the general public.⁵⁰ The historians Peter Lake and Steve Pincus also emphasize the state's influence as being essential for political communication in early modern England.⁵¹ These studies underline the importance of the state and its efforts to communicate in connection to the public sphere.

The works of English researcher Ann C. Dean and critical theorist Nancy Fraser are significant for my view of the public sphere. Dean looks at the movement of the public towards the court, rather than away from it, in her metaphor of the semi-public sphere.⁵² Fraser takes a feminist perspective on the public sphere, noting its cultural particularities.⁵³ She observes exclusions of specific groups and proposes the existence of counter publics, where the transmitted or blocked information varied.⁵⁴ Dean and

⁴⁶ Bayly (2004), p. 7.

⁴⁷ Habermas (1991), pp. 20–23.

⁴⁸ Habermas (1991), pp. 27–31.

⁴⁹ Habermas (1991), p. 30.

⁵⁰ O'Malley (1986), p. 25.

⁵¹ Lake & Pincus (2006), pp. 270–292.

⁵² Dean (2006), pp. 631–649.

⁵³ Fraser (1993).

⁵⁴ Fraser (1993), pp. 16–17.

Fraser's works elaborates on the public sphere in the context of state-managed newspapers, establishing my perspective of the semi-public sphere.

In his work on provincial Swedish newspapers in Östergötland, historian of ideas Patrik Lundell views the relationship between publishers and readers as a form of conversation; newspaper producers had a duty to produce public letters in order to better society. He refers to this as a civic press, existing in the eighteenth century, but notes that it was "not a uniform Civic public sphere."⁵⁵ Others have thought of the semi-public sphere as groups meeting in private to discuss public matters.⁵⁶ My idea of the semi-public acknowledges that these groups influenced the state through these discussions, just as letter writers related to publishers in the provinces. Control by the state helped to create the semi-public as a form of quasi-counterpublic, which it tried to maintain. By circulating publications that included concepts recognizable to the public, the ruling regime brought them closer and reflected their beliefs, although not always reproducing them.

While there were differences in control and censorship in Britain and Sweden, the papers used similar methods to communicate. Each state did not operate in isolation and information circulated between the two, as well as across the rest of Europe, creating and spreading ideas of the self and the other. The information had to be in inherent agreement with the crowd to keep the population satisfied on the periphery. Modern mass media scholars have also looked at how the media accommodates language for the approval of the audience.⁵⁷ The public influenced the spread of information indirectly through the state's desire to maintain cooperation.

Other studies of perceptions and relationships between a state and a collective other have focused on political or cultural qualities.⁵⁸ For the news from other European states, location attributions were primarily the seat of government or location of the court. Images of the other through the study of religious identification have indicated valuable aspects of Swedish Lutheran identity; there is a similar relationship of solidarity with Protestants in Britain against Catholics.⁵⁹ Forms of modern nationalism also developed with complementary influences throughout Europe. Studies that focus on war and political identifications show that the state used varying depictions of the enemy, related to trustworthiness, to motivate the population for cooperation.⁶⁰ Regarding the comparative component, I place descriptions of religion and war with political or social considerations. These embedded concepts are also related to economic matters.

⁵⁵ Lundell (2002), p. 287.

⁵⁶ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 80.

⁵⁷ Bell (1991), p. 106.

⁵⁸ For example, see aspects of conflicted identities in the Baltic region, which is important to the discussion of Swedish perceptions of Russians in Katajala (2006).

⁵⁹ For example, see: Ekedahl (1999), p. 18; Haydon (1993); Ihalainen (2005), p. 146.

⁶⁰ For example, see: Hellmer (2009); Pasay (2012).

While the two states were not conducting explicit propaganda in these newspapers, they were ultimately trying to mould compliant publics. The state attempted to establish and continue senses of legitimacy through familiar topics, phrasings, and formatting. This introduces some of the methods of analysis in this study, regarding how descriptions are gauged. The state did not want to encourage criticism of its rule. They were, however, influenced by it. Although literacy was improving, conversation impacted thought and included aspects of matters brought up in newspapers controlled by the state. For the ruling powers, this was done through a discourse of trust, built around maintaining loyalty with passive persuasion and implicit agreement. The producers of the newspapers attempted to connect to the widest possible group of people, reflecting a conversational tone with oral markers or tags.⁶¹ Actions, both practical and ceremonial, were also depicted.

The perception of uniformity and performance are tied to the transformation of public spaces, the printed world, and economic thinking. While the values examined here are connected to the state, other scholars extend them to readers and writers of news.⁶² This study cannot determine how the public, readership, or those thinkers directly interpreted these issues. Instead, the thoughts are implied through secondary markers. Diaries, letters, personal documents or intellectual writings are not part of this investigation. The readership is considered for contextual purposes, referred to as the public. The people are separated from this conception of the idealized public; it represents the readership but is not the people or their recorded thoughts.⁶³ The idea of the semi-public sphere was developing in concert with an open public sphere and separate private sphere.⁶⁴ This connects the state, which is under investigation here, to the public, which is considered in context but not directly studied.

1.1.3 Economic Objects, Practices, Ideas, and Discourses

Feudalism, agricultural revolution, mercantilism, pre-capitalism, proto-industrialization, and industrialization are among some of the phases and processes of development associated with economic history from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Both great thinkers and the state tried to interpret these phases, not always reaching the same conclusions. There was an essential but complex interaction between economic and political factors during the birth of the modern world economy. For the ruling regimes, explaining newly significant or altered concepts required strategies that reflected both a sense of reliability with earlier state publications and connections with other communication systems, as well as representing economic realities.

⁶¹ Dean (2006), pp. 633–634.

⁶² Bell (1991), pp. 2 & 247.

⁶³ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), pp. 7–8.

⁶⁴ Habermas (1991); Fraser (1993); Lake & Pincus (2006).

Economic matters have been interpreted throughout the histories of communication, ideas, and economics itself. Ideas about the economy and the rise of economics as an independent field of study emerged when the founding fathers of economic thought, such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Thomas Malthus, produced detailed texts, studying both the world around them and creating investigation techniques. Reading the classical writings of economics from the viewpoint of a modern economist, without adequate context, overshadows what can be gained from them regarding expanding on the current, static, perspective.⁶⁵

“Economic matters” is an encompassing term. Elaborating on the works of economic historian Keith Tribe and economist Carl Menger and others, an economic matter is connected to types of scarcity. Parsons also observes economic matters as dealing with resource allocation and balancing of advantages with cost.⁶⁶ This value was assigned to needs, wants, or exchanges, creating economic meaning.⁶⁷ The exchange of goods and services for pay or survival, combined with national and international systems of trade and state involvement, were expressed differently over time but are grounded in specific circumstances.

Descriptions related to what is today considered “the economy” represent how economic matters are viewed here. The categories of economic objects, practices, ideas, and discourses express this approach. These are drawn from economist Zachary Karabell’s portrayal of modern indicators,⁶⁸ along with other scholars of economic thought, such as Tribe, Menger, and Polanyi,⁶⁹ as well as contemporary notions from the early modern period. Here, I use familiar and current concepts and connect them to two early modern states at contrasting stages of development. These specific categories were not used by the producers of the material and are instead interrelated topics with subjective meanings.⁷⁰ Although early modern regimes conducted quantitative investigations, such as census taking or determining currency values,⁷¹ these are not directly comparable to modern expressions but can still be analyzed with the outcomes of economic indicators in mind. Actual economic systems and the economy, however, cannot be considered from this information alone.⁷²

Other researchers have observed additional categories from other time periods. I have limited my approach to four based on previous research of phases of economic development and thinking. Menger, for instance,

⁶⁵ Tribe (2015), p. 312.

⁶⁶ Parsons (1991), p. 49.

⁶⁷ Zúñiga (1999), p. 302.

⁶⁸ Karabell (2014).

⁶⁹ Menger (1994 [1871]); Polanyi (2001); Tribe (2015).

⁷⁰ Zúñiga (1999).

⁷¹ Sjöström (2002).

⁷² Many have highlighted the difficulties in analyzing economic systems. See: Zúñiga (1999); Meikle (2000); Mäki (2001); Polanyi (2001), p. 117; Crespo (2014); Tribe (2015).

identifies six types of economic matters.⁷³ He observes goods, commodities, money, value, price, and exchange.⁷⁴ For this study, value and price, for example, cannot be separated due to contrasting market developments in the two states. In Tribe's investigation into economic language, he notes a transformation of depictions from "economic activity" to "issues" to "principles" in his observations from writings produced during the shift from the early modern to the modern world.⁷⁵ His observations are closer to my categories, although he draws on the major works of economics rather than state media.

My initial categorization of economic matters is also influenced by the late-seventeenth century debate about the conception of economic systems and the natural world.⁷⁶ The four categories I use refer to two broader contexts. Economic objects and practices represent the material world and were often assigned concrete values. Economic ideas and discourses, however, can only be recorded and propagated in textual forms. Using these terms, the values assigned came from four possible origins, respectively: God or nature, the market,⁷⁷ man, or the state. The material and the textual world are additional components of the value-realm model. The arrangement of the items and the order of importance are central to identifying any changes to descriptions. These approaches to form and order are further detailed in Chapter Two.

Economic objects are goods, places, or even people when dealing with slavery or the military. They are entities or artifacts that can be catalogued and have some sort of meaning attached in specific circumstances.⁷⁸ They were assigned a subjective or objective value in the content. Using the term economic objects elaborates on previous approaches to the concept, as well as deviating from those writings as shown in contrast to Menger. Here, however, the term is limited because of the material. Being reproduced in a state-managed paper alters the value assigned; the actors involved in the exchange are superseded by the voice of the state. In this sense, the exchange value is still there but the meaning is transferred to the state's editors.

These objects were given a type of societal value or presented as a scarcity. Some people, in this sense, are seen as economic objects, rather than economic actors. Some economic objects were politicized, while others were involved, in part, with the other values. These include many resources, although they were not yet described as the factors of production within the state apparatus. Value is connected to the early modern function of the term rather than the nineteenth century association with utility.⁷⁹

⁷³ Menger uses the term economic objects for his overarching categories, however.

⁷⁴ Zúñiga (1999) analyzes Menger's categories in depth.

⁷⁵ Tribe (2015), p. 3–4.

⁷⁶ Tribe summarizes aspects of this debate started by John Locke regarding use, need, and possession as well. See: Tribe (2015), pp. 77–82.

⁷⁷ This refers to physical sites of exchange rather than the modern economic definition.

⁷⁸ Meikle (2000), pp. 34–35.

⁷⁹ Meikle (2000), p. 36.

Economic practices are an intangible category, but with a concentration in reality. These practices show exchanges — buying, selling, giving, building, trading, smuggling — and other interactions that assigned value, or had a goal connected to the economic realm. For example, descriptions of road or canal construction were economic practices, but also touched on the political; the goal was to improve infrastructure for the circulation of goods and to please the population. These descriptions had meanings beyond their relevance to economic or market theory prior to industrialization.⁸⁰ In most cases, the value of these activities was not yet directly measured as labour.⁸¹

Understanding economic ideas in printed works depends on many conditions. Ideas are shorter descriptions or individual items that introduce or vary a concept. The type of publication, authors of the work, and the time period determine an economic idea. In the type of material used here, economic ideas are more abstract and require explanation.⁸² Debt, taxes, budgets, and other notions have objective or subjective values. They do not, however, have a tangible existence as an artifact. Economic thinkers debated these topics in philosophical or scientific publications during the Enlightenment. Some researchers classify several of these as economic objects.⁸³ In this study, the abstractness of the category, however, separates it from economic objects.

The final category of economic discourses is also beyond the printed world. Both states reproduced lengthy discussions involving economic matters. These are considered discourses because these encompass all three of the other aspects and explain or spread them. This grouping is divided into two subcategories. A longer item, often with a mentioned or implied author, is considered the first type. The second category involves the organization of economic matters into a structured and repeated format, carrying on a conversation over time. The state intended these to be used and updated, such as the reproduction of currency or grain table. The forms were consistent and the content reflected the time period. Discourses are considered inherently politicized, due to state interests.

The interrelated nature of the four categories underlies their descriptions, how they change over time, and why they cannot be counted quantitatively. For example, how certain objects were communicated affected the other three categories. The iron trade in Sweden and Britain, for instance, involved influencing foreign and domestic considerations by state agencies. Grain also had implications for practices of agricultural work, and an idea during times of famine. The Enlightenment was also linked to the movement of objects, people, their ideas, and their gold internationally.⁸⁴ This worth was known beyond the printed word and had consequences for all categories.

⁸⁰ Polanyi (2001).

⁸¹ The idea, however, was being defined and circulated by Adam Smith at the time.

⁸² This aspect is closer to Polanyi's conception of disembeddedness.

⁸³ Zúñiga (1999).

⁸⁴ Outram (2013).

The four sorts of economic matters are categorized by how they were “created,” their assigned legitimacy, and whether they “existed” in a material or textual sense. Economic value was attached, but expressed in contrasting ways. The contacts between the two states show how aspects of European communication changed over time. This perspective looks from the periphery — Sweden — to the centre — Britain. Information that encompassed almost all aspects of everyday life was printed alongside other news. As printing improved and changes in thinking occurred, concepts could be expressed in formats that were easier to understand or construct. So, the state drew on both short-term and long-term situations to communicate in order to maintain and create legitimacy. In the modern age, these are more distinct and uniform.

1.1.4 Research Questions and Aims

A basic inquiry drives this dissertation: *how were economic matters described in state-controlled newspapers from two different, yet interrelated, early modern contexts and did this change over time?* Economic matters are considered based on four categories: objects, practices, ideas, and discourses. According to the value-realm model, economic matters cannot be entirely separated from political, social/cultural, or technological concerns. With the development of the semi-public and public sphere, and the transformation of the state and nation, these realms are hypothesized as disintegrating into more defined and uniform spaces. As part of this analysis, Britain and Sweden are contrasted to explore these depictions: *in what ways were Swedish economic matters portrayed in the British press and how were Britain’s economic matters described in Sweden?*

The structure and content of the papers reflected the states’ decisions and knowledge of the world. Altered depictions were responses to developments in the context of the medium, as well as to changes in thinking about economic and other matters. The disintegration of the value realms is gauged by taking the newspapers in their totality:⁸⁵ *did the form, order, or content change for these items regarding economic matters? What aspects were reflected by these alterations, if there were any?* Certain economic matters were associated with specific item types or genres. This aspect looks at newspaper printing from a material perspective, while also reflecting on the technological realities of the end of the early modern period.

1.2 Representing a Revolutionary Age

Other scholars who have studied early modern Europe, Bayly and the historian Eric Hobsbawm among them, have shown the significance of 1750–1850 as

⁸⁵ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 10.

an Age of Revolutions in many ways. The Enlightenment and periods of agricultural and industrial transformations occurred differently across the world. Sweden and Britain had both similarities and disparities. To explain these proceedings, I utilize previous research about the state, the public sphere, and the nation. The economic component is expanded on in the next major section. These are framed through Enlightenment thinking, although intellectual pamphlets are not directly studied here. They are instead part of the context of the state-controlled material; as Bayly suggests, overt intellectual ideologies are difficult to deal with in terms of development.

1.2.1 Maturing States, Transitioning Presses, Learning Nations

Looking at the earliest part of the long eighteenth century, 1680–1715, agents of political change — the state — and the drivers of intellectual thought — the philosophical thinkers — both inspired change. Old regime Europe underwent political and cultural alterations that impacted the relationship between the population and the developing state. New ideas emerged, grounded in the concept of reason that dawned with the Enlightenment.⁸⁶ These existed in fluctuating forms as the contributions of one generation never reached fruition before another group attempted to assert their views.⁸⁷ This reciprocal relationship of influence was important to the formation of the modern state.⁸⁸ Advancements in education also shifted ideas from creating a good Christian to the making of a loyal citizen, linked to the ideas of great thinkers and efforts of the state.

Many eighteenth-century intellectuals knew of the contrasts with the previous century.⁸⁹ The ideas of reason spread from the freethinkers in England to France and the salons.⁹⁰ The rest of Europe followed, including Scandinavia and beyond.⁹¹ Revolutions and wars disrupted progress, but there was never a complete break with the past. The Enlightenment can be viewed as a major split with what came before it, while still experiencing earlier ideas. By examining society from a perspective of reason rather than from a theological standpoint, there emerged the bases for the modern disciplines of the humanities as well as communications.⁹²

The intellectual climate of the Enlightenment, stimulated by a growing amount of shared knowledge, brought about a greater awareness of the ideas of freedom, in terms of both political and economic thinking. European powers

⁸⁶ Hazard (1965), pp. 7–8.

⁸⁷ Hazard (1965), p. 9.

⁸⁸ Hazard (1965), p. 216.

⁸⁹ Hazard (1965), pp. 234–235.

⁹⁰ I have selected a Western perspective based on the contents of the papers. This view extends to Turkey and Russia in Europe, as well as to colonial developments.

⁹¹ Hazard (1965), pp. 297–298.

⁹² Heyer (1988), pp. 3–4.

also depended on cultural elaborations generated during the late seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries. The public, as a transforming body, had a special relationship with the state. In this sense, the state was not the only agent of change but a part of emerging societies. While it attempted to maintain power over its population and affairs, the reciprocity from the population was not necessarily as passive as it has been portrayed in earlier research. States transformed due to the rise of opening public and the semi-public spheres, varying due to cultural, economic, or political differences.⁹³ Additionally, prosperous and urban economies developed.⁹⁴ The open public spheres and semi-public spheres occurred alongside one another due to the representational culture of the old regimes of Europe.⁹⁵

The traditional view of the Enlightenment places France in the centre of the intellectual and philosophical movement.⁹⁶ Although I refer to it in singular terms, the idea of unique Enlightenments guides my perspective. Despite the circulation of ideas, Sweden and Britain did not undergo identical changes. The opinions decrying religion and the monarchy, for example, impacted both in different ways. The Enlightenment in Britain is often attributed to the creation of the modern world, such as in the works of historian Roy Porter.⁹⁷ Contrasts throughout Europe, however, resulted in multiple Enlightenments with varying repercussions for social and political life.⁹⁸ This creation embraced or discarded aspects of the French foundations.

Although not directly investigated, France is a significant state for this study. French newspapers are not part of the empirical research, but some of the theoretical underpinnings have been integrated. During the Enlightenment, the French political press functioned separately from science and philosophical periodicals.⁹⁹ The audience was distanced from the political activity of the regime.¹⁰⁰ Editors manipulated this; for example, if the readers felt an affiliation to a certain paper, the publisher attempted to bring them closer through phrasing, consistency, and other efforts. This is similar to the semi-public sphere.

There was not a sustained and legitimate state newspaper press in France before the Revolution. These instead were pamphlets or *gazettes*, essentially political papers.¹⁰¹ The majority of the news came from outside of France.¹⁰² Although the French monarchy attempted to control publications and associate

⁹³ Blanning (2002), pp. 13–14.

⁹⁴ Blanning (2002), pp. 118–119.

⁹⁵ Blanning (2002), pp. 2–3.

⁹⁶ For example, see: Sarmant (2012).

⁹⁷ Porter (2000), for example.

⁹⁸ Himmelfarb (2004), pp. 20–21.

⁹⁹ Censer (1994), pp. 8–12.

¹⁰⁰ Censer (1994), p. 17.

¹⁰¹ Pettegree (2014), pp. 202–205; Depezay (2010), p. 179.

¹⁰² Darnton (1979); Censer (1994).

itself with intellectual papers, political ideas still circulated with relative freedom prior to the materialization of Enlightenment thinking. This fostered criticism against the regime. Newspapers also depended on enhancements to books. Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, for example, had a following. From an economic perspective, although promoting intellectual ideas, the popularity of the *Encyclopédie* had elements of early capitalism through supply and demand.¹⁰³ Editors made modifications to attract readers while advertisers made claims to entice sales.¹⁰⁴ Although beyond the purchasing price of many, it shows how the Enlightenment was communicated outside of newspapers.¹⁰⁵

The French and American Revolutions embody many state and newspaper developments.¹⁰⁶ Political views changed leading up to the French Revolution, stimulated by a culture of letter writing, as well as newspaper and book production. The exchange among *philosophes* stimulated the public sphere in France. Institutions independent of the regime, however, were restricted economically and politically.¹⁰⁷ The American Revolution also spurred both intellectual and technological printing developments.¹⁰⁸ The spread of print was both a transformation of technology and a continuation of earlier shifts in replication by hand of the written word.¹⁰⁹

Newspapers continued to evolve after these Revolutions; while the Republic of Letters ended and the labour market collapsed in France, news about the war between Britain and the USA increased.¹¹⁰ The theories generated by thinkers, as well as the contributions of a growing literate public benefiting from more newspapers, caused people to perceive the world around them in new ways.¹¹¹ There were more journals as well as university affiliations because of the new learned class and the growth of literacy in France,¹¹² as well as more newspapers due to colonial events.

More reading material and opportunities for education were created by the ideals of the Enlightenment and the expanding bourgeois public sphere. Literacy rates increased across Europe during the eighteenth century. While many still received their news by word of mouth, the state could spread official doctrine through the reading public, who in turn would pass it on to their illiterate compatriots. During this transition to a democratic and open public sphere, the newspaper was part of a dialogue with the state. Although the ruling regimes ultimately controlled the state papers, there was also a

¹⁰³ Darnton (1979), p. 533.

¹⁰⁴ Darnton (1979), pp. 522–523.

¹⁰⁵ Darnton (1979), p. 524.

¹⁰⁶ Popkin (1995).

¹⁰⁷ Goodman (1994), p. 286.

¹⁰⁸ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001); Wilke (1987).

¹⁰⁹ Eisenstein (1983), p. 5.

¹¹⁰ Darnton (1979), p. 542.

¹¹¹ Heyer (1988), p. 3.

¹¹² Heyer (1988), pp. 5–8

convergence of censorship, the state, and the public. If the public rejected an idea from the state, it would not appear or be published as often as propaganda in an attempt to force acceptance. The state endeavoured to create acceptance through other methods, such as conversational language, ceremonial representations, and elements reportedly from the public, like letters. This created a semi-public sphere due to its status as being only part of a full public. It did not express open opinions against the state, but it was allowed to “overhear” some matters. A half model is referred to due to the physical spaces being dually public and private.

Stronger intellectual circles were more likely to influence the semi-public and public spheres. Salon ideals were more accessible by shifting to writing. This further spread Enlightenment values.¹¹³ Correspondence between *philosophes* in the seventeenth century shifted towards embracing the ideals of bettering society. This challenged the monarchy’s ability to control the population.¹¹⁴ This oppositional image conflicts slightly with the idea of the semi-public sphere. This challenge, however, came from groups that were attempting to influence the public in a similar way to the regime. The circulation of ideas, in this sense, was not limited to the state. The ruling regime still had influence over how oppositional voices were shaped. Habermas misjudged the leverage politics had over the public sphere in the second-half of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁵

The state presence was not the only factor influencing news at the time. Technological and cultural advances also limited the circulated information. Publishing dates were scheduled around supplying the most accurate dates possible for shipment routines and ship manifestos, as well as church and prayer days. This type of data indicates public interests in both domestic and European news as well as merchant trade qualities.

Accounts about nearby states also shaped the reading public. The state distributed current events and established a sense of the other. As the main focus is not on nationalism or national identities, I instead follow the concept of the rise of the nation state. The publication of economic matters — such as trade or agricultural output — could stimulate local development in order to compete with neighbouring states.¹¹⁶ The comparative focus explores these descriptions using the rise of the nation and notions of other societies.

There was enough unity within early modern European states, through religious identification and loyalty to the realm, that propaganda from regimes and the practices of legitimization influenced vast populations. Ideas of community were created from above for purposes of control rather than an idealized sense of shared, essentialist, ethnic standards.¹¹⁷ The differing values

¹¹³ Goodman (1994), pp. 137–138.

¹¹⁴ Goodman (1994), p. 139.

¹¹⁵ Censer (1994), pp. 210–211.

¹¹⁶ Karabell (2014), pp. 21–22.

¹¹⁷ Gellner (2006).

of ruling estates prevented the idea of community from extending beyond local interests into a larger, imagined, national grouping during this period.¹¹⁸ The nation state did not exist in this period, but it was emerging.

Nationalism is a concept that expresses the union of people into an ideal mutual entity through common or historical attributes. These include shared linguistic, religious, or ethnic identities. It is a modern phenomenon but there are origins in the early modern period.¹¹⁹ The status of nationalism also encompasses religion and the king as the head of state. Religion, from this viewpoint, was shared between the political and social realms. The kingdom was personified in the monarch. Political, religious or ethno-lingual portrayals, such as referring to collective groups by recognizable labels, do not equal modern national identities. Although the regime used the church to foster a sense of community, these feelings cannot be equated to modern nationalism.

As the end of the early modern period is a moving point in different regions of Europe, looking at works that examine both modern and early modern concepts of the nation can be used, although critically. The historian Benedict Anderson's concept of the imagined community incorporates print languages in the formation of modern nationalism.¹²⁰ Anderson's ideas, connected to print capitalism, relate to social anthropologist Ernest Gellner's ideas about the spread of nationalism.¹²¹ Gellner's argues for the connection of European industrialization to nationalism, although this is limited when non-industrialized nations are considered in a global perspective. Anderson's conclusions are valid in their modern conceptions of capitalism, just as Gellner's connect to industrialization.

The difficulty in approaching these notions is using modern conceptions and the potential for similar ideas to be identified in the early modern period. This is seen in the example of the nation and nationalism. Capitalism and its connection to economic development can also be perceived prior to the nineteenth century.¹²² The public sphere is also a fluid concept, depending on how Habermas is interpreted. This work does not define the early modern period in pejorative terms. One of the most important things to come out of the Enlightenment was the notion of societal advancement, linked to a linear conception of history. In order to explain modern society and trace modernity, it is crucial to explore and define the early modern period.

¹¹⁸ Anderson (2006).

¹¹⁹ For example, Smith (1986) observes some of these links.

¹²⁰ Anderson (2006).

¹²¹ Gellner (2006).

¹²² Braudel (1981), for instance, takes up this perspective. Habermas also notes the earlier capitalist activities. See: Habermas (1991), pp. 8–9.

1.2.2 Expanding British State, Public, and Empire

Developments in the Enlightenment, state, public sphere, and the nation were prominent in the British case.¹²³ There was more parliamentary power prior to the reign of George III. There was also widespread influence by other types of newspapers, based on a relaxation of press controls. Related to the Enlightenment, many great thinkers lent their voices to the debates on freedom and the philosophy of government. Great economic thinkers, such as Adam Smith, also considered these ideas.

I need to establish my use of the term Britain in this work. The Kingdom of Great Britain was created by the formal union between Scotland and England in 1707. References to English papers deal with either the language or the contexts prior to the union. England may also be used in reference to quotes in the source material. A union with Ireland was settled in 1801. There were parallel *Gazettes* created in Scotland and Ireland. The *Edinburgh Gazette*, for example, had the same function in Scotland and printed many of the same items as the *London* paper.¹²⁴ Prior to the age of invented traditions,¹²⁵ the central authorities attempted to control regions far from the centre of London. The regional identities of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales are acknowledged but in a study of this size, these issues cannot be fully problematized. In the case of Sweden, Finland, Norway, and Pomerania pose a similar dilemma. A study into cultural or political values would show examples of changes beyond the economic. Just as it was in Habermas's works, Britain has been chosen for its information transmission and the large amount of previous research that focus on that state.

The situation of the freedom of the English press, due to the 1695 lapse in the renewal of the Licensing of the Press Act 1662, generated a greater amount of printed material with less parliamentary control.¹²⁶ Readers were able to make their thoughts and opinions known to editors in the seventeenth-century press, helping to foster exchange and force the state to make active communication decisions. The crowd that consumed the *London Gazette* also considered the actions of their rulers and those of surrounding states.¹²⁷ Using contacts to form a community and build an empire is exemplified in Britain.¹²⁸ Traditional trade routes spread political information, such as the Glorious Revolution in 1688, to distant places, while news at home was limited.¹²⁹ Reciprocal communication was created. For both local and overseas interests, establishing a relatively uniform population base

¹²³ For examples, see: Haydon (1993); Kidd (1999); Colley (2005).

¹²⁴ Harris (2005), pp. 38–62. Harris notes that the *Edinburgh Gazette* was not firmly established until 1793. However, it had begun its irregular publication in 1699.

¹²⁵ Hobsbawm & Ranger (1983).

¹²⁶ Sommerville (1996), p. 169.

¹²⁷ Pettegree (2014), pp. 238–239.

¹²⁸ For example, see: Colley (2005).

¹²⁹ Pettegree (2014), pp. 244–245.

assured obedience with the centre. Delays in transmission had economic consequences as well.¹³⁰ Improving communications brought about competing tendencies for social change within publics and societies.¹³¹ Increased publication frequencies were to prevent negative reactions to rumours or disruptions in trade.

In studies about the sixteenth century, there are contrasting views of the relationship between the printed word and its circulation amongst literate individuals. These are linked to understanding the creation of the public. This investigation builds on these earlier conceptions. There was varying literacy in Tudor and Stuart England.¹³² Based on the criteria of being able to sign a name, more individuals in Sweden could read than those in Britain.¹³³ Like the shift to the urban, industrial context from the rural, agrarian life, literacy was also a reflection of modernity linked to many values.

The English Reformation has been connected to the emergence of a public during the period of William Tyndale's religious writings under Henry VIII.¹³⁴ Public participation and wide circulation in the era prior to the early modern period is important to a study about societal change.¹³⁵ The public transformed over time, both as physical readers and as a rhetorical tool, showing the transition from the medieval to the early modern. Shifts in religion, rule, and the public move my study away from the traditional definition of this period as an age of representation. Both religious writers and the king had difficulties controlling the public once information began to circulate. Responses to troubles are part of this need for continuity across the regime's media.

For the English-speaking world, the early colonial efforts of Britain depended on the creation of a common community. The English Atlantic fostered an early modern conception of social change, based on the transition from oral to written culture.¹³⁶ By presenting differences about other groups to the colonial world, communities of strangers were allied by an oppositional other. These groups were not based on familial ties but rather on common values, expressed through a shared medium.¹³⁷ These cooperatives were ideal for regimes, as control was simplified during times of uncertainty. Newspapers and news pamphlets were a way of inviting distant communities onto the fringe of the centre,¹³⁸ another expression of the semi-public sphere. One of the issues not addressed here is the later tensions with the colonies

¹³⁰ Steele (1986), p. 99.

¹³¹ Steele (1986), p. 270.

¹³² Cressy, (1980), pp. 17–18.

¹³³ Munck (2000), p. 48.

¹³⁴ Pardue (2012), p. 12.

¹³⁵ Pardue (2012), p. 12.

¹³⁶ Steele (1986), p. 270.

¹³⁷ Steele (1986), p. 270–271.

¹³⁸ Steele (1986), p. 271.

in North America and the American Revolution. This is discussed in the empirical chapters, connected directly to the specific time frames.

Limiting this study to the ideals of the ruling regime emphasizes a specific change to state development, the public sphere, as well as economic thinking. In England after the Restoration, multiple publics were created by the state but all were approached in a similar fashion. From the British example, ideas about the public sphere include state control and the creation of parallel publics. This study focuses on the semi-public, encompassing an ideal sort. The transforming spheres existed beyond the dynamic of just public and private, encapsulating broader spaces and topics.¹³⁹

1.2.3 Sweden's Loss of Power, the Crown, and a Loyal Crowd

The transformation of the public and the state in Sweden are also connected to political, social, and economic change. The period prior to this study has been termed the Great Power Era, lasting from 1611 to 1721.¹⁴⁰ The territorial and economic expansions that mark the height of Swedish influence in the Baltic region in the seventeenth century required a strong state apparatus. This led, in part, to the creation of the state-managed newspaper studied here. There were coordinated efforts to control the population through propaganda, the church media network, and the newspaper.

This epoch of widespread influence effectively ended with the death of Charles XII in 1718 but officially came to a close in 1721 when the outcomes of the Great Northern War were decided. Despite these consequences, the *Post-Tidningar* continued to circulate as a voice of the state; this was extended to the restored Riksdag of the Estates. The survival of the newspaper to the subsequent Age of Liberty,¹⁴¹ spanning until 1772, was at the whim of the regime. Parliamentary rule characterizes this period as decision-making powers were shifted away from the monarch. Charles XII's autocratic rule and disastrous decisions at the onset of the eighteenth century caused this loss of royal influence, beyond symbolic elements. The ruling authorities needed cooperation to manage both periods of strength or times of curtailed influence.

If the state wished to affirm loyalty, it had to provide consistent material not only with the *Post-Tidningar*, but also through other forms of information distribution, such as the church.¹⁴² While the state was creating feelings of community to manage the people, these were not based on ethnic identities. I used the idea of loyalty as a form of patriotism rather than a national identity or sense of nationalism.¹⁴³ The religious conception of the Swedish Israel also guides a perception of collective suffering, requiring the direction of a trusted

¹³⁹ Lake & Pincus (2006).

¹⁴⁰ Swedish: *Stormaktstiden*.

¹⁴¹ Swedish: *Frihetstiden*.

¹⁴² Reuterswård (2001).

¹⁴³ Forsberg (2005), p. 291.

ruler.¹⁴⁴ The crown, realm, and confessional identifications were the basis of this unity, created through common, local values. Consistency was needed in the information circulated in the church, the king's speeches, and in the official newspapers.

Surrounded by external influence, Sweden underwent significant constitutional changes. Within these shifting dynamics of European life, urban members of Sweden's elite attempted to succeed and understand these developments.¹⁴⁵ Although this group was relatively small and concentrated in comparison to the largely rural population of Sweden, this group was active in trade and economic developments, crucial for the survival and success of the state. Although this study does not focus on what this group actually knew, this facet of identity is important to consider for the readership.

Many influential ideas and individuals circulated from the continent, reaching Swedish intellectual circles. The Enlightenment in Sweden was not as thorough as in France, but ideas still flowed. Sweden has, in other works, been placed between Germany and France in its connections to the Enlightenment.¹⁴⁶ Germany, as opposed to France, had fewer expressions of the Enlightenment or *Aufklärung*. The division of the German states limited the spread, although religion was not as widely criticized. Within this "between" metaphor, Sweden adopted some tastes and ideals, but lacked some of the critical ideas present in France. Many Enlightenment-style pamphlets circulated the principles of the freedom of the press that were established in the mid-eighteenth century. Gustav III also supported the artistic principles of the Enlightenment.

Democratic thinking and the population's notions of the state can be pushed earlier in some states, such as in Britain, but require caution in the Swedish context.¹⁴⁷ The rise of democracy and political sovereignty impacted public opinion and the relationship with the state. The Freedom of the Press Act,¹⁴⁸ introduced in 1766 only to be ended in 1772 and formally removed in 1774, was a major influence.¹⁴⁹ Parliamentary debates from 1769 until 1772 were more open due to the lack of regulation on deliberations; this was subdued with the 1772 coup by Gustav III. In the lifetimes of the peripheral readership, ideas related to democratic freedoms were emerging, only to be curtailed, then later reinstated.

Foreign influence and the circulation of external ideas was also stronger in Sweden than in Britain. During the Age of Liberty, states such as France and Russia shaped some domestic policy decisions. Meanwhile, Britain and

¹⁴⁴ Ihalainen (2005); Forssberg (2005).

¹⁴⁵ Rydén (2013), p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ Munck (2000).

¹⁴⁷ Ihalainen has also looks at the uniqueness of the Swedish case, mainly in the Protestant and religious context in other works. For example, see: Ihalainen (2005).

¹⁴⁸ Swedish: *Förordning angående skrif- och tryckfrihet*.

¹⁴⁹ Ihalainen (2010).

Denmark influenced economic happenings, such as trade policy in the North Sea. During the disruption of the Seven Years War, for example, merchants tried to sustain British timber and iron trades with Scandinavia, rather than relying on the policies of ruling regimes.¹⁵⁰ Sweden's borders also underwent territorial reduction with only minor gains. Finland was handed over to Russia in 1809. The loss of parts of Pomerania, coming out of the Congress of Vienna, was also well documented. The union with Norway was not a major addition in terms of the state-building process. While Britain emerged as a colonial power in the nineteenth century, Sweden was focused on a smaller tract of land with fewer colonial holdings and less global power.

The contextual narratives in the empirical chapters continue the issues raised here. Sweden and Britain experienced contrasting levels of state strength and Enlightenment influence. Like in Britain, the state, public sphere, and nation were connected through mutual communication. According to Habermas, the *Post-Tidningar* and other state-controlled media were not part of an open sphere, due to restrictions. The newspapers in Sweden and Britain, however, had similar functions and formed analogous semi-publics. These elements underpin this study and led to the birth of the modern world.

1.3 Contextualizing Economy and Economic Matters

Before and during the Age of Revolutions, ideas about economic matters were changing, along with the form and functions of the economy itself. The earliest agricultural transformations altered populations and created more sustainable living conditions. The breakthrough of the Industrial Revolution in Britain and other industrial transformations in the nineteenth century brought continued demographic and economic progress. These diverse forms of early industrializing represent an additional way of contrasting the two states in this study. They were both modernizing in distinct ways, experiencing transformation at different paces under unique circumstances. Notions of change and industrial alterations also occurred in the transforming context of economic thought in early modern Europe, although shifts in thinking were not identical.

1.3.1 Modern Developments with Early Modern Origins

The use of modern terms to explain early modern phenomenon is connected to my perspective.¹⁵¹ This includes conceptions of the availability of resources, population changes, the strength of the state, and other elements. It is important to understand the context of the period and my outlook regarding how

¹⁵⁰ Kent & Koplowitz (1973), pp. 176–177.

¹⁵¹ Cipolla (1993), p. 53.

matters of the past are treated on their own terms, despite the association with current terminology. The concept of the modern economy is associated with a modern invention, based on numerical or leading indicators, gauging success or failure.¹⁵² Unemployment, gross national product, and other concepts were conceived in response to the Great Depression, the Second World War, and the Cold War.¹⁵³ The creation of the modern and capitalist economy, the professionalization and influence of economists, and the making of modern economics led to this conception. Three broad phases helped bring about the modern state: feudalism, mercantilism, and revolutionist. These are termed as phases because of shared economic, political, social, and technological associations. Pre-capitalism and capitalism are separate due to the uniqueness of underlying all progress.¹⁵⁴ While modern matters are expressed with contemporary concepts, the early modern economy contained the processes that fostered them.

The economy before the early modern period is characterized as agrarian and trade-based. Forms of banking and manufacturing were also developing in parts of Europe from 1300 to 1500. Any advancement, however, was tied to agricultural factors and the lack of an organized central state. During the medieval period, feudalism and control by landlords drove life. Tied to the land, economic approaches were negligible and constrained to subsistence.¹⁵⁵ *Oeconomia* and the management of the household were for survival, involving both public and private decisions.¹⁵⁶ While these systems differed throughout Europe, the majority of the populations had a narrow view towards the economy and other aspects.¹⁵⁷ Lack of choices, education, and information were the main limitations. There was no separation of economic life from the influences of medieval governing and social existence.¹⁵⁸ In this period, embeddedness is expressed in its fullest form.

In order to understand the early modern period, the contrasts prior to the sixteenth century help explain the ideas that emerged. The medieval city, for example, helped create modern society.¹⁵⁹ As this type of town developed, so did the need for the state apparatus to maintain order and manage resources. The modern urban-industrial society depended on the foundations laid in this early modern city.¹⁶⁰ The medieval town “anticipated” the role of capitalism due to a lack of a consumer society, forcing merchants to rely on forms of

¹⁵² Karabell (2014), pp. 1–2.

¹⁵³ Karabell (2014), pp. 3–4.

¹⁵⁴ Braudel (1981). This builds of his arguments for the continuity of capitalism over time.

¹⁵⁵ Musgrave (1999), p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Brunner (1992), p. 25.

¹⁵⁷ Many researchers have pointed to the diversity of opportunities and life for much of medieval society. For the majority of the peasantry, however, agrarian life was the main existence.

¹⁵⁸ Brunner (1992), p. 101; Parsons (1991).

¹⁵⁹ Pirenne (1925); Weber (1978).

¹⁶⁰ de Vries (1984), p. 8.

pre-capitalist efforts.¹⁶¹ Technological developments were driven by the imposition of trade-minded efforts of resource exploitation already in the medieval period.¹⁶² Although these towns do not meet a modern definition, they helped generate the later industrious and industrial revolutions.¹⁶³

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, there were variations of mercantilist policies throughout Europe.¹⁶⁴ A concept of public authority and consolidation of political functions was gradually created as part of this development.¹⁶⁵ The early modern state attempted to control aspects of trade, supply, wages, and tariffs. This system was both a contributing factor and a result of the frequent wars of the period. The integrity of the national economy needed to be protected and wealth needed to be accumulated in an increasingly competitive environment.

Although mercantilism was criticized in the late-eighteenth century, ideas of rival economies threatening the home state were resonating during other times. For example, monetary factors and “natural” principles were already part of the discourse in seventeenth-century Britain.¹⁶⁶ Additionally, the strategies employed by Jean-Baptiste Colbert in France under Louis XIV were responses to unique circumstances. These differed from the conditions in Sweden or Britain. Rather than attempt to benefit the population, Colbert attempted to increase the power of the king.¹⁶⁷ The state was strengthened under his policies. Notwithstanding some differences, mercantilism created an economic “other” involved in protecting the home state. The portrayals of other states were impacted because of this protectionism.

As criticisms increased, another phase of thinking emerged alongside economic change. There was a professionalization of economics and economic thinkers. Ideas about land, currency, and the increased use of idle resources advanced throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁶⁸ Pamphlet literature spread throughout Europe in response to the decisions of the centralized state. There were criticisms of developing resources, as well as the retention of medieval forms of land management.

Ricardo, Malthus, and Smith all wrote about topics ranging from unchecked production, to comparative advantage, to the conception of the invisible hand. Smith, as well as other great thinkers, depended on earlier works.¹⁶⁹ He viewed the functions of economy from his position in society and the circulation of other ideas. His arguments against mercantilism focused on

¹⁶¹ Braudel (1983), pp. 396, 400; de Vries (1984), p. 7.

¹⁶² Cipolla (1993), p. 211

¹⁶³ de Vries (1984), p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ Musgrave (1999), pp. 58–59.

¹⁶⁵ Brunner (1992), p. 100.

¹⁶⁶ Magnusson (2000), p. 87.

¹⁶⁷ Backhouse (2002), p. 89.

¹⁶⁸ Backhouse (2002), p. 92.

¹⁶⁹ Backhouse (2002), pp. 130–131.

the ineffectiveness of the early modern state system regarding commerce and the economic necessities of the population. Although Smith was just one of many who developed economic thought, his ideas contributed to a significant break. Spurred by political revolutions and economic crises, there was a turn away from moral philosophy to political economy.¹⁷⁰

Revolutions occurred in multiple areas of life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Elements of the previous period, however, still existed in states, structures, and spheres that continued to function and change along with the rest of society.¹⁷¹ The problems and ideologies that precipitated the French and American Revolutions were not limited to political demands. Issues of conflicts with the authority of the state were also not limited to the Age of Enlightenment. The revolutions that occurred throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were closer to the upheavals in the eighteenth and nineteenth century than those of the modern age. Resistances challenged the consolidation and centralization of state powers. From these criticisms of state power, ideas about a managed economy continued to develop. The wars that followed the revolutionary period continued to force views about the administration of land, capital, and other economic questions.

Proto-industrialization, the Industrial Revolution, and industrialization are complicated developments. Here, the use of the term “industrialization” encompasses a number of ideas. For example, proto-industrialization is part of agricultural transformation; it integrates areas outside of Britain in the study of technological, economic, and social progress towards an industrial society. Additionally, in terms of Marxist thinking, the British Agricultural Revolution of the eighteenth century allowed for more workers and the further growth of differing class identities. A similar agricultural transformation occurred in Sweden, creating surpluses and population growth. Although all of these changes occurred at differing rates, the emergences of modern forms of nationalism and modern capitalism are associated with them.

Different economic systems and structures separated western and eastern areas of Europe due to contrasting patterns of development.¹⁷² The term “development” encompasses both the continuities with earlier periods and the upheavals that characterize shifts in the balance of power. As seen with mercantilism, this was linked to interactions. The views the state held towards the economic matters of neighbouring regimes impacted whether to cooperate with or against them in non-political contexts. The relative success of the west was based on the useful knowledge individuals had of their environments.¹⁷³ Intellectual changes during and prior to the eighteenth century helped stimulate the origins of the Industrial Revolution.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ Backhouse (2002), pp. 132–133.

¹⁷¹ Magnusson (2000), p. 9.

¹⁷² Musgrave (1999), pp. 8–9.

¹⁷³ Mokyr (1990), p. 287.

¹⁷⁴ Mokyr (1990), p. 288.

1.3.2 British Economy and the Colonial Sphere

The societies of Britain were influenced by a variety of economic discussions and developments. Emerging from the sixteenth century, England was driven by an emerging trade sector and a decline of guild control.¹⁷⁵ Seventeenth-century England was associated with aggression, achieving the upper hand over its neighbours.¹⁷⁶ Charter companies spread over the world, developing financial strategies and access to crucial raw goods.¹⁷⁷ Economic growth and social change was rapid in Britain, when society in 1500 is contrasted with the emerging, modern, state around 1820. This overview of British development focuses on three of the factors connected to the Industrial Revolution: fuel, trade, and population growth. Changes in thinking, from the economic founding fathers, were also connected to the development of the public sphere.

Britain is traditionally seen as the starting place for the Industrial Revolution. It also contributed to the waves of industrialization that spread throughout Europe in the nineteenth century. Technological change and advancements in energy utilization typifies the time from around 1780 until 1850. The fuel of much of this industrial development was primarily increased coal production, which had already begun in the sixteenth century. From 1630 to 1850, British coal production rose from 1.5-million tons to about 60-million tons.¹⁷⁸ The advancements in both coal and iron production leading up to the Industrial Revolution sustained the later developments, aided by increases in capital investment and labour growth.¹⁷⁹

Additionally, Britain was in a favourable position to pursue international trade and colonial growth. The exploration and exploitation of North America brought both gold and silver, as well as new raw products into the market. The policies of mercantilism aimed to restrict the benefits of these trades to only domestic interests. The trade of tropical products created new industries. London was the centre of this new trade, developing the city.¹⁸⁰ India and the East Indies were also sites of settlement and trade. This growth was sustained by the relative availability of sailors and merchants willing to take up trading, as well as cooperation with the state. Sugar and tobacco were crucial goods, growing in importance in the domestic and European markets. This exchange, as well as other efforts of colonization, created a demand for British manufactured goods in the American colonies.¹⁸¹ Although there was a turn towards freer trade in 1846 with the repeal of the Corn Laws, restricting and exploiting trade were part of Britain's economic transformation during industrialization.

¹⁷⁵ Cipolla (1993), pp. 274–275.

¹⁷⁶ Cipolla (1993), p. 275.

¹⁷⁷ Hudsons Bay Company (HBC) and British East India Company (EIC) are two examples.

¹⁷⁸ Cipolla (1993), p. 270–271.

¹⁷⁹ Cipolla (1993), p. 272.

¹⁸⁰ Cipolla (1993), pp. 273–274.

¹⁸¹ Harley (2004), p. 184.

The expansions in energy and trade were both influenced and sustained by demographic change. The population grew from 6.5 million in 1680 to 18.5 million by 1840.¹⁸² There was increased fertility and reduced mortality, along with a general movement away from agricultural labour towards craft and eventually industrial work. Forms of enclosure were initiated as early as the sixteenth century, leading to both increased agricultural production and the creation of landless poor. The Poor Laws,¹⁸³ established during the Elizabethan period, created relief systems based at the parish level. The poor were, however, forced to look for work beyond community aid. A general urbanization trend was created and sustained by improvements in agricultural production.¹⁸⁴ Agricultural techniques and growth had transformed between 1600 and 1750, preceding the Industrial Revolution and contributing to its later emergence by supplying craft-skilled labour through proto-industrial work.¹⁸⁵ These forms of proto-industry, although regionally dependent, also helped contribute to the growth of credit links, as well as changes in consumption habits in a broader sense.¹⁸⁶

While this economic change was ongoing, so were the ways of understanding it. Money, goods, currency, taxes, and other ideas were perceived and explained differently by philosophers and agents of the state, while also influencing elements of economic development. The innovations that produced political economy are linked to the Glorious Revolution and the associated English Financial Revolution of the seventeenth century.¹⁸⁷ Political economy ideals dominated after the French Revolution, then economics emerged as its own subject in the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁸ The ideas and events that inspired Hume, Smith, and others steered both the political economy and economics. The progression of the coffeehouse culture in Britain allowed for the works of Smith, for example, to be more accessible and open for discussion. Crisis in the economy, such as the panic associated with the South Sea Bubble in 1720, was experienced through distressing descriptions in pamphlet literature; discourses around credit and money, for example, could dramatically change for philosophers and the state, while economic systems experienced different changes.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸² Wrigley (2004), pp. 57–58.

¹⁸³ The English and Welsh Laws differ from the Scottish and Irish, although the Irish resemble the English ones. The major reform to the English Laws occurred in 1834, while the Scottish system was reformed in 1845.

¹⁸⁴ Wrigley (2004), p. 92.

¹⁸⁵ Allen (2004), p. 116.

¹⁸⁶ Hudson (1996), pp. 65–66.

¹⁸⁷ Wennerlind (2011), p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ Backhouse (2002), p. 117.

¹⁸⁹ Wennerlind (2011), p. 238.

1.3.3 Sweden and the Agricultural Transformation

At the same time as Britain experienced agricultural advances and population growth in the early eighteenth century, Sweden struggled in terms of production and population. The loss of the Baltic holdings after the Great Northern War negatively impacted agricultural production, and Sweden imported much of its grain around 1750. Despite this, an agricultural transformation occurred. The state employed similar tactics as those applied in Britain with comparable access to information. Sweden looked to Britain for economic strategies as well as writings. The population, however, was smaller, more rural, and under different state influences.

The Swedish population grew by about half a million people, rising from about two million in 1770 to two and a half million by 1820.¹⁹⁰ This populace, however, was primarily rural. It was only after 1850 that the urban population began to constitute a more significant portion of the total, rising above ten per cent, although this was concentrated in Stockholm.¹⁹¹ Gradual advances in technology during the mid-eighteenth century, such as the continuing spread of the iron plough and harrow, accented the changing ways land was used and organized. The estimated amount of arable land doubled between 1750 and 1850.¹⁹² Although the population was mainly rural, there were gradual changes in how the land was used, leading to surpluses that would eventually allow for sustained population growth. There were still times of famine, however, illustrating the importance of the long-term perspective of this study. This agricultural transformation was the basis for subsequent sustained growth in the eighteenth century and later industrial transformation in the nineteenth century.

Just as with the British enclosure acts, there were forms of enclosure and land improvements determined by the state during the eighteenth century. These *skiftesreformer*, although resembling the British system of transforming common to fenced and titled land, were unique to Sweden. Jacob Faggot, a founding member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences and chief inspector for land surveying,¹⁹³ initiated one of the first major reforms in 1746. When the act was passed in 1749, it began as a voluntary system of redistributing land. The aim was to divide the old village system and the methods of farming it entailed. Later modifications and ordinances in 1757, 1762, and 1783 added stricter elements to the reforms, including the shift from consolidating farms into only one parcel of land to more than one in 1762. The results of these reforms have been debated and evidence shows that there was an overall increase in production,¹⁹⁴ although these trail estimates of Britain's increased

¹⁹⁰ Heckscher (1949), p. 149.

¹⁹¹ Heckscher (1949), p. 88.

¹⁹² Magnusson (1997), pp. 189–190.

¹⁹³ Swedish: *Överdirektör vid Lantmäteri- och justeringsverket*.

¹⁹⁴ Magnusson (2000), pp. 15–16.

production. This issue of land reform is another example of the similar — yet contrasting — events in the two states.

Sweden's earliest forms of industrializing trends were controlled by efforts of the state. Types of manufacturing were regulated based on protectionist policies of tariffs, limiting and regulating importation of items like textiles starting in the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁵ The importance of these efforts decreased after an economic crisis in 1760. The manufactories were separate from the guild system, which persisted in Sweden longer than in Britain. The production of pre-industrial crafts was limited based on this system of directing urban goods until the mid-nineteenth century.

Other forms of control were in place around the production and exchange of iron, such as through the establishment of the Ironmaster's Association in 1747.¹⁹⁶ Sweden had a close relationship with Britain, being the major site for iron exports in the eighteenth century. Britain, in turn, benefited by re-exporting small quantities of Swedish iron to their colonial holdings.¹⁹⁷ The efforts of this Association — attempting to maintain high prices — limited the amount of exports at times. Swedish iron production improved gradually over the period of this study, but there were no rapid changes until more advanced technological efforts were introduced in the nineteenth century.¹⁹⁸ The mercantilist efforts both aided and hindered development.

One of the fundamental concepts associated with Sweden in the early modern period is householding or household management.¹⁹⁹ This encompasses the management of the household, exchange between households, and the state's organization of resources. It was a changing and expansive model. The state's version of householding was related to the mercantilist practices and economic planning it conducted, but not the only aspect of it. Connected with the work the first professor of *oekonomiae* in Uppsala, Anders Berch, householding was based on the authority of the state in dividing and ordering the economy. In terms of the economic debate in the 1740s, during the Age of Liberty when Berch produced his writings, *hushållning* was a form of economics. These notions persisted until more liberal ideals of free trade emerged in the nineteenth century.

By the Age of Liberty, Sweden was more involved in the growing system of global trade, consumer revolutions, and circulation of cosmopolitan ideas.²⁰⁰ Economic literature was strongly linked to mercantilism, emerging from these earlier ideas of state householding. Both new and old concepts played significant roles in influencing concepts in litera-

¹⁹⁵ Magnusson (2000), p. 48.

¹⁹⁶ Swedish: *Jernkontoret*.

¹⁹⁷ Kent (1973), p. 67.

¹⁹⁸ Magnusson (2000), p. 93–94.

¹⁹⁹ Swedish: *Hushållning*. These English terms will be used interchangeably.

²⁰⁰ Rydén (2013), p. 5–6.

ture,²⁰¹ economic thinking, and other areas. Discussions of economic developments in the eighteenth century, focused on the debates of mercantilism and “reform” mercantilism, are most clearly understood from the political and economic contexts of the time period under consideration.²⁰²

In his extensive work describing Sweden’s economic history, Eli Heckscher included a chapter documenting the mindset of the population towards the economy in the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁰³ In his summary of the economic pamphlet literature, he noted how it was largely ignored for extensive analysis.²⁰⁴ From Heckscher’s perspective, the function of this economic literature was linked to mercantilism.²⁰⁵ His volume argues for the importance of population growth and agricultural development, and by extension technological transformation, to economic change. Defining and examining how the state described economic matters elaborates on these aspects of Heckscher’s observations, highlighting the uniqueness of Sweden’s economic development at the end of the eighteenth century in contrast to Britain.

1.3.4 Contrasting States before the Industrial Breakthrough

Sweden and Britain experienced economic matters differently, but they also share some similarities. These underscore why similar source materials were selected for comparison. Descriptions of the other were a valuable tool for regimes to enforce collective sentiments, as well as to pass on practical information. Ideas from abroad circulated at increasing rates. These relate back to how news of economic matters, such as trading agreements, debts, and monetary policies, were transmitted and how their descriptions changed over time. Studying how the state apparatus in each kingdom communicated economic matters adds to the understanding of the rise of modernity, the development of a modern economy, and the invention of economic indicators.

Intellectual pamphlets, although limited depending on the strength of censorship by the regime, printed similar information in the state presses. Debates about population size, for example, increased along with its relationship to economic conditions towards the end of the eighteenth century.²⁰⁶ Both states saw the need for a census. The official recording of population statistics began in the 1740s. Mercantilist policies were among the central influences that led to the establishment of *Tabellverket* in 1749.²⁰⁷ There were restrictions on what could be communicated; changes in population could be reported, for example, while totals were kept out of the public

²⁰¹ Heckscher (1949), p. 890.

²⁰² Magnusson (1987).

²⁰³ Heckscher (1949), p. 812.

²⁰⁴ Heckscher (1949), p. 889.

²⁰⁵ Heckscher (1949), p. 890.

²⁰⁶ Glass (1973).

²⁰⁷ Sjöström (2002). In English, this can be translated to the Tables Office.

domain. Both local parishes and the crown had monitored land and populations long before that.²⁰⁸ Correspondingly, the censuses of Britain originated from akin religious, military, and tax-management purposes. In *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, Malthus argued that a form of accounting was for the good of the public, as well as the interests of the state.²⁰⁹ The foundations of the first national surveys depended on unique contexts, despite similar origins.

The more information the state had, the better they could manage resources and secure wealth. During times of war and conflict in sixteenth century Sweden, it was necessary to maintain records of land holdings for tax collection, for example.²¹⁰ The state relied on the church to record information about their parishes. Both the state's records of land holdings for taxes and the church's records of births, deaths, and population movements were measures of control. In a society where individuals were already aware of being counted for various reasons, the state embraced the ideology of controlling its population and economy through householding.

By comparing Sweden and Britain, this work fits into the context of studying the processes of the Enlightenment and industrialization. The relationship between Sweden and Britain, like other states, was complex. Britain had more power and population, although Sweden was not totally isolated and poor. How economic matters were transmitted impacted how the world was viewed, both by the state and the people.²¹¹ Changes were unique yet had elements of corresponding advancement, showing uniform connections to modernity.

1.4 Structure and Contents of the Dissertation

In summary, I analyze depictions of economic matters in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century state newspapers in two early modern kingdoms. While the perception of the modern economy as numerical indicators is an invention of the twentieth century, the elements of measuring the economy were emerging during this time. Economic matters are understood contextually, with additional reflection on their modern forms. This introduction has presented the theoretical standpoints and previous research connected to it. It has also established the questions that guide this work. Britain and Sweden are studied, while the British *London Gazette* and the Swedish *Post-Tidningar* and *Inrikes Tidningar* are the primary material.

This dissertation consists of six chapters. Chapter Two expands on this chapter's outline of methodology. There is a presentation of previous research on early modern newspapers leading up to and including the eighteenth century.

²⁰⁸ For example, through *jordböcker* (English: Urbarium or fief registers) and *kyrkböcker* (English: Parish registers). Sjöström (2002), pp. 59–60.

²⁰⁹ Malthus (1798), pp. 61–66; 72–76.

²¹⁰ Sköld & Lantto (2004), p. 6.

²¹¹ Heyer (1988), p. xiv.

Chapter Two also discusses how form, order, and content are analyzed, as noted in the research aims. This includes the identification of the item genres, the outlook of the order of importance, and how the content is studied. Issues of legitimacy, loyalty, the semi-public sphere, and a total view of the newspaper are all aspects of my approach.

Each empirical chapter is structured similarly, beginning with the contexts of each period. This adds to the discussions presented here with a chronological narrative, defining important political and economic processes. The contextual sections look at events and processes in the Western context. This represents the political focus, and discusses some of the events brought up in the papers. They were either directly or indirectly influenced by these happenings. The conditions for newspapers, started in Chapter Two, are continued in the second major section of each chapter. The third presents the descriptions of economic matters in three parts: Britain, Sweden, and comparative. The final part of each chapter is a summary.

Each of these periods was selected based on issues of stability for the two states, Europe, and the world. Chapter Three presents the material from the newspapers from 1770 to 1775. In Sweden, the death of King Adolf Frederick precipitated the rise of Gustav III, ending the Age of Liberty. Britain faced the fallout of the Seven Years' War, and the start of the American Revolution.

Chapter Four covers the newspapers from 1790 to 1795. The French Revolution had consequences for all aspects of this chapter. In Sweden, Gustav III's assassination was another defining moment. The events around his death did not directly impact the reporting of economic matters, and instead attempted to create sympathy for his and the land's suffering. Britain struggled against France, while also broadening its concerns around the world.

Chapter Five includes material from 1815 to 1820. The final period deals with the era directly following the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. There was a break with the previous century in both Sweden and Britain, influenced partially by the Congress of Vienna. Both invoked press controls as more news circulated. The growth of the public, for example, propagated the anti-slavery trade movement.²¹² The British Empire also grew, despite the spread of notions of independence ideas in the colonial sphere. The selection and reign of Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte as Charles XIV John also occurred in Sweden.

These chapters chart a period of panic from 1770 to 1820. Both states dealt with the death of monarchs, constitutional change, agricultural development, and the origins of industrialization. The transformation of public and semi-public spheres differed around the world. The long reign of George III contrasts Sweden's dilemmas, while agricultural and industrial change happened at contrasting rates. Both states attempted to communicate matters in a stable fashion despite uncertainties, dealing the political, economic, social/cultural, and technological change.

²¹² Baley (2004), p. 187.

CHAPTER 2

Reading Eighteenth-Century News

The British *London Gazette* and the two publications of the Swedish *Postoch Inrikes-Tidningar* were consistent during many revolutions. To assess this stable media, I use a total view.¹ Form, order, and content make up this perspective, part of the research questions. Embeddedness, emphasis, and trustworthiness are used to analyze the descriptions of economic matters. Form is based on identifying item types.² The stability of the papers is expressed through consistency, so any changes indicate transforming representations. Shifts in order were more common, but also as important. The placement or internal organizations of items show kinds of emphasis. Both of these could not be assessed without addressing the content. The content is the most varied, but also needed to be the most legitimate. Economic matters in the content are classified into the four categories of objects, practices, ideas, and discourses established in Chapter One. This perspective is based on the history of newspapers, how they have been studied, and their early modern constructions.

2.1 Publications and Styles before Modernity

Certain terminologies associated with modern newspapers are applied to the early modern context.³ This illustrates some of the outcomes from earlier forms of publishing, as well as how I analyzed the material. The average early modern newspaper was a printed object with a modest amount of pages, either bound or meant to be bound, which appeared at regular times at an affordable price or no cost.⁴ It was relatively public,⁵ periodical,⁶ current,⁷ and covered a number of topics.⁸ Modern newspapers diverge from this, as there are larger publication runs and a larger body of readers. The universal

¹ Barnhurst and Nerone refer to this type of approach as newspaper topography. Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 10.

² These are also referred to as genres.

³ Modern newspapers, in this dissertation's terminology, do not include online or digital versions.

⁴ Dooley (2010), p. 69.

⁵ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 2.

⁶ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 73.

⁷ Dooley (2010), p. 69.

⁸ Dooley (2010), p. 69.

aspect of a modern paper also reflects a dynamic culture and the attitudes of contemporary readership.⁹ The construction additionally sets them apart with more independent newsgathering; reporters and editors have names but do not have opinions, unless labelled as such.¹⁰ Complementary pictures, increased white space, and predetermined sections also differentiate modern papers.¹¹ Such papers began to appear after the 1890s.¹²

Newspapers started out of state and trading developments, leading to the first organized hand-written newssheets at the end of the medieval period.¹³ These were based on providing trade, transport, and price figures to merchants, and existed mainly in the German, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch environments.¹⁴ The state did not initially use either of these hand-written or printed media, due to the view fifteenth- and sixteenth-century rulers had of the public. From their perspective, the people did not need to know everything they were doing.¹⁵

The advances of movable type in the 1450s, following its introduction by Johannes Gutenberg in 1439, revolutionized communication.¹⁶ In the 1500s, news from German regions was merged into assembled texts with greater frequency. The spread of more efficient printing caused problems for three groups: the scribes who produced the hand-written texts, the clergy who could no longer control the religious word, and the state that now had to find a way to share information.¹⁷ Newspapers, like all forms of written media, were transformed by innovations in fabrication and thinking.¹⁸ The speed of production increased, creating the concepts of the press and publishing.¹⁹

There are examples of proto-newspapers from the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. They offered more news than a pamphlet but lacked the characteristic of dependable periodical publications. In 1594, the semi-annual Latin *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* was produced out of Cologne.²⁰ Later, the German-language *Niue Zeitungen* were the first mass-printed versions.²¹ The weekly papers began circulating around 1609 in both Strasbourg and Braunschweig; although the two had different publishers, the information was identical.²² The changing printing sites also separates these

⁹ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 191.

¹⁰ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 19. Modern journalism is meant to be unbiased.

¹¹ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 19.

¹² Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 20.

¹³ Pettegree (2014), p. 3.

¹⁴ Boberg (1970), pp. 12–13.

¹⁵ Popkin (1987), p. 5.

¹⁶ Briggs & Burke (2009), pp. 15–16.

¹⁷ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 15.

¹⁸ Weber (2006), p. 387.

¹⁹ Weber (2006), pp. 387–412.

²⁰ Raymond (1996), pp. 6–7.

²¹ Boberg (1970), pp. 14–15.

²² Boberg (1970), p. 18.

newssheets from the newspapers that later developed. Taking news beyond merchant data, the papers competed with the hand-written sorts for the first hundred years. The circulation of global information, such as through transatlantic trade,²³ still established contemporaneity and common knowledge, linked to the creation of the early modern European press.²⁴

As printing techniques spread, cultural and ideological influences modified the typesetting and typography. The regional differences depended on the internal developments of print culture and the external exchange of ideas.²⁵ There was an east-west divide in Europe, contingent on where the majority of the international information was amassed. The Swedish papers depended on Hamburg for foreign news and emulated the German format. Britain exchanged with the Dutch as well the French. British, Italian, French, and colonial papers were using Roman typefaces while the Scandinavian, German, and Polish papers were using Gothic.²⁶

The history of Western typefaces and typography followed similar trends to artistic styles.²⁷ The three main historical typefaces are Roman or Latin, Blackletter or Germanic or Gothic, and Italic or cursive. The names reflect their origins. Typefaces and fonts are not interchangeable terms, as typefaces include many font families. These variances show cultural and printing contrasts, also indicating the exchange of ideas. Renaissance ideals and the demand for classical works in France generated an early shift away from Gothic type by the early sixteenth century. The use of Roman typefaces in Britain was mainly a result of Dutch influence in style and technology.²⁸ These upright typefaces split from the slanted Italic group during the early Renaissance.²⁹ As the first proto-newspapers were Germanic, the Gothic typeface prevailed into the eighteenth century.³⁰ It is known for descenders, ascenders, and a calligraphic style.³¹ Mixing typefaces represented a change in language or emphasis, which was not available to all printing processes.³² The cursive, Italic types were used this way, coming from French and Italian.

The Low Countries and Paris made impacts beyond typefaces. Revolutionary ideas spread through changes to all aspects of newspapers. For Britain and Sweden, France and the USA are critical states that influenced alterations in

²³ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 23.

²⁴ Dooley (2010), pp. 2–3.

²⁵ Bödeker (1990), p. 424.

²⁶ Early Cyrillic and Old Church Slavonic used by Orthodox papers are not dealt with here.

²⁷ Dane (2011).

²⁸ Raymond (1996), pp. 6–7. The spread of the Protestant bible through Dutch sources has also been pointed to for the similarities. Clarke (2004), p. 12.

²⁹ A modern example is Times New Roman, the typeface of this dissertation.

³⁰ Boberg (1970), pp. 14–15.

³¹ The long s was typical, although it was also common in early Roman typefaces.

³² This indicated the growing differentiation between *body* and *display type*. *Body type* is the typeface used for the majority of the text. *Display type* refers to the typeface intended to stand out in the newspaper, such as used in modern headlines. See: Brooks & Pinson (2014), p. 249.

thinking, as well as changes to form, order, and content. Their pamphlets and seventeenth-century networks influenced the characteristics of eighteenth-century publications elsewhere. The Swedish elite preferred to receive some of its news in French.³³ Even in the *Post-Tidningar*, news from or about France received increasing attention over time. Both British and Swedish papers often included sections in French, sometimes swapping typefaces.

Like its involvement in the spread of Enlightenment ideals and revolutionary spirit, the evolution of the press in relation to France represents key changes in Europe. It started as early as 1672, with the publication of a “less scholarly” work resembling letters’ exchanges aimed at mainly women.³⁴ In the second half of the eighteenth century, price listings, shipping information, and technical content were included.³⁵ Others referenced economic factors, explaining how they related to society and politics. Local elites, attempting to relay word of estate sales, included references to their role in society.³⁶ By 1750, the state was forced to react to the rise of public opinion in France.³⁷ During the Revolution, newspapers expressed political thoughts as well as their symbolic qualities of creating legitimacy for the events.³⁸

Other revolutionary ideas were coming from the colonial settings. Printers in New York during the 1830s even recognized the impact print had on revolutions.³⁹ In their examination of the history of the medium in the USA, communications scholars Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone identify three types of newspapers before the emergence of the modern forms, from 1780 to 1880.⁴⁰ These are printer’s paper (1780–1820), editor’s paper (1820–1860), and finally publisher’s paper (1860–1880). Although I use the term *editor* in this dissertation, it is essentially another term for *printer*. The newspapers I examine are similar to Barnhurst and Nerone’s first definition; early papers were a town meeting, similar to the semi-public sphere.⁴¹

The American Revolution generated advancements in newspapers in the USA, breaking from traditional British provincial newspapers.⁴² There were more markers of stability, separate from their colonial predecessors, despite times of great upheaval. The later nineteenth-century Market Revolution created tensions with the political aspect of newspapers and brought economic news to greater importance. The use of statistical tables and turning the

³³ Smith (1979), pp. 25–26.

³⁴ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 58.

³⁵ Censer (1994).

³⁶ Censer (1994), pp. 78–79.

³⁷ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 59.

³⁸ Réat (1995), pp. 93–94.

³⁹ Popkin (1995), p. 12.

⁴⁰ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 15.

⁴¹ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 15.

⁴² Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 31.

newspaper into an information marketplace are examples of this.⁴³ This study focuses on a time before readers were modern consumers, although these factors were developing. Commercialization was a process of transformation;⁴⁴ there was limited long-term profitability before it and the evolution of Imperial and Victorian newspapers.

Although the development of the press outside Europe is not extensively addressed here, there were parallels across the world.⁴⁵ Papers that printed mostly international news were generally under greater press controls; the inclusion of domestic news reflected more openness to reporting potentially negative events within a kingdom.⁴⁶ Progress was not completely linear, although there were some noticeable common advances.⁴⁷ The press was slow to spread in Russia,⁴⁸ for example, despite attempts to establish a state newspaper.⁴⁹ While there were some stunted areas, there was a relatively consistent flow of international news throughout Europe by the eighteenth century.⁵⁰

Regimes desired to create a cohesive media network, with agreement in many forms. After 1695, a general uniformity developed in European, state-managed, early-modern newspapers.⁵¹ The “explosion” in printing in the seventeenth century required new ways of navigating texts.⁵² It was part of the evolution of thinking and reasoning.⁵³ Public opinion was developing as the old ways of printing and communicating coincided with the new in the late eighteenth century.⁵⁴ This explains why the state often adopted standard formatting to emphasize the legitimacy of its rule.

Commercial and intellectual outlets used similar techniques in efforts to prevent the spread of rumours,⁵⁵ but there were pressures from the state and other elements on their publications. Although the state-run newspapers were steadily in competition with these weeklies and eventual dailies, they were not as economically strained as long as the state was not in heavy debt. The coffeehouse and salon debates also appeared in the written world, requiring new ways of representing interactions. These affected state papers contingently; they had to utilize some of the techniques of the private press to appear open, while the public was also influencing them indirectly.

⁴³ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 73.

⁴⁴ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 73.

⁴⁵ Wilke (1987), for example, discusses foreign news connections and the spread of news.

⁴⁶ Weber (2010), pp. 76–77; Wilke (1987).

⁴⁷ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 61; Raymond (1996).

⁴⁸ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 14.

⁴⁹ Peter I established a single-column newspaper crown gazette in 1703, lasting until 1727.

⁵⁰ Wilke (1987), p. 152.

⁵¹ Harris (1996), p. 6.

⁵² Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 15–16.

⁵³ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 15.

⁵⁴ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 59.

⁵⁵ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 25.

From these global contexts, early modern newspapers first emerged from pamphlets, and then later transformed into their modern versions. Newspapers, unlike news pamphlets, were published with regularity,⁵⁶ and were not as overtly propagandistic. The eighteenth-century state-managed papers continued many of the trends from the seventeenth century. Many had similar designs, with local variations. The producers of news, in this case the state, wanted to avoid contradictions to prevent scepticism towards newspapers.⁵⁷

2.1.1 *Gazetting* and the Official Word

Begun as a twice-weekly publication, the *London Gazette* functioned as the paper of record for England and Wales first in the seventeenth century.⁵⁸ It was created as Charles II attempted to re-establish control; he saw the influence of effective communication and cooperation just as Elizabeth I did, mainly in relation to the church.⁵⁹ The office of one of the two state secretaries gathered information from various diplomats, merchants, travellers, and spies.⁶⁰ It had the same title since it was founded, although it started as the *Oxford Gazette* in 1665.⁶¹ As the paper of record, the *Gazette* avoided major financial difficulties of the popular press. The information it provided was primarily about state activities, international news, and public notifications.

Growth of the British press depended both on state control and the lack of it. This process began later than in Italy, Holland, or even France. By the 1620s, there were publications of newsbooks based on Dutch models.⁶² The Civil War had forced English pamphlets from a moral to political outlook.⁶³ The Printing Act of 1662 put the press formally under parliamentary control. From 1660 to 1685, the state-controlled paper was an extension of the government, shaping the view of foreign and domestic information for the public.⁶⁴

The lapse of the Printing Act in 1679 and eventual dormancy in 1695, however, increased the number of weekly and daily publications in and around London. Between 1675 and 1740, newspapers were communication innovations.⁶⁵ The *Tatler* and the *Spectator* were published in the early eighteenth century, aiming to observe politics rather than enter it.⁶⁶ For the

⁵⁶ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 4.

⁵⁷ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 159.

⁵⁸ Harris (1996), p. 83.

⁵⁹ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 24.

⁶⁰ Smith (1978), pp. 156–157.

⁶¹ This was due to the location of the court of Charles II outside of London, because of plague. The first issue was published Nov. 7, 1665.

⁶² Harris (1996), p. 83.

⁶³ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 73.

⁶⁴ O'Malley (1986), p. 25.

⁶⁵ Steele (1986), p. 133.

⁶⁶ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 58–59.

Gazette, developments were also linked to shipping and the postal system. Collecting material, maintaining production, and the cost of postage caused distribution difficulties.⁶⁷ The growth of coffeehouse culture and networks of agents, however, represented a desire for news from both London and abroad.⁶⁸ Information came in and out, connecting Britain and its colonies. This community of strangers felt certain degrees of solidarity, connected to a centre with changing press restrictions.⁶⁹

During the reign of Prime Minister Robert Walpole (1721–1742), newspapers expanded and standardized. The number of new titles rose in the 1720s and 1730s, before declining by the 1740s.⁷⁰ Despite this, there was increased correspondence and debate, chiefly about politics by the 1750s.⁷¹ Interest in foreign news also grew, especially during times of war.⁷² The Stamp Acts of 1712 and 1725 taxed advertisements and paper, creating some government controls.⁷³ Prices were thus unstable.⁷⁴ There was further standardization after the 1730s Stamp Acts.⁷⁵ Booksellers took over some publishing, leading to a steadying of finances.⁷⁶ Although there were taxes, the commercial press increased in its publication and profits,⁷⁷ eliminating some fringe papers.

2.1.2 Two Swedish Papers and Changing Regimes

The Swedish papers originated from sixteenth-century sensational leaflets, the European diplomatic network, and the desires of the state. Created in 1645, the *Post-Tidningar* was part of the propaganda efforts of Axel Oxenstierna, Lord High Chancellor from 1612 until 1654.⁷⁸ The paper circulated information during times of war, as part of the state's efforts to maintain a relaxed public through the church media network.⁷⁹ The *Inrikes Tidningar* was founded in 1760 to circulate information about domestic events in Sweden. Rather than being overtly censored, the state papers were guided by the regime's ideals.

The *Post-Tidningar* changed editors and had modified titles over time.⁸⁰

⁶⁷ Harris (1996), p. 84.

⁶⁸ Harris (1996), pp. 90–91.

⁶⁹ Steele (1986), p. 278.

⁷⁰ Harris (1987), p. 31.

⁷¹ Harris (1987), p. 197.

⁷² Harris (1987), p. 159.

⁷³ Clarke (2004), p. 42.

⁷⁴ Harris (1987), pp. 20–21.

⁷⁵ Harris (1987), pp. 27–28.

⁷⁶ Harris (1987), p. 195.

⁷⁷ Clarke (2004), pp. 99–100.

⁷⁸ Swedish: *Rikskansler*.

⁷⁹ Forssberg (2005), p. 292.

⁸⁰ The title was changed to the *Swenska Mercurius* in 1674, then to *Swenska Ordinarie Post-Tijender* in 1678. Holmberg (2000), pp. 47 & 49.

The main publisher, however, was always the state. This was ordered through the office of the *överpostdirektör*.⁸¹ Introduced as *Ordinari Post Tijdender* under Queen Christina, missives from agents were combined, translated, and circulated with the state's consent. There were periods in the seventeenth century when production was stalled, despite a relatively stable economic base.⁸² Under Charles XII in the early eighteenth century, it became known as *Ordinarie Stockholmske Posttidinder/Posttidender*.⁸³ There was also a brief move to Lund.⁸⁴ After the Great Northern War, only small variations in the title would occur until 1820. The nature and content of the printed material was consistent, despite economic conditions.

The *Inrikes Tidningar* had an unchanging title from 1760 until the end of 1820. The paper provided domestic news, in conjunction with the *kungörelser*. The first edition stated that it would give information that “can provide enlightenment of the kind of trade that seeks to offer the most necessary goods [...] and can give good reason for new trade speculations or livelihoods.”⁸⁵ This numbered list also stated that when “large goods, operations, and enclosures” were offered for sale, the details would be published, including the buyer's name and price.⁸⁶ These were part of a list of ten points; the rest regarded political and cultural news. Part of the identification of economic matters is based on these criteria.

The local postmasters and parish leaders sent in descriptions of various happenings. The *överpostdirektör* in Stockholm followed the regime's production ideals. By reaching out to smaller communities, the state began the process of creating a loose sense of a unified Sweden, still founded on loyalty to the king. This is close to Anderson's imagined community and Bayly's uniformity,⁸⁷ but the outlook of the *Inrikes* was not static. Although other areas were noted, it still focused on the symbol of the king rather than creating a unified feeling of modern nationalism.

The state papers were only mildly affected by changes to press freedoms. During the Age of Liberty, King Adolf Frederick instituted the Freedom of the Press Act in 1766, emulating Enlightenment ideals. Peter Forsskål had earlier argued for forms of political and economic freedoms in 1759, connected to press rights.⁸⁸ Along with the creation of the *Inrikes*, the 1760s were a new phase. Under Gustav III, restrictions and censorship returned, however.

⁸¹ English: Postmaster General.

⁸² Holmberg (2005).

⁸³ The changes were mainly due to changes to spelling conventions.

⁸⁴ This was due to the poor economic climate in Stockholm following the end of the Great Northern War and the location of Charles XII's headquarters during the Great Northern War. Holmberg (2005), p. 110–112.

⁸⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 26 Nov. 1760.

⁸⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 26 Nov. 1760.

⁸⁷ Anderson (2006); Bayly (2004).

⁸⁸ Nokkala (2016), pp. 61–62.

Private or intellectual groups founded newspapers, even during periods of regulation. Although freedoms were brief, a lasting tradition was established.

The British and Swedish papers shared a similar four-page folded construction. This was the bookbinding custom of the time.⁸⁹ Single-page printing techniques, subsequently folded for binding, were also posted, despite the problems of posting the middle or “back” pages.⁹⁰ The layouts of many newspapers were fairly alike, although there were contrasts in typefaces and content. This uniformity is mainly seen in state-managed newspapers, as other newspapers were not defined until the nineteenth century with more modern publishing.⁹¹ There were some general, regional similarities, but there were also experiments and limited production periods. These initial narratives about international, British, and Swedish presses are continued in the empirical chapters to show contextual developments over time.

2.1.3 Other Voices and Analyses

The state considered the size of their readership, although it is impossible to know its actual extent. Newspapers that were not connected to the state spread throughout Scandinavia by the mid-eighteenth century,⁹² despite small urban populations. The readership of the Swedish newspapers was not as large as the French, nor was it experiencing similar disparities as the British. Areas outside of Stockholm received similar news from later localized papers as well as through the church. A domestic, European, and global perspective was established.⁹³ Swedish readers have been viewed as wealthy, literate, urban, upper-sort individuals primarily living around Stockholm.⁹⁴ A similar consideration for the *Gazette* is based on an urban, literate, English, and Anglican readership background. These observations are only contextual considerations, as the readership is not investigated directly.

Other studies that focus on newspapers do not often consider the formatting. They instead rely how the editors identified their publication, or only through content analysis.⁹⁵ These approaches trust editors to be aware of what messages they wanted to produce and use that assumption to label parts based on that knowledge. Victorian papers, for example, expected readers to recognize items in the cluttered layout based on their

⁸⁹ Darnton (1984).

⁹⁰ Harris (1996), p. 20.

⁹¹ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 54.

⁹² Burke (2009), p. 361. This was especially a factor in the Danish context.

⁹³ Holmberg (2005), p. 31–38.

⁹⁴ Stockholm had the largest urban population. See: Oscarsson (2000), p. 98.

⁹⁵ Wilke (1987) analyzes foreign news content from early modern newspapers to pre-World War I; Bödeker (1990) studies German Enlightenment intellectual newspapers and pamphlets. Bödeker’s study is based on how the editors identified their papers, while Wilke’s examines the contents to measure the amount of foreign news over time.

tastes for the content.⁹⁶ The papers are known for their size and “greyness,” as the pages were crowded with information; they were constructed for specific audiences who could locate certain pieces of news.⁹⁷ Editors later labelled aspects and provided indexing, separating by topic.⁹⁸ Neither of these uses my perspective, although they do show the utility of categorization.

Studies in media language divide content into two broad categories: editorial and advertising.⁹⁹ The modern forms by the twentieth century were driven to attract both readers and advertisers.¹⁰⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century, editorials began to be split into more defined categories while advertisements incorporated more illustrated elements. After 1850, the items of the newspaper were labelled and offset by recognizable shapes, summarizing headlines,¹⁰¹ or images. This was common of later nineteenth- and twentieth-century newspapers, connected to their growing popularity with producers and consumers. Editorial, in the modern medium, consists of three categories: news, opinion, and service information.¹⁰² Advertising entails two types: classified ads, usually restricted to one section of the paper, and advertising spread throughout to attract through display.¹⁰³

Quantitative studies involving modern newspapers are mainly based on measuring editorial versus advertising space. The standardization that emerged out of the late nineteenth century made it possible to measure column inches based on the efforts of publishers. The Advertising Value Equivalency formula helps advertisers determine the cost of editorial space.¹⁰⁴ Modern editorial staffs rarely determine where specific ads are placed; separate advertising departments decide this, often without consultation about specific content. This encapsulates the financial state of the paper and the fiscal vision of the publisher.

I argue that counting words, lines, or area is not an effective methodology for a study like this. From the perspective of embeddedness and uniformity, economic matters can only be assessed with the qualities of the other realms. Since I am not interested in the growth of a specific type of market, measuring references to certain goods would have also been ineffective. Counting items or quantifying their space is only possible with modern papers due to today’s established norms.

Additional types of newspapers evolved at the same time as the state press. These were not analyzed because they were more tied to smaller regions,

⁹⁶ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001); Clarke (2004), p. 265.

⁹⁷ Clarke (2004), p. 229 & p. 265.

⁹⁸ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 271.

⁹⁹ Bell (1991), pp. 12–13.

¹⁰⁰ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 266.

¹⁰¹ Bell (1991), pp. 185–186.

¹⁰² Bell (1991), p. 13.

¹⁰³ Bell (1991), p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ Kee & Hassan (2006), p. 37. Sweden introduced a price for submissions per line in 1793, but this was only for domestic submissions. See: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1793.

merchants, or private individuals. Merchant-commercial mentalities have been explored by investigating contemporary material in other works.¹⁰⁵ Business papers were crucial for both continental Europe and British economies.¹⁰⁶ The temporary nature of these papers, despite their usefulness, meant that the issues were discarded in favour of current data.¹⁰⁷ Private correspondence was also removed from the physical market,¹⁰⁸ and too sporadic for a study of this kind. Using a single sort of empirical base rather than multiple centres on a certain aspect of change. The voice of the opinionated editor was rarely inserted in that capacity, as he acted mainly in the construction aspect.¹⁰⁹ The authenticity of the news is also not considered as it was also outside my research aims.

2.2 Forms of Stability and State Legitimacy

The basic parts of the newspapers are defined here based on structure. This is termed the form or item genre. Spaces, lines, or titles divide elements and information. Internal separation by punctuation is another important feature. For these qualities, the terms offset or separated are used to describe the construction of an item or groups of items. Content was also considered as part of this approach, as some item types contain standard topics.

The forms are labelled by using modern newspaper layout terms. *Masthead*, *byline*, *placeline*, and other phrases use today's terms rather than the terminology of eighteenth-century printers. *Masthead* is the modern term for the title that begins each issue of a newspaper. The main elements of the masthead are the title of the paper, date of production, issue number, and often a note about the publisher or main editor. There is a central masthead and often section mastheads. Some integrate images or other symbols. It is also known as a *nameplate* in American English. A *byline* identifies the author while a *placeline* notes where the item was transmitted from, by modern definitions. A *ditto* line indicated the same placeline, but often with a new date in the early modern newspapers. The term *headline* refers more to proto-headline qualities of separating news rather than summarizing the content.

The eight types of items observed are: advertisement, article, letter or dispatch, list, notices, proclamations, tables (number and people), and an other category. These are summarized in Table 2.1, expanded on in subsections, and demonstrated with examples. These are single pages from the three papers. I describe each page by starting in the top-left column. Each item is outlined in a descending vertical order, before following a similar pattern starting in the top-right column.

¹⁰⁵ For example, see: Rabuzzi (1995–96).

¹⁰⁶ For example, see: McCusker (1997).

¹⁰⁷ McCusker (1997), p. 146.

¹⁰⁸ McCusker (1997), p. 147.

¹⁰⁹ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 16.

Table 2.1 *Item forms or genres*

Item Type	Description
Advertisement	Information about the sale of items or services, typically price listings, location of sales, name and title of seller. An offset headline, or change in text size is common. Observed only in the <i>Gazette</i> .
Article	Information from abroad or from a local source with a dateline and a placeline. Most associated with the delivery of news and the traditional form of earlier newspapers. The <i>Gazette</i> includes both local and international news while the <i>Post-Tidningar</i> publishes mainly from abroad. <i>Inrikes Tidningar</i> includes news articles from all around Sweden.
Letter	Information most often written in a first-person format and including a form of signature or other identifier. Often encouraged through notices or proclamations. Written responses regularly appear, sometimes from the king. Also referred to as missive or dispatch.
List	Items that appear as a numbered or unnumbered list. Lists were organized in paragraphs or as separate lines. Many had consistent content and placement.
Notice	Notices include individuals attempting to buy or sell items or services, the identification of debtors, or bankruptcy conflicts. Unless there are appendixes at the end of issues, these types of notices always appear last. In the Swedish context, these begin the section of the paper titled <i>Notifikationen</i> (English: Notifications). Some notices were for a larger part of the public, while others were for private individuals.
Proclamation	Communication from the king or state. Can include a placeline and dateline or have an official name at the end. Provides information about national events. Often include title of <i>Proclamation</i> in English or <i>Kungörelser</i> in Swedish, when associated with monarchs.
Table One: Numbers	Set of columns that show a category or categories with numerical data, or a complex set of many data types, for example, price listings, currency rates, and lottery costs and rewards. These tables can also be purely number-driven, including lines of introduction with dates and information.
Table Two: People	Items not in a paragraph but not based on numerical data, formatted into columns or rows. Examples include individuals nominated for elections or other positions, in addition to war-related reports. When in paragraph form, similar information is classified as a notice type, due to the formatting.
Other Category	Items that cannot easily be classified as any other category, primarily early images or graphic representations.

Figure 2.1 London Gazette first page, 1773

No. 11318.

The London Gazette.

Printed by Authority.

From ~~Thursday~~ January 12, to ~~Saturday~~ January 16, 1773.

War-Office, January 13.
FIRST Troop of Horse Guards, William Daffy, Gent. to be Sub-Lieutenant and Cornet, vice William Breton; by Purchase.
2d Regiment of Dragoon Guards, Cornet Ferne An; draws to be Lieutenant, vice John Honeyborne; by Purchase.
Ditto, John Smith, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Ferne An; by Purchase.
7th Regiment of Dragoon, William Bertram, Gent. to be Cornet, vice John Patown; by Purchase.
Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards, Serjeant-Major Henry Harman to be Quartermaster, vice William Hoddinet, deceased.
2d Regiment of Foot, Captain Charles Baldwin to be Captain, vice Samuel Bulcher; by Purchase.
Ditto, Lieutenant William Gray to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Charles Baldwin; by Purchase.
Ditto, Ensign Daniel Rufton to be Lieutenant, vice William Gray; by Purchase.
Ditto, David Baird, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Daniel Rufton; by Purchase.
3d Regiment of Foot, Lieutenant John Maxwell, from Half Pay, to be Lieutenant, vice Walter Nugent, who exchanges.
11th Regiment of Foot, Surgeon John McDonald to be Surgeon, vice William Balases; by Purchase.
14th Regiment of Foot, Captain John Stanton, to be Captain, vice Birabazon O'Hara, deceased.
Ditto, Lieutenant James Urquhart to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice John Stanton.
Ditto, Ensign Andrew Laurie to be Lieutenant, vice James Urquhart.
Ditto, James Brown, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Andrew Laurie.
15th Regiment of Foot, Lieutenant Henry Murray to be Captain, vice Patrick St. Clair, who retires on Half Pay.
Ditto, Ensign George Mountagu to be Lieutenant, vice Henry Murray.

Marine Society.
Notice is hereby given, that a Quarterly General Court of the Governors of the Marine Society, will be held at their Office over the Royal Exchange, on Thursday the 21st Day of January, at Twelve o'Clock at Noon precisely; at which Meeting the Governors and Friends to this Society are particularly requested to attend.
 By Order of the Committee,
 Charles Sulth, Clerk.

South-Sea House, January 13, 1773.
The Court of Directors of the South-Sea Company give Notice, That a General Court of the said Company will be held at this House, on Thursday the 28th Instant, at Eleven in the Forenoon, for the Purpose of declaring a Dividend on the Capital Stock, for the Half Year ending the 5th of this Month.

London, January 14, 1773.
Notice is hereby given, That Warrants for the Dividend declared on the Mineral Capital Stock of the Governor and Company for working of Mines, Minerals, and Metals, in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, will be ready to be delivered to the Proprietors on Thursday the 28th Instant, and every Thursday thereafter, till the whole is paid, at the Sea Office in Bank-Street, Cornhill; And that the Treasury Books of the said Company, which are now shut, will be opened on Thursday the said 28th of January Instant.

[Price Three-Pence.]

AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN.

From January 4, to January 9, 1773.
 By the Standard WINE CHESTER Bushel of Eight Gallons.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s. d.	q.	s. d.	q.	s. d.	q.	s. d.	q.	s. d.	q.
6	4	4	3	3	6	2	5	3	9
COUNTIES IN ENGLAND.									
London,	7	1	3	9	2	5	4	2	8
Middlesex,	6	8	3	8	3	8	3	4	6
Surry,	6	7	5	0	3	7	2	2	4
Hertford,	6	3	3	10	3	6	2	4	3
Bedford,	6	3	3	10	3	7	2	4	3
Cambridge,	6	4	4	9	3	9	2	0	3
Huntingdon,	6	4	4	9	3	10	2	0	3
Northampton,	6	5	5	0	3	9	2	0	3
Rutland,	6	5	5	0	3	9	2	0	3
Leicester,	6	10	4	1	3	4	1	0	3
Nottingham,	6	4	4	4	3	5	3	1	4
Derby,	6	4	4	8	3	6	1	10	4
Stafford,	6	4	4	8	3	6	1	10	4
Salop,	6	0	4	3	10	1	11	4	2
Hereford,	6	0	4	2	4	3	2	4	6
Worcester,	6	11	4	11	4	8	2	8	10
Warwick,	6	8	8	3	7	2	4	9	9
Gloucester,	6	7	7	3	7	2	5	4	12
Wilt,	6	10	7	8	2	5	4	7	2
Oxford,	6	11	7	11	2	5	4	7	2
Bucks,	6	8	7	3	9	2	4	4	4
COUNTIES UPON THE COAST.									
Essex,	6	7	3	7	3	6	2	5	4
Suffolk,	6	7	3	10	3	3	2	3	5
Norfolk,	6	0	3	10	2	11	2	3	6
Lincoln,	5	11	4	7	3	3	1	9	3
York,	5	6	3	10	3	7	1	10	3
Derham,	5	4	4	5	3	6	2	4	0
Northumberland,	5	4	4	5	3	3	2	0	4
Cumberland,	6	3	4	2	3	3	7	0	4
Westmorland,	6	7	7	7	3	9	2	1	4
Lancashire,	6	10	7	7	3	9	2	1	4
Cheshire,	6	7	4	9	3	9	2	2	5
Monmouth,	6	12	4	9	3	4	1	9	4
Somerset,	6	3	3	10	3	1	4	3	5
Devon,	6	3	3	10	3	1	4	3	5
Cornwall,	5	9	3	11	2	8	2	8	8
Dorset,	6	4	4	4	3	6	2	4	11
Hampshire,	6	4	4	4	3	6	2	4	11
Sussex,	6	3	3	4	3	4	2	4	6
Kent,	6	7	3	10	2	4	2	4	4

From December 25, to January 3, 1773.
W A L E S.
 North Wales, 6 1 5 2 | 1 5 | 1 7 | 4 3
 South Wales, 5 5 4 5 | 1 0 | 3 5 | 3 2
 Part of SCOTLAND
 Wheat. Rye. Barley. Oats. Beans. Hig.
 5 2 | 3 5 | 2 10 | 2 2 | 3 4 | 2 7
 Published by Authority of Parliament,
 Willm^r Cooke.

**Dr. ANDERSON'S, or
 The Famous SCOTS' PILLS;**
ARE faithfully prepared only by JAMES INGLIS, Surgeon of DAVID INGLIS, deceased, at the Unicorn, over-against the New Church in the Strand, London; and to prevent Counterfeits from Scotland, as well as in and about London, you are desired to take Notice, That the true Pills have their Boxes sealed on the Top (in Black Wax) with a Lyon Rampant, and Three Mulletts Argent, Dr. Anderson's Head between it, with his Name round it, and Isabella Inghil underneath the Shield in a Scroll. They are of excellent Use in all Cases where Purging is necessary, and may be taken with Epsom, Turbidity, or other Medicinal Waters.
TO be peremptorily sold, pursuant to a Decree and General Order of Transfer of the High Court of Chancery, before Robert Pratt, Esq; one of the Masters of the said Court, at his Chambers, in Symond's-Inn, Chancery-Lane, London, on Wednesday the 20th of February next, between the Hours of 10 and 12.



The first page of an issue of the London Gazette containing an unnumbered list, three notice types, a table type, and an advertisement. Recorded in The Gazette (London Gazette), issue 11318, 12-16 Jan. 1773.

Reproduction: The Stationery Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, The National Archives, London. From: The Gazette, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk> (accessed: 10 January 2017).

Figure 2.2 London Gazette first page, 1775

No. 11622.

The London Gazette.

Published by Authority.

From Tuesday December 12, to Saturday December 16, 1775.

By the KING,
A PROCLAMATION.
GEORGE R.

WHEREAS Thomas Earl of Casset was duly elected and returned to be One of the Sixteen Peers of Scotland, to sit in the House of Peers in the present Parliament of Great Britain, and is since deceased; in order to the electing another Peer of Scotland to sit in his Room, We do, by the Advice of Our Privy Council, issue forth this Proclamation, strictly charging and commanding all the Peers of Scotland to assemble and meet at Holy Rood House in Edinburgh, on Wednesday the Twenty-fourth Day of January next, between the Hours of Twelve and Two in the Afternoon, to nominate and chuse another Peer of Scotland, to sit and vote in the House of Peers of this present Parliament of Great Britain, in the Room of the said Thomas Earl of Casset, deceased, by open Election and Plurality of Voices of the Peers as shall then be present, and of the Proxies of such as shall be absent, (such Proxies being Peers) and producing a Mandate in Writing duly signed before Witnesses, and both Constituent and Proxy being qualified according to Law. And the Lord Clerk Register, or such two of the principal Clerks of the Session as shall be appointed by him to officiate in his Name, are hereby respectively required to attend such Meeting, and to administer the Oaths required by Law to be taken there by the said Peers, and to take their Votes; and, immediately after such Election made and duly examined, to certify the Name of the Peer so elected, and sign and attest the same in the Presence of the said Peers, the Electors, and return such Certificate into Our High Court of Chancery of Great Britain. And We strictly charge and command, that this Proclamation be duly published at the Market Cross at Edinburgh, and in all the County Towns in Scotland, Twenty-five Days at least before the Time hereby appointed for the Meeting of the said Peers to proceed on such Election.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the Thirtieth Day of December, One thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, in the Sixteenth Year of Our Reign.

G O D save the K I N G.

Remainder of the Names of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Tradesmen, and Manufacturers, who signed the Address to His Majesty, from the Town and Neighbourhood of Bolton in the Moors in the County Palatine of Lancaster, inserted in last Tuesday's Gazette.

William Haslam	Benjamin Bentley	John Hutchinson
Robert Grime	James Entwistle	John Higgin
Samuel Horrocks	Christ. Horrocks	James Moxes
James Kay	Robert Yates	Thomas Heys
Roger Molley	John Jackson	James Lever
Thomas Crompton	George Banks	Jos. Taylor
John Walkden	Thomas Kellow	Thomas Foster
Adam Halliwell	Charles Peckock	Simon Haddock
James Haslam	Thomas Aspinall	John Stephenson
James Jackson	John iron's	Robert Stanton
William Elton	Will. M. acher	Robert Lever
Thomas Haslam	James Rolton	Paul Sullivan
James Howcroft	Peter Rothwell	Edward Naylor
Richard Haddock	Jer. Stanzing	Simon Leyland
Thomas Nuttall	James Aspin	William Haslam
Richard Ligo	Ralph Aspin	Samuel Clemen
Henry Elrick	James Horrobin	Peter Burdett, jun.
James Howell	Will. Pencilbury	Peter Warr
Thomas Rothwell	William Horrobin	Robert Rufous, jun.
James Monks	Ralph Horridge	Nicholas Moxes
William Bayly	John Moxes	John Greenhalgh
John Heys	James Monks	James Hodgson
John Smeburth	John Entwistle	John Taylor
Richard Egerley	Chas. Higginson	Edw. Daversport
Thomas Bestman	John Smith	Jos. Holden
James Barlow	James Walkden	James Heys
Peter Pickup	Adam Lomax	James Yates
Samuel Andrus	James Mort	Joseph Yates
John Leach	Peter Allen	John Lomax
Thomas Warr	Joseph Walker	Richard Monks

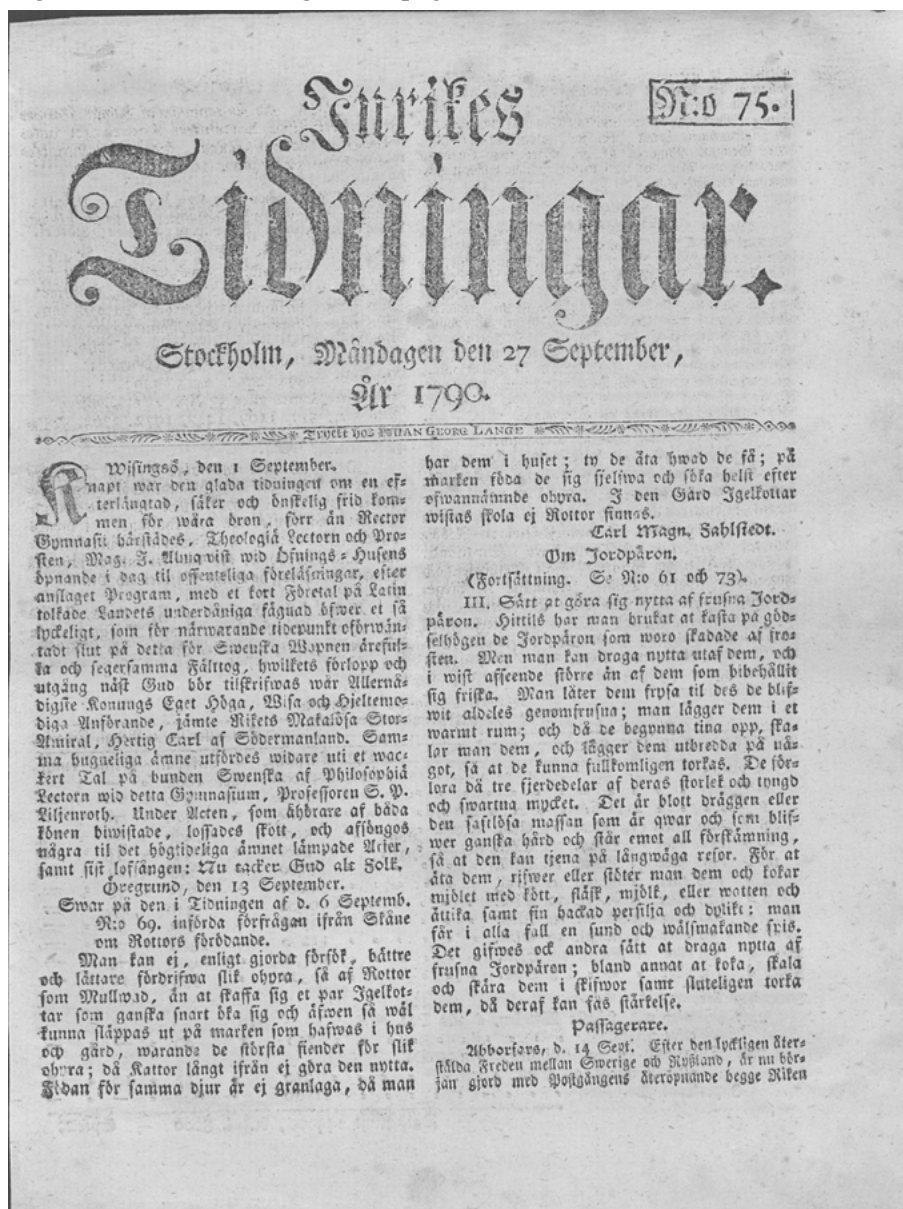
James Dary	Robert Graddy	James Crompton
John Hamlyn	Thomas Walmley	George R. How
John Schofield	John Kington	James Kitchell
Ely Cledhill	Henry Shingles	John Braithwaite
Ralph Almond	Roger Lever	James Anwoth
Peter Smith, Church	Andrew Rothwell	Edward Crompton
Woods	James Bealwell	Roger Wylee
Samuel Warr	William Woods	Thomas Wylee
Charles M. Inex	Jacob Halliwell	George Barlow
Thomas Entwistle	John Coll	John Haslam
Thomas Witter	Robert Kay	William Grime
James Laver	Thomas Yates	John Wood
Richard Haslam	James Southon	Robert Louton
Abra. Mansfield	John Hult	Thomas Kay
Robert Mansfield	Henry Wilkinson	Joseph Wright
John Chikahale,	Thomas Kay	John Wright
A. M.	Thomas Branson	John Halliwell
John Broune	Peter F. Day	Ralph Fitt
Seh Fingest	James Butterworth	James Draper
Edward Cradwell	Edward Macr. c	Nathaniel Taylor
Thomas Grady	Thomas Halliwell	John Grime
Rhn Lacey	Thomas Callant	William Crank
Ralph Heys	James Burgess	William Haslam
Samuel Mather	George Taylor	Edward Crompton
John Bury	Henry Wright	James Kay
John Hart	John Elton	Ralph Stranding
John Stouts	John Michel	Thomas Heyswood
John Warr	John Makin	John Haslam
Thomas Entwistle	Isaac Entwistle	N. Daniel Ward
Thomas Crompton	Alex. Woodford	John Southon
James Haslam	James Lacey, jun.	Isaac Bromley
Nathaniel Howarth	John Lacey	James Warr
Richard Aspinall	James Smith	Thomas Brattle
James Worrille	Robert Howell	William Haslam
John Heat	Robert Howell	Henry Lever
James Wilkinson	Joseph Pochena	John Bradley
William Fouge	John Rumbottom	John Kay
John Owsell	James Butler	Thomas Bury
John Gillingham	Thos. Greenhalgh	James Seddon
James Leigh	John Crompton	John Margall
William Wright	Holland Bradley	John Gosson
Richard Haslam	James Haslam	Thomas Claxton
Peter Higgin	Rich. Washington	Rob. Greenhalgh
Thomas Entwistle	John Entwistle	Isaac Glasbrook
Lawrence Wood	James Smalley	Thos. Branson
John Holden	Thos. Peasebury	John Lever
John Haslam	Abraham Hulon	Robert Walmley
John Smithurst	Thomas Bury	Matthieu Andrus
John Butterly	John Wilson	John Grime
John Houlton	James Entwistle	Richard Therny
John Cocher	John Grime	Richard Heywood
Thomas Golber	James Elrick	Richard Parkinson
Seth Filterest	Charles Rothwell	James Taylor
John Bransford	Thomas Draper	Adam Crompton
John Leyland	John Heywood	John Haverth
Benjamin Copper	John Hirdge	George Elrick
John Nuttall	Thomas Crank	James Berwick
Thomas Allmatt	Robert Branson	James Lomax
Richard Nuttall	Ellis Grime	James Holms
Giles Haylock	John Edge	Thomas Smith
William Makin	Eliph Hall	Thomas Haslam
John Merckland	Robert Whitehead	John Longworth
Will. Greenhalgh	Ralph Wilkinson	John Crompton
John Aspinwall	William Fogg	William Fogg
John C. cher	Peter Morris	Henry Wilkinson
James Cocher	James Shuttleworth	James Edge
John Bait	John Melley	John Bury
Robert Taylor	Robert Lomax	Hans Anwoth
William Haslam	Giles Seddon	Joseph Cusick
Thomas Holden	William Holden	James Mahon
John Bromley	Thomas Haslam	Thomas Laird
James Healey	William Makin	John Haslam
John Man	Barlow Kitchman	Thomas Morris
Samuel Green	John Thompson	Thos. Walfordholme
Robert Haslam	Richard Ratcliff	Edmond Hill
John Settle	James Makin	James Nollit
James Hamer	George Bradley	Joseph Walker
John Settles	Thomas Hunt	James Morris
Ellis Walsh	James Bransford	Thomas Wright
Nathan Ramfen	Thomas Walker	Richard Mitchell
Robert Smithus	George Smith	John Farnworth
John Lomax	Humphry Fishwick	John Iherwood

[Price Nine-Pence.]

The first page of an issue of the *London Gazette* with a proclamation and a people table type. Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11622, 12–16 Dec. 1775.

Reproduction: The Stationery Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, The National Archives, London. From: *The Gazette*, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk> (accessed: 10 January 2017).

Figure 2.3 *Inrikes Tidningar* first page, 1790



A first-page example of the *Inrikes Tidningar* showing an article type, two letter types, and the start of a list type from 1790. The differences in typeface from the *London Gazette* are also shown here. The first letter item is also an answer to an earlier question included in the paper.

Inrikes Tidningar, No. 75, 27 Sept. 1790. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. From: Kungliga Biblioteket, <http://www.kb.se> (accessed: 1 December 2016).

Figure 2.4 Inrikes Tidningar inside page, 1790

Om Fredagen, d. 1 Oct. utgåf. sk. emellan 4 och 6 e. m., förstås uti Kongl. Akademi och Videnskaps-Akademien, Föreläsningarne i Medicin, Anatomien; Skräpans d. 2 Oct., öfwen emellan 4 och 6 e. m. De Föreläsningar uti Geometrien och Perspektiven. Årsskadan beretter, d. 5 Oct. och Söndagen, d. 6 dito, begynnas undervisningarne i Civil-Ärkiecturen. Å. emellan 9 och 11 f. m. Alla dessa öfwen fortsettas samma dagar och timmer. Rummandes de följ skändade nyttia en eller flere af desse föreläsningar, anmäla sig på de wid hvarje veckans utgåfve dagar och timmar.

Allmänna Föreläsningarne uti Navigationen begynnas på Skadens Seyermands Skola d. 4 Okt. Octob. Å. 9 f. m., och fortsettas dagligen, efter wanligheten, uti samma Navigations Skolas, No 134 wid World Besigtigan.

Med Högberörhögst tänkand, skiffver, på Privat Resorand, Likta Boger för stände Skiffdare, wid Wörnerföreses Anstaltning den 30 Junius, Å Kongl. Nöjes Fredriks Berg hufvudst; hwarill Skiffeter erhållas uti hufv No 39 i Kärbrinken, en trappa up, därren till boger.

Död i Stockholm.
Kammar-Äldest och Riksdaren af Kongl. Nordstjernans-Orden, En af de Wärdsten i Sveriges Akademien, Anders af Boström, ddd den 22 Sept., i des 67 års ålder †).

Wigde i Landsorterne.
Sjwers-Ägmskäraren Wehr Marcus Mannersstedt och Fröken Maria Elisabeth Stjernqvist, wigde i Jonköpings Län på Nordaustfog den 4 Augusti.

Inspektören wid Njurfors Mefingsbrant Hans Johanson och Jungfru Märta Johanna Coman, wigde i Salen d. 7 Sept.

Widde i Landsorterne.
Wruks-Paron Samuel Troile, ddd på Wästerlöden i Wermland d. 10 Sept., uti des 65 års ålder.

Krono-Besallningsmännen i Rike och Karlseka Bergslager Gustaf Wrolin, ddd den 16 Sept., efter 70 års lefnad och 41 års tjenstetid †).

†) På begäran notifieras Wdskafet Anförige och Wäner, Condoleance utwändedes.

Den 24 September war Coursen:

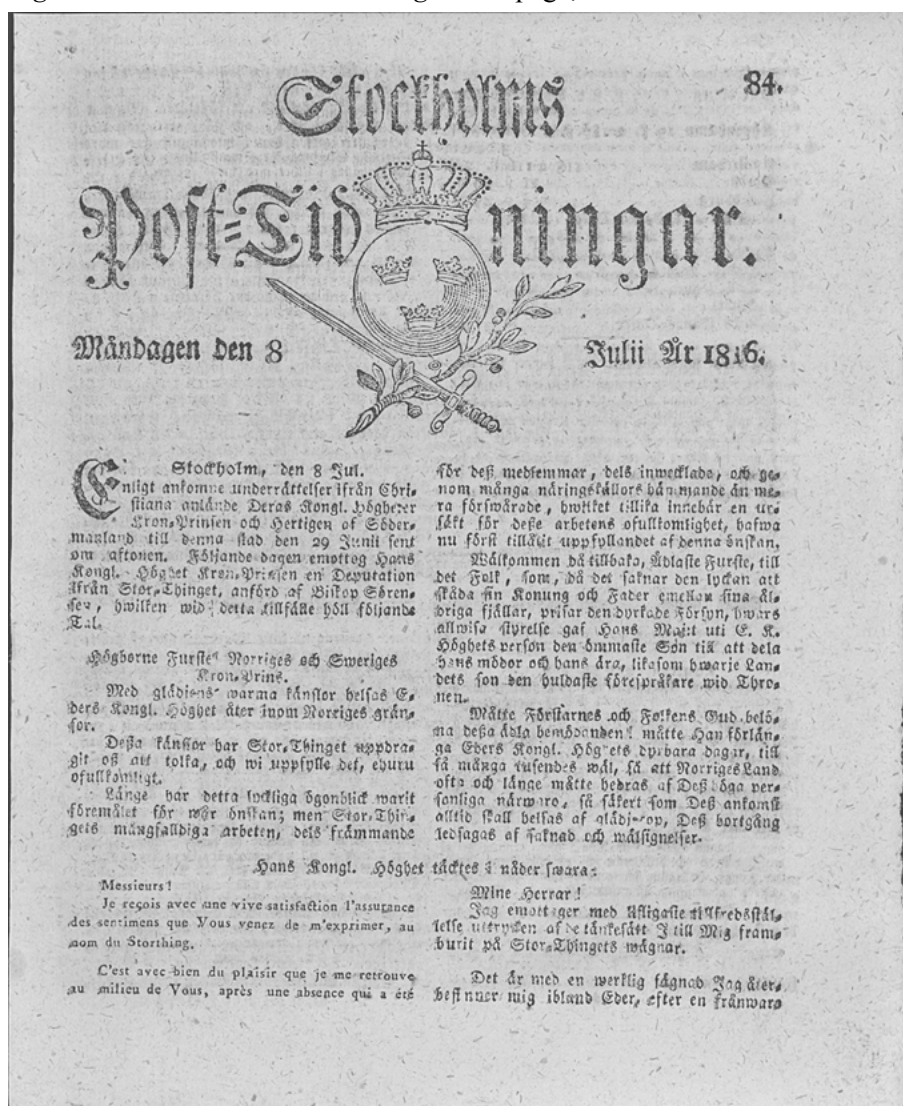
På Amsterdam, 51 a 52 f.	} Ufo i Banco Nynt.
— Hamburg, = = 55 f.	
— London, = = = 5 Rtd.	
— Paris, = = =	
— Köpenhamn, = = =	

NOTIFICATIONER.
Til salu finnes.
Til salu finnes följande ligenheter: Grimmarps Skerie, ei helt, belägit i Småland, Kronobergs Län, Emmerts Härad och Sjunga socken, får årligen uti wintre och wårstid 22 tunnor, söder 35 # 40 sk. kreatur, 4 hästar, 25 får, till ådygnad Corps de Logis, 19, 2ne wdmågar med 11 tam på hundra köttan samt 4 öfwer = rinn alla med åhöfder, och 4 Grotter, 2ne grundmurar och åhöfder skålar, wäntentia, denna bygnad är upförd, inredd och murad 1787, 88, och 89, af godt furuminner, uphörande 424 amars länad, bred 214, på 64 fentor. En åfögge-bygnad, beläende af 8 årlingarna med 2ne öfwer-rum til Skerier, et öfver-rum, til inmurad kettel och årlingwäppan, med wåffel sålma, murad, inredd, och upförd med inrede, fänklar och dörar, liden på hofet, 21 amars lång, 10 dito bred, af godt furuminner 1789; en bodlånga, med 2ne öfwer = och 2ne under-bodar, bodgårdan uti goet sånd, en ny bod-långa upförd 1790, til Skerien belignes 5 fl. större och mindre bogar, som jemte en til Skerien lundat beskrimad Wärens skålar, söder om sommaren alla de om wintren komfödde kreatur, en på denna ort öwanslig och wäl sedad timmerfog af suru och gran så tillräckelig, at deraf åfwen kan göras betydande afkast, samt swedjehogge, belignes här wid Gendomen, liden bredt uti gården och bogar tillräckelig, sike uti 2ne fjar gånsta god, beläende af fjer-traden, ådcor, ådcorer och åf samt mindre, flera sön 18-gdels milt från Skerien beligen, åfren består af wåruppljefor, härunder lyda 9 fl. större och mindre dagswerkstora, som utgåra 27 ordinarie dagswerkten i wäran, samt cirka då det wårerens på egen fog. Et helt hemman sifwes yd, Skerier, bodgård på 18-gdels årlingwäppan sånd, brukas nu af Wöner, skitar årligen 20 Rtdal. Skerie, samt flämsing och wjelo då det påföres, får, får och feredar sina tillreda skiten, söder årligen 36 fl. större och mindre skiftruar, 4 hästar, samt några 30 får och getter, får årligen 18 tunnor i god twanmilla, slag til bygnad, wedbrond och gårdet tillräckelig på ågorne. Dugarewp et helt, förmedel til et hällt, skitar årligen 20 Rtdal. Skerie, fjerdagswerkten och flämsing då det påfödras, får, får och feredar deras tillreda skiten, siger godt sike uti den wid Skerien beligane flera sön, wjendet från Skerier twanungshäftigen mera 2 ferdingswägar, har godt wete, god ång, fjer kumlegård, söder årligen 10 skiftruar, 2ne hästar, 16 a 20 får och getter, fjer til husebof, får årligen i wårstid 14 tunnor af alla ångs sike. Wjendet en ferding Riksskotte, deraf 40 f. Skerie, utom gmad skrut är nämnt om Skeriers råds och wårs. toru och des oners, skita de årligen 17 Rtdal. Skerie, så at hela penningerdutan wår 77 Rtdal. 40 f. Skerie, skeril kommer at på Skeriers skar finnes liden twanmilla, men hufv något försållt, som et af ångaren under des forta tid hufv uti uppljefor. Skeriers åfänd från Skerier, Skerier 8, Weri 7, Christianad 9 milt, flera landswägen på Åfdele milt åf sånd samt häradsbeligen åfparades til den samma först Skerien, skerlan på Åfdele milt åf sånd. Högde köpare kunna sig seltwa eller genom bref öfwerföra til ågaren, Sjwers-Ägmskäraren och Riddaren Fred. Gnst. Skiffersparre på Weri 8 och Grimmarps, och här i Stockholm hos Sjwersjen och Riddaren D. G. Skiffersparre inom d. 5 Octob. detta år, då Gendomen med eller utan grdda samt inventarier kan wetes och åfpar, helst lösbren med mera samma dag genom Auction til den mestbudande försäljes, så wäl som seltwa sällgheten. 2ne fjer-tradadedar med god jord och flere fruktbringande träd af alla sorter samt en humlegård, finnes åfwen.

The third page of an example of the *Inrikes Tidningar*. Three notice types, a list type, and the currency table precede the Notifications section. The use of lines to separate items rather than headlines was common for this period. The issue also included two types of lottery tables on the second page.

Inrikes Tidningar, No. 75, 27 Sept. 1790. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. From: Kungliga Biblioteket, <http://www.kb.se> (accessed: 1 December 2016).

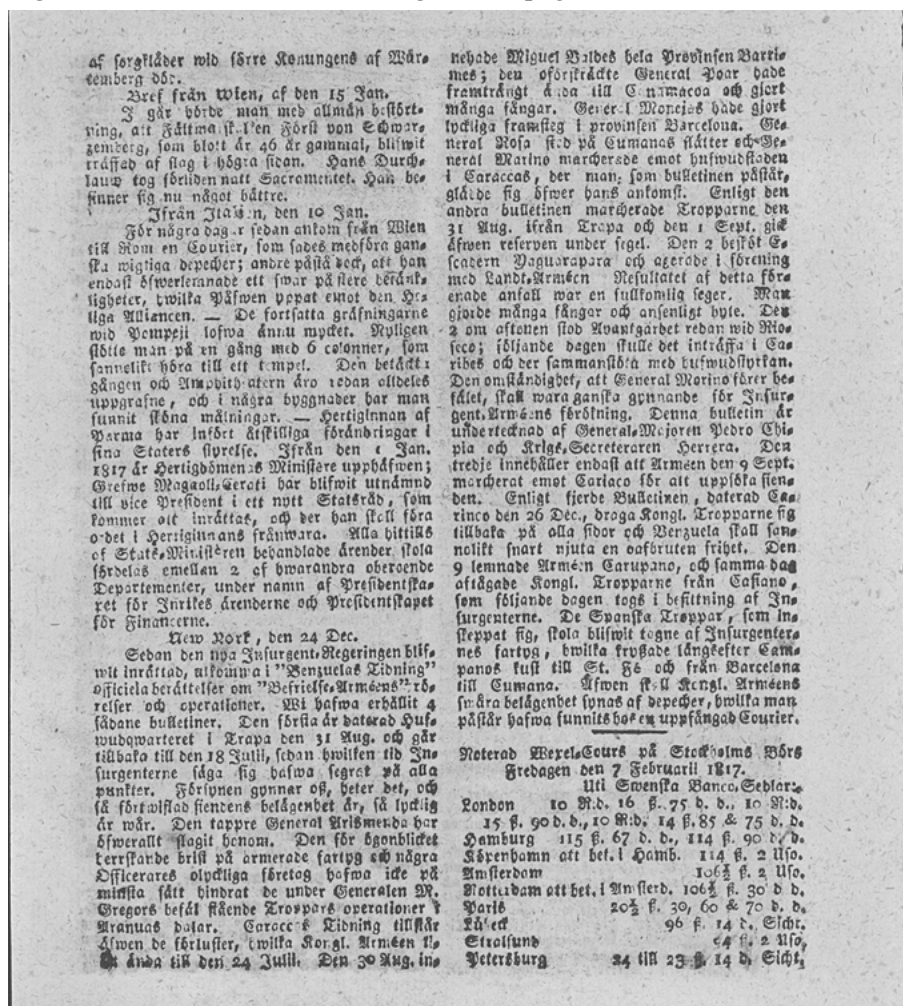
Figure 2.5 *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* first page, 1816



The first page of an example of *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* from 1816. This is a combined article and proclamation type. The article, with a Stockholm place- and dateline, introduced the circumstances for the proclamation, published with the French and Swedish texts side by side. The regular international news followed, including a London item, on the inside pages.

Stockholms Post-Tidningar, No. 84, 8 July 1816. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. From: Kungliga Biblioteket, <http://www.kb.se> (accessed: 1 December 2016).

Figure 2.6 *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* third page, 1817



The third page of an example of *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* from 1817. This example has three article types and the currency table, starting with London. *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 17, 8 July 1817. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. From: Kungliga Biblioteket, <http://www.kb.se> (accessed: 1 December 2016).

Advertisements

This first category was detected solely in the *London Gazette*, although there were some nascent forms in the Swedish papers. Consistency, repetition, and separate headings are defining qualities for advertisements. These were not in modern forms, which are dictated by news media's common language.¹¹⁰ In the *Gazette*, however, they were starting to have some of those qualities. State-run newspapers were not primarily driven by advertisement revenue,

¹¹⁰ Bell (1991), p. 9.

even into the modern period. Their earnings instead came from subscriptions and state funding, increasing over time in number or price.

Another type of item — the notice genre — performed similar functions to advertisements. That group was contemporarily thought of as advertisements.¹¹¹ The two are differentiated by form, as there were similar offers for sales or services in the notice genre as well. Advertisements were a noticeably separate part. In the *Gazette*, these are more recognizable due to their resemblance to more modern ads, as can be seen in Figure 2.1 beneath the table; “Dr. Anderson’s or the Famous Scots pills” was a common feature. These were offset by different lettering sizes; they are also duplicated in later issues without changes. Medicine practitioners and doctors had these ads, as well as those offering estate sales.¹¹² While these items of the papers are seen as a precursor to the modern advent of advertisement, the concept of direct marketing is only loosely linked to these lines. They often included mentions of valued objects. Like letters, to be discussed later, it was either actively or passively approved by the state. Although the content concerned something that was not the state, there was still implicit agreement.

Articles

There were similarly formatted items that included places of origin. These are termed article types, as they depicted an event or news, like today’s newspaper articles. Accordingly, these items had the most diverse content. The similarities are linked mainly to including a placeline or dateline, or a combination, followed by information from a source, relaying information about an associated place or person. There were both domestic and international varieties. These reflect the idea of the semi-public sphere; the information was consented to by the editors, who are in turn echoing both the desires of the regime, the reading public, and had languages of legitimacy.

For the state, news was transmitted by the diplomatic network from abroad, as well as communicated ideal perceptions of the world. These are the most comparable items regarding a view of the home state and the other; they had a known location and included news about other groups. Figures 2.3, 2.5, and 2.6 show examples from Sweden, discussing both international and domestic news. Although an example from the *Gazette* is not included, it had the same format: dateline and placeline followed content. Items like these often had internal separation, dividing information with punctuation. The use of a form of em dash (—) in Figure 2.6 in the news from Italy is an example.

Letters

Letters, also referred to as dispatches or missives, were also different than their modern counterparts. The letters section of a modern paper includes

¹¹¹ Clarke (2004), pp. 139–155.

¹¹² Clarke (2004), pp. 142–143.

material often in an unedited or only slightly edited format; these changes are normally for length or language rather than to insert content or editorial opinions directly in the submitted text.¹¹³ Although some letters implied dismissive ideas about the state, the items were part of the overall agreement discourse. Opinions flowed at coffeehouses while the newspapers were appearing more interactive.¹¹⁴ Content changed while the form was consistent.

Letters were part of the growing correspondence network, expanding due to improvements to transportation and communications.¹¹⁵ The example in Figure 2.6 is a “Letter from Vienna.” This form is analyzed like an article unless the first-person form is repeatedly used or there is a name attached or the item is labelled as a letter. Some were noted as only being excerpts and carried over many issues.¹¹⁶ There were also instances of anonymous letters, particularly in the *Gazette*. Although an example is not included here, they followed a similar format to the Swedish example, except for the aspect of editorial commentary regarding the authenticity of the letter reproductions. The example in Figure 2.3 is representative of a response, including what information the letter is reacting to and a signed name. The anonymous letter exemplified social control because of a stately explanation.

Threatening letters were often reproduced to apprehend the sender or senders, as well as document the event. These types of announcements were a more effective method of combating crime without a destructive element for the state.¹¹⁷ Rewards and the circumstances of the letter were part of the state’s framing of the topic. In these cases, the state exposed the public to a case of negative social actions. The potential consequences from acting outside of the norm were emphasized. Some articles were identified as letters based on the legitimacy of the information. Since the letters were reproduced by the state, these apparent direct communications from the public are viewed accordingly.

Lists

There were numbered and unnumbered lists; some were printed with other types of items. Examples of unnumbered lists are in Figures 2.1, 2.3, and 2.4. The first example from the *London Gazette* was a common form, presenting information related to military, judges, or sheriff elections. Military lists and changes in church positions were also included in the Swedish papers. Laws from Parliament were often broken down or repeated like this in the *Gazette*. The start of the ship news in Figure 2.3 was also a standard item in the *Inrikes Tidningar*.

Numbered lists were also presented in paragraph form, either separating items or as a continuous text. Swedish reports of deaths, birth, and marriages

¹¹³ Bell (1991), p. 66.

¹¹⁴ Oscarsson (2005), p. 100.

¹¹⁵ Pettegree (2014), p. 321.

¹¹⁶ Swedish: *Utdrag*.

¹¹⁷ Clarke (2004), p. 170.

follow similar styles to notices, but are analyzed as unnumbered lists as they do not provide more information than details like names and occupations. Figure 2.4 includes these personal announcements. The titles, locations, and other particulars emphasized a local perspective. Lists were a way of communicating a great deal of information in an efficient form.

Notices

Notices are another broad content category based but with a relatively consistent forms. These items were lines or short paragraphs that informed directly about a relatively everyday occurrence; these were not overtly political news items. Some represented private individuals, regarding property, goods, or services. The “Items for Sale” under the notifications in Figure 2.4 is an example of this.¹¹⁸ There were also notices of arrest, bankruptcy, and other disputes. Meetings and discussions were notices, apart from main news sections.¹¹⁹ This also included weather and an emphasis on mail delivery during times of war or winter, when not part of an article. Generally, these appeared at the end of the papers. Notices in the *Gazette* would include a line identifying them as notices, grouped together at the close of the paper. The notifications line in the Swedish papers separated them from the other items. Estate sales, market stall locations, book and furniture sales, house and living arrangement availabilities, and many other topics were in both the *Post-Tidningar* and *Inrikes*. There were also notices coming from state offices, requesting supplies or informing a certain group about topics like meetings. Figure 2.1 shows three notices from the *Gazette*.

Proclamations

Many items observed here were based on a standard paragraph format, as noted in the description of article types. Proclamations were similar, except that they directly represented the voice of the state through the current ruler of the kingdom. Like articles, these included location identification and a dateline. These placelines, however, were usually the whereabouts of the king, court, or parliament. Proclamations are assumed to be a very legitimate type of item made by the king, parliament, or other high offices.

The proclamation in Figure 2.2 represents the typical form in the *London Gazette*. Proclamations, like this example, could also be combined with other types of items to include additional related information. The example in Figure 2.5 is a version of Swedish proclamations; reproducing a speech was one of the essential functions of the papers. The Swedish and British versions shared resemblances, presenting the name of the king or referring to what it was directly; in the Swedish case, as a *kungörelse* identifier.

¹¹⁸ Swedish: *Till salu finnes/finnas*.

¹¹⁹ Read (1961), p. 62.

Tables: Numbers and People

Other than the category of items that cannot be clearly defined, table type items most closely reflect conceptual and technological advancements. These had several columns of information, numbered or unnumbered, organizing contents based on categories. Numbers tables are contrasted with tables about people, seen in the example in Figure 2.2. In the *Gazette*, the most effective way of organizing long lists of individuals was to separate the information into different column widths than the normal format. Military promotions, for example, appeared in table, paragraph, and list form. Illness and population tables, representing aspects of the census, were other people types.

The table in Figure 2.1 was a standard *Gazette* type. This one-column example became a two-column version over time. Currency trading conversions were also listed in the Swedish papers, seen in Figure 2.6. Although there were style differences, the two examples share the same characteristic of ordering information in a non-paragraph format. Tables led to the elements of statistics in the modern age and the creation of the information marketplace.¹²⁰

Other Category

These types of items had the characteristics of mainly pictures or graphics and were often representations of engravings or etchings. The text was often spread out, using white space to represent positions of important figures during an event. An example of this is not included here, but the mastheads represent aspects of this graphic element. In Figure 2.5 for example, the *Post-Tidningar* included a representation of the lesser coat of arms, including the three-crowns symbol. These types of symbols were often integrated during times of war or difficulties, as an attempt to emphasize legitimacy through symbolic elements.

These other entries show how technology, in addition to the ideals of the state, influenced the formatting. In the *London Gazette*, the other type item was often used to represent royal funerals. The death of the mother of George III, for example, included a coffin shape to represent the placement of her casket.¹²¹ Illustrations were not overly common until the mid- to late 1800s.¹²² More advanced pictures were not included until 1842, using engraving techniques and later photography connected mainly to war.¹²³ Like the masthead changes, times of troubles brought about the need for representation that went beyond words.

¹²⁰ Karabell (2014), pp. 212–213.

¹²¹ The description of the funeral procession of Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha Altenburg, mother of George III, indicated their positions during the ceremony. Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11223, 15–18 Feb. 1772.

¹²² The funeral of Lord Horatio Nelson was depicted with an illustration in *The Times* in 1806 and is typical of illustrations in the early nineteenth century. *Times* (London) 10 Jan. 1806: 2.

¹²³ Hüppauf (1993); Clarke (2004); Brake & Demoor (2009), p. 495.

2.2.1 Connecting Forms to the Research Aims

The construction of the newspapers reflects the printing techniques from 1770–1820 and how the ideals of the state are integrated into them. Modifications indicate active decisions by the state that were not solely dependent on printing advances, as these were generally limited until the mid-nineteenth century. The papers share resemblances and contrasts. By establishing categories with basic similarities, the shifts in order and content for economic matters can be explored from a base of stability. In modern newspapers, these are more distinctly separated and internally organized. The early modern state had to work within these parameters as part of their legitimizing efforts. Some items increase in usage over time, while others grow in size, although the majority have unchanged forms.

2.3 Organization and Order

Consistent placement of an item from a certain geographic location or about a specific topic in the order denotes its meaning. There was an order of importance based on where an item was printed in an issue rather than a chronological connection. This guides how the paper was to be read, both for the entire issue and the individual items. The state ordered items with only minor chronological tendencies, often placing older news from one location ahead of more recent news from another city. The physical production of the paper also meant information on the middle sheets would not always be visible when posted.¹²⁴ Repetition is also important for this approach. Some item genres had recurring placements, but the contents were updated with new intelligence. Some items had duplicated content, from one issue to the next. Internal order is also considered here, as longer items, like articles, could contain a number of topics that needed to be rearranged, broken up, or repeated in other issues. The publishing decisions were not made aesthetically. I have analyzed the items based on these two perspectives of overall and internal ordering, putting weight on the first and last pages; these pages had the most consistent types of items, while the middle pages varied.

2.3.1 International and Domestic News Ordering

For foreign news, certain cities or geographic places were either printed on the first or latter pages. This suggests that the news was not published based on when the information reached the printing office. Articles containing

¹²⁴ The physical folding of the paper attempted to avoid creating loose middle pages, such as through the folding of one large page into smaller “booklets,” such as the examples of *folio* (a two-sided sheet folded made four pages), *quarto* (folded twice, gives eight pages), and *octavo* (folded three times, producing sixteen pages). The folds created weaknesses in the paper, and also hid information when the sheets were unfolded and posted.

foreign information were often published on the first pages of the *Gazette* and *Post-Tidningar*. The *Inrikes Tidningar* included domestic news, but also had a similar ordering structure. Certain geographic locations were often ordered first, although it was not the most recent information based on the accompanying dateline. If items had a consistent place in the order, this emphasized the state's perspective towards another state, topic, or event; the initial item should be viewed with prominence, with a decreasing degree of importance towards the inside pages. It was difficult for the makers to measure how much correspondence would arrive to the office before publication, leading to a practical way of constructing news.

Emphasizing one place over another is significant for the comparative aspect of this study. The London and Stockholm placelines, for instance, had different positions in the papers in the three periods I study. Other states or domestic information could be moved ahead in the order. Although global circulation was growing, the news was still written from a European outlook. Peripheral regions had a varying impact on the item placement. The advance of an area — such as the USA — impacted the order. How the two states dealt with emerging powers, and traditional rivals, is shown by changes to the overall organization of the newspapers.

The order of internal importance is also related to a system of offsetting pieces of news. In many examples from London in the *Post-Tidningar*, reports about the king or Parliament began items. Other information of lesser importance was printed on the ensuing lines. Colonial news, for example, was often grouped together as wordings separate from Britain proper and without a unique placeline. This was related to geographic locations and topics. The articles about Stockholm in the *Gazette* also included these types of breaks, but there were usually based on topic changes rather than other city's news.

The back pages, based on domestically localized notices in all three papers, were also constructed without knowing how much information would need to be included. It could be repeated, however, if it came from a local source, or was part of a longer dialogue. Here, the ordering is significant in terms of consistency of overall placement and repetition because the items had domestic origins. Things like the notifications of sales or the debtors lists had to appear in fairly regular positions from issue to issue. The internal order of these items depended slightly on when the information arrived, or deadlines mandated by courts, but this did not reflect any sense of political importance. The Swedish or British regimes had no direct interest in emphasizing one household sale over another, for example. Notices represent extensions of the state through systems like the court for specific individuals. Noting violators of contracts and the law was another function of these papers. While the word of the king or depictions of world events were promoted on the first pages, aspects of everyday life were published on the last pages. Regular placement in the overall order or repetition reflects the significance.

As newsgathering was a long process from many sources, including translators, some individual items were assembled from a number of informants. Other than the physical technology of the press, the postal system and information sharing networks were always under threat. War and weather affected the distribution of information and the final product.¹²⁵ These other factors also disturbed the ordering in the papers. The most recent news was not always placed first, as with modern, deadline and time-driven newspapers. The choices made by editors in ordering items and overcoming difficulties were part of the regime's views.

2.4 Legitimacy and the State Voice

The content reflects the character of news and how the state meant to portray it. This is where the economic objects, practices, ideas, and discourses are observed and analyzed. Certain phrases indicated the level of trustworthiness of the information, often in connection with significant individuals. The legitimacy of an item depended on either the phrasing of the news' presentation or an association with the state, individuals of power, or official institutions. Translation meant that the phrasing from other sources resembled internally produced content. There were passive and active decisions in the wording connected to the state's ideals. The next section addresses how economic matters are assessed in terms of legitimacy and importance. The second section defines how they are observed in contrast to the other value realms. Finally, the physical descriptions of the analyzed sources are given.

2.4.1 Indicating Trustworthiness through Presentation

Since the papers were from the perspective of the state, they used similar strategies but in two different contexts. The British and Swedish producers desired to keep trust with their publics. This includes the use of certain phrases of attribution to indicate legitimacy. Here, these are oral tags and languages of presentation. These are summarized in Table 2.2. Literary historian Walter Ong has noted similar elements as "oral residue."¹²⁶ Implied authorship was also a form of ascription, along with mentions of other newspapers or sources. Other languages appearing with or without interpretation also falls under this aspect. States attempted to bring the readers closer to the centre by using forms of reliable wording and subjects. This quality, part of a critical Habermas view, was also connected to the state's censorship. Some Enlightenment societies, by the 1770s, interacted in new ways with the state, exemplifying the transforming public sphere. Despite restricting open dissension, the regimes I

¹²⁵ Raymond (1996), p. 5. He observes that summer was the best time for news circulation during the seventeenth century.

¹²⁶ Ong (1965), p. 145.

study could not publish material that the public did not ultimately agree with in one way or another. This is the semi-public sphere, discussed in Chapter One.

This communication through legitimacy and mirrored agreement has been observed in the English press, as well as similar concepts in studies about Sweden. As noted earlier, Ann C. Dean argues for a way of viewing political news and court culture from a perspective of participation in English newspapers in the eighteenth century.¹²⁷ She notes the importance circulated news played in the “development of mercantile capitalism and republican government.”¹²⁸ The historian Elisabeth Reuterswärd discusses this in relation to *kungörelserna*; the *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* was also part of the proclamation system in Sweden, an extension of the church media network.¹²⁹ The historian Joachim Östlund also draws on proclamations, looking at the state’s efforts of creating and maintaining a cooperative population based on forging norms, community morality, and the social contract.¹³⁰

Certain designations were reproduced involving invocations of oral communication,¹³¹ ceremonial actions,¹³² or source attribution. These expressed a decreasing scale of credibility. Terms or phrases introduced or clarified messages, showing how the state meant the news to be understood. More trustworthy information was given greater attribution. Because the papers also reproduced other sources, deliberate choices were required so these did not weaken the regime’s reputation. The repeated use of oral tags and the language of presentation rather than the modern descriptive markers that arose in the late nineteenth-century media was an effective tool for communication before techniques of quoting and directly labelling the trustworthiness of sources had fully developed. The use of certain phrases motivated the perception that the information was exclusive, accurate, and newsworthy.¹³³ If these did not reflect a form of accepted communication, the state would have adopted other approaches to maintain cooperation.

Communications from the king use many of these phrases, as well as connect to his role as a trusted figure. Many speeches had a dependable form rather than relying on depictions used with other sources. These phrases, like being delivered by letter or gazettes, explained how the information was presented, corresponding to an oral definition as well. Formal actions, which can also extend to representatives of the king or state leaders, are involved in this language of presentation. The figure of the king had the additional emphasis of being first in the order, or in the Swedish case leading off the consistent domestic items at the back, adding legitimacy.

¹²⁷ Dean (2006).

¹²⁸ Dean (2006), p. 631.

¹²⁹ Reuterswärd (2001).

¹³⁰ Östlund (2007).

¹³¹ Dean (2006).

¹³² Muir (1997), p. 248.

¹³³ Dean (2006), pp. 633–634.

Table 2.2 *Oral tag and presentation approaches*

Swedish Phrase	English Equivalent	Implied level of legitimacy
<i>Utfärdadt; i nåder ut färdadt/utnämt; bevilja nådigt</i>	Granted; pleased to receive/promise/promise and declare/Declaring.	Associated with actions of the king in proclamations. Assigns additional authority to the voice of the king by expressing graciousness or indicating a promise.
<i>Brev/Post/Tidender</i>	Letter/Mail/Tidings/Gazettes	Highly trustworthy. Connected to a collected material or other official newspaper, sometimes named. Legitimacy increased with an official name, although “Anonymous” letters change in levels of legitimacy over time.
<i>Synes/Känns att</i>	Sees/witnesses or knowledge of	Less trustworthy, unless connected to an official figure. Although recorded, still connected to feelings and interpretations.
<i>Talas/Berättas att</i>	Speaks of/Tells of	Depends on type of figure linked to the phrase. Has equivalent trustworthiness to the previous category, unless connected to apparently untrustworthy or unnamed individuals.
<i>Rykte</i>	Rumour/Talk of	One of the least trustworthy categories. An attempt by the editors to negotiate the role of providing rapid news, while maintaining distance to its genuineness.
<i>Så kallade</i>	So called	A phrase implying transition or explanation, often used with new or changing concepts.
No direct attribution or actions		Involves an event implied as occurring or describing a figure taking a non-ceremonial action. Credibility is difficult to gauge, unless linked to significant names, events, or population centres.

The public demonstrations of the king and the private decisions he made were represented by described ritual. The people were assured that the choices were for their benefit through this ceremonial language. These represent some of the legitimation struggles faced by regimes at the end of the eighteenth century as political language was changing.¹³⁴ For instance, the actions of George III linked him to being “pleased to” take action, such as receiving news, granting ascension, or giving orders, or making a promise. Similar devices are used in Swedish, with the king having “issued,” “graciously issued,” “graciously appointed,” or “granted graciously.”

¹³⁴ For an analysis of the altering language during Gustav III’s time based on medals, ceremonies and speeches, see: Alm (2002).

Analyzing two languages relies on establishing context. While English interpretations are used for most of the Swedish terms, they did not have identical meanings, although the usages are similar enough to be considered equivalents. The *Gazette* used more forms of addressing authority; there was an increased use of names acting as signatures in all the papers, but more so in the *Gazette*. Sweden was more influenced by other states as they explained foreign concepts; new concepts had to be introduced and portrayed from an outside context frequently, and needed added trust devices.

Other languages or material interpreted from another source were common features of all three papers. Translation occurred although it was not always labelled as such. The Swedish papers printed lines in other languages more often than the British one. The regime needed to consider the abilities of the public, in addition to the potential reach of the papers. French, as a diplomatic language, was most common. Latin and Greek, English, and German were also observed, with and without translation. For example, many of the speeches of Charles XIV John were printed as translations, including the original French either side-by-side or as appendices at the end of issues. The *Gazette* was less likely to include other languages, but French, Danish, and other instances were detected. Treaties were often reproduced side-by-side. Book titles were also noted in their original languages. While some of the foreign-language texts are considered, others are noted only for the form and order analyses.¹³⁵ Foreign news in translation was part of the censorship apparatus. Like the nameless news gatherers, the translators were often not credited and were invisible.¹³⁶ The state rather portrayed the information as part of its knowledge reach.

When the source of information was noted, there were varying degrees of legitimacy. There were no authors listed, for the most part, and the information followed oral qualities rather than the orientation-style news of journalism.¹³⁷ News was extremely trustworthy if a high-ranking source was described as providing it. The appearance of *official article* types in the Swedish papers emphasized the trustworthiness of both the information and the state, indicated through labelling.¹³⁸ If a direct source was not provided, the news is assumed to be somewhat trustworthy because of the inherent presence of the state. Rumours and untrustworthy sources offered less reliable news, but were still printed due to the nature of the news; the state noted the item as untrustworthy and created distance to the potential falsehood.

¹³⁵ In this study, I have read English and Swedish, but also partially considered aspects of the French and Latin texts and instances of Danish-Norwegian. The German, Spanish, and other languages, however, were not examined for specific content.

¹³⁶ Uman (2012), p. 5; Venuti (1995).

¹³⁷ Bell (1991), p. 151.

¹³⁸ This is discussed in Chapter Five. An official article or *officiell artikel* in Swedish is an article-type items with an added label for legitimacy. Additional labels such as *strödda underrättelser* (English: various happenings), *underrättelse för allmänheten* (English: notice to the public) also appeared about domestic or foreign news.

As new techniques were developing, and advertising became profitable, publications began circulating without passing through state censorship.¹³⁹ The state had to manage with less control, utilizing corresponding techniques. Over time, more individuals were named with some types of items, to indicate authorship or authentication. By including a reference to an author or translator, the onus was shifted to the writer, or commercial newspaper in some cases, rather than directly on the state. In order to continue to be seen as trustworthy, the burden needed to be shared with other sources.

2.4.2 Assessing Content and Defining the Value Realms

The two states emphasized certain topics in each of the time periods. In the empirical chapters, I use narratives to present an illustrative chronology for the states in relation to that five-year time span. Some of the context discussed in the narrative is to explain how the depictions fit into the broader situations of each state. Other aspects of the narratives involve events and processes that influenced the order or form, in addition to the content. These create the framework for the depictions of economic matters based on the total view, not just the content.

In addition to comparing how the three papers portrayed economic matters, this study also involves a direct contrast between the two states. The comparative approach limits the amount of European or globally labelled items investigated. For the international parts, Britain and Sweden were primarily studied. In the *Gazette*, items that were labelled as coming from Swedish placelines are investigated; some minor items with other placelines are considered if they had a strong connection to Sweden.¹⁴⁰ For the *Post-Tidningar*, items mainly from London are considered. Some colonial placelines are also examined, given the connections to Britain.¹⁴¹

What I determined to be the significant topics or processes of the time frames are partially drawn from analyzing the newspapers. Some topics were repeated or given great emphasis at the time. While the analysis does not discuss every instance of a theme or subject, the evidence discussed in the empirical chapters provides representative examples of objects, practices, ideas and discourses and the changes to form, order, and content. From my perspective of embeddedness, economic matters are connected to the political, social-cultural, and technological elements. The analyses portions of the empirical chapters are organized like this, although technology is not a primary category.

Economic objects, practices, ideas, and discourses can be observed with each of the other value realms, viewed primarily in connection with how they were “created.” The two broad contexts of material or textual were introduced in Chapter One. There was a natural value or human-constructed value, often

¹³⁹ Shaw (1959), pp. 409–420.

¹⁴⁰ This includes Denmark or Russia due to their Baltic involvement, for example.

¹⁴¹ These placelines include locations in the USA, for instance.

operating together. Both the modern economic indicators and early modern definitions are drawn on for my definition. The list presented in the first issue of the *Inrikes Tidningar* is used, taking its notions of trade, livelihood, and private exchanges made public as another set of definitions.¹⁴² Scarcity, activities of exchange, and principles of state management are also drawn from the modern perspective, using Tribe and the other thinkers noted previously. The content of the newspaper was partially for groups involved in trading activities, while the *Inrikes* was founded as a means of communicating economic and political news to the entire population, among other things.

Some of the described item genres had more economic association. Many items, such as articles about battle movements, had no connection to economic matters. There were also repetitive pages with content that, while economic, did not change over time in terms of form; this is primarily related to lists and domestic notices. This further limits how this study was conducted. I did not include items that did not have a direct mention of economic matters; this type of news is instead reflected in the contextual narratives of each chapter. If an item contains some element of economic matters, although focusing on the political or social, this relates to embeddedness and disintegration. The economic aspect is focused on, noting any changes to its inclusion.

Expressions of less embedded economic matters are strongest when other elements are not present or are separate in either the overall or internal order. As establishing in Chapter One, political information still included many aspects of the other value realms in the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁴³ The state newspapers were also firmly grounded in political actions; forming a sense of trust with their population in order to maintain control was crucial. An economic matter is more political if it involves mentions of the king, state officials, parliamentary bodies or bureaucratic offices, or some military contexts. Inherently, all economic matters discussed in this study were related to the state and political aspects due to the nature of the papers. Economic matters can be analyzed with increasing or decreasing mentions of political factors, although they are never fully removed.

In relation to the social-cultural realm, the role of the church and forms of social gatherings and actions are significant. Most involve things that are not political but had some links to it, including religious expressions and artistic descriptions of royalty through poetry or statues. Descriptions of the arrivals of kings or royalty to public places, for example, had more definite social-political value due to the interactions of the power holders with the crowd. Depictions of church figures, and the king's inherent connection to God, show the embedded qualities between the social and political.

Some social values involved more "private" individuals or descriptions, in contrast to the officials in the political realm. As the papers of record, a

¹⁴² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 26 Nov. 1760.

¹⁴³ Boberg (1970), p. 24.

view of violators of norms was established. Some letters were threats towards high-ranking individuals, for example, and their publication highlighted these threats. Social norms were reinforced by the information the state reproduced. Often, the lives of everyday people were not recorded in this period; appearing in the newspaper could be negative or positive. Connections to economic matters often involved mentions of making a living or retaining a reputation to continue sustaining that living. Exchange, in this sense, had a combined social and economic value. This approach to social and economic embeddedness involves noting who was attached to the actions, what level of legitimacy it was given, what type of activity was involved, and often where it occurred.

There is the greatest connection between the economic and technological realm in this study. From this perspective, the technological realm includes tools or knowledge used or created by economic, political, or social elements. There are some limited discussions of industrializing fundamentals, like mechanized machinery or manufacturing techniques, but these have primarily economic value. The tensions between the economic and technological realms occurred during industrialization, which is only in its earliest stages here. The technological realm does not have its own separate category due to the fact it was only in the process of emerging.

The most important aspect of the newspapers I investigate is the connection to the state. Descriptions of objects, practices, ideas, and discourses required long-term and credible expressions of how that information was obtained, considered, and delivered by the state and its associates. Other types of news also required these legitimacy devices. Here, the state is viewed as an agent of change along with newspapers, news producers,¹⁴⁴ the readers, and the public.¹⁴⁵ Neither the state nor the newspapers are viewed in isolation,¹⁴⁶ although the readers, public, and producers are only gauged contextually through the semi-public sphere. Communications were kept as consistent as possible, presenting rule as perpetually legitimate.

2.4.3 Selecting the Reviewed Material and Translations

Formalized and labelled categories are used in the modern and current versions of the newspapers in this study. While the early modern states in question did not actively place news into the types of categories as their modern counterparts, the generating points began with these earlier forms. Discussing the present-day physical construction of the studied papers and their current electronic versions helps define both the modern standpoint and embeddedness for this study, represented by greater separation or cohesion over time.

¹⁴⁴ Popkin (1995), pp. 16–17.

¹⁴⁵ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 19.

¹⁴⁶ Criticisms of Eisenstein have brought up how she views print in isolation. See: Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 19 and Eisenstein (1979).

In this dissertation, I accessed the *London Gazette* through the official online archive, part of The National Archives; the current version still acts as the “Official Public Record.”¹⁴⁷ Now a digital publication, the search function of the website uses modern organization. There is a notice-based system of eleven subjects, topically based. Notices about the state, the royal family, Parliament, the church, companies, people, money, environment and infrastructure, health and medicine, honours and awards, and other topics are searchable based on location, dates, and editions, including those from Edinburgh and Belfast as well. Each has subsections. The state, for example, is noted separately from Parliament because of the symbolic qualities of its offices. The parliamentary notices, meanwhile, document its decisions, encompassing and typifying the state apparatus. These are based on the subject matter and a modern layout, representing the end point for the categories used here.

Regarding its dimensions, the *Gazette* was printed in the two-column, single-sheet format that dominated newspapers from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. Although the commencing issue from 1665 did not include a dateline underneath its masthead, all subsequent issues had a nearly identical format with that element. References to the *Gazette*, even within the paper itself, were more dependent on numbering rather than the date and issue. The cumulative issue numbers were not seen in Sweden, as those papers began each calendar year with a new cycle.

I examined the Swedish papers in two formats. The years 1771 and 1773 for the *Post-Tidningar* were reviewed in digitalized forms through the *Kungliga Biblioteket*. For that time period, the *Inrikes* has been digitalized from 1771 to 1773. The bound copies from the other years were used. For Chapter Four, the digitalized versions were accessed for the *Post-Tidningar* from 1790 to 1795. For the *Inrikes*, the physical copies were for 1794 and the latter half of 1795. In the material for Chapter Five, the bound copies from *Kungliga Biblioteket* were studied for 1815, 1819, and 1820 for the *Post-Tidningar*. The *Inrikes* was looked at in its physical form for 1816 and the latter part of 1820. The scanned versions were analyzed for the other years.

The two Swedish papers were produced simultaneously, sometimes including duplicated or corresponding content. They had similar mastheads, paper formats, and styles. In my final time period, both included symbols as part of their mastheads. They had related information regarding the king and Stockholm; readers were encouraged to subscribe through one payment to both papers. While there is a website devoted to the archiving of *Post-och Inrikes Tidningar*, the material cannot be accessed earlier than 2007.¹⁴⁸ Similar categories to the *Gazette* break down how the paper can be searched.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/> Accessed 8 Jan. 2017.

¹⁴⁸ <https://poit.bolagsverket.se/> Accessed 8 Jan. 2017.

¹⁴⁹ The main categories are: *Bolagsverkets registreringar*; *Familjerätt*; *Kallelser*; *Konkurser*; *Likvidationsföreläggande*; *Skuldsaneringar*; *Övrigt*. (English: Company registrations; Family; Notices of meetings; Bankruptcies; Liquidation injunctions; Debt restructuring; Other).

For this study, I translated Swedish and transliterated eighteenth-century English quotes. These show how the economic matters were communicated, so it is important to establish how I have interpreted the papers. I translated the Swedish material using modern English grammar and spelling conventions when possible. Similarly, the orthography of the *Gazette* differs from today's usage. I have retained some headline qualities in their original forms to highlight their uniqueness, but this is not done often. Changes in typeface are also not used. I have presented the material as accurately as possible, while also respecting modern reading styles so any errors in translation are my own.

2.5 Analyzing Newspapers for Economic Matters

The state used as many strategies as they could to maximize the limited space for spreading their messages. Portrayals of economic matters are determined by consistencies or changes to one or more of the newspaper's components. Form, order, and content are investigated as part of a total analysis. By breaking down the forms or item genres of the *London Gazette*, *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* and *Inrikes Tidningar*, the order and content is assessed in more concrete ways. It also shows the similarities and contrasts among the three. The assigned trustworthiness is determined by analyzing consistent forms or contents. The content reveals what economic matters the states encountered, while the form and order show how, when, and where they were presented. The state sought to uphold a sense of genuineness by communicating in reliable ways, which is why these matters were given to the public. Overall, the methods discussed in this chapter show how both the material and textual aspects of the economic matters were investigated in the context of the period and in reference to the modern gaze.

CHAPTER 3

1770–1775: Towards Coups and Revolutions

Politically, this was a time of relative stability as the world attempted to adjust to the circumstances after the Seven Years' War. The events described here reflect the central accounts depicted in the material from 1770 to 1775, as well as progresses recognized later. Colonial holdings and the European balance of power were changed by the conflicts leading up to this time frame. The beginnings of the American Revolution in relation to Britain and Gustav III's coup in Sweden are examples of significant events that affected the two states from primarily political perspectives. Economic evolutions also impacted wider groups. The industrial transformation of Britain — the Industrial Revolution — began around the mid-eighteenth century. Although full industrialization occurred much later in Sweden, there were significant forms of agricultural and proto-industrial adjustment.

3.1 A Mid-Eighteenth Century World in View

The Seven Years' War (1755–1764) changed many parts of the world, starting with the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756.¹ A coalition led by Britain and Prussia primarily battled a French-Austrian alliance, including Sweden, Spain, Russia, and other groups. The conflict was global,² with struggles in Europe, North America, and Asia occurring interdependently. The overall victory in North America led to British dominance after 1763. The Treaty of Paris set new contexts for France, Spain, and Britain. The French lost vast territory, conceding Louisiana to Spain and New France to Britain.³ France retained access to sugar and links to Atlantic interests when given the choice between its American or Caribbean assets.⁴ These losses diminished France as a military and naval power.⁵

¹ Szabo (1994), pp. 14–15.

² Called the French and Indian War in the USA and the War of the Conquest in Quebec. The conflict between Sweden and Prussia is the Pomeranian War and the war between Prussia and Austria is the Third Silesian War. The Third Carnatic War occurred in India.

³ Jaenen (2001), pp. 155–164. The loss of trading fortress of Louisbourg was also a major event that occurred during the conflict.

⁴ Crouch (2014), p. 154. The territories were Guadeloupe and Martinique specifically.

⁵ Szabo (2007), p. 431.

The aftereffects were also extensive for the Anglo-Prussian coalition. Like Britain, Prussia strengthened militarily. The Pomeranian War (1757–1762) and the Third Silesian War (1756–1763) were successes for Prussia’s Frederick II. Following France’s withdrawal, Russia cast itself heavily into European concerns after the 1760s.⁶ Russia’s southern conflicts with the Habsburgs and Ottomans had additional effects. Catherine II encouraged development of the state and diplomatic strategies. The precariousness of her rule required the increased use of symbols, trying to be recognized by other European powers.⁷ Her reign was a period of Westernization and expansion.

The First Partition of Poland in 1772 was significant for Russian diplomacy and had consequences for the rest of Europe.⁸ The Partition, also involving Prussia and Austria, impacted the security and resource interests of surrounding states. Frederick II encouraged the division, looking for a buffer from Russia. The already weakened Sejm ratified the decision in 1773.⁹ Resources were distributed, with Russia receiving the most land, followed by Prussia. Austria gained the salt mines of Bochna and Wieliczka.

Like Poland, North America involved many affiliations and contested assets. Those living in the colonies embraced the ideas of inherent rights advocated during the Enlightenment. After 1763, the residents of the Thirteen Colonies no longer had the common enemy of the French crown to keep them united with Britain. The colonial economy was also strengthening as the demand for American goods in Britain rapidly overtook the previously uneven flow.¹⁰ Policies from London attempted to regulate merchant profits by 1764. Without parliamentary representation, and now freed from foreign threats, the colonists reacted negatively, protesting against taxes and laws.

Duties increased through the early 1770s, triggering a boycott of British goods. Over time, most of the tolls were withdrawn — except for the tea tax. Following the Boston Tea Party in 1773,¹¹ Britain responded with the Coercive Acts to limit local commerce, self-government, and the right to equal justice.¹² The tensions led to the First Continental Congress in 1774 and the breakout of the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). Despite colonial unrest, the Seven Years’ War brought Britain to a powerful overseas position, although political and economic situations were shifting elsewhere.

⁶ Blanning (2002), p. 420.

⁷ She had risen to power through a military coup in 1762. See: Wortman (1995), pp. 42–43.

⁸ Zamoyski (2015), p. 195.

⁹ Zamoyski (2015), pp. 195–196. The Sejm, or Polish Parliament, grew in significance during the time of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, taking influence away from the king.

¹⁰ Murrin (2004), p. 68.

¹¹ The Sons of Liberty destroyed a shipment of tea from the East India Company in Boston. The political and economic action furthered the movement.

¹² Known as the Intolerable Acts within the patriotic movement.

3.1.1 Troubles in the Colonies and at Home for Britain

Britain embraced ideals of exploration and trade for its foreign polices,¹³ spreading influence and resources. Private companies also exerted influence. The British East India Company administered parts of India by 1757, while the Hudson's Bay Company was the *de facto* ruler in areas of North America, especially after taking over French interests.¹⁴ The British EIC gained resources from the French withdrawal from India after the Third Carnatic War (1756–1763). The commercial and military superiority of European tactics led to local leaders recognizing the EIC as their rulers. Despite adopting symbolic practices and parochial administrative tactics, many issues were never easily resolved.¹⁵ The EIC clashed with the Maratha Empire, starting the First Anglo-Maratha War (1775–1782). Distant areas were connected to the home state, but the relationships were often strained.

As military and naval assets were stressed around the world, political struggles in Britain intensified.¹⁶ Both Parliament and the king faced challenges. George III had taken the throne in 1760. He continued the Hanover line, although with a distinctly more British identity; he was the first who spoke English as his first language and was born in Britain. This aspect is another motivating factor for using an encompassing term for the kingdom in this study. He maintained influence in Parliament leading up to a 1770 conflict over attempts at limiting his power. He preferred Tory members — royalist supporters — to their Whig counterparts. The terms Tory and Whig entered the political vocabulary in the late-seventeenth century but had fractured by the mid-eighteenth century, requiring realignment.¹⁷

Due to his ideological closeness to the king and the loss of the American Colonies, Frederick North's role as prime minister was viewed negatively. The elections in 1770 and 1774 were both majorities for his Tory party, however. He had initial popularity due to the victory against Spain in the 1770 Falkland Crisis, averting a total conflict. He was able to install ministers in important posts and create state confidence.¹⁸ The Revolutionary War, conversely, harmed his reputation and led to his eventual removal. Additionally, the Credit Crisis of 1772 caused bankruptcies across the world. A lack of support for its leaders and bank crises risked damage to the state's reputation.

In the background of these political changes were the ongoing British agricultural and industrial transformations. The Industrial Revolution was

¹³ Rodger (2004), pp. 327–328.

¹⁴ The structural differences between the British and French fur trade hierarchies were significant to the western expansion of British North America. The French traveled inland while the British remained around the Great Lakes, relying on Aboriginal trappers. The British takeover of these inland connections led to a significant push outwards, towards the west.

¹⁵ Asher & Talbot (2006), pp. 287–288.

¹⁶ Rodger (2004), pp. 333–334.

¹⁷ Clark (1980), p. 305.

¹⁸ Rodger (2004), p. 329.

an ongoing process during the 1770s, changing everyday circumstances for portions of the population. Agricultural advances, starting in the seventeenth century, had created a new group of landless labourers as the state attempted to increase land-use efficiency. The enclosures acts, starting as early as 1604, formed a wage-earning class that contributed to the productivity increase in agriculture and supplied labour to transforming industries.¹⁹ Although regionally diverse,²⁰ new techniques also increased manufacturing, division of labour, and trading in many sectors, such as textiles, metallurgy, and fuel. The growth of industrial towns, their transportation connections, and port advancements added to the urbanizing landscape, which had experienced growth earlier than the majority of Europe.²¹

Under these pressures, the state encouraged common cultural practices. Looking at an example, state lotteries were popular and successful.²² Previously, when the first English lotteries were established, there was public distrust and lack of interest.²³ The spectacle of public draws created collective cultural experiences, and offered quick economic gains. The Virginia colony benefited from the lottery and London's growth, for example; the kingdom sent the rising lower sorts to the New World, while also profiting from sales to those same groups.²⁴ Proceeds went towards building infrastructure and cultural sites like the National Museum, or funding wars.²⁵ The popularity of lotteries and other gambling enticed many.²⁶ The state attempted to limit its own risk by controlling the procedures. Over time, the state saw the benefits of common culture for effective negotiation with the people, including how they were represented.

3.1.2 Growing Autocracy and Agricultural Change in Sweden

As in Britain, various lotteries were a part of some social and economic activities in Sweden, including being published. Lotteries were used by the state to fund infrastructure projects, indicating an added economic value to the social activity. By the time of the promotion of the official state lottery in 1771, *Kungliga nummerlotteriet*, other forms had already existed. The state lottery, lasting until 1841, was not technically a “number lottery” in its original form; it instead reflected the Dutch system of determining prize draws. It was commissioned to curb participation in popular or foreign lotteries, particularly the German and Italian versions. This example shows how Sweden differed from Britain, with change after or on a smaller scale.

¹⁹ Hudson (2005), p. 65.

²⁰ Hudson (2005), p. 101.

²¹ Hudson (2005), p.150–151.

²² Dean (2011), pp. 587–611.

²³ Hicks (2009), p. 39.

²⁴ Hicks (2009), pp. 46–47.

²⁵ Hicks (2009), p. 92.

²⁶ Hicks (2009), p. 93.

Early forms of political parties existed in Sweden, once again paralleling Britain but on a reduced measure. These types of associations were effectively ended with the 1772 coup but still illustrate political change over time. Opposition to Arvid Horn, twice *kanslipresident*, generated the Hat party in the 1730s.²⁷ Horn's supporters upheld the Cap party. Sweden turned towards Britain under his leadership, both politically and economically, while maintaining a balance between Russia and France. After Horn's reign, the newly elected Hats reacted sharply and turned back towards France in the 1740s, advocating mercantile strategies and supporting certain foreign policy measures.

This division led partially to the war with Russia (1741–1743) and influenced later decisions about the Seven Years' War. The limits placed on the Swedish monarch during the Age of Liberty are also connected to this conflict. Russia, as noted earlier, was expanding and threatened Swedish interests in the Baltic. The Hats, while supporting Elizabeth's coup to become empress,²⁸ also advocated the recapture of areas lost in the Great Northern War (1700–1721). The 1743 Treaty of Åbo ended the war and Sweden reclaimed much of Finland, which was occupied during the war. This provided taxable areas and access to traditional natural resources. Part of the treaty, however, involved a dynastic change. The adoption of Adolf Frederick, as successor to Frederick I of Hesse, was at the wills of Russia.

The new dynastic line added tensions during the Seven Years' War. Adolf Frederick married Frederick II's sister, Louisa Ulrica, in 1747 and entered into a defensive alliance with Prussia. Weakened by the earlier conflict with Russia, Sweden tried to remain neutral while preserving a possibility for intervention.²⁹ French pressure drew Sweden into the war, battling Prussia in Pomerania. Threats by Russia, financial difficulties from both wars, and the ties between the monarchies eventually brought about the 1762 Treaty of Hamburg. The outcome was a stalemate and a return to the status quo, which was costly for the Hats. At the 1765 riksdag, the Caps came to power. The traditional French connection was shaken by the failures in Pomerania, while also draining financial assets through war expenditures.

The economy had stagnated under Adolf Frederick's rule, caused by the Hats' mercantilist policies, war, and the loss of territory in the Baltic. The king has been regarded as weak, failing to retake the absolutist mantle in 1756 and 1768, or reclaim the Baltic holdings from Russia. There were hunger epidemics throughout the 1770s, despite the overall eighteenth-century output trends. The state was involved in these agricultural transformations, including implementing the *storskifte* beginning in 1749 and other partitions, applying pressures to the peasantry and landowners. The population rose gradually,

²⁷ Horn occupied the position of President of the Privy Council Chancellery from 1710–1719 and again from 1720–1738.

²⁸ Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter I and his second wife, seized power from the infant Ivan VI in 1741, who had been named successor by Empress Anna.

²⁹ Szabo (2007), p. 51.

along with production, aided by British influences and efforts by the state. The urban movement was limited, however, with the population dependent on agriculture and proto-industry and only slightly on manufacturing.

Agricultural production and exports were still comparatively lower than Britain; resources and guidance were sought from other sources.³⁰ British techniques were employed in some areas.³¹ The experiment of Eskilstuna *fristad* was established in 1771 as an attempt to increase production of metal wares and avoid guild control, for example. This was in contrast to earlier measures of limiting imports, especially in the 1730s.³² Despite wars and territorial losses, the agricultural and manufacturing sectors experienced some advancement. These pressures continued after the king's death in 1771, overlapping the enlightened despotism of the next ruler.

Combined with these long-term changes, there were additional attempts to regulate rural trade. A resolution in 1734 had established the rights of peasants in the countryside. Producers could sell their own goods, but were not entitled to buy produce for trade.³³ This was difficult to enforce in practice but the principle remained in place until 1789. Another example is the production of spirits. A total ban on home distilling was attempted in 1775, with many breaking the prohibition and continuing the debate.³⁴ Both economic and moral motivations were given, creating strain among the state, producers, and those that consumed spirits.³⁵

Sweden was generally not as underdeveloped in terms of economic production and political culture when contrast with Britain, although there were agricultural and constitutional struggles. Gustav III's bloodless coup in 1772 succeeded in strengthening the position of king. Crowned in 1771, he forced his despotism over the Estates. Despite this return to autocracy, ending the Age of Liberty, ideas of freedom still circulated. Gustav III was guided by principles of enlightened despotism, attempting the introduction of ideals of freer trade and cultural endeavours. The reduction of the Riksdag's power and the limiting of press freedoms in 1774 were not easily forgotten, however.³⁶ Externally, France and Russia were on opposing sides.³⁷ Sweden was once again supported by one and threatened by the other, respectively.

Although the peasantry existed on subsistence levels, the Swedish elites had expanding political and cultural knowledge. They circulated at the major courts, returning with new notions, including economic ideals. The state had to balance these two disparate groups, as the peasantry outnumbered the

³⁰ Morell (2013), p. 71; Magnusson (2000), p. 5.

³¹ Morell (2013), p. 71.

³² Magnusson (2000), p. 65.

³³ Magnusson (2000), p. 40.

³⁴ Vegesack (1995), p. 87.

³⁵ Olán (1922), pp. 56–59.

³⁶ Oscarsson (2000), pp. 144–45.

³⁷ Ramel (2004), p. 7.

elites. Britain faced similar tensions, extending to the colonial environment. Sweden was also between two of the other major players of the Seven Years' War: Russia and France. Prussia, Poland, and the colonial world were also examples of global participants. Britain had greater connections to North America and India than Sweden, however. British politics and culture were changing under these stresses. Advances gradually connected this society, transmitting the Industrial Revolution throughout the kingdom and outward to the rest of Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century.

3.1.3 Structure of the Chapter

This introduction has presented settings for Britain and Sweden in connection to selected global events; the Polish case, for example, was heavily focused on in the Swedish papers and influenced the order of international news. Newspapers and their developments are discussed in the next section. The third section analyzes the descriptions of economic matters, drawing on these historical and material frameworks. In the final subsection, the comparison of the two states is presented, preceding the conclusions.

3.2 Transforming Eighteenth-Century Publications

State, commercial, and private presses were all slowly evolving in terms of speed, reach, and content, but at differing rates. How the state provided its messages could only alter gradually due to the reliance on consistency for legitimacy. The pamphlets of the Enlightenment are considered to a degree in this section, partially for their intellectual contributions. These initial discussions are the backdrop for the more detailed sections about the *London Gazette*, the *Post-Tidningar* and the *Inrikes Tidningar*. Example issues are part of this section, although without images.

3.2.1 Confronting Press Restrictions with More News

Newspapers followed similar yet asynchronous trends throughout Europe.³⁸ Overall, papers run by commercial interests or intellectual groups began to change by the mid-eighteenth century. Competition increased, with more daily and nightly papers.³⁹ The idea of immediate information became crucial.⁴⁰ The evolution of German and French publications spread Enlightenment ideas, signifying a standard for most of Europe. Structures for discussions and cultural institutions for publication were established.⁴¹ There was an overall

³⁸ Boberg (1970), p. 26.

³⁹ Asquith (1978), pp. 98–116.

⁴⁰ Dooley (2010), p. 11.

⁴¹ Bödeker (1990), pp. 424–425.

turn towards domestic news due to the loosening of press restrictions.⁴² Local sources were more accessible when the state had less control. A new type of reasoning public with collective options for political involvement emerged in response.⁴³ This was not equal across the world, but states did influence their surrounding and associated areas.

The Seven Years' War was reported through some domestic connections, partially limiting reliance on the international diplomatic network. American Colonial newspapers focused on an established sense of history and duty to record each event.⁴⁴ These early newspapers delivered episodic stories connected to political practices.⁴⁵ Publications drove aspects of the American Revolution by spreading negative depictions of the British and creating a new political culture.⁴⁶ While not in control over all thoughts in the USA, George III had to deal with those issues. The circulation of information between North America and Britain was thus restricted during the Revolution. Other exchange channels were formed, returning to international sources as the domestic were once again constrained.

Balancing censorship and gossip was a constant problem. For example, Johann Friedrich Struensee's ascent to power in Denmark-Norway caused scandal. In 1770, he formally abolished already loosened censorship practices. The openness was thought to reveal greater truths, building stronger ties with the public. Consequently, the indecent activities of Struensee and Queen Caroline Matilda were widely published.⁴⁷ When he fell from power, controls were reinstated to prevent further criticisms. The events caused assessments of the representations of royals and press restrictions.

Distribution affected all manners of the press; transport improvements were for state resource ventures and only partially for communications.⁴⁸ Private correspondences, especially between elites and monarchs, disseminated intellectual discussions, but obstructions prevented wider distribution.⁴⁹ Material still reached countries with press regulations from outside sources, such as in France.⁵⁰ Editors of state-managed newspapers responded to the regime's wills along with these circulation circumstances. Early modern newspapers subverted editors, reporters, and translators under the regime, connected to the idea of the semi-public sphere.⁵¹ Over time, many loosened requirements for printed works, but this was a varied process in the 1770s.

⁴² Wilke (1987), pp. 156–158.

⁴³ Bödeker (1990), p. 425.

⁴⁴ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 100.

⁴⁵ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 49.

⁴⁶ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 85.

⁴⁷ Colaresi (2014), p. 129.

⁴⁸ Pettegree (2014), p. 321.

⁴⁹ Briggs & Burke (2009), pp. 82–83.

⁵⁰ For example, see: Darnton (1984).

⁵¹ Dean (2006), pp. 631–649.

3.2.2 Competition and Limits for the British Press

After the growth and standardization in the 1750s, publications in Britain developed in connection to both state and private interests. Booksellers had previously not been interested in newspaper investment.⁵² Advertisements, however, became profitable for book publishers as they could promote their other publications at relatively no cost in their own newsheets.⁵³ Political essays declined as commercial groups funded newspapers; they were resistant to risk their investments with controversy.⁵⁴ Consequently, poetry and book reviews were published more often.⁵⁵ By the rise of the daily paper in the mid-eighteenth century, however, political news and the freedom of the press debates returned.⁵⁶

As the presence of newspapers increased, forms of political journalism matured from earlier indifference and caution. John Wilkes, a parliamentarian and supporter of the American Revolution, founded the *North Briton* in 1761 and advocated press freedoms and reforms of parliament. Wilkes was critical of George III and was often arrested for his remarks. Prior to 1771, there were restrictions on parliamentary reporting for publications other than the *Gazette*. The punishment of issuers in the 1760s represented the state's denial of the access to official debates beyond the official paper.⁵⁷

These matters ended in dramatic fashion.⁵⁸ Wilkes, representatives of London, and members of Parliament were involved in a confrontation, including an assault on Prime Minister North. The incident started with the arrest of several printers for publishing parliamentary details; a mob formed, demanding the liberty of the city be upheld over perceived parliamentary corruption.⁵⁹ Other newspapers could now depict meetings of parliament, expanding the official role of the *Gazette*; the paper of record had to represent the legitimacy of the regime to an even greater degree.

Overall, the British press varied in its censorship and viability. Political motivations of printers increased, resulting in more exchanges.⁶⁰ Even the development of the provincial press and middle-class newspapers indirectly affected national events and state-controlled media.⁶¹ The *Gazette* faced wider competition when contrast with Sweden, requiring similar but also unique tactics in attracting and keeping readers.

⁵² Harris (1987), p. 196.

⁵³ Clarke (2004), p. 77.

⁵⁴ Clarke (2004), p. 78.

⁵⁵ Clarke (2004), p. 81.

⁵⁶ Clarke (2004), p. 87.

⁵⁷ Clarke (2004), p. 92.

⁵⁸ Clarke (2004), pp. 92–93.

⁵⁹ Clarke (2004), pp. 93.

⁶⁰ Read (1961), pp. 72–73.

⁶¹ Read (1961), pp. 206–207.

3.2.3 Censorship and Controlled Media in Sweden

The state editors used comparable language whether tied to an autocratic regime or during periods of more press freedoms. The *Post-Tidningar* had transitioned through similar phases already in the late 1740s.⁶² With the introduction of the *Inrikes Tidningar*, the state expanded its information-spreading strategy. When Gustav III curtailed press freedoms, the official newspapers kept using the same devices, again reflecting consistency.

Different publications provided more news when press freedoms were less restrictive.⁶³ Debates about freedom and secrecy started around the 1760s.⁶⁴ At the same time as the *överpostdirektör* was considering the domestic paper, Peter Momma had started both the French-language *Stockholm. Gazette* (sic) (1742–1758) and *Stockholms Wekoblads* (1745–1779).⁶⁵ Finland's first official newspaper, *Tidningar utgifne af et Sällskap i Åbo*, also began in 1771. *Överpostdirektör* Mathias Benzelstierna started the *Inrikes Tidningar* to compliment the *Post-Tidningar*.⁶⁶ As noted earlier, it was tasked with providing information about economic matters from the kingdom, as well as other domestic news. It also created a forum for building a common culture.⁶⁷ The *Inrikes*, although giving precedence to the royal court, depended on local parish-newsgathering networks. Before the return to formal autocracy, printing expanded, although not to the extent as Britain.

The death of Adolf Frederick did not immediately disrupt the type of news reported in the state papers. The editions reflected a sense of stability, signifying that there would be no dramatic changes. Both addressed it in identical articles not on the first page, but instead on middle pages.⁶⁸ The sorrow of the queen and issues of succession were described, showing how the regime wished the public to feel by dictating direct reactions. There were efforts to maintain reliability in the circulation and order of information, despite the significance of the king's death.

Popular papers also seized on the notoriety of political news and gossip growing elsewhere. There were parallels with Britain, although developments were rarely identical. Weeklies like *Den Historiske och Politiske Mercurius* and *Den Svenske Fatburen* documented historical events, as well as official protocols.⁶⁹ The paper *Nytt och Gammalt* produced more scandalous material, similar to other weeklies.⁷⁰ Political debate grew during the rifts between

⁶² Holmberg (2005), p. 100.

⁶³ Magnusson (2000), p. 68.

⁶⁴ Vegesack (1995), pp. 26–27.

⁶⁵ Oscarsson (2000), pp. 118–119.

⁶⁶ Oscarsson (2000), p. 118.

⁶⁷ Oscarsson (2005), pp. 156–158.

⁶⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 13, 14 Feb. 1771; *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 13, 14 Feb. 1771.

⁶⁹ Oscarsson (2000), pp. 148–149.

⁷⁰ Oscarsson (2000), p. 149.

the Hats and the Caps.⁷¹ As the attempts to limit criticism under Gustav III occurred, an editor of a disparaging pamphlet was arrested in 1772 for criticizing military discrimination and emphasizing the need for education for the economy.⁷² This relative progress of debate was curtailed when the press act was reformed in 1774.⁷³

Cultural and domestic news became important once press freedoms were limited. One of the papers competing with *Inrikes Tidningar* was the *Dagligt Allehanda*, Sweden's first consistent daily paper (1769–1849). Although it had international and local news, the paper also integrated poetry submissions.⁷⁴ This cultural element differentiated it from most other papers, although the *Inrikes* took on some qualities. The *Allehanda* ultimately lacked more political content when compared to *Inrikes*.⁷⁵ The turn towards more autocratic rule reduced the influence of the popular Swedish press and emphasized the importance of the state papers in both culture and politics.

3.2.4 Representative Editions from 1770–75

Despite differing typographically, all three papers exemplify prevailing trends for state-managed printing. This section breaks down an example issue of each paper, describing the order from front to back, portraying a typical paper I have selected. Form is the most comparable and consistent aspect of the papers. This shows what content was primarily associated with these genres, as well as the placement in the order. The section about economic matters draws on these outlines to indicate change and emphasis.

Each year had, on average, about 100 issues of each paper in both states. This varied due to major holidays. Issues were normally three to four pages. Occasionally, there were accompanying supplements or appendices. In Britain, additional pages elaborated on bills, or announced news from the royal court; some issues were up to twelve to sixteen pages.⁷⁶ The Swedish papers had additional pages that detailed auction dates or announcements from the king. Aesthetically, the *Gazette* had many typefaces, including Italic and a mixture of capitalized versions of the Roman typeface. The *Post-Tidningar* seldom had this aspect on its first page, but did include Italic and non-Gothic print on latter pages, especially with other languages.

There were international and domestic sections in both the *Post-Tidningar* and the *Gazette*, while the *Inrikes* had mainly domestic information.

⁷¹ Oscarsson (2000), p. 150.

⁷² Oscarsson (2000), pp. 153–155.

⁷³ Oscarsson (2000), p. 155.

⁷⁴ Oscarsson (2000), pp. 162–163.

⁷⁵ Oscarsson (2000), pp. 160–161.

⁷⁶ For example, issues published at the end of June 1774 were twelve pages long for two issues, and the final issue included sixteen pages. See: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11468, 21–25 June 1774; issue 11469, 25–28 June 1774; issue 11470, 28 June–2 July 1774.

The central item genres that were in the international sections are primarily article, proclamation and table genres. The domestic news has these as well, but also includes advertisement, notice, and letter genres.

London Gazette: December 1773

By 1770, the cost of an issue of the *London Gazette* was three pence. Issues that were longer than average increased in price; eight to twelve page sorts cost six pence in the first half of the decade, for instance. The printers of the paper were E. Owen and T. Harrison, at Warwick Lane, from the first issue in 1770 until July 1771. Starting July 6, 1771, Thomas Harrison was the only printer listed.⁷⁷ These papers were issued on a Tuesday or a Saturday; the Saturday edition included a grain-price table. Some events required publications on other days, but this was the general pattern.

For the *Gazette*, three item varieties generally started the majority of issues. First, news from Parliament or courts, with proclamations or notices, could begin an issue. Second, international news also started the publication, varying in the number of cities referenced. Third, minor offices were also typical, relaying messages related to the state but not as proclamations, such as judges or circuit announcements lists. The contents of these items were consistent, even after the 1771 change in parliamentary publication rights. The *Gazette* contained a great deal of domestic information, typical of societies with more press freedoms, balanced by the efforts of the state to create authority.⁷⁸ The contents and order changed mainly when there were disruptions, such as the American Revolution.

For a sample issue, I selected an edition published for a Saturday in December 1773.⁷⁹ This was to avoid some of the consequences of the Revolution. The masthead, with the number of the issue in the right-hand corner, started the first of four pages. Separated by two lines on either side, the text that followed read “Published by Authority,” together with the paper’s date.⁸⁰ These elements were in every issue, only modified with an extra publication. International news about Sweden followed the masthead in this example, about the wedding of Prince Charles. Separate paragraphs from Berlin and Hamburg followed. Only Stockholm’s place- and dateline were above its article, as it began the series.⁸¹

The next item was a proclamation with the St. James’s placeline, announcing an appointment to the Windsor Castle chapel.⁸² Proclamations like this usually

⁷⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11159, 6–9 July 1771. Along with the *Gazette*, these publishers also produced sermons and peace treaties.

⁷⁸ Wilke (1987), pp. 147–180.

⁷⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11414, 14–18 Dec. 1773.

⁸⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11414, 14–18 Dec. 1773.

⁸¹ For examples of another Swedish placeline see, for example: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11499, 4–8 Oct. 1774.

⁸² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11414, 14–18 Dec. 1773.

divided the international and domestic news. There were some mentions of foreign individuals or goods on latter pages, but there were rarely any news-focused items. These initial domestic pages generally had an order connected to the size of the office. Next, a minor office notice announced that a committee had been formed and bonds to be paid off with interest had been drawn.⁸³ This was a combined list and notice. A placeline began these types of items while an individual was named at the close. Greater attribution was required for minor offices, in instances like these.

The “Average Prices of Corn” or grain table was in the next column.⁸⁴ These were included in Saturday editions and were frequently on the first pages, until the tensions with the American colonies increased. I have discussed how tables are direct expression of economic matters, with separated inclusion and abstract representation of economic information, so this early placement is important for this initial time frame. Categories of inland counties, coastal counties, Wales, and parts of Scotland listed the prices for wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans. The grouping of minor office notices was split as the table had to be printed as one column, also typical of this time frame. While the contents of these tables are not directly examined, the categories and placements show how types of indirect exchanges were presented.

On the latter pages, an advertisement and notices related to individuals or firms divided the space. These are also considered domestic items, as they have a greater local focus over the national announcements on the earlier pages. “Dr. Anderson’s, or the Famous Scots Pills” represents a typical early advertisement, as noted in Chapter Two.⁸⁵ In other issues, it was repeated and moved to other pages. Finally, private notices ended this example as well as other similar issues. Repetition was also a factor for these items. These ranged from ending of partnerships, to the proving of debt by creditors, to details of bankruptcy sales. Issues also typically ended with a wanted debtors list, although this was not in this example. The *Gazette* had this relatively consistent order and content until 1775 when tensions in the colonies escalated, indicating reactions to the security of the state.

Post-Tidningar: January 1771

In order to avoid disruptive events as well, the samples from Sweden are from January 1771. This was prior to the death of the king in February and the coup in 1772. The papers after those events also generally echo the order discussed here, showing how consistency carried over after regime changes. Issue No. 3 of *Post-Tidningar* is examined,⁸⁶ along with No. 4 of *Inrikes Tidningar*.⁸⁷ Both

⁸³ The office was attributed to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Mercers of the City of London. Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11414, 14–18 Dec. 1773.

⁸⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11414, 14–18 Dec. 1773.

⁸⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11414, 14–18 Dec. 1773.

⁸⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 3, 10 Jan. 1771.

⁸⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1771.

were four pages. Using issues published concurrently highlights reciprocal items. Just as in the British case, international items are primarily article types, although there are also lists and tables.

The majority of content that was on the first pages of the *Post-Tidningar* was about Poland or Constantinople in the early 1770s. This aspect of international news connects to the narratives at the start of this chapter, using Poland as an example. Due to the delay of news, those events were discussed thoroughly despite intervals between the occurrences and publication. In the surveyed issue, the news from Constantinople was about an attack by Russian ships.⁸⁸ News of the Russo-Turkish War continued next, with the article from St. Petersburg discussing troop movements.⁸⁹ The two items had contrasting legitimacy; the Ottoman Empire item was noted as a rumour, while the Russian one lacked a formal mention of attribution.⁹⁰

London news was most often on the second or third pages. Parliament or the king was discussed first in the internal order in many issues. Britain received as much attention as other states, aside from Russian or Polish concerns. American colonial events appeared more often after 1773. In this example, several paragraphs below a single dateline covered many topics. First, Parliamentary discussions about the import of certain goods from Ireland and the West Indian colonies were presented in two paragraphs. These colonial and tax issues primarily concerned military funding; various politicians were named throughout, including Lord North, Lord Barrington, the Duke of Manchester, and others.⁹¹ Second, appointments by the king to the North ministry and the Hanoverian Privy Council were documented in two paragraphs. The third and final item explained flooding in Lincolnshire. In all, the news occupied nearly an entire page, the longest international entry. Paris, Altona, and Hamburg placelines ended the issue.

The latter pages of the *Post-Tidningar* included more domestic content. Before the ending notification pages, there was a brief notice from Stockholm; items placed here often announced the availability or vacancy of various positions. In this case, it involved the position of *överjagmästare*.⁹² The rest of the issue was devoted to various announcements, primarily seen as more private items, similar to the *Gazette*'s analysis. How to subscribe for 1771 was presented: payment could be made "in Johan Georg Lange's book box, on *Stora Nygata*."⁹³ The internal order of these final pages varied, but was typically led by items about book subscriptions or auctions. The final items of the issue were the Bankruptcy Disputes, similar to the *Gazette*.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 3, 10 Jan. 1771.

⁸⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 3, 10 Jan. 1771.

⁹⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 3, 10 Jan. 1771.

⁹¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 3, 10 Jan. 1771.

⁹² English: High Forestry Officer.

⁹³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 3, 10 Jan. 1771.

⁹⁴ Swedish: *Concurs-Twister*.

***Inrikes Tidningar*: January 1771**

More domestic items are discussed here due to the parochial focus of the *Inrikes*, contrasting the *Post-Tidningar*'s national and international attention. An unnumbered list began this example; it carried over information from a previous issue, continuing names and dates for the Winter Assembly from Jönköping.⁹⁵ Market prices from Nyköping were next in the form of a table, listed in *kopparmynt*.⁹⁶ These summary tables were often included at the start of the year. Prices and commodities from various towns, as well as currency listings from other states were the most common tables in the *Inrikes*.⁹⁷ There were also the people-type tables with census-like information. Illnesses, for example, had the number of sufferers, occasionally with additional explanations.⁹⁸ The lottery was also partially represented by small tables. Many tables had consistent placements in the order and standardized content.

The state did not allow direct disagreement but could suggest public participation in other ways. Although letters were referenced in the *Post-Tidningar*, those were dealing with the content's legitimacy rather than form. Letters were mentioned in the body of an article or as part of the placeline in those cases. Here, a letter was referred to as "sent in from the provinces."⁹⁹ Letters could also be questions and answers, sometimes with an attached name. Poorly built boats were referenced in this example in the first person, detailing what the author witnessed.¹⁰⁰

Two list examples continued the issue. The *Inrikes* had more everyday topics that were useful to many, but not necessarily the entire population. Here, this was the ship news, which was in nearly every issue; this version only noted two passengers. Passengers were listed with their departing or arriving locations, and sometimes with the goods they were transporting. A list of dates for meetings of judges with a Stockholm placeline was the second list. These items described actions or processes that existed in reality.

The *Trollhätte* Lottery was detailed in the next item. This table documented the highest earnings, starting on one page and continuing to the next. The lottery often appeared as various item genres, showing how the state encouraged participation through many strategies. The lists of deaths, marriages, and engagements from Stockholm and the provinces — another regular item — followed. The names, ages, occupations, and often locations of death were included. Both the lottery items and these early modern personal announcements had real-world or social components, similar to the ship news list or judge announcements.

⁹⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1771. Swedish: *Winter-Ting*. This list continued in subsequent issues as well.

⁹⁶ This type of standard would be abolished in 1776.

⁹⁷ Swedish: *Markegångstaxa* and *gångbare pris*; *Växelkursen*.

⁹⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 10, 4 Feb. 1771.

⁹⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1771.

¹⁰⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1771.

As in other issues, the currency exchange table was presented before the notifications. This was sometimes published on specific days of the week, but had limited consistency at this point, unlike the grain table in the *Gazette*. This was an expression of currency trading, listing a number of states and the value of their specie in Swedish terms. The subsequent notifications had the *Post-Tidningar* format, although there were more sales offers in the domestic paper. There were also more propositions for employment or those seeking work.

The two papers published interrelated domestic information. There were also instances when an item was repeated in both. A property was for sale in Södermanland in these two example issues. The amount of land and forest, as well as the work required “at your own cost,” was described.¹⁰¹ The two items had identical content and formatting but placed inversely in the order of each. Overall, the state supported its role as the official voice by building upon its own efforts of legitimacy in two issues.

The contents of the papers represent the historical circumstances of the early 1770s; there were tensions in Poland and the Ottoman Empire, while North America also grew in significance. While less influential when contrasted with Britain, the Swedish state still provided local and international occurrences, even when presses were restricted. Although there were notices about local sales on the closing pages of the *Post-Tidningar*, very little news from the kingdom was on the starting pages. The focus reflected the concerns of the state and the dominating international news of the period. With the advent of the *Inrikes Tidningar*, the state established what sort of domestic news it thought it should provide. This creates a more complete image of Sweden, showing both an international focus and everyday representations.

3.2.5 Equilibrium between Domestic and International

The description of the newspapers shows how the numerous parts of the newspapers are classified according to the total view I use. The state used order and content to express its ideals, in addition to the forms of the items. Order reflected importance for the entire kingdom and legitimacy-defining devices emphasized trustworthiness in the content. Some variations to the international order and content occurred during times of disruption, while the forms were consistent. At least one of the three aspects had to be maintained for the state’s effectiveness.

3.3 Economic News from Empire to Potatoes

There are four parts of this analysis section. Britain is presented first and Sweden second. The British perspective of Sweden and the Swedish view of

¹⁰¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 3, 10 Jan. 1771; *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1771.

Britain are discussed third. Descriptions of economic matters are presented in three contexts: the political, social, and finally economic matters. These more separate aspects close the British section and start the Swedish section to show contrasts. The discussions of objects, practices, ideas, and discourses are integrated throughout. This reflects how economic matters can be observed in all areas, to varying degrees. Although the sections are labelled as the political or social elements, some discussions of the other value realms are noted there as well, showing how they were interrelated.

3.3.1 Politics, Deluded Rebels, and Sugar in Britain

George III was a converging point for all of the value realms, as well as the centre of the semi-public sphere. Speeches associated with him had economic matters, but these were grounded in political and national contexts. Materials for all of Britain are essentially the most political, with some social implications. The state needed to use the most effective methods of conveying power; proclamations and articles with authority figures represent this. The functions of the state were primarily described with the figure of the king. As the statuses of politicians were changing, the prime minister also took on some symbolic qualities, while staying politically central.

Economic and Political News near the American Revolt

The attendance of the king to grant ascension to bills was crucial to the political process.¹⁰² This type of content was consistently placed first and had an unchanging form as a proclamation. These were the most dependable and the devices connected his legitimate actions to the functions of the kingdom. The king, whether personally present or mentioned as approving the proceedings, was the central figure.¹⁰³ Most often he was “pleased to give the royal assent to” the acts.¹⁰⁴ While these acts were printed in italics, the king’s ceremonial arrival was offset in non-italics.¹⁰⁵ These styled descriptions represented the state’s role in underscoring matters for public attention. It was presented directly, with references to Parliament and others involved in the speech, indicating that it was official.

These list proclamations have some general characteristics. Each act was separated and summarized. Formal and consistent descriptions legit-

¹⁰² Muir (1997), p. 248

¹⁰³ In an example from 1771, the king came “to the House of Peers, and being in his royal robes seated on the throne with the usual solemnity” and sent a message to those assembled in the House. Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11142, 7–11 May 1771. In an example from 1773, however, the House of Lords were only given a message regarding the acts, rather than having the king in person. See, for example: issue 11342, 6–10 April 1773.

¹⁰⁴ For example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11142, 7–11 May 1771. This is a common phrase in these types of proclamations throughout the time period.

¹⁰⁵ These initial sentences could also include emphasized portions in another typeface. This switching of typefaces was sometimes the opposite of this italic/non-italic order.

imized the decisions. The present members of either House were acknowledged, although few were directly named. With the presence of these figures, the information was also made legitimate. There was, however, the potential for these actions to be problematic when put in practice, indicated by the use of ceremonial language.

Matters descended from the national to the local level, although this internal order was rarely firm. When economic matters are mentioned in these acts they are political due to the location, association, and intentions for a broad public since they were discussed in Parliament with the king present. They establish an economic discourse, which also includes expressions of practices, objects, and ideas. In an example from April 1773, royal assent was given to several acts related to economic matters. These included: the extension of “an act for the better preservation of timber trees,” “a further sum of money for the purpose of rebuilding the common goal of the County of Essex,”¹⁰⁶ “establishing one or more glass manufactories within the Kingdom of Great Britain,” “for paving, lighting, and cleansing, the streets, lanes, and places” in a town in Sussex, acts for “enlarging the term, and varying the powers” of earlier decisions of the king regarding road repair in various counties, and other acts of similar topics; finally, “twenty-five private bills” ended this example item.¹⁰⁷

These acts represent resource management, an important economic discourse for the state. Both the qualities of the king and the contents connected the people to real-world benefits. Even though the information spread the ideals of the state’s resource management, the focus was also on the unifying role of the king. As much as he was one of many symbolic characters during the parliamentary process, this link also emphasized a political association. Here, the form of these proclamations and the initial placement show the national significance.

A number of economic practices are subsumed in these acts. Practices are the most important category after discourses in these proclamations. There was a future action with economic matters as a goal, although only some had a monetary amount. For instance here, there are contrasts between the descriptions of tree preservation and establishing glass manufactories due to the mention of money.¹⁰⁸ These types of acts did not frequently include an exact monetary value concerning the plan. The state limited potential damage to its reputation by not committing to a sum. Common phrases used were “a certain fund,”¹⁰⁹ or a “certain sum of money,”¹¹⁰ or a “competent sum of money” with parliamentary acts.¹¹¹ If the investments were reduced or exceeded, the state’s reputation would be weakened.

¹⁰⁶ A goal is a boundary.

¹⁰⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11342, 6–10 April 1773.

¹⁰⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11342, 6–10 April 1773.

¹⁰⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11142, 7–11 May 1771.

¹¹⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11254, 2–6 June 1772.

¹¹¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11352, 11–15 May 1773.

When an amount was listed, it was not for these practices related to early industrial or county management contexts. Exact amounts were instead connected more often to bank and trade elements, or to satisfy dissent. This shows that the state was considering how to treat particular groups. Banking and trading practices extended to groups beyond the state's control. For instance, in 1774 "an act for redeeming the sum of one million of the capital stocks of three pounds per centum annuities [...] for establishing a lottery" was about a recognized sum, attached to the state for a clear function.¹¹² An amount was also named for an act of "public works," but this amount had been "granted" by "the last session of parliament," so it was already instituted.¹¹³ In another instance, the exact amount of "the inland duty of one shilling" would be removed from "black and *singlo* teas consumed in Britain."¹¹⁴ The decision came out of "doubts and disputes" from a previous act of tea regulation.¹¹⁵ Details were needed to promote the resolutions' legitimacy.

When observed in these acts, economic objects are not noted in terms of fiscal scarcity and are instead politicized. Objects, like practices, are depicted like this due to external factors; they were also part of a broader state discourse. The political meaning often overtook the economic relevance. Things like "foreign wrought silks and velvets" or "live cattle and other flesh provisions" had qualities of foreignness or corporeality in acts about regulating their imports or exports.¹¹⁶ Another item type included practices and objects like this. The Navy Office and the Victualling Office, for example, were consistently mentioned in notices offering contracts for those "willing to supply" ships with services or items.¹¹⁷ In an item from 1771, the Navy Office requested "fir boat oars, from sixteen to twenty-two feet long, on a standing contract."¹¹⁸ The contract was a real-world object that could not be broken without consequences. The state as both a parliamentary decider and military overseer, presented matters similarly to avoid inconsistencies.

Some acts were framed with additional calls for loyalty when speeches were attached. In another example from May 1771, also printed first, several more managing acts were listed. These concerned raising money in a lottery, the repairing of harbours, the prevention of counterfeiting copper coins, and the "support and establishment of the Greenland and whale fishery" among other acts.¹¹⁹ Part of one act was a collection of names; it outlined individuals who would be prevented from voting or influencing future elections, due

¹¹² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11468, 21–25 June 1774.

¹¹³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11146, 21–25 May 1771.

¹¹⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11236, March 31–4 April 1772.

¹¹⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11236, March 31–4 April 1772.

¹¹⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11142, 7–11 May 1771.

¹¹⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11236, March 31–4 April 1772.

¹¹⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11110, 15–19 Jan. 1771.

¹¹⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11142, 7–11 May 1771.

to corruption in New Shoreham.¹²⁰ A “most gracious” speech from the king closed the item, announcing the end of the session and mentioning efforts to “preserve the general tranquillity of Europe” with Spain and France.¹²¹ There were instructions for the public to support “our excellent constitution” and warned that they should look at violators “as their most dangerous enemies.”¹²² The standard acts were within a call for loyalty during crises, still noting sustained decision-making of economic matters.

By the end of the period, attention shifted towards the American Revolution and away from these basic state functions. As the two sections that began this chapter noted, this change was temporary and mainly influenced the order of the items. There were some minor changes to forms, as additional and larger tables of people were printed, emphasizing support. Loyalty and political stability were stressed by this ordering in the reaction to the Revolution.

There was initial opposition to the actions against the colonists, including references to economic matters. In an address to the king, followed by a proclamation in return, representatives from the city of London offered objections. Although the petitioners emphasized political issues, related to “liberties” and “constitutional rights,” some economic ideas were referenced.¹²³ The actions created “a deep, and perhaps fatal, wound to commerce; the ruin of manufactures; the diminution of revenue, and consequent increase of taxes” as well as “the alienation of the colonies; and the blood of your Majesty’s subjects.”¹²⁴ These connected phrases indicated worry about the rebellion from a political and economic perspective in both Britain and the colonies. As ideas, these had added descriptions, in this case noting their negative effects.

The address from the king that followed gave brief but strong assurances. Political and economic ideas are also observed. He had “the utmost astonishment” that any of his subjects were “capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition” in North America.¹²⁵ The king had the “confidence” in Parliament and the “great council of the nation” that there would be a solution.¹²⁶ The actions supported both the “constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdom.”¹²⁷ In parliamentary acts passed shortly after, the “trade and commerce of the colonies” would be refrained.¹²⁸ An additional act approved “better payment of the army and their quarters” for “his majesty’s marine forces in America.”¹²⁹

¹²⁰ This was the Christian Society. See the New Shoreham entry in Namier & Brooke (1964).

¹²¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11142, 7–11 May 1771.

¹²² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11142, 7–11 May 1771.

¹²³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11551, 8–11 April 1775.

¹²⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11551, 8–11 April 1775.

¹²⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11551, 8–11 April 1775.

¹²⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11551, 8–11 April 1775.

¹²⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11551, 8–11 April 1775.

¹²⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11552, 11–15 April 1775.

¹²⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11551, 8–11 April 1775.

Confidence in the king and the central idea of commerce was assured, while the additional acts represented the political and economic solutions to the uprisings. The threat towards the colony's economic matters included the idea of "security of the commerce of my subjects" from the king.¹³⁰

Many later addresses to the king, however, lacked responses, especially as the Revolution progressed. Proclamations and notices against the colonies from various councils, regiments, and other groups described the "anarchy" and "rebellion."¹³¹ In December 1775, a notice declared the "inviolable allegiance and loyalty" to the king "at a time when rebellion has erected her standard in the distant provinces of your Empire."¹³² The conflicts of the Seven Years' War were referenced, describing British support.¹³³ After this item, five additional pages of notices issued loyalty.¹³⁴ Extensive name lists after each declaration were included. The war office reports were printed after these addresses, as well as the grain table and international news.¹³⁵ To emphasize these expressions, the regular items were pushed back.

Economic ideas and loyalty are linked in other items. In an example from Lancaster, their "gratitude" came from how that the king stimulated the "populous, commercial, and manufacturing county."¹³⁶ These ideas are linked to the proclamations' political solutions, suggesting that working together for the king was positive. The "deluded people" were violating "your majesty, and the only rightful legislative body."¹³⁷ From Dundee, an address stated, "our trade has yet suffered nothing by the American ports being shut against us."¹³⁸ The "cordiality and commerce, which should subsist between the mother country and her colonies" was violated.¹³⁹

Political matters, such as upheaval, could be solved through military solutions in addition to the political rhetoric and economic threats.¹⁴⁰ Increasing military funding was important for political loyalty and economic benefits. The rebels' actions were generally downplayed, emphasizing the king's role and promises. Even with opposition, the king was represented as knowing best in political and economic matters. Proclamations praising him were emphasized in the order, framing all of the values.

¹³⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11514, Nov. 29–3 Dec. 1774.

¹³¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11611, 4–7 Nov. 1775; issue 11612, 7–11 Nov. 1775.

¹³² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11622, 12–16 Dec. 1775.

¹³³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11622, 12–16 Dec. 1775.

¹³⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11622, 12–16 Dec. 1775.

¹³⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11622, 12–16 Dec. 1775.

¹³⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11620, 5–9 Dec. 1775.

¹³⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11620, 5–9 Dec. 1775.

¹³⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11611, 4–7 Nov. 1775.

¹³⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11622, 12–16 Dec. 1775.

¹⁴⁰ Rodger (2004), p. 330.

In addition to the political control exemplified in speeches from the king — part of the proclamation genre — other types interactions were also represented. These indicate an awareness of his subjects' social problems. Examples of addresses to the king with his responses were printed consistently, although limited during some stages of the American Revolution. These interactions resemble a letter, although the royal reply makes it more of a proclamation. These combined item types illustrate why counting specific items would not represent the contents accurately; these depend on content over form in cases. In an example from 1771, the king was promoted over the “arbitrary House of Commons” as the submission attempted to persuade him into solving property concerns in London.¹⁴¹ The king declared, however, that he “cannot comply” to the request.¹⁴² In this case, the economic idea of property ownership is also a political issue. The publication of the letter revealed some of the unrest aimed at Parliament; the response by the king, however, affirmed the legitimacy of the regime and the totality of the state. The item was first, before international news, indicating its significance for the king's image and the topic.

Rather than actively expressing public opinion, other types of letters highlight the conformity desired by the state regarding certain societal norms. Economic ideas and practices, in this sense, are also observed with maintaining social order and establishing forms of political legitimacy. A common occurrence was the publication of letters threatening high-ranking individuals, like those linked to the Bank of England. These were grounded in political motivations on the part of the state to control social order, using economic ideas for further legitimacy. In September 1772, the Secretary of the Bank of England supposedly received a letter that threatened to have his family “ruined.”¹⁴³ This letter blamed the secretary for an accusation against a forger rather than anything related to the direct legitimacy of the bank. The item moves away from the political realm, towards the social.

Social and Economic Connections with Political Touches

The paper not only reported economic matters, but also took part in them by reproducing letters, responses, and the previously discussed exchanges with the king. Economic ideas in letters are connected to the social realm, primarily linked to rewards or punishment. A series of letters from March 1772 exemplifies this.¹⁴⁴ These were on the first page, indicating importance. The letters were received by “Mr. Wince, of Newbury in Berkshire” and then published verbatim, according to the statement of “viz.”¹⁴⁵ The reproduced

¹⁴¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11160, 9–13 July 1771.

¹⁴² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11160, 9–13 July 1771.

¹⁴³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11285, 19–22 Sept. 1772. In typical early modern newspaper form, the author continued to correspond, through an additional letter. For another example, see: issue 11287, 26–29 Sept. 1772.

¹⁴⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11233, 21–24 March 1772.

¹⁴⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11233, 21–24 March 1772.

threat stated that “the gentelmen (sic) Donte make a god of your mony (sic)” and then proceeded to threaten damnation and to burn down the receiver’s house.¹⁴⁶ The authors were warned of prison for their actions, while the person that notified the authorities was offered a reward of one hundred pounds.¹⁴⁷ The mentions of money and the reward are analyzed as economic ideas rather than objects, as they lack a specific notion outside the newspapers. The idea was more focused on social meaning than economic matters. Maintaining social order and responding to the authorities was a potential and important reward, possibly increasing both economic and symbolic worth.

Letters, in general, were often published in the order they were received — if there were several — and responses were included. These detailed events that occurred over a long period of time. How the letter was delivered or the material it was written on was regularly noted, signifying real-world qualities. Regarding letters about criminals, the descriptions between the items often recounted how, if apprehended, they would be punished. There was no opinion and no direct interaction between the printer and the writer other than this commentary; the threat was published to shame and bring about the apprehension of the author or authors in the cases of threatening letters, for example. Using economic ideas or practices connected crimes or violations to long-term fiscal punishment, which differed from corporal or capital punishment. Even if all members of the public might not recognize or respect the social aspects, the real world was indicated by economic loss.

Another example of interactions relates to the Church of England, religion, and moral threats against state and society.¹⁴⁸ Although this example lacks economic matters, it shows the integration of religion into the political and social conception. An example of this concerned the “spirit of frivolous dissipation and ruinous profusion, of disrespect to superiors, and contempt of lawful authority” that had “made an alarming progress in this nation, and present a very gloomy prospect to every serious and considerate mind.”¹⁴⁹ It praised the king, clergy, constitution, and Christianity.¹⁵⁰ The response extolled the “endeavours to discourage this pernicious tendency to irreligion (sic)” and claimed “to maintain the Church of England as by law established, as well as the religious and civil rights of all my people.”¹⁵¹ Religion and the military were linked mainly to political decisions, but had some social aspects depending on genre or order.

Tables about the military had changes in use during times of war. Inventories of the dead or volunteers of loyalty have both stronger social and political

¹⁴⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11233, 21–24 March 1772. This was a common threat.

¹⁴⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11233, 21–24 March 1772.

¹⁴⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11530, 24–28 Jan. 1775.

¹⁴⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11530, 24–28 Jan. 1775.

¹⁵⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11530, 24–28 Jan. 1775.

¹⁵¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11530, 24–28 Jan. 1775.

meaning over standard promotion lists that were regularly published. The expanded table form or lists of this content reflect reactions during times of war. Announcements of holy days and related services, including appointments of preachers and their locations, caused cyclical changes in the order, since holidays — even unplanned days of thanksgiving — were regular occurrences. Prior to the extensive military personnel and supporters' listings in 1775, the majority of these types of tables were about promotions, elections, or other announcements. The *Gazette* printed the preachers for Lent on the first page in 1770 in a table rather than an article or list, for example.¹⁵² The appointed sheriffs and judges were also political with consistent forms as tables.¹⁵³ Although not related to economic matters, these items show the form and order changes of other typical topics.

The majority of the items I described in the political section were on the initial pages of the paper. Economic matters were mentioned throughout, although depictions of everyday occurrences were printed towards the close of issues. Unlike war, rebellions, and trade, the state had less direct control over these types of social functions. They did, however, still emphasize oversight. I have chosen the lottery as an example of how I note economic matters in this social realm, with connections to the political. It was, after all, a tool for generating funds and part of the state's voice. Horse racing was also common; it was in various genres but not mentioned as frequently.¹⁵⁴

The lottery was a social practice, explained partially with economic ideas and distributing economic objects. These elements in the social realm required aspects of repetition that differed from the political. The benefits to the state and to the entrants were indicated while the king was distanced. By publishing the lottery in all item forms and throughout the order, the legitimacy was thus dependent on the content and repetition rather than form. Since many economic matters were also expressed like this, the relationship between them and the social had multiple sites of negotiation and overlap.

The state controlled various lotteries, ultimately profiting from sales while also concurrently passing off direct duties, limiting potential criticisms. In an example from 1770, the “scheme for the lottery” presented the prizes available, where the tickets could be purchased, and the date for the draw.¹⁵⁵ This item began the part of the paper that I term as forms of early modern advertisements: sales of Dr. Anderson's pills, announcement of the Salisbury Races, and Dr. Collett's anti-arthritis powder.¹⁵⁶ The lottery was steered by

¹⁵² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11017, Feb. 10–13, 1770.

¹⁵³ For example: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11154, 18–22 June 1771.

¹⁵⁴ For examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11126, 12–16 March 1771 for the king offering sums for running of King's Plate horse race. See also: issue 11332, 2–6 March 1773; issue 11439, 12–15 March 1774.

¹⁵⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11049, 5–9 June 1770.

¹⁵⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11049, 5–9 June 1770.

the Hazard and Company Stock Brokers;¹⁵⁷ naming another organization distanced it from the crown. While the agency is not important here, this mention of early modern stock transactions shows a connection with the social realm and real-world meetings. There needed to be a physical interaction to purchase these elements. The blanks and promissory notes were real-world economic objects, handled in an economic practice. The social elements are connected to the placement amongst other advertising-type items. Government securities were also exchanged at the agency and they were situated at the State Lottery Office, showing additional ties.

When the lottery involved the king, the economic matters were more related to the political realm than the social. For example, the king gave assent to an act that granted “a certain sum of money to be raised by lottery,” an example of many acts related to the topic.¹⁵⁸ By introducing the lottery to the king’s benefit, the political legitimacy of the draws in subsequent issues was created at the outset. The later social elements drew on this, but moved away from the king in case his reputation could be damaged by poor results for the purchasers. Economic matters were more negative away from the court.

Purchasing lottery blanks involved both a social and economic practice that needed to be legitimate, even if distanced from the king. For the 1771 state lottery, a notice from the managers and directors was printed.¹⁵⁹ Here, a negative economic practice was connected to the political in order to emphasize its validity. The item, signed by Edward Johnson by the order of “the managers and directors,” conveyed that those directors “think it proper to warn all persons who might otherwise be drawn in to [...] any private lotteries here or in Ireland will be prosecuted with the utmost severity.”¹⁶⁰ The warning was supported by quoting the act of parliament that prevented the selling of private tickets or the reselling of public blanks.¹⁶¹ There is a convergence of values in items like these that attempted to rectify wrongs.

A notice type example also included the lottery and proper conduct.¹⁶² The state expected the public to be aware of the penalties of violating social norms, connected to economic objects and practices. As was common, a judicial notice was printed on the third page of a four-page issue in 1772.¹⁶³ The item discussed a court case regarding the state lottery of 1769 involving “the suit of Thomas Underwood, gent., against Richard Richardson, broker and lottery-office keeper, to recover the value of one-sixty-fourth share of a ticket in the State Lottery of the year 1769.”¹⁶⁴ The rewards of a ticket and the

¹⁵⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11049, 5–9 June 1770.

¹⁵⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11142, 7–11 May 1771.

¹⁵⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11196, 12–16 Nov. 1771.

¹⁶⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11196, 12–16 Nov. 1771.

¹⁶¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11196, 12–16 Nov. 1771.

¹⁶² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11224, 18–22 Feb. 1772.

¹⁶³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11224, 18–22 Feb. 1772.

¹⁶⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11224, 18–22 Feb. 1772.

effectiveness of the state were involved in the court system and resolving the case, connecting political, economic, and social values.

The paper was part of the economic practices involved in settling debt. It represented a printed space where the state interacted with the public, although the semi-public sphere limited the degree of mutual involvement. Besides assigning and maintaining social order, the debtors' list also brought negative private economic matters public. These individual disputes, to be settled outside the press, were not mentioned before the items of national and international importance at the beginning of the papers. The lists of debtors and fugitives in the *Gazette* had some of the characteristics of letters, establishing certain social ideals and representing types of interactions. The paragraphs identifying debtors and creditors, as well as lists of fugitives, were consistently formatted and often repeated over time. Financial punishment is an economic idea connected to a practice of paying or creating the debt outside the paper; the external practices were documented mainly to benefit the creditors and the state. Notices established deadlines for routines, such as for "creditors who have not already proved their debts," as well as for the debtors to "make a full discovery and disclosure of [...] estate and effects."¹⁶⁵ Other notices informed about postponements of meetings,¹⁶⁶ or sought information about those who might be indebted to the deceased.¹⁶⁷

Other social identifiers were also common. The fugitive list linked individuals to their occupations. Not repaying debt damaged both social and economic standings; the paper emphasized this by repeating names and descriptions of situations. This fits into the ideals of the social realm that involved reciprocal economic matters; individuals had to prove or repay debts outside the printed world, comprising economic practices. The negativity of these items was connected to the state's ultimate political, social, and economic authority, punishing debtors or rewarding those indebted.

Separating Economic Matters and Foreign Goods

Tables represent the majority of separate or separating economic matters in the *Gazette*. The state supplied the information and determined the placement so the connection to the political realm remained. The social function of the average table was to provide prices for the conduct of economic practices. Practices are observed through direct references to an action, as well as with an awareness of modern uses. Tables also included economic objects with a defined scarcity value. This was either in monetary form, or the amount available. The state could not control every aspect of prices or supply, but could direct the placement and form of tables.

Over time, sugar was described with a table, although it started as another item type. Descriptions of economic matters changed the most when they

¹⁶⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11454, 3–7 May 1774.

¹⁶⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11454, 3–7 May 1774.

¹⁶⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11557, April 29–2 May 1775.

were later constructed consistently as another item form. Sugar and other materials were noted for sale, showing the popularity of colonial goods. Initially, it was a notice type, described as being for sale through the Custom House along with ginger, aloes, coffee, and other goods.¹⁶⁸ It was also “for home consumption” with “other grocery” in the longer customs notices with multiple dealers.¹⁶⁹ Through these items, the state relayed information from additional sources, with the name of the company or locations of the sales. Other than the state presenting it, the economic matter was a relatively separate topic.

By 1775, the sugar table was used more often, indicating a greater certainty in the supply, as well as changes in thinking.¹⁷⁰ In one example, the amount of casks of various other goods, like ginger, aloes, coffee, and cocoa, were presented as lines after a breakdown of sugar prices as a table. Nine sugar-producing colonies were listed, ranging from Barbados to Grenada, with the amounts in hogsheads, tierces, or barrels.¹⁷¹ The table for “Ellison’s mineral water warehouse” was similar to this type of sugar table, including varieties of waters, printed occasionally.¹⁷² While prices for these goods were on the middle or last pages, proclamations relating to quarantines or shipping difficulties were printed on the first pages.¹⁷³ The discourse involving trade was communicated on a broader level than these smaller practices and regional trade discourses. These external aspects, although not with the tables, could influence investment, but were part of the state’s set of political and social responsibilities for the entire kingdom.

The grain table’s inclusion shows that the state had responsibility to report events not directly related to the king, although the order was still influenced by political events. I see a table as a sort of economic discourse, in this sense. The average table was published consistently, although its placement was dependent on its content and the context of the time. As noted earlier, the grain table was often printed on the first page, typically every Saturday. This changed when tensions increased with the American colonies, reflecting the political emphasis of the paper and reactions to crises. For tables, the repeated usage established a prolonged conversation, carrying the information about economic objects into other settings.

Contrasted with the placement of sugar on the latter pages, the grain prices were more important due to the frequent publication on the first page. For example, in January 1771, the grain table was published on the initial page,

¹⁶⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11110, Jan. 15–19, 1771. For an example with indigo and cocoa, see: issue 11266, 14–18 July 1772.

¹⁶⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11125, 9–12 March 1771.

¹⁷⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11528, 17–21 Jan. 1775.

¹⁷¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11531, 28–31 Jan. 1775.

¹⁷² For examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11143, 11–14 May 1771; issue 11467, 18–21 June 1774; issue 11560, 9–13 May 1775.

¹⁷³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11531, 28–31 Jan. 1775.

opposite the announcement of the queen's birthday.¹⁷⁴ The table was in a similar position later that month, but with updated information for January 19, 1771.¹⁷⁵ Another table was included with the international missives on the first page, summarizing prices from October with updated content.¹⁷⁶ The sugar supply, like mineral water, was easily disrupted and made up of luxury economic objects; tables with new or difficult to acquire economic objects were not emphasized because the supplies were unreliable.

3.3.2 Good Intentions and a Day's Work in Sweden

While the death of King Adolf Frederick was a significant political and social event, the two papers remained concentrated on regular occurrences. The economic focus of the *Inrikes Tidningar* explains why it was not altered. In an issue from Feb. 28, 1771, distributed just over two weeks after the king's death, the market rates in Malmö for the previous year and a list about household management in Växjö were published on the first page.¹⁷⁷ Both dealt with economic matters that defined local practices, while the table was part of the state's trade discourse, spreading prices across the kingdom. The death of the king did not disrupt either because the order and content did not change.

Economic Matters and the Domestic Perspective

When various types of tables were not included or delayed, other articles or proclamations made references to information "with regards to the tables."¹⁷⁸ The market price table genre I previously mentioned is one example. Its placement, no matter the town, was consistently on the first page or the second page, after starting on the first and being continued. As agriculture and local market selling were crucial for survival and were regulated, they were communicated in succinct forms. These described practices carried out over a period of time, part of the state's discourse of organizing and maintaining resources. Long-term continuity was needed to sustain the actions and the related concepts. The form of the items needed to be consistent and recognizable, even if the placement shifted occasionally. The Gothenburg East India Company tables were also typical first-page items.¹⁷⁹ Market tables were regularly included, although fewer were printed as tables in 1773 during the adjustments after the coup. These were lists in a paragraph form, placed on latter pages.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11110, 15–19 Jan. 1771.

¹⁷⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11114, Jan. 29–2 Feb. 1771.

¹⁷⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11192, Oct. 29–2 Nov. 1771.

¹⁷⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 17, 28 Feb. 1771.

¹⁷⁸ For examples, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 1 Jan. 1770; No. 12, 8 Feb. 1770. The phrase could refer to the market tables, as well as population changes.

¹⁷⁹ For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 21, 14 March 1774; No. 44, 9 June 1774.

¹⁸⁰ For an example from Stockholm, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 4 Jan. 1773; For Mariestad: No. 3, 11 Jan. 1773; For Nyköping starting on the first page: No. 4, 14 Jan. 1773.

These tables also communicated an economic idea of a standardized price for market goods as economic objects. These were affirmed with each publication. Items ranged from raw goods, to clothing or livestock, as well as prices of various types of work. Work, in this form, is viewed like an economic object that has scarcity and cost, while also conveying changing ideas and practices of service. Like other objects in the tables, a natural origin was indicated. In an example from Uppsala, the compensation for “an annual day’s work” was listed when it could not be reimbursed in kind or *in natura*.¹⁸¹ This was an average of the other work, made up of sending a person, sending animals, or helping with construction.¹⁸² In another instance from Nyköping, it was limited to the amount of work for a specific land register rate.¹⁸³ From these examples, both naturally and humanly generated ideas of work were given prices like objects.

A day’s work was also related to costs or rewards. Work brought people together for collective success; this is observed in a description of construction.¹⁸⁴ In another example, a lengthy excerpt of a letter referred to hunting strategies; the author wrote in a first-person narrative about how a previous letter from Västmanland requested hunting information from a neighbouring province,¹⁸⁵ after a number of wolves and foxes had been killed the previous season.¹⁸⁶ The resource use for various hunts in Upland was criticized, with the author noting that “a beautiful morning does not always foretell a beautiful day, and good intentions do not always promise positive outcomes.”¹⁸⁷ The idea of a day’s work was brought up to point out the wasteful costs of these expeditions by the *överjagmästare*, as the wolf hunts instead killed other game. The letter noted that “at least 1,000 people in the past days have been employed, representing 6,000 days’ work, which could have been used far more suitably; thus, these hares are very expensive.”¹⁸⁸ This item communicated a critical division of resources; organizing something wasteful was damaging. Work, like other objects, was a product of nature; as an idea, it had positive or negative qualities. The descriptions of practices generated these two aspects.

The amount of workers was addressed similarly in other examples. The state was also trying to accumulate opinions about comprehensive subjects through the papers. In a 1770 case, the state responded to a question about a

¹⁸¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 3, 8 Jan. 1770. For later examples from Uppsala, see: No. 2, 7 Jan. 1771; No. 1, 2 Jan. 1772; No. 2, 5 Jan. 1775.

¹⁸² For an example from Falun, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 6, 18 Jan. 1770; For Västerås, see: No. 7, 22 Jan. 1770; For Nora, see: No. 9, 29 Jan. 1770. Some of the terms used are: *ök* (English: ploughing with yoke); *dränge* (English farmhand help); *hjälp* (English: help constructing buildings).

¹⁸³ Swedish: *jordboks dagsverke*. This was determined through resolutions in 1684, 1685, and 1766, showing that the idea took shape over time.

¹⁸⁴ In an item from Ystad, for example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 4, 11 Jan. 1770.

¹⁸⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 45, 11 June 1770.

¹⁸⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 51, 2 July 1770.

¹⁸⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 51, 2 July 1770.

¹⁸⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 51, 2 July 1770.

how to rectify a labour shortage.¹⁸⁹ An anonymous author was included with a submitted letter and answer; the situation affected the entire kingdom.¹⁹⁰ A central point was how to phrase the question: “how shall Sweden, which suffers a lack of workers, make the best use of its population?”¹⁹¹ Using this economic idea furthers the economic discourse around resource division. Since the author was anonymous, it represented anyone in the kingdom; he or she was thereby brought closer to the court through economic discourses and ideas, while the state avoided taking direct responsibility, just as the problems were passed on to the *överjagmästare* in the previous example.

The economic base of Europe was tied to agriculture in the early modern period, associated with these work contexts. States like Sweden, with extensive coastlines, were also dependent on fishing. Thus, there was another connection to nature for economic matters: climate and weather. Items about yearly harvests were reported during autumn months. Typically, letters noted the quality of the weather and soil, the timing of the crops growth and maturation, and harvesting plans throughout the kingdom.¹⁹² Fishing and maritime conditions were reported similarly to other aspects of production and resource collection. The practices of fishing and curing had connections to the social contexts of group coordination. After a “strong storm,” the herring arrived near Gothenburg and “for the first time” would be “sold for ten *öre*” and the curing had also already begun.¹⁹³ The herring as economic objects had a price, indicating scarcity. These fall under the discourse of resource management, connected to providing for the population.

Harvesting was a complicated economic matter, involving many related ideas, practices, and above all valuable objects. Examples of harvesting practices did not involve the king while the broader discourse of state resource management did. Efforts to limit low bidding on cereals and regulate prices, for example, were described through a decision from the king “by gracious letter to his realm and state offices.”¹⁹⁴ This was reported through Stockholm as a proclamation, attaching the king’s approval. “Cheap” and “reasonable” prices “should be regulated.”¹⁹⁵ Information that dealt with proposed legislation about taxes or restrictions on trade, or prize competitions designed to improve production, mentioned the king; these are related more to discourses about the kingdom rather than local ideas or practices, although the decisions affected those in the countryside.

¹⁸⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 52, 5 July 1770.

¹⁹⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 52, 5 July 1770.

¹⁹¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 52, 5 July 1770.

¹⁹² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 16, 22 Feb. 1770; For another example, see: No. 76, 30 Sept. 1773.

¹⁹³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 78, 7 Oct. 1773. For an example of the herring amounts from the previous year as a table from Gothenburg, see: No. 20, 9 March 1772; No. 12, 10 Feb. 1774.

¹⁹⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 78, 7 Oct. 1773.

¹⁹⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 78, 7 Oct. 1773.

Weather also influenced how goods were transported. This information was crucial for merchants; by reporting it, the state discussed the movement of economic objects and the practices involved in real-world exchanges. It was important to address potential threats and prepare for them. Weather was often reported in direct terms, such as the ice in Ystad and the winter in Laholm, placed towards the start of an edition in 1771.¹⁹⁶ These items had no extra descriptive terms and pushed news from the king to the bottom of the page.¹⁹⁷ Weather conditions over a month or year were commonly printed as tables.¹⁹⁸ Delays to the post were reported as notices in many editions.¹⁹⁹

Weather was relayed without the king's reaction, instead using no added attributions in most cases concerning goods or trade.²⁰⁰ When the king travelled and encountered poor weather, it was primarily to inspect troops and meet with local councils or the public.²⁰¹ Other than trade or travel, weather was related to general concerns regarding nature, such as the migration of birds.²⁰² The ship news listed what travellers were carrying; this was mainly grain, salt, or "diverse goods," also noting any delays.²⁰³ Ships were differentiated, as those linked to political or military actions were rarely reported in the domestic context, unless involving the king. The state could not control the weather but needed to report matters dependent on it.

Political Actions, Social and Economic Consequences

The political realm is expressed about other states, the king, or the Riksdag, told in the *Post-Tidningar* or connected to the king in the *Inrikes*. Although the king and the political elite were emphasized in the order, Swedish economic matters were expressed from a local level due to one of the *Inrikes*'s central tasks. While the state had ultimate control over the content, economic matters were mostly associated with the social realm in that paper, given its routine qualities. During this time, however, many aspects of political efforts had economic and social connections.

The state attempted to regulate economic practices of its population, as well as manage the morality of the crowd.²⁰⁴ Starting in early 1771, discussions depicted economic and social control problems based on political regulation. A shortage of grain was brought up in conjunction to the brewing of spirits.

¹⁹⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 24, 25 March 1771. Weather could also be reported as a summary from the previous year. For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 43, 6 June 1774.

¹⁹⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 24, 25 March 1771.

¹⁹⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 8, 25 Jan. 1770; No. 16, 22 Feb. 1770.

¹⁹⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 96, 6 Dec. 1770. For an example about communications between Malmö and Denmark as the first item, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 2, Jan. 5, 1775.

²⁰⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 19, 19 Jan. 1769.

²⁰¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 77, 4 Oct. 1773; No. 78, 7 Oct. 1773; No. 79, 11 Oct. 1773; No. 80, 14 Oct. 1773; No. 81, 18 Oct. 1773.

²⁰² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 27, 2 April 1770.

²⁰³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 78, 7 Oct. 1773.

²⁰⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 25, 28 March 1771.

Each parish cited had practical and political solutions to the quandary. These ranged from Gävle,²⁰⁵ Växjö,²⁰⁶ Karlskrona,²⁰⁷ and Landskrona,²⁰⁸ to name a few. For example, the article from Växjö suggested that part of the revenue from spirits could be given to the poor in the community, in order to maintain some form of lawful home brewing.²⁰⁹ Regulating spirits and managing the lack of grain needed to be understood from the “proper patriotic mindset,”²¹⁰ without negatively affecting the income of the state.²¹¹ Political solutions were emphasized, integrated with economic and social issues.

The Swedish state was also involved in economic matters beyond describing and trying to regulate them. The papers requested that letters be delivered to the newspaper office, responding to various topics. For example, a letter was published in the *Inrikes* with no name attached; the author explained the late arrival of herring at the end of 1769.²¹² He legitimized his observations by referring to God in connection to the supply, as well as the Riksdag about the regulation of trade. Describing the irregular practices, the qualities of the catch were noted with the social and political elements.

Purchasers caused the late arrival, according to the letter. They “plagued (the fisherman) with spirits” and caused him to conduct the illegal and damaging practices.²¹³ The state was criticized, although moral blame was first placed on the procurers and the fishermen. The herring was an economic object created by God, while the negative practices of the buyers were driven by an idea of “free trade” created by the state.²¹⁴ By printing the letter, the state permitted some negativity to hinder the difficulties of conflicting interests; an economic idea was politicized under the discourse of state management.

Also involving resources and the natural context of economic objects, another series of letters was published in 1770. The writer was referred to, as well as the actions of growing and maintaining soil, describing the need for proficiency in nature.²¹⁵ In an “answer” form, the first-person narrative warned about the management of timber.²¹⁶ Problems could be caused by not following the “natural order” of conserving parts of the tree.²¹⁷ Lists offering instructions included varieties of economic practices, in this case to maintain

²⁰⁵ For examples, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 3 Jan. 1771; No. 11, 7 Feb. 1771.

²⁰⁶ For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 13, 14 Feb. 1771.

²⁰⁷ For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 18, 4 March 1771.

²⁰⁸ For examples, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 16, 25 Feb. 1771; No. 25, 28 March 1771.

²⁰⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 13, 14 Feb. 1771.

²¹⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 8, 28 Jan. 1771.

²¹¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 18, 4 March 1771.

²¹² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 1 Jan. 1770.

²¹³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 1 Jan. 1770.

²¹⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 1 Jan. 1770.

²¹⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 9, 29 Jan. 1770.

²¹⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 9, 29 Jan. 1770.

²¹⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 14, 15 Feb. 1770; No. 15, 19 Feb. 1770.

trees and wood products.²¹⁸ In another instance, a letter about planting and baking bread noted the practices involved in yielding commodities, like grain, at home.²¹⁹ Similar to other descriptions, both the practices and objects were connected to a natural order and social actions.

Letters were not the only items that used the first person, but were the main ones. In an example of a proclamation not from the king, Magistrate Pehr Qviding gave a decision about a violation of the guild system, thereby contributing to an economic discourse. This was political, discussing the access available to burghers and craftsmen and the nature of the system.²²⁰ Gabriel Timan and Fredrik Sander were awarded a contract to supply the army with boots. Because of the large requisition, they signed multiple contracts for both buying and preparing hides. Economic ideas and practices are observed in the decision, such the arguments for the system's functions.²²¹ By including the judgement, but attributing it to Qviding, the state implicitly agreed with it; the publication was part of the issue "without cost."²²² Economic discourses again had political concerns, but also discussed social actions to be controlled.

Economic ideas were presented from contrasting perspectives occasionally, primarily related to social contexts. Public involvement was indicated, reflecting the semi-public sphere. A pair of items discussed two different subjects; one was a letter and the other was advice about the harvest.²²³ The letter described an infestation of dragonflies, while the other item asked how to prevent mould on preserves made by women.²²⁴ Both indicate contrasting perspectives about the harvest. As a discourse, the harvest has tensions with the other realms. The letter mentioned that the local people should not embrace the idea that the infestation was a bad omen of "failed harvest, war" or other signs.²²⁵ Instead, the harvest was implied to be knowingly good by asking for tips about preserving the bounty; the order shows that the idea of the harvest needed to be emphasized to decry superstitions or mistrust.²²⁶

Certain types of economic objects, like spirits, were politicized through their importation. The state attempted to regulate this, meaning that natural scarcity was overridden. Just as work was natural or finite, so were other objects the state controlled. The cost was part of the economic discourse of maintaining state resources. Providing local or "Swedish" solutions to expensive foreign products was a typical topic. Three examples described a

²¹⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 14, 15 Feb. 1770; No. 15, 19 Feb. 1770.

²¹⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 9, 29 Jan. 1770.

²²⁰ Edgren (1998), pp. 153–165. In his example, Edgren discusses this case. The summary provided here is drawn from both *Inrikes Tidningar* and Edgren's description of the litigation.

²²¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 82, 21 Oct. 1773.

²²² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 82, 21 Oct. 1773.

²²³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 82, 21 Oct. 1773.

²²⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 82, 21 Oct. 1773.

²²⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 82, 21 Oct. 1773.

²²⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 82, 21 Oct. 1773.

need for new sources of coffee, sugar, and asparagus.²²⁷ First, the article about coffee was in response to a previous “suggestion for Swedish coffee, made of potatoes” by a “sincere patriot,”²²⁸ building on the idea with an expanded description of “coffee from potatoes.”²²⁹ Potatoes were considered a local product, although a letter the following year noted that potatoes were something “that we have to thank the Indians for.”²³⁰ They were becoming more Swedish, but had not lost New World qualities entirely. The need to save money that otherwise went to foreign interests was also depicted.

The second example involves another colonial good. Sugar was connected to retaining funds by finding a local source, for example through honey.²³¹ Home resolutions were commonly submitted items, such as a criticism about the cost of Carl Linnaeus’s pest solution that needed to be purchased through an apothecary; a cheaper, home version was desired.²³² Home remedies had some legitimacy, as the state argued for mercantile ideals and asked for solutions.

The third example was a first-page suggestion, advocating another local good. Salsify, the letter stated, could replace “expensive asparagus.”²³³ Although not as long as the coffee item, it also mentioned limiting the costs given to foreigners. The salsify item was first in the order, followed by descriptions of a celebration for Patrick Alströmer, son to the Swedish industrial pioneer Jonas. Following his promotion to commercial counsellor, he met with residents of the city, local gentry, military officers, as well as “the city’s workers and poor.”²³⁴ By mentioning workers, the item includes an economic idea of expanding types of manufacturing work.²³⁵ The weather conditions in Öregrund and Lappfjärd, and the selection of a new magistrate in Lindesberg, filled the rest of the page.²³⁶ Weather and regional officials were significant, as they were in both Sweden and Finland, although the kingdom’s economic matters had a greater emphasis.

Social and Economic Matters with the Political

Notwithstanding the suggestions to consume local commodities, the notifications consistently included references to foreign goods, both luxury and

²²⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 9, 29 Jan. 1770; No. 44, 7 June 1770.

²²⁸ Swedish: *Jordpäron*. For a potato recipe referring to *jordpäron*, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 41, 25 May 1775. The letter was printed before a market table from Karlstad for 1774.

²²⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 9, 29 Jan. 1770. Swedish: *Potatoes*. For an example on advice for growing potatoes on the first page as an answer to an earlier question, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 4, 13 Jan. 1772. This example includes the types of potatoes in Sweden: red, white, and yellow. The answer notes that the red potatoes are for making coffee.

²³⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 18, 4 March 1771.

²³¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 9, 29 Jan. 1770.

²³² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 14 Feb. 1771.

²³³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 44, 7 June 1770.

²³⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 44, 7 June 1770.

²³⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 44, 7 June 1770.

²³⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 44, 7 June 1770.

practical. Books in other languages were in both editions; for example, French-Swedish dictionaries or Finnish bibles were often for sale.²³⁷ Prices were included with books, since there were multiple sales locations and the titles were specific. The notifications were often a mix of goods and property for sale, those seeking qualified workers, judicial notifications, and other topics. Property also occasionally included prices, as the locations could be confirmed and the sellers often named. It was an assortment of domestic offers, along with importers looking to circulate goods without prices. The section included private notices; there was no emphasized separation other than being printed as individual sections of text. For these more socially contingent objects and practices, the state reproduced material resembling interactions, although they were only one sided.

These types of descriptions reflected an everyday marketplace and indicate desired economic practices, when noting objects or types of practices. These were more open to negotiation, or lacked a specific seller. These were the typical “extra quality sweet-milks cheese,” “extra quality canaries,” “a farm in the most beautiful location”²³⁸ qualitative portrayals, assigning a subjective economic value rather than the monetary cost. Dutch herring and cheeses, Cuban tobacco, Romanesque violin strings, and other various goods were advertised as well.²³⁹ Goods were often denoted to as “Swedish,” although not always.²⁴⁰ Items about employment were office or merchant related had similar designations. There were routine requests for those “who can count and write well” or knew specific languages,²⁴¹ additionally.

Prices were referenced in these sections regarding sales mostly in relation to immovable or specific objects. Books were related to a fixed location; a post box or other site was mentioned, so individuals could express interest or make payment. “Applying” and “expressing interest” are practices that could also be related to taking out loans, such as in one example for an “average rate against interest for one or half a year” at “house number five on *Drottninggatan*.”²⁴² In an example from 1773, a notice advertised that material to make “young girls diligent, polite, and nice, is recently published and sold at the bookshop at *Riddarhustorget* and at Holmberg’s residence for twelve öre.”²⁴³ Subscriptions to the two papers and other well-known books were printed correspondingly, noting prices and locations. Property, additionally, had prices as part of the general description of the area or related resources of the sale. These specific prices were also related to the debts taken on by

²³⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 2, 6 Jan. 1774; *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 99, 20 Dec. 1773.

²³⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 82, 21 Oct. 1773.

²³⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 12, 8 Feb. 1770; No. 86, 1 Nov. 1770; No. 90, 16 Dec. 1773.

²⁴⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 4, 11 Jan. 1770.

²⁴¹ For French and Dutch examples, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 10, 1 Feb. 1770; No. 14, 15 Feb. 1770; No. 1, 3 Jan. 1771.

²⁴² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 30, 19 April 1773.

²⁴³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 64, 19 Aug. 1773.

individuals, and how their creditors were to be compensated. In one example, a “*banco* transport bill, No. 691” was sent by Anders Berg Anderson and was for “1,000 *dallar*” to *kyrkoherden* Jakob Frosterus but did not arrive because the post office burnt down.²⁴⁴ The notice sections included various types of matters but prices were listed with named individuals and known locations.

The state, needing to fund things like war, also had to maintain a sense of trust around collecting funds from the people. As illustrated by the notifications section, economic matters had either exceptional or specific qualities in order to be trusted. The forms of these items were consistent paragraphs that ended the papers. Lotteries also had to be presented dependably to prevent the launch of competing efforts.²⁴⁵ It was relatively new during Gustav III’s reign and required public negotiation. The lottery is observed in multiple item forms, illustrating this process. The news was spread broadly in both papers.

Like the social aspects of selling, the lottery involved practices and objects in the real world. For practical information, lottery dates were published in both papers. The winners and draws, however, were primarily in the *Inrikes*. This reflects the idea that the *Post-Tidningar* represented a national level while the *Inrikes* had more local communication. The purchasers of the lottery blanks were involved in a transaction associated with the strengthening of state coffers. By listing the winners, the newspaper also took part in the practice of offering financial rewards. There were gains on all sides, but the state limited its risks by controlling the prizes. It was also crucial that the official lottery sold the most tickets and unofficial ones were discouraged. Lottery tables had the cost of blanks, the amount of winnings, where winnings could be obtained, and other useful information.²⁴⁶ If the state wanted to gain, the lotteries had to be reliable, correct, and repeatable, but there was no specific single form yet.

In an example about the Royal Number Lottery, an economic idea was introduced, explained, and regulated. In 1773, a new means of purchasing lottery entries was described.²⁴⁷ For a draw, a “quarters or four numbers” method of playing would be allowed, but not for “higher bets” due to the potential for a gain “64,000 times larger than the bet.”²⁴⁸ In the text, “quarters” was in a Roman typeface, often used to indicate foreign terms or a new concept. A different way of playing was a practice that needed to be regulated by an economic idea. The earlier system was negative from the perspective of the state, as it could pay out over-proportionally; following the rules rewarded fair players. After this item, under the notifications, the new playing mode was again repeated but in a different form, as the lottery table. The idea was established in one paragraph then directly reused.

²⁴⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 92, 25 Nov. 1773. English: Vicar.

²⁴⁵ Husz (2004), pp. 174–175.

²⁴⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 82, 21 Oct. 1773.

²⁴⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 82, 21 Oct. 1773.

²⁴⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 82, 21 Oct. 1773.

Many additional forms of economic practices involved interactions between the public and the state. These included the various letters, pieces of advice, death and birth items, notices of sales or things found, marriage lists, weather reports, and debtors notes. Prize competitions were also reproduced, sometimes about economic matters. The individuals who had their names published in the lists regarding births, deaths, and weddings were individuals of significant rank. Their work titles were reproduced, indicating the economic idea of the importance of work addresses in a social context; the average crowd was not likely to be included. The state only offered the possibility for them to be included, although there was negative inclusion through the debtor's list. Both had social functions: the elites were elevated and the criminals were degraded. The state had stakes in private and public economic matters.

3.3.3 Harvests, Harbours, and Views of the Other

The Swedish papers created general description of Britain and other states, while also establishing domestic perspectives to represent an idyllic view in the semi-public sphere. The majority of news about London and Britain was reported in the *Post-Tidningar*. As established earlier, Sweden was mainly associated with a Stockholm placeline in the British context. A Swedish person could also be referenced in other notices, or the ship news, but these instances were rare.²⁴⁹ Although Swedish news was printed the most in this period, many were not related to economic matters and instead reported issues of the monarchy or actions of the king. The article was the most common genre to reference Sweden. Other states were represented like this in the *London Gazette* as well. The harvest or decisions about trade regulations were the central topics related to economic matters, often including connections to surrounding states.

British Perspective on Sweden and Europe

The harvest was significant both for discussion and survival.²⁵⁰ There were positive and negative descriptions of crop conditions related to Sweden. Reports of good harvests promoted the role of the king and the viability of the commodities. A "plentiful" grain harvest in "most of the provinces of Sweden" was linked to the king allowing "free exportation of grain."²⁵¹ The currency was noted as "copper dollars;" "Scania rye" had fallen from "nineteen to twenty [...] dollars a ton; in most other parts the price is under twenty-four."²⁵² Although short, the article shows the harvest as an economic discourse; the

²⁴⁹ This relies on the labeling of individuals of foreign origins, so there could be many that were not referenced as being Swedish.

²⁵⁰ For example, see a report about the "plentiful [...] harvest of every kind of grain" from Bonn. Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11584, 1–5 Aug. 1775.

²⁵¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11489, 3–6 Sept. 1774.

²⁵² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11489, 3–6 Sept. 1774.

prices showed scarcity of economic objects, but also reflected an idea of comparative pricing and exportation. The decisions by the king connect it to political matters. This report was last internationally, but before local notices.²⁵³

The state had to manage economic and political issues of the harvest simultaneously. The regime was to provide assistance. In 1772, “reports having been made to the government that great dissatisfaction is perceived in several provinces on account of the scarcity and dearness of corn” established a dire situation.²⁵⁴ This paragraph was second, offset from a report about the Gustav III.²⁵⁵ The economic situation was to be solved by the “government” by sending officials throughout the kingdom “to prevent any disturbances,” as well as “to enquire into the distribution of the corn sent by the Crown for [...] relief.”²⁵⁶ The king both represented the regime and was a part of it.

Grain supplies were politicized in other contexts as well. Russia, for example, put the discourse of the harvest in the international setting; the emphasis was on the actions of a rival state helping Sweden. Although the Swedish suffering was underscored, Russia’s influence was given precedence. The item, while placed after the news about proroguing parliament, was first in the brief international section. In 1771, the news from Stockholm noted that the Russian empress “has allowed a certain quantity of corn, duty free to be exported from her dominions, as formerly, into Sweden [...] the harvest has been very bad in most provinces [...] and the price of bread is very high [...] the dearness of every thing in Stockholm is such already as does not afford a good prospect for the winter, when no supplies can be had from abroad.”²⁵⁷ Sweden was depicted negatively, indicating better management by Russia.

Even when not depending on Russia, Sweden was in a secondary position. In a 1773 example, news about Catherine II was listed before Gustav III’s birthday.²⁵⁸ Russia’s economic matters were also connected to decisions made by the empress. For example, a list of abolished taxes was printed on a first page in 1775. These were both those “laid on during the war” and those of “old standing.”²⁵⁹ They ranged from taxes on furnaces for iron or copper works, to “peasants, enfranchised by their lords” choice of entering “into the service of government, or become burghers or merchants” and being taxed accordingly.²⁶⁰ They “either directly or indirectly” influenced “foreign trade.”²⁶¹ Since this item took up space during the American Revolution, it represented Russia’s growing importance while Sweden’s was decreasing.

²⁵³ The items that were printed before were from Russia about Pugachev’s Rebellion.

²⁵⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11274, 11–15 Aug. 1772.

²⁵⁵ A final note regarding a military promotion from Sweden was also separate.

²⁵⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11274, 11–15 Aug. 1772.

²⁵⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11182, 24–28 Sept. 1771.

²⁵⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11327, 16–20 Feb. 1773.

²⁵⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11558, 2–6 May 1775.

²⁶⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11558, 2–6 May 1775.

²⁶¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11558, 2–6 May 1775.

Like the harvest, trade is a discourse coupled to political power. Economic matters were offset from other judgements despite being ultimately political decisions, as they were actions by the state. The events prior to the adoption of the new constitution were reproduced in the *Gazette*, including late 1771 decisions and Gustav III's 1772 speech.²⁶² These meetings were to resolve issues and respond "to the king's assurances."²⁶³ The representatives had to decide if "all foreign ships might have the liberty to import corn to Gothenburg, Marstrand, or other Swedish ports [...] free of all duties,"²⁶⁴ and whether "the free importation of corn from abroad, in foreign as well as Swedish ships, should be extended to the end of the month."²⁶⁵ Discourses about trade reflect forms of mercantilism conducted at the time.

In his speech, Gustav III primarily argued for support from the Four Estates.²⁶⁶ It encapsulated the known meanings of the Estates and the characteristics of each. Economic ideas are primarily associated with one grouping, the burghers, although all were connected to the call for political unity. The pleas for harmony and solidarity to all of the groups were offset from each other, with one focusing mainly on economic matters. Directed at the burghers, the item asked for contributions to "the public good" so that "the fruits of the extensive share, which belongs to you, be general credit, and confidence, useful institutions, frugal living, and moderate gain; which lead to sure, and certain, wealth."²⁶⁷ This speech established an overall view of Swedish society through the structure, with the contents referring to the different qualities of each Estate, with one being central to economic matters.

Sweden, like the rest of Europe, received limited attention by 1775 because of the American Revolution. There were few examples of lengthy or consistent economic matters regarding any state during times of trouble. The Russian tax list was one. Another example was the reporting of Marstrand being granted free-port privileges. Before this instance, twelve support addresses for George III were printed, several including tables of supporters' names. Like in earlier cases, the standard items were pushed back.

The article about Sweden, with a numbered list, was taken verbatim, expressed as "the following contains the substance of his Swedish Majesty's ordinance."²⁶⁸ It represented the "expressions of the king's earnest desire to promote the trade and navigation of his subjects."²⁶⁹ It outlined the conditions of becoming a "free, commercial, and staple town, or *porto-franco*."²⁷⁰ The

²⁶² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11260, 23–27 June 1772.

²⁶³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11206, 17–21 Dec. 1771.

²⁶⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11202, 3–7 Dec. 1771.

²⁶⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11206, 17–21 Dec. 1771.

²⁶⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11260, 23–27 June 1772.

²⁶⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11260, 23–27 June 1772.

²⁶⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11610, Oct. 31–4 Nov. 1775.

²⁶⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11610, Oct. 31–4 Nov. 1775.

²⁷⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11610, Oct. 31–4 Nov. 1775.

goods and vessels allowed entrance to Marstrand, and whether duties needed to be paid, were listed. The rights of the traders were also addressed concerning religion, taxes, and when they could be become a “naturalized Swedish subject.”²⁷¹ There were social and political implications, but these were not as significant as other British interests.

Although the king was important regarding the Marstrand decision, the emphasis was placed on the role of the town and other aspects of the state. A point with an offset explanation was about the duties paid by vessels coming from a “foreign port” regarding “herrings and other salt fish.”²⁷² These were an exception when they were “taken and cured by the inhabitants of Marstrand or bought from Swedish fishermen, or sent in Swedish vessels to other ports of the kingdom.”²⁷³ This example again highlights separate instances of economic practices being part of a wider discourse. Curing, buying, and sending were equal but distinct practices, conducted by diverse groups. The economic idea of becoming a free port, like trade issues, connects to economic discourses at the international level. Reproducing lists like these offered practical information to British merchants, but also encapsulated what the state knew about neighbouring regimes.

Other minor economic matters were connected to the king or state in some way, although these were few. In 1774, the first item from Stockholm reported that “Mr. Martin Torngren, a merchant of Gothenburg” was granted the task of creating “a company for carrying on a whale-fishery on the coast of Greenland.”²⁷⁴ The regular news from the court followed.²⁷⁵ Here, Sweden was connected to the creation of a company, representing an economic idea. Although the king received the most attention, the initial part of the item represented a small aspect of Sweden’s role in Atlantic trade and its related economic ideas and practices. The importance was still placed on the action of the king, but also emphasized the role of the merchant.

While weather impacted all journeys, the movements of goods reflect economic matters. If the individuals carried goods for transport, they were involved in economic practices. Two paragraphs about Stockholm were included in late 1774. The first stated that the weather was “so severe” that the “means of navigation” were closed; the “capital has been sufficiently provided with necessaries from Gothenburg, Finland, and other parts” but it was “feared the poor in particular will be reduced to great distress during the winter.”²⁷⁶ The health of the prince was mentioned next.²⁷⁷ The weather and

²⁷¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11610, Oct. 31–4 Nov. 1775.

²⁷² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11610, Oct. 31–4 Nov. 1775.

²⁷³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11610, Oct. 31–4 Nov. 1775.

²⁷⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11474, 12–16 July 1774.

²⁷⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11474, 12–16 July 1774.

²⁷⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11519, 17–20 Dec. 1774.

²⁷⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11519, 17–20 Dec. 1774.

objects of “necessaries” were offset in the initial item.²⁷⁸ Transportation was significant for communication and economic systems.²⁷⁹ Items about weather were similar in both states and the matters involved were based on repetition.

This link between transportation and economic practices differed from other movements. The journeys of royalty or other leaders were often associated with ceremonial or political actions. The need for direct representational involvement, often describing the ceremonies of royals, creates more of a social context. For instance, after Gustav III was declared king, his entrance into Stockholm was presented as “the people in general expressed the greatest joy at his majesty’s arrival.”²⁸⁰ Movements of economic objects or practices of trade were represented by naming the state or port of origin, with the king only acting as symbolic representation in those other aspects.

Sweden and the Political Prominence of Britain

Domestically, there were some minor observations in the *Inrikes* about economic matters related to other European states. “Foreign banks” affected the iron trade, for example, causing drops in prices for “good [...] ordinary rod iron.”²⁸¹ This was listed on the second page, from Kristinehamn; the Gothenburg market prices were on the first page, in a paragraph rather than table form.²⁸² By placing this in the domestic paper, the state also classified this as a less emphasized, yet still significant, opinion meant for local householding advice and reflections on foreign actions effects on trade.

The implications of war drove the international ordering of the paper, as illustrated by the American Revolution in the *Gazette*, so the regions closer to Sweden received more attention at the start of many issues. Although Britain was constantly threatened with war, it was placed on the middle pages while Ottoman, Russian, or Polish activities were first in many *Post-Tidningar* editions. For British economic matters, the order of the paragraphs reported through London represents how the state was portrayed. News primarily concerned the king or Parliament. Often, the assembly or the prime minister was focused on while the king was only indicated symbolically. Trading companies were a secondary topic, especially the British East India Company. Economic matters were connected to political decisions by the state, although bank issues and trading companies were also offset.

As was discussed in the example starting Chapter One, the debt created by war or peace in the previous eighty-year period was published.²⁸³ This debt did not originate from planned economic decisions, although war was always a possibility. The political nature of these required an explanation of the costs, indi-

²⁷⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11519, 17–20 Dec. 1774.

²⁷⁹ Musgrave (1999), pp. 75–77.

²⁸⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11153, 15–18 June 1771.

²⁸¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 22, 18 March 1773.

²⁸² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 22, 18 March 1773.

²⁸³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 92, 22 Nov. 1770.

cating an idea and a discourse. The table was integrated into the article, and the economic matters were related to the political situation. The table was in the middle of several articles from London, noting the debt in pounds sterling:

King William's five war years	5,105,505
Queen Anne's eleven war years	6,073,745
King George II fourteen war years	926,790
King George III two war years	15,910,506
King William's eight peace years	3,467,428
Queen Anne's two peace years	3,172,151
King George I thirteen peace years	2,726,780
King George II nineteen peace years	3,839,653
King George I six peace years	8,710,743
National debt at the end of year 1768	129,724,936 ²⁸⁴

By listing the kings and queens, their associated debts, and finally the overall impact on the national balance, Sweden presented war as part of an economic discourse about the other state. War costs, like the debt, are economic ideas that needed to be explained and controlled. The paragraphs that preceded the discussion of debt were political, before turning to the economic discussion.

The Swedish papers portrayed Britain with a number of key economic ideas, showing a transfer of knowledge. The national debt and manufacturing, both economic ideas, were connected to Parliament, often as separate items. Manufacturing of “all goods [...] sent from England to all parts of the world” was noted with the balance of imported goods, both amounts listed in pounds sterling.²⁸⁵ The surplus, in this case over three million, was positive for Britain.²⁸⁶ The debt was presented briefly after this news of positive economic matters. Although “the national debt” was growing, the “yearly interest” was the only aspect referenced.²⁸⁷ These concepts were important for both states’ resource management and reflect mutual awareness.

Items dealing with Parliament extended beyond the king on many occasions. News was published almost exclusively as articles; these were about trade issues and tax matters decided in London in many instances.²⁸⁸ The *Post-Tidningar* also documented the 1772 Credit Crisis; the debts incurred by Alexander Fordyce’s banking house were described with mild legitimacy, linked to the lack of attribution.²⁸⁹ Economic ideas — debt and credit — were separated from parliamentary news in other issues as well. For example, the decision by North to limit the exportation of gold and silver was placed before the reference to Fordyce’s “550,000 pounds sterling” debt.²⁹⁰ The king was only

²⁸⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 92, 22 Nov. 1770.

²⁸⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 44, 7 June 1770.

²⁸⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 44, 7 June 1770.

²⁸⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 44, 7 June 1770.

²⁸⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 73, 17 Sept. 1770.

²⁸⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 60, 3 Aug. 1772.

²⁹⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 60, 3 Aug. 1772.

referenced at the start of that set of paragraphs, ordering a forty-day quarantine of “all ships, ferries, people and goods, that come from the Mediterranean Sea or Barbarian coast of the Atlantic ocean, or from [...] some other harbour in Russia, to Great Britain’s coasts.”²⁹¹

Colonial economic matters were another extension of Britain. These were in separate paragraphs from other news, although without individual place- or datelines most of the time. The British East India Company, for example, was frequently reported, both in connection and separated from Parliament or the king.²⁹² The “free entry” of foreign grain was noted in a series of paragraphs related to the economic dealings of the Company and how Parliament was going to deal with them in one example.²⁹³ The political realm was instead expressed in other way; some items from London referenced EIC ships, although this mainly connected to their military escorts or arrivals at British ports.²⁹⁴ Like the weather examples from both states, these movements have fewer direct reflections on economic matters without the mention of goods to trade or practices to be completed. Practices were only loosely referenced in this sense due to only implied exchange. While the colonial sphere is entrenched in the British societal realms, different elements were emphasized depending on the item types. Longer articles indicate stronger degrees of economic connections, including objects, practices, or ideas. The references to military ships show the political nature of the EIC instead.

While the movements of ships were reported like this, appeals to traders included more direct economic qualities. For instance, the merchants “that drive trade to the West Indies” met with the secretary for that region’s affairs to discuss the “trade’s current situation between the colonies and England.”²⁹⁵ They were requesting help to maintain its “long-standing reputation.”²⁹⁶ Trade, as an idea, has an explained value while as a practice it needs state intervention, reflecting different political or social connections. This decision was addressed on the first page, offset from news about the French ambassador. The arrival of EIC ships was also detached from the report about the kingdom’s toll incomes.²⁹⁷ Other requests for “the trade to Asia be free and generally allowed” were also presented to ministers from the EIC separately.²⁹⁸ These show how the news was divided, as well as how ideas were indicated.

A lengthy set of paragraphs in 1770 represents how parliamentary decisions were depicted, including certain separations. The order of this

²⁹¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 60, 3 Aug. 1772.

²⁹² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 81, 15 Oct. 1770.

²⁹³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 1, 4 Jan. 1773.

²⁹⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 92, 25 Nov. 1773. Although not about the EIC, this example notes the difficulties for “British trade and shipping” in the Persian Gulf.

²⁹⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 3, 8 Jan. 1770.

²⁹⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 3, 8 Jan. 1770.

²⁹⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 7, 22 Jan. 1770.

²⁹⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 20, 11 March 1771.

example descended from political happenings to economic matters. Resolutions by Parliament about colonial taxes were also offset. A report about overseas displeasure over the lack of representation was separate from other news.²⁹⁹ This included an initial political paragraph regarding the dissolution of parliament for election “so that the nation might also freely enjoy its right to select members of Parliament.”³⁰⁰ These reports were from late 1769, detailing the occurrences leading up to the event. Other subjects, including the movement of the EIC, preceded the items with economic matters.³⁰¹

The order of this article placed the positive colonial event of searching for trading opportunities prior to negative concerns. The state’s decisions regarding war, troops, and colonial disputes were all described as affecting economic matters. The first item reported how a “dispersed rumour of an earlier imminent war affected the shares drop” when 50,000 pounds sterling shares were sold at auction.³⁰² The situation worsened, as “the minister does not have the least knowledge about the printed bills, which have newly been posted.”³⁰³ Economic ideas of bank and state confidence, two related but separate matters, were impacted by threats of conflict.

The next item was also critical of the state, in this case the Irish Parliament making decisions about the costs of troops. A bill about an increase, including more costs, was debated for five hours, again representing a discourse of resources division.³⁰⁴ The final paragraph focused on Parliament’s decisions regarding tariffs in the colonies, and whether or not they should be withdrawn, specifically focusing on where “diverse colonial products” were obtained.³⁰⁵ The political decisions were given importance over economic matters, as they were described as the results and promoted in the order.

Economic ideas were not always negatively slanted when the king was involved. These were more about his figure as a unifying element. In early 1775, he was described as receiving the news of the North American disturbances.³⁰⁶ The economic and political consequences of losing the colonies were mentioned in the following issue.³⁰⁷ Although other concerns were stated, such as the impact of losing colonial trade, the emphasis was on the king. George III was linked with political news, typical of article types.

Economic ideas, like the re-minting of foreign coins, were part of the negative economic discourse established about the USA. This represents the overall narrative about the former colonies. As reporting increased with more

²⁹⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 44, 7 June 1770.

³⁰⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 2, 4 Jan. 1770.

³⁰¹ For an example on its own, see: *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*. No. 64, 19 Aug. 1771.

³⁰² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 2, 4 Jan. 1770.

³⁰³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 2, 4 Jan. 1770.

³⁰⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 2, 4 Jan. 1770.

³⁰⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 2, 4 Jan. 1770.

³⁰⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 13, 13 Feb. 1775.

³⁰⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 14, 16 Feb. 1775.

independent placelines throughout 1775, the loss of control by the British and the revolutionary messages were strengthened. Information from London by 1775 relayed military movements and parliamentary decisions about the colonies. These also portrayed American actions, with some related to economic matters. An item from London in late 1775 described the movement of money to “our colonies.”³⁰⁸ It noted that many “suspicions were created” that “colonial agents” had been collecting “Portuguese gold” in London and sending it to Philadelphia.³⁰⁹ It was also “known” that the Americans “instead of making repayments to London have allowed pay for their grain and rice in the Mediterranean harbours in foreign coins” in order to mint their own.³¹⁰

These comments stretched to trade in other instances. The Americans were blamed for breaking agreements, including smuggling goods from Nova Scotia; these are considered negative economic practices. Lacking strong legitimacy markers, the item was linked to the surrounding reports of war and use of illegal practices. Placed after news from Congress dealing with the Quakers and land defense, a report from “the customs house” documented strange occurrences.³¹¹ The amount of goods being taken to Halifax was “at far greater sums than any previously,” including tobacco.³¹² Since that colony was “otherwise weak in trade and population” the conclusion was that trading still occurred in the countryside with New England, as commerce had been stopped “since they broke shipping to Great Britain.”³¹³ The matters were conveyed as a rumour to avoid American reactions, as well as discredit the practices.

Royalty were symbols for all states, especially during times of war. The social or cultural items were limited in this comparative section regarding economic matters. The movement of monarchs and the celebrations around them were reported as cultural events, alongside their actions during conflict. George III, other than appearing at Parliament, was connected with few direct economic matters. In an offset item in one example, the king “who is a great lover of herb knowledge” permitted the planting of new species from the South Pacific in the Royal Gardens;³¹⁴ although there was no monetary value referenced, there was a cultural connection to the newly discovered plants. Besides the royals, other social items were mainly reporting the deaths of centenarians.³¹⁵ These were offset, and generally not noted first.

³⁰⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 79, 9 Oct. 1775.

³⁰⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 79, 9 Oct. 1775.

³¹⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 79, 9 Oct. 1775.

³¹¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 77, 2 Oct. 1775.

³¹² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 77, 2 Oct. 1775.

³¹³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 77, 2 Oct. 1775.

³¹⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 69, 5 Sept. 1771.

³¹⁵ For example, see: *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 20, 11 March 1771.

3.3.4 Non-Enemy and Rival Economic Matters

Britain and Sweden exchanged information for mutual benefit, but described the corresponding state to highlight any negative actions or threats. Economic matters were circulated for competitiveness, both for state and private interests. This is seen in the descriptions of trade decisions and staple city status. The news from Sweden was not necessarily important in the *Gazette*, although it was occasionally the first item. More attention was given to their king's movements. The Swedish state received equal amounts of international reporting as other states. It was, however, below Russia in the European order portrayed in the *Gazette*. Sweden was overall more critical of British economic decisions.

3.4 Tensions and Solutions before Industrialization

The findings here establish economic matters at their earliest stage when compared to the rest of this study. The formation of the modern state and nation, the transformation of the public sphere, as well as economic development are all considered to be the most unrealized in this period. Overall, all three newspapers presented economic matters primarily with political connections, with some social considerations; the realms share many aspects and establish how the subsequent time frames will be measured.

Both states have similarities. Economic matters are primarily positive when connected to the home state and the entire kingdom. These have more political connotations. Legitimacy was needed to carry out proper householding in the case of Sweden, or forms of domestic and colonial resource management in Britain. The state claimed more of a role in forming and maintaining ideals in Sweden than in Britain from these examples. It attempted to clarify more varied types of news.

The most important items at the outset of this period in the *London Gazette* were related to international political news. From this viewpoint, the *Gazette* represented economic matters from a known political perspective. The paper was the voice of authority, connected to Parliament and the king. This type of news, whether or not economic matters were mentioned, was printed on the first pages. Items of national importance were on the earlier pages of the papers. The sources of information, content, and placement represented additional associations with the political realm.

For Sweden, economic matters are also observed in political and social contexts. The additional domestic paper portrayed them with greater definition towards social associations. This was due to its everyday qualities and focus. While the state could mandate political and economic controls, social interactions were more difficult to manage. The *Inrikes Tidningar* had an important role in describing the national division of resources and defining householding, related to both home and state management. The semi-public

sphere is essential to this perspective; the state reflected the desires of the people and presented interactions through items like letters and content, for example, about lotteries. It is expressed through proclamations used to portray responses from the ruler. This brought the public closer to his thoughts; openness and the potential for responses from the state were suggested.

Sweden had a parallel yet contrasting depiction of the global community when compared to Britain. The *Gazette* had to certify specific elements circulating in the semi-public sphere; the regime in Sweden had the role of spreading information, in addition to being the official voice of authority. When portraying the other state, there were few issues of the *Post-Tidningar* that did not include news from London, but the items were often small when weighed against other states and were infrequently first. Britain was an average state while more-troubled neighbours were emphasized.

The order and content shifted during the outbreak of the American Revolution in Britain, and in the Swedish representation of Britain in content. Order was not greatly disrupted in the two Swedish papers by the death of King Adolf Frederick and the coup by Gustav III primarily because domestic matters were emphasized for dependability, connected to the voice of the state. The market tables were only briefly reduced to a different, paragraph form in 1773. The coherence between the *Inrikes* and the *Post-Tidningar* was important to maintain. The public needed to understand Sweden's placement in the world, but also how everyday events were to function. These were conveyed with different levels of trustworthiness, but in consistent forms. By examining the order and form, the relationship with Britain is seen as somewhat meaningful but not threatening. Kings are represented symbolically, as well as a part of the political process, in both the *Gazette* and the *Post-Tidningar*.

The varying influences of the social and the political realms involved expressing economic objects, practices, ideas, and discourses in differing ways. Objects were politicized or had practical consequences in the *Gazette*, while the Swedish papers presented local and foreign objects with aspects of scarcity, in addition to those first two contexts. Objects in the Swedish context also extended to things like work, as it was presented with scarcity. Work also had social connotations, again reflecting the overlap amongst the three realms. Social qualities, like connections to the real world, are associated with practices and some objects. This reflects both the qualities observed in the newspapers and the functions beyond it.

Practices, ideas, and discourses are observed in extending loyalty to the king or regime, along with some social relations. The state desired a sense of control for its public; the publication of debtors' lists and threatening letters in the *Gazette* and the use of the lotteries in the Swedish papers, as well as the language of legitimacy in speeches from the king, exemplified this. The negative aspects of economic practices or ideas are in the private area of the papers associated with social or cultural circumstances. Some negative ideas and practices, as well as discourses, were presented in connection with the

other state. These aspects were primarily political, although there were social elements that stressed proper administration.

Since the political realm was the most represented, discourses and ideas are the most prominent. Discourses are observed as the state used them to introduce information in recognizable forms, hoping to maintain public support through detailing and repetition. These were legitimized through the connection to the king, even during times of difficulties. Maintaining quality resource management, or describing it as such, extended the efforts of appearing trustworthy. The perception of types of mercantile policies conducted by the regimes is an underlying factor when comparing the two. Managing resources was a central discourse, connected to varying types of objects, practices, and ideas. The king was a facilitator for presenting and guaranteeing a success.

CHAPTER 4

1790–1795: So-Called Budgets and War Economies

This period has a world under pressure, as states tried to explain fluctuating circumstances to their populations. Although this chapter investigates the 1790s, earlier events are also referenced. This fills in the gaps at the end of the previous chapter's narrative. The French Revolution and the wars that followed drove dialogues while the fallout of the American Revolution persisted. Slavery and exploration also drove colonial discussions, as states tested Enlightenment ideals and the new power structure after two vast revolutions. For Britain, involvement in these events and others shows its position as a growing world power. Elsewhere, Russian engrossment in Poland and the conflict with the Ottomans were also noteworthy. Sweden was influenced by all of these events, in addition to the assassination of Gustav III.

4.1 Crises and the Revolutionary World

The spread of Enlightenment ideals, consequences of war, and harvest failures represent only a few of the noted causes of the French Revolution.¹ There were pressures on the ruling system by the end of the eighteenth century, encapsulated in the storming of the Bastille in 1789. The growing body of pamphlets, freed from the formerly privileged Paris Book Guild, kept the Revolution's events active in print, spreading throughout Europe.² The French royal family became symbols of economic and political failures;³ the weaknesses of trust between monarchy and the crowd are exemplified with the French Revolution through the upheaval of a struggling system of control and the creation of uncertain circumstances.

The French Revolution had a number of key expressions constitutionally, economically, and internationally. Initially, the Constitution of 1791 was designed to create a constitutional monarchy. Disagreements between Louis XVI and the Assembly, however, caused international intervention and further domestic uprisings. The Assembly's reforms generated discord

¹ Boshier (1970), p. 303; Campbell (2006).

² Pettegree, (2014), pp. 339–340.

³ Marie Antoinette's supposedly negative effect has transcended into modern popular culture.

amongst the peasantry. Heavy taxes and paper money, for example, produced financial hardships.⁴ The debt was nationalized and the Assembly turned away from early modern capitalist practices.⁵ To deter the support of émigré nobles for the king, the new regime declared war on Austria in 1792. The king's later capture and 1793 execution characterize the start of the Reign of Terror, known for violence, price controls, and issues of security.

Over a few short years, the ruling classes were overthrown and France was converted into a secular republic, engaged in civil war and conflict with its neighbours. The War of the First Coalition (1792–1797) was based on the familial ties of European monarchies against this republic. The alliance grew after the royal executions. Prussia and Britain joined Austria while the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Tuscany, and the Holy Roman Empire also took part. Its resources limited, France instituted conscription. It was tactically isolated, as the USA rejected appeals for help. The conflicts spread beyond Europe nonetheless.

Despite these constraints, France succeeded in many aspects and took the Low Countries. The financial system underwent a financial “revolution” leading up to 1795.⁶ The old structure was optimized, creating flexibility and accountability.⁷ The constant warfare, however, limited these changes. The external burdens were slightly lightened by 1795, as most states had withdrawn from the coalition, but the conflict with Britain intensified.

The Second Partition of Poland was also a site of converging revolutionary ideas. The 1791 May Constitution attempted to reform the earlier partition, stripping the nobility of privileges and abolishing aspects of serfdom.⁸ The Lesser Poland pre-industrial region was divided, depriving the state of many natural assets, while turmoil further split loyalties in Greater Poland. The Grodno Sejm,⁹ pressured by Catherine II, approved the 1793 Partition. Centres like Mińsk and Poznań were given to Russia and Prussia, along with additional land. Polish intellectuals were frustrated by the concessions.¹⁰ While a 1794 uprising mobilized volunteers, it was an ultimate failure for leftist- and Jacobin-leaning Poles. They had even appealed beyond the nobility, offering further rights to serfs.¹¹ By end of 1795, however, a sovereign Poland vanished with the Third Partition.

Russia was driven by expansionist policies and benefited from agricultural gains in Poland, helping to fuel Catherine II's empire. When the Russo-Turkish War (1787–1792) ended, Russia turned towards Poland and beyond.

⁴ Lyons (1975).

⁵ Boshier (1970), p. 253.

⁶ Boshier (1970), p. 313.

⁷ Boshier (1970), p. 313.

⁸ Zamoyski (2015), p. 208–209.

⁹ The last session of parliament, held in Grodno, now in today's Belarus.

¹⁰ Battle of Dubienka, July 18, 1792.

¹¹ Zamoyski (2015), p. 210–217.

Domestic costs rose as a consequence. Catherine II had attempted earlier land reforms, such as easing serf restrictions. A working bureaucracy and proto-industrial manufacturing were also encouraged. For sustainability, however, the support of the nobility and a more “European” court were needed.¹² Serfdom and state authority thus grew, along with war and court expenditures; formal state debt was created in 1794 by borrowing from Dutch banks.

Like these serfdom issues, this Age of Revolutions led to thinking that would end early modern slavery.¹³ Ideas of equality furthered the debate, facilitated by the American and French Revolutions. Part of the Reign of Terror included abolishment in its colonies. Merchants had started new patterns of global trade, bringing luxury goods to industrious revolutions, while sending objects of subjugation to plantations.¹⁴ States had mercantile and military dilemmas; colonial goods were in demand, while slaves could be exploited in other ways. Oppositional slaves could be lured into fighting with the promise of emancipation.¹⁵ Although states like Denmark declared slavery illegal, there were rarely any unified views.¹⁶

4.1.1 Britain and the Territories under Pitt’s Policies

The Birmingham Riots of 1791 involved supporters of the French Revolution. They were also caused by the calls for greater civil rights, as well as a religious conflict, stressed by times of war. The recruitment of soldiers and rationing intensified sentiments, fuelled by critical publications. Other clashes extended to the colonies. There were conflicts in the Caribbean over the slave trade, for instance. A measure banning slavery was struck down in 1791 by Parliament, only to be revisited in 1792. International trade issues were pressed during fighting as vessels were captured or destroyed. The war was exhausting many resources and caused many forms of unrest.

The Seventeenth Parliament and Prime Minister William Pitt were central for this time, beginning with the 1790 election and ending with the 1796 dissolution. The situation in France limited the measures Pitt could undertake. Instead, he focused on sustaining the image of George III through symbolic measures. The king’s reputation was shaken towards the end of 1788 concerning his insanity. By 1790, however, he was recovering and Pitt strengthened his majority. Britain, however, was pulled in many directions.

The consequences of American Independence, as well as French aggressions, forced many of Pitt’s financial decisions.¹⁷ He instituted taxes

¹² Wortman (1995). This was a consistent pattern for Russian rulers, beginning with Peter I.

¹³ Drescher (2009), p. 92.

¹⁴ Bayly (2004), p. 52–55.

¹⁵ Drescher (2009), p. 116.

¹⁶ Drescher (2009), p. 93. These ranged from the creation of human rights to the general anxiety about uprisings; there were also apprehensions about freed slaves on European soil.

¹⁷ Jeffrey-Cook (2010), p. 384.

with long-standing consequences; the powdered wig tax, for example, impacted the history of fashion. Pitt also abolished taxes, but these measures were later reversed. The growth of the Bank of England also advanced many concepts, such as the National Debt. The charter renewal of 1781 had tied bankers to the gold standard, which was subsequently stressed during war years. Banknotes were overprinted, reducing their value. By 1795, much of the population was strained; an expression of this discontent occurred when a crowd swarmed the king on his way to Parliament. His popularity continued to decline, causing further problems despite symbolic efforts.

The war with France was not limited to Europe. Britain and the East India Company, along with various allies, were at war in India with the Mysore, supported by France. Their leader, Tipu Sahib, had fought against the British in the First (1767–69) and Second Anglo-Mysore Wars (1780–84). He came to power in 1782 and rejected the imposed British authority. His forces fought against Governor General Charles Cornwallis and his troops from 1790 to 1792 in the third war. The British were victorious, demanding much of Mysore's territory. Although the French aided Mysore, the Revolution limited their effectiveness in backing them militarily and economically.

Beyond India, Britain also managed its other colonial intentions. Diplomacy, state control, and resource exploitation needed to be reassessed. Following American independence, a new balance was sought. There was a movement away from the large, joint-stock companies towards individual traders, though the EIC persisted.¹⁸ The concept of empire, like other notions, was transforming.¹⁹ To illustrate this, I have selected the 1789 Nootka Crisis. Groups challenged trading rights, changing how territory was negotiated.²⁰

British fur trade intentions were driven away from the Great Lakes after the 1783. The Jay's Treaty forced the British elsewhere, in this case towards the Pacific.²¹ As demand for furs increased in Asia, British traders also saw profitable yet practical quandaries with the location and the monopolies of the major trading companies.²² A proposal in the 1780s outlined how the EIC could cooperate with the HBC by bringing furs to the coast and Asian goods inland,²³ although this was not concluded.

There was other competition on the Pacific coast. In 1774, Spain's Juan Pérez reached the Nootka Sound,²⁴ although it was kept secret.²⁵ Russian

¹⁸ Rule (1992), p. 269

¹⁹ Pethick (1980), p. 7.

²⁰ Pethick (1980), p. 10.

²¹ Although *The Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation Between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America*, also known as the Jay Treaty, was not formalized until 1794, becoming effective in 1796, there were negotiations to resolve the issues of the 1783 Treaty of Paris that ended the Revolutionary War. This included rights to the Great Lakes.

²² Pethick (1980), pp. 17–20.

²³ Pethick (1980), p. 17.

²⁴ Located near Vancouver Island in today's British Columbia, Canada.

²⁵ Pethick (1980), pp. 1, 8.

companies, meanwhile, moved south from the Aleutian Islands. By the end of the 1780s, four states had claims, including the USA. The development of a route to China,²⁶ among others, circumvented the restrictions on trading rights imposed by many joint-stock companies.²⁷ The French would have also been involved if they had not been experiencing Revolution.²⁸

Despite the congregating interests, the Nootka Crisis was resolved peacefully through three conventions, with the last being signed in 1794.²⁹ The overall results were a victory for mercantile interests and a diplomatic change over territorial disputes.³⁰ During times when conflict was a main solution, there were ultimately other diplomatic paths. Spain withdrew to Mexico, while the Russian colonization of Alaska failed over time. Ships from the USA, however, sustained trade and settled the coast. Overland surveys eventually connected the continent and British expeditions strengthened the kingdom's presence.³¹ Just as the concept of monarchy and republic were altered by revolution, the idea of empire also changed. Arriving first did not guarantee claim; states with greater diplomatic and exploration reputations dictated outcomes. These events represent the relations in the world and Britain's influence.

Other concepts were also changing in relation to the Industrial Revolution. The spinning jenny, for instance, was a simple and affordable device for home crafters; it was more widespread by the 1790s after being patented in 1770 and helped increase proto-industrial production.³² It was an age of both small and large improvements. The steam engine represents a more long-term technological redefinition for efficiency, manufacturing, and production. Hand spinning was still relevant into the nineteenth century, even as steam power spread. There were differences among emerging factory industries; payment, working rights, factory design, and other issues varied from sector to sector, as well as from country to country. Britain was a leader in many respects, such as population growth, technological development, and organizational improvements. The rest of Europe was drawing on these cues, while also transforming according to regional and cultural variations.

4.1.2 Russian Conflict and Assassination in Sweden

While still behind Britain in many industrial aspects, this period sees Sweden on the cusp of major adjustment. Sweden's agricultural development was

²⁶ The *Columbia Rediviva* had left Boston in 1786, reached the Pacific coast, and then China.

²⁷ Pethick (1980), p. 21.

²⁸ Pethick (1980), pp. 212–213.

²⁹ While the claims were not fully ceded until 1825, Britain had control.

³⁰ Pethick (1980), p. 5.

³¹ Such as George Vancouver's claiming of Puget Sound in 1792 and Alexander Mackenzie's reaching of Bella Coola in 1793.

³² Landes (2003), p. 57–58.

uneven; between 1770 and 1790 there was a general decline in production, before a time of growth leading up to 1800.³³ The Act of Union and Security in 1789, Gustav III's major constitutional adjustment to the Estates, changed many aspects of land ownership. Distribution and possession now neared a more modern form, removing old, special rights enjoyed by the tax-exempt nobility; the state created more taxable land, and strengthened farmers' landowning positions.³⁴ Agricultural and proto-industrial growths were aided by state investments and more freer trade policies.

Although Gustav III was assassinated in 1792, many of his reforms persisted. The period can be split between his reign and the minority of Gustav IV Adolf, but only marginally. The enlightened absolutism of the Gustavian period endured after the regicide. His war with Russia from 1788 to 1790 also created an enduring legacy. During Gustav IV Adolf's minority, those surrounding the new king attempted to influence him and reverse aspects of his father's rule. The second half was effectively the beginning of a period that only became distinct later, emphasized by the 1809 abdication.

Russia was connected to Sweden and Britain through the wars with France. In 1780, Sweden joined Russia in the League of Armed Neutrality. This alliance, consisting of Denmark, Prussia, and others, was formed to resist the Spanish and the British navies' search and seizure policies. The Royal Navy, embattled with France, was combing for contraband. Catherine II helped form the league, mainly to maintain neutral trading rights. Swedish shipping benefited, as exports of iron went to France, Spain, and Britain.³⁵ Iron products, along with timber and wood, were important during periods of war. The league also aimed to define illegal imports to further their case.³⁶ By 1783, Sweden's political and commercial positions were elevated.

Sweden had alternating relations with Russia. A war began in June of 1788 was timed in hopes that Russia would be distracted by other threats. Gustav III also attempted to silence his critics in the Riksdag and take more power. While Russia was engaged with the Ottomans, the Swedish fleet attacked Denmark, due to a treaty, was also drawn into the conflict; troops briefly entered Sweden to divert attention, only to declare a return to neutrality in 1789, as threats of British participation also increased. The results were losses due to poor conditions rather than combat. Another pact was signed in 1794, to protect trade.

By 1790, the king had tired of war and worried about victory. When it ended in a defensive alliance, he turned back to domestic ambitions to legitimize his rule. Although war was crucial for garnering support for a strong leader who could unify a state,³⁷ different sorts of problems were created for Gustav III. After taking power in 1772, he did not achieve his form of absolute

³³ Magnusson (2000), p. 3–4.

³⁴ Magnusson (2000), p. 19.

³⁵ Müller (2013), pp. 217–218.

³⁶ Müller (2013), pp. 219–220.

³⁷ Holm (2005), pp. 128–129; Nordin (2000), p. 104.

monarchy until the Act of Union and Security.³⁸ The Estates lost governing and land privileges, further reducing the power of the nobility.

International communications were not overtly disrupted by the war, but the king's intellectual circle was curtailed. Gustav III was still placed at the head of the Swedish fatherland, although he expressed more interest in being a cultural benefactor. He wanted a return to discussions of arts rather than the constant dialogue of war.³⁹ Prior to the conflict, the Swedish king and the Russian empress had a great deal of correspondence. In their first direct relations post war, the two cousins expressed relief.⁴⁰ Reverting to the status quo was welcomed, as both leaders were nervous about France.

The war stimulated some military investment but was less than previous engagements. Inflation of the *riksdaler* and the creation of the Debt Office represented some of these economic results.⁴¹ The office began issuing *riksgäld*, or debt notes, in 1789. These competed with *riksdaler banco*; there was confusion about the legality of the notes and a lack of clarity about which was used in published accounts.⁴² Prices rose consistently causing fluctuating exchange rates, while in turn creating investment opportunities.

The hardships of war, combined with negativity from the nobility, generated criticisms of the king. To counteract these sentiments and challenge the previous era, Gustav III encouraged propaganda efforts. He endeavoured to establish new meanings to sway support.⁴³ This was done through texts, ceremonies, statues, and other works.⁴⁴ The proposals made at the 1792 Gävle Diet caused resistance, despite these efforts. There were calls for increased taxes to repay loans to Russia, as well as grant funds to attack France. Reluctance persisted, stressed by poverty and the threats to the nobles' rights.

The assassination of the king in March 1792 established new contexts. Gustav IV Adolf's minority lasted until 1796, represented by two regency leaders. His uncle, the Duke of Södermanland and future King Charles XIII, had fought in the Russian war. He was also close to the king's opposition, among them Gustav Adolf Reuterholm. When the duke was made a central adviser, Reuterholm overtook him regarding exercising power. He attempted to undo many of Gustav III's political and cultural efforts. Reversing censorship and abolishing the Swedish Academy, however, had only short-term effects. When his minority ended, Gustav IV Adolf excommunicated Reuterholm and reinstated the Academy.

³⁸ Swedish: *Förenings- och säkerhetsakten*.

³⁹ von Proschwitz (1998), p. 213.

⁴⁰ Gustav III to Catherine II, the camp at Varelä, [n.st. 15 August 1790], original in Moscow, reproduced in von Proschwitz (1998), pp. 235; Catherine II to Gustav III, Tsarskoie Selo [6 August 1790], original in Uppsala, reproduced in von Proschwitz (1998), pp. 239.

⁴¹ Swedish: *Riksgäldskontoret*. The National Debt Office was also created in the 1789 Act.

⁴² Edvinsson (2010), pp. 184–185

⁴³ Tandefelt (2008), p. 141.

⁴⁴ Alm (2002); Tandefelt (2008), p. 144.

Swedish overseas labours stretched over both reigns. The international perspective, despite Russian and French pressures, was aimed at trade with some colonial connections. Gustav III initially restarted endeavours in 1784 when Saint-Barthélemy was obtained from France in exchange for trading privileges in Gothenburg. An open policy towards trading slaves was created through a 1790 customs tax. Without a duty when imported from Africa, agents were drawn to the effectively free port of Gustavia. Sweden's direct role in the slave trade was not extensive, however. The Swedish West-Indian Company, which controlled the port, struggled by 1794 and required state support.⁴⁵ The Swedish East India Company was also under pressure.⁴⁶ Smuggling tea into Britain was no longer profitable.⁴⁷

Although not as internationally involved as Britain, Sweden had its share of interests. Domestically, Gustav III drove decisions as a central yet divisive figure, leading to his assassination. Over time, agriculture and proto-industry continued to develop. Foreign goods were imported, permitting profitable tolls. Exports were also connected to the ongoing warfare. Despite the death of the king, there were consistencies that carried over into the regency. Britain and Sweden were reconfiguring in light of two revolutions and the growing power of neighbouring states.

4.1.3 Times of Constant Adjustments and Tensions

This chapter represents transitions and times of many strains. It has Chapter Three's disposition. After this narrative background, the circumstances for the newspapers are discussed. The transformations are again explored, narrowing from a general focus to specific examples. After this, the investigation into economic matters is presented. A closing section gives conclusions and summarizes the period from 1790 to 1795.

4.2 Growing Newspapers and State Pressure

Publishing grew marginally in the late eighteenth century, as more titles were available. Literacy was also improving so there were also more potential readers. The amount of material received still fluctuated so assembly remained uncertain. The telegraph developed out of the French Revolution, initially improving ship and war communication.⁴⁸ Technology granted opportunities, but many states were more limited than others. Periods of revolution both created news and changed how news was communicated.

⁴⁵ Swedish: *Svenska Västindiska Kompaniet*.

⁴⁶ Swedish: *Svenska Ostindiska Kompaniet*.

⁴⁷ Kjellberg (1975), p. 153.

⁴⁸ Clarke (2004); *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 8, 19 Jan. 1795.

4.2.1 Communicating Ideas During Upheaval

Despite colonial anxieties and revolutionary pressures, the scenes of history that played out in Western newspapers did not avert from Europe.⁴⁹ Intellectual journals and growing commercial activity benefited from technological advancements; Sunday and evening dailies developed as printing became faster.⁵⁰ The press depended on the increased wealth of the middling sorts, growing markets, and communication investments.⁵¹ Other perspectives — like exploration and trade narratives — were also growing; travel publications doubled over the course of the eighteenth century.⁵² Advertising revenues were slowly becoming somewhat viable in some states due to increased circulation and readership. Unique papers were created in short runs, testing new processes and endeavouring to profit without consequences aside from losing a temporary investment. Generally, these sorts of commercial undertakings were not feasible for state-managed papers. Information was kept in familiar areas, to ease the routines of printers and readers.

There are several key states that impacted printing technologies and techniques. France and the USA have been well researched, especially concerning the role of early modern pressmen and the state during revolution.⁵³ Elsewhere, responses to the French Revolution led to the implementation of press controls, such as in Russia, attempting to curtail the spread of radical thoughts.⁵⁴ Revolutionary papers and their research show both parallels and contrasts to states that did not have that extent of political upheaval.

Newspapers after the American Revolution were influenced by new know-hows and included more news.⁵⁵ Other changes included altered forms of address that could be understood by more.⁵⁶ For the new republic, newspapers continued to reflect a town meeting.⁵⁷ From the 1780s to the 1810s, there were some basic changes. First, the Federal Period had stabilizing typography and paper size. Second, the text was compacted, assigning a sense of authority and awareness.⁵⁸ Third, there was a shift away from stating that papers were the voice of authority, although some continued this. Transitioning from British traditions, new routines were gradually created.

⁴⁹ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 100–101.

⁵⁰ Asquith (1978), p. 99.

⁵¹ Harris (1996), p. 105.

⁵² Hunt, Jacob, & Mijnhardt (2010), p. 5.

⁵³ Popkin (1995). This volume explores the press and revolutions throughout history.

⁵⁴ Boberg (1970), p. 48.

⁵⁵ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 43.

⁵⁶ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 45–47. *The Federalist Papers*, for example, reflected more ordinary language for broad appeal.

⁵⁷ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 49.

⁵⁸ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 54.

Newspapers were also crucial to the French Revolution. The censorship that demanded royal license was ended.⁵⁹ Previously, the majority of critical newspapers had come from abroad to circumvent this mandate.⁶⁰ Both intellectual pamphlets and newspapers circulated extensively in the beginning of the Revolution.⁶¹ Many only lasted a few weeks but still recorded new political ideals.⁶² Despite this, the spread to the countryside is difficult to gauge.⁶³ Under the rule of the Directory, however, restrictions were re-established and conservative views towards publishing returned.⁶⁴

Overall, however, the French Revolution benefited from the legitimacy created through print. Ideas were made public, bringing the people closer to the debate occurring at the centre and a different sort of semi-public sphere was created. Unlike elsewhere, it was previously common not to name political figures; anonymity instead established legitimacy. This changed in the early phases. Revolutionary thinking could be spread faster and wider.⁶⁵ There was an awareness of how vital publications were in creating the new, desired society.⁶⁶ Traditions could be documented, giving a sense of genuineness.

State-managed papers operated in environments with increasing competition and intellectual pressure, although these varied from state to state. Demographic changes also meant that more individuals could afford wider varieties of goods, including printed materials. While this was mainly confined to larger centres, there were advances that helped with circulation. The level of literacy and the demand for printed media was not consistent across Europe, however, just as there were varying levels of press controls.

4.2.2 *London Gazette* and the Reach of Britain

British publishing was in a transition, with the Fleet Street ideals emerging in the late eighteenth century.⁶⁷ The *London Gazette* faced increased competition, although it was still the paper of record. Commercial ventures led to the growth of daily and evening papers, including the first Sunday publication.⁶⁸ Advertising and steam-powered printing developments sustained activities, although both were far from widespread until the nineteenth century. These papers also benefited from the amount of news from the French Revolution. At great risk, papers arranged for more “professional” correspondents rather than

⁵⁹ Harris (1996), p. 65. He notes that these controls were more effective than efforts in Britain.

⁶⁰ Harris (1996), p. 57.

⁶¹ Harris (1996), p. 73.

⁶² Chisick (1993), pp. 149–166.

⁶³ Harris (1996), p. 74.

⁶⁴ Harris (1996), p. 72.

⁶⁵ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 85.

⁶⁶ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 88.

⁶⁷ Clarke (2004), p. 225.

⁶⁸ Clarke (2004), p. 242.

the former system of “casual” gatherers.⁶⁹ The *Gazette* changed slightly with these events, indicating the state’s reaction to the expansion of newspapers, society’s development, and international shifts. A symbolic masthead was introduced, and the paper was longer and printed more often.

As the situation improved for more of society, print had a growing reach. More readers, outside of the old elite, meant that news had to be explained in more colloquial forms. This process was still ongoing throughout the end of the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ Provincial papers circulated in greater numbers, due to their relative inexpensiveness and summarized content; these were often weeklies, gathering a broad array of information from various sources.⁷¹ The clashing view that newspapers were a luxury meant that the cost was often preventative for all,⁷² but conditions were permitting more readers.

There was still little money to be made in the newspaper trade, despite these factors. Few succeeded without state intervention. Like long-term economic development, these trends must be measured over an extended time period. The first eighteenth-century Sunday paper was published in December of 1791; the *Observer* was quickly in debt and tried to sell control of its editorial content to the state. The provincial press also struggled.⁷³ British newspapers were dependent on the strength of the economy in other ways; they were also participants. For individuals involved in credit speculation, details eased insecurity; the markets demanded news.⁷⁴ Foreign trade, investment opportunities, and the growing significance of credit were documented, while also being influenced by global diplomacy. There was an inherent lack of confidence, caused by the dependence on credit networks.⁷⁵

This unbalanced growth of the commercial press, as well as coffeehouse culture, caused reactionary controls throughout the 1790s. The revolutionary feelings in France also caused many partisans to spread news, especially in Scotland. Control by the British regime was difficult to maintain. As a consequence, the state increased investment in daily papers; in 1790, nine out of fourteen papers received funds from the Treasury.⁷⁶ Efforts to control the spread and profitability of other papers led to Stamp Tax increases in 1789 and 1797; a publishers’ register was also created.

The cost of the *Gazette* fluctuated. Before 1793, for a paper with four pages, the cost was four pence; a twelve-page paper, likewise, cost one schilling. In 1795, however, the cost of a twelve-page paper was “thirteen-pence half-

⁶⁹ Clarke (2004), p. 219.

⁷⁰ Harris (1996), p. 17.

⁷¹ Harris (1996), p. 20.

⁷² Harris (1996), pp. 14–15.

⁷³ Harris (1996), p. 23.

⁷⁴ Harris (1996), p. 24.

⁷⁵ Harris (1996), p. 25.

⁷⁶ Harris (1996), p. 45.

penny.⁷⁷ For the state, this meant using a problematic price system in order to compete with conflicting voices and maintain subscriptions. By the 1790s, counterfeiting of all coinage was well known, especially the halfpenny. When a reform was introduced to produce new coins, halfpennies were not included. There were so many fakes in circulation that new coinage would be insufficient. Increasing the cost of the paper to include a halfpenny partially legitimized the understanding of the amount of fake halfpennies.

There were expansions and restrictions for the press in Britain. Partisan groups and the state were both realizing its value as the public sphere was transforming, threatening the stability of the semi-public. The commercial newspaper trade also attempted to establish profitability. The beginnings of some economic growth and start of the Industrial Revolution underlie these alterations. The state had to balance its former efforts of consistency and legitimacy in fluctuating situations. The greater competition, actions of the regime at war, and transforming public sphere meant that the *Gazette* was including the same information as before but also taking on stronger aspects of the state's voice. While there were similar aspects in the Swedish papers, this period shows Britain at a different stage of development.

4.2.3 Press Restrictions and the Swedish Regimes

Changes in rulers both actively and passively altered the functions of press freedoms. Despite this, the purpose of *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* remained consistent, although slightly altered. Laws and propaganda typify the end of Gustav III's rule, along with his continued cultural impact. The routines under Gustav IV Adolf were somewhat different, as Reuterholm attempted to initiate his reforms. Political unrest increased by the end of the 1770s, leading to critical anonymous articles.⁷⁸ Papers decrying restrictions spread in the 1780s.⁷⁹ These were matched by Gustav III's own attempts at maintaining support and educating his population. He had an added strategy of forcing positive news of his regime into foreign papers.⁸⁰

Gustav III focused on improving the cultural education of his people. Artistic events were emphasized and published beyond the state-managed paper. *Stockholms Posten*, for example, had aspects of literary critique.⁸¹ The publication began in 1778 but was effectively a daily paper from 1779 until 1833. Johan Henric Kellgren, Johan Christopher Holmberg, and Carl Peter Lenngren started the paper. It competed with *Dagligt Allehanda* regarding debates and announcements, but cultural depictions were primarily

⁷⁷ For example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13779, 16–19 May 1795.

⁷⁸ Oscarsson (2000), p. 156.

⁷⁹ Oscarsson (2000), pp. 158–159.

⁸⁰ Boberg (1970), p. 52.

⁸¹ Oscarsson (2000), p. 166.

in *Posten*.⁸² *Posten* attempted to discuss the arts in a society based on the “liberty to seek pleasure and beauty” in order to “become a modern citizen.”⁸³ Edited by Kellgren, a friend of the king, it was part of the wider Enlightenment discourse on the value of arts. Cultural ideas were introduced, but had to be warily cultivated. The death of the king and the subsequent death of Kellgren in 1795 diminished the cultural element in *Posten*. Despite this, it circulated critical aspects emphasized by other European papers. It existed mainly due to its willingness to cooperate with the regime.⁸⁴

Domestically, the cultural impacts of Gustav III’s reign affected some of the functions of the two state papers. In 1791, the king transferred the issuing rights to the Swedish Academy. Founded in 1786, the intentions of the Academy were to strengthen culture and language. The papers were meant to provide additional revenue. Part of the state apparatus, the Academy maintained its voice of authority and support for the regime. There were assertions that earlier trends would be followed, although there were minor modifications that primarily involved content. While they were not the Academy’s chronicles, there was a steady focus on its actions.

Reuterholm’s rule during the new king’s minority briefly influenced press freedoms. The suspension of the Swedish Academy, however, did not have a direct effect. The printing responsibility and income from the paper was supposed to shift to the Chancellor of Justice, but the overall publishing routines did not change.⁸⁵ The announcement of the shift was made in March 1795 in the *Post-Tidningar* as a royal proclamation, taking up most of the issue.⁸⁶ The editions that followed, however, provided consistent news. When the Academy was reinstated the next year, issue reverted back to it.

Newspapers were growing in importance towards the nineteenth century, but so were efforts of censorship. Both Britain and Sweden had similar yet diverging developments. Revolutionary and Enlightenment thinking spread from salons and coffeehouses, clashing over some elements but embracing others. Regimes reacted, including political retorts, as well as alterations to state newspapers. Press controls were meeting the slowly emerging, but still incomplete, profitability from the press.

4.2.4 Stability, Transforming Presses, and Contrasting Milieus

The contents of the state papers were designed as a means of driving and reacting to public thought, connected to all of these previously outlined circumstances. Example issues are again presented here from front to back. The examination of the three sample editions shows some of the increasing

⁸² Oscarsson (200), pp. 160–161.

⁸³ Sandmo (2015), p. 244.

⁸⁴ Oscarsson (2000), p. 168.

⁸⁵ Oscarsson (2005), pp. 228–230.

⁸⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 30, 12 March 1795.

contrasts between the *Gazette* and the two Swedish newspapers. While production changes were important, the papers still represented what the state knew and thought about itself. Elements used in other papers were drawn on to emphasize authority, in addition to the older conventions.

London Gazette: March 1793

The number of pages and issues increased over time. The mastheads also changed. The *Gazette* adopted a crest, an alteration that began in 1785.⁸⁷ This added to the images of authority employed by the state, especially during war. The length of the paper, and thus the cost, increased. The longest editions were over twenty pages, reaching thirty-two in 1795.⁸⁸ Publication was boosted to “every Thursday, as long as it may be necessary” due to addresses supporting the king in late 1795.⁸⁹ The average papers were, however, between eight and twelve pages for this five-year period.

In general, international news declined. Proclamations were instead the dominant item genre. Peace was deeply underscored, conveying the regime’s assurances that conflicts would end without great costs. Despite decrying atrocities, there was no total attempt to demonize all of France, for example. Order is significant here, as military letters primarily appeared first and extra issues were devoted to war. Missives from India occupied space in some *Extraordinary* editions, as well. Most news directly from Europe was published as letters and war missives from the Low Countries. Being drawn into war influenced the overall construction and content of addresses.

The sample issue is from March 1793.⁹⁰ As war was in focus, the example lacks an item with a placeline, as there was a general decrease by 1793.⁹¹ As this was a Saturday issue with the grain table, the example is twelve pages. Proclamations, war dispatches, and casualty lists were generally the central items featured first overall. Issues typically began with notices from the centre of the state — either the court or Whitehall. Proclamation labelled items were also printed first, especially regarding French problems. The War or Naval Offices were occasionally first, but those lists and notices were mainly printed on later pages. In this case, the first item was from the Court at St. James, about preventing exports to France. This content was typical, as the state attempted to control what came in and out of Britain and its colonies. The second item was a proclamation.⁹² Occasionally, like here, these came from other

⁸⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 12608, Dec. 28–1 Jan. 1785.

⁸⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13833, 17–21 Nov. 1795.

⁸⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13838, 1–3 Dec. 1795 through issue 13840, 5–8 Dec. 1795.

⁹⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

⁹¹ The previous issue, however, had news from Stockholm about the royal family, as well as three other international sources. See: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13511, 16–19 March 1793.

⁹² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

offices, placed after news from the king. This one pardoned deserters to re-enter service.⁹³ A set of addresses from Whitehall followed, praising the king. These offerings from signed groups were also common. Lists, like the preacher one, were also common on first pages.⁹⁴

Short article-type items were next in this sample issue, also directly from the regime. The articles from St. James's and Whitehall were similar to the international items from other issues; there was a placeline and information was presented directly with minimal oral tags. These minor offices were focused on courtly events not necessarily connected to the war, ranging from notification of a knighthood and election, to the permission of using a last name by a private individual, in this example.⁹⁵ Like the references to symbolic international news, these items were generally not time sensitive and instead represent stable decisions during difficult times.

Overall, the middle pages had more regional content. This follows the pattern of national to local observed earlier. Militia commissions, in this case, were formatted like War Office lists; changes in rank had the names of members.⁹⁶ A letter through Whitehall was next, formatted like typical submitted items; information about a threat was sought and a representation of the letter was included. An additional Whitehall item also requested other criminal information; the "meeting house belonging to a Society of Protestant Dissenters" had been set on fire.⁹⁷ These types of notices, including letter representations, also had the amount of the reward in uppercased letters, emphasizing the compensation and case evidence.

Minor office notices continued this issue. For the overall time frame, the information ranged from material for the entire population, to meeting reminders for specific groups. The Stamp Office was noted here in connection to the state lottery; in a numbered list, the "public notice" of its regulations was presented.⁹⁸ An unnumbered docket of those licensed to sell tickets was also listed through the Stamp Office. The final lottery item was a notice about draws, advising where and when the news would be available. The notices that followed had content for more specific groups, including presenting a private bill to Parliament, a meeting of the East India Company, an arrest notice through the General Post Office, and six more notices on various topics about regional sales or meetings.⁹⁹

As in the previous chapter, the grain table was amongst these notices. Unlike the former period, the table in this issue was larger, taking up a page and a half and was on the latter pages. The size of the table grew throughout

⁹³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

⁹⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13343, 13–17 Sept. 1791.

⁹⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

⁹⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

⁹⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

⁹⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

⁹⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

1790 and 1791, taking up more single-column space. By 1792, it expanded to a two-column width. London prices were offset from inland counties and maritime counties,¹⁰⁰ with average prices for England and Wales ending the page. The next page continued the table, but this was for the “exportation and bounty” regulations.¹⁰¹ The final part was the price of sugar. These were rarely published early in the printing order, as focus was on war proclamations or lists.¹⁰² The size and order shows a demand for more prices, although it could not displace war news.

In this example, the final pages were the creditors and bankruptcy notices. Here, the financial difficulties of parts of the population were addressed both in and beyond law courts. There were augmented legitimacy-making qualities in these sections. Items about dissolving partnerships were printed progressively with names acting as signatures and the location of the decision.¹⁰³ These details were not handwritten representations but instead an offset name or set of names. While partnerships were also dissolved in the previous period, the solution was rarely emphasized like this.

This sample issue of the *Gazette* included nearly every categorized genre, except for a labeled advertisement. These were again observed only in the British paper. The item that was closest to an advertisement was the notification of sale of “101 Pipes of Madeira Wine” from East India House in the notice section,¹⁰⁴ but this was mainly because of an offset headline. The name of the printer ended the issue, as usual.¹⁰⁵

***Post-Tidningar*: September 1793**

In 1793, *Post-Tidningar* and *Inrikes Tidningar* functioned essentially as a quasi-weekly paper. Between 1790 and 1792, there were about 100 issues per year of each. After 1793, around 150 issues were produced.¹⁰⁶ I selected editions from 1793 for several reasons. Firstly, the war with Russia was disruptive until after 1790. Secondly, the move to the Swedish Academy changed the quality of some items, mainly in relation to some content and emphasis on the social-cultural realm. The addition of more Latin or French

¹⁰⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

¹⁰¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

¹⁰² For the military promotion example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13180, 2–6 March 1790; for the example of members returning to Parliament, see: issue 13220, 20–24 July 1790; for the Lent preachers example, see: issue 13255, 9–13 July 1790 for a sheriffs example; issue 13288, 5–8 March 1791.

¹⁰³ For example, see the final pages of: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13816, 22–26 Sept. 1795.

¹⁰⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13512, 19–23 March 1793.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas Harrison was the publisher in early 1790, but Edward Johnston was listed from mid-1790 onward. Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13189, 3–6 April 1790.

¹⁰⁶ Before the official change in Sweden, there was a new printer in 1791. Johan Georg Lange was replaced and Johan A. Carlbohm published the paper after 1791.

reflected Gustav III's cultural ambitions and the Academy's influence.¹⁰⁷ Contest submissions also had other languages.¹⁰⁸ Thirdly, 1792 was an inconsistent year. The Gävle Diet and king's death dominated, while London received first-page inclusion. The change in printing routines also brought more news after 1793. Finally, the oversight shift in 1795 had minor instant effects; there was mainly more Stockholm news in the *Post-Tidningar*.

For the *Post-Tidningar*, external events again dictated order. The Russian war, as well as the conflict between that empire and the Ottomans, started the first pages in 1790, for example. Warsaw or Constantinople placelines commonly appeared initially as well.¹⁰⁹ The wars continued and news was delayed, so this pattern continued through 1792. There were some issues when the Swedish military endorsements were at the start. For example, a 1790 issue was devoted only to the coronation of Leopold II from Frankfurt, military changes from Stockholm, and domestic notifications.¹¹⁰

Before Britain was official drawn into the Revolutionary Wars, London was occasionally printed first. Up until August 1792, London was on the first page multiple times a month. After, it was once again on latter pages. As the conflicts escalated throughout 1793, Paris was also first. This does not mean that Britain was not referenced elsewhere. When Britain was used in items from centres other than London, the context is established but framed by the ambitions of another opposing state. Although the Swedish regime intrinsically created a sense of agreement with items, there was an additional perspective that is not dealt with extensively in this study.

The representative issue of *Post-Tidningar* was longer than the average four-page issue, but still has the basic structure and content. On the first pages, the order of the international news rotated from issue to issue. For 1793, the fallout from the Russian war continued to share space with the French wars. The first item here was about negotiations from St. Petersburg.¹¹¹ A *ditto* from a few weeks later followed, also describing peace. Copenhagen and Warsaw placelines were next, each with a *ditto*, along with Vienna; each of these was about either Russia or the Ottomans. Berlin and London continued the issue.¹¹² This was the normal position for London other than the previously mentioned exceptions: on latter pages. Some of these were noted as coming from the *Hamburg Political Journal* or other publications.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Tandefelt (2008), p. 226. The meeting of the Academy in 1791 referenced Latin and English, for example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1792.

¹⁰⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1792.

¹⁰⁹ Vienna, Amsterdam, or Brussels were also first-page items during the unsuccessful Brabant Revolution, 1789–90.

¹¹⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 81, 18 Oct. 1790.

¹¹¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 99, 7 Sept. 1793.

¹¹² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 99, 7 Sept. 1793.

¹¹³ For example, see: *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 22, 18 March 1790.

Rather than including the average amount of international items, this issue instead exemplifies the varied locations. For a four-page paper, there were normally between two to six items. Despite being on the middle pages, the London item was the longest. There were multiple topics, offset by em dashes, moving from a colonial to a European context. A *ditto* from a few days later followed the initial dateline, showing that London news arrived faster than St. Petersburg, for example. The final five global items ranged from Philadelphia to Frankfurt. A list from Stockholm was next, broken down by date; the king had granted three appointments to various titles.

Notifications ended the issue; these normally took up half to one and a half pages, but this issue had about two and a half pages. The notices were divided into auctions, items for sale, the bankruptcy announcements, and lastly the diverse declarations or proclamations.¹¹⁴ The bankruptcy proceedings and the varied declarations took up most of this space. These were not normally in *Inrikes*, indicating a broader importance. One of the items that was not in this issue was a table. In the *Post-Tidningar*, the currency table was more common after July 1794. Unlike the *Gazette*'s grain table, this sometimes moved to a different day. By 1795, it had generally stabilized to Saturday. The form of the item was similar to the previous period, although there were more states.

***Inrikes Tidningar*: September 1793**

The shift to the Academy was addressed promptly. In the first edition of 1792, continued printing of “marriage, death and other remarkable events” of town inhabitants was assured, as long as the content was not wasteful and could be made public.¹¹⁵ This established what type of interactions the audience could expect. The price and publication days would also be the same.¹¹⁶ The notice attempted to affirm the continued legitimacy of the new distributors by connecting it to previous traditions and content. The *Inrikes* generally had three types of leading items here: a Swedish placeline, varieties of lists, or other reports. The placeline items could be tables or articles. The lists were ship news passengers, meeting dates, or just lists of names.¹¹⁷ Official reports, submitted writings, or letters were the final category that often came first. Issues in the spring had market price tables for various centres,¹¹⁸ although these could be delayed. Issues both before and after the increase of issues per year had between four and eight pages, with the occasional appendix.

The example of the *Inrikes Tidningar* from 1793 began with news about the investment of a new bell in Eds parish, Västernorrland.¹¹⁹ This is a typical

¹¹⁴ Swedish: *Auktioner, Till salu finnes, Konkurs tvister, Diverse Kungörelser*.

¹¹⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1792.

¹¹⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1792; No. 2, 5 Jan. 1792.

¹¹⁷ For instance, the representatives attending the 200-year jubilee of the Uppsala Synod were listed first in March 1793. See: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 27, 5 March 1793; No. 28, 6 March 1793.

¹¹⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 23, 21 March 1791; No. 24, 24 March 1791.

¹¹⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 106, 10 Sept. 1793.

example of the news about regions outside of Stockholm; cultural and community improvements were often noteworthy. A list of judges for the autumn assembly was next; this second item was more time sensitive as the dates for assembly were included.¹²⁰ A similar list was about ship news voyages, occasionally placed first in some issues. The list of judges finished on the next page in this example, followed by an item with a Stockholm placeline. This was a proclamation variation; a “gracious resolution” was granted regarding a claim.¹²¹ The explanation of the decision and the representation of the king’s signature were also included.

The next item represents the table genre. This example is the smaller variety, often integrated into other item types. In this case, it was the lottery winners, divided between Stockholm and the provinces.¹²² The tables that were often printed on the first page were the market prices, although those related to Stockholm were sometimes printed on latter pages. Since lotteries were run on a relatively short cycle, the items regarding them could move. Other tables required fixed placements, as the sales or market dates had a longer time frame. For the lottery, stable content established its trustworthiness, while tables of prices required determined placement and form.

The marriage, engagement, and death announcements lists were consistently included in most issues of the *Inrikes*. They could occasionally move if the notifications were longer than the usual page or page and a half. Here, there were five sets of announcements.¹²³ The currency table was always before the notifications; this example included three states — London, Hamburg, and Amsterdam — but this fluctuated from issue to issue.¹²⁴ This was another example of the placement of tables for reliability, while the content was updated. Publishing these exchanges was a key expression by the state, trying to establish a sense of security for economic matters abroad that was repeated with a determined placement.

Two types of notifications closed out the paper: notices without a label and those noted as such. Notifications included a variety of topics, again like the previous chapter.¹²⁵ They were increasingly separated by titles and they were also more attached to individuals through names similar to the “signatures” observed in the *Gazette*. The state also gave specific instructions in this part of the newspaper. In this example, the notifications were auctions, items for sale, testamentary dispositions, and diverse announcements.¹²⁶ Occasionally, information for work applicants was included.¹²⁷ Some types of notices —

¹²⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 106, 10 Sept. 1793.

¹²¹ Swedish: *Höstting*.

¹²² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 106, 10 Sept. 1793.

¹²³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 106, 10 Sept. 1793.

¹²⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 106, 10 Sept. 1793.

¹²⁵ Quite often, the *bihang* appendixes were additional notifications.

¹²⁶ Swedish: *Auktioner, Till salu finnes, Testamentariska Dispositioner, Diverse Kungörelser*.

¹²⁷ Swedish: *Underrättelser för tjänstsökande*.

published towards the end but not in the notifications — were longer auction notices or work opportunities. These were effectively notifications, although without the title line.

There were some slight changes to all three papers from earlier examples. These 1793 selections illustrate general developments, while also placed in the context of a transitioning five-year period. The modifications were not as clear in the *Post-Tidningar* or *Inrikes* as they were in the *Gazette*. Things like price tables were longer and more detailed, for example. Some of the social influences of the period were also reflected in the content, such as adding more languages. Overall, the papers were reflecting reactions to disruptive times in different ways.

4.2.5 Difficulties for State Publishing Systems

Although the states were developing in different ways, there were some parallels between British and Swedish papers. The fluctuating ownership of private publications, and to an extent some of the smaller ones controlled by regional administrations, meant that those were steered by many other factors. While the state newspapers were affected by regime changes and war, their functions as information shapers were consistent and the forms of items were relatively stable. They continued to invoke a sense of legitimacy through established formatting. The changes to some items, especially tables, are significant for the analysis in the next major section.

4.3 Threatened Resources, Peoples, and Kings

War was central to the portrayals of economic matters in these years. Trade and toll disputes were also influential and connected to other struggles. Taxes and other decisions were also debated. Failed harvests and other problematic resource exploitations threatened the population's well-being and the state's ability to wage war. Expressions of economic matters depended on these political and social situations, both internally and externally. Economic matters from 1790–95 are divided here between the political or social realms, with more distinctly economic elements highlighted at the close of the section about Britain and the beginning of the Swedish section. These three parts, including the comparisons, are summarized in the final section.

4.3.1 Costs of War for the British Public

The king and Parliament were again central to the political realm but had some altered features. This continued the trend noted previously about the prime minister. Criticisms were kept to a minimum, instead represented by parliamentary debates. The king's association with economic matters had

more social meaning, mainly because of the times of conflict; he was a symbol of unity, connected to all of the realms, the home state, and the colonies. The position of prime minister was more associated with political aspects, although the king retained meaning there as well.

Political and Economic Consequences of Revolution

The influences of the American and French Revolutions dominated most of the international news in the *London Gazette*. Reports from North America, India, and the Caribbean reflected diverse happenings, but were all politically focused. The military aspect was an important part of this perspective. The Revolutionary Wars required recruitment, war correspondence, and lists of both military promotions and casualties. Parliamentary elections, activities of royalty, reports of plague, and unrest were all political concerns also reported, but were not as significant as war contexts.

The impacts of war were also beyond the French context. Previously, the American Revolution added to economic discourses about trade, loyalty to the king, and military preparedness. Here, Britain began looking back to the USA, chiefly due to French threats. At the start of the period, the *Gazette* reassured the population that the state was considering trade options. These economic discourses denote how the regime treated the former colonies; trade was significant but needed reflection. In 1790, a shorter item noted that the prohibition of “wheat of the growth of any of the territories belonging to the United States of America” be ended.¹²⁸ The state made decisions because it was best for the people, despite past wrongs.

The proclamation beside this item also referenced the population and grain. It noted that in order to secure “his faithful subjects a sufficient supply of wheat, rye, barley, beans and oats, and flour and meal [...] it is hereby ordered, that no person or persons whatever shall, from and after the publication of this order in the *Gazette* [...] directly or indirectly export, transport, carry or convey, or cause to procure to be exported, transported, carried or conveyed, out of or from any port or place in Great Britain.”¹²⁹ The act also concerned the fact that “the prices thereof cannot be properly ascertained for regulating and governing the exportation and importation.”¹³⁰ Printed side-by-side on the first page, the two emphasize control of trade in two different contexts. Supplying the people — especially the loyal sorts — was central to both.

Prolonged proclamations indicate how trade restrictions were to be maintained. This includes ideas, objects, and practices both in British and colonial holdings, encompassed into an economic discourse. The state also emphasized ideal situations and public participation through the inclusion of an example of the other category genre. The paper was still involved in economic practices. A license certificate form was printed to give autonomy

¹²⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13167, 16–19 Jan. 1790.

¹²⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13167, 16–19 Jan. 1790.

¹³⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13167, 16–19 Jan. 1790.

to those trading far from Britain proper. This form, to import “bread, flour, and Indian corn, the produce of the said United States” to Newfoundland, was published first in 1789.¹³¹ It provided a procedure to be copied and completed by “one of His Majesty’s subjects” on a “British-built ship.”¹³² Stressed by war and needing to connect distant settlements, information was extended to encourage connected practices. Since these items were reproduced over a long period of time, a discourse of sustaining trade is involved.

Economic matters in parliamentary acts were part of the standard political process. When acts were granted ascension, the list was long with no firm order, other than roughly following the national to local pattern. These are also representative of economic discourses of dividing state resources through upkeep practices. There were few changes in the form or the content from Chapter Three; the subjects from May 1791, for example, were mainly about infrastructure. The first item permitted a group in Thames “to borrow a further sum of money to complete the said navigation” for a canal.¹³³ Other canal and road acts followed. The state had to consider funds for “making and maintaining,” “repairing, paving and cleaning,” as well as “lighting, cleaning, and watching” for means of transportation and communication.¹³⁴ Other acts extended to the “relief” for those who lost property “during the late unhappy dissensions in America” and other issues of colonial importation.¹³⁵ Sums were not listed as the state would be indebted, just as it was earlier.

Although Ireland is not directly focused on, the relationship between the regime and Dublin was mostly addressed in proclamations. The main difference with economic matters related to Ireland connected to acts is the use of amounts of compensation.¹³⁶ Improvements to economic matters represent attempts to better associations. Giving amounts increased the promise to a problematic group. The general British crowd was treated differently because the devices of legitimacy had been functioning for a long time. Better-managed economic practices would create a better relationship for both sides. In cases like this, the state used economic qualities in politics to attempt greater trust. The Lord Lieutenant gave assent from Dublin Castle, representing the king with similar descriptions;¹³⁷ this shows this was for a more specific crowd. Repairs to churches were common. The acts emphasized unity, such as the regulation of the corn trade that was meant for “promoting agriculture, and providing a regular and steady supply of corn in the kingdom.”¹³⁸

¹³¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13076, 10–14 March 1789.

¹³² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13168, 19–23 Jan. 1790.

¹³³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13307, 10–14 May 1791.

¹³⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13307, 10–14 May 1791.

¹³⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13208, 8–12 June 1790.

¹³⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13191, 10–13 April 1790.

¹³⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13191, 10–13 April 1790. The phrase “with the usual solemnity,” for example, was used in these contexts.

¹³⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13191, 10–13 April 1790.

Britain's reassessment of the USA was presented similarly. Repairing relationships had economic solutions, as those were easier to mend than political betrayal. A common economic discourse was about trade, along with elaborations of economic objects and trade practices. An economic discourse including "[a]n act [...] carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of said United States" has ideas, practices, and objects.¹³⁹ For economic objects, the differences between "unmanufactured goods and merchandises" and produced goods were presented; raw goods, except for tobacco and rice, were not permitted.¹⁴⁰ This gave two categories of economic objects, defined by prohibitions or required duties. Their origins were the initial distinction, while the state politicized the item with its descriptions.

The security of the state was often separated from other concerns. In a 1792 example, the cost of war in India was mentioned in an extensive first-page proclamation.¹⁴¹ Economic matters like this idea are connected to the political concepts of maintaining the loyalty of the public and justifying the continued funding of the venture. The initial paragraph, describing the king arriving to Parliament, mentioned that this was a "most gracious speech."¹⁴² This connection and the use of the first-person form gave the news symbolic qualities. It was politically official, due to the presentation to the House of Commons, with economic concepts that affect the population.

Military decisions by the regime were inherently political. Despite being solved by diplomatic means, the Nootka incident still required explanation; the state needed to protect against a threat, which included access to trustworthy recruitment. There were attempts to attract sailors, giving enlistment criteria.¹⁴³ With an economic value attached, the sailors become objects, related to compensation. Pay is presented as an established economic idea in this case. The state did not have to explain what processes were entailed, only the aspects of violating the agreement. The amount offered in issues from May 1790 was two pounds for "ordinary seamen" and twenty shillings for "able bodied landmen."¹⁴⁴ If the contracts were dishonoured, there would be punishment. The state recognized the draw of pay and needed to guard against violations of loyalty and earnings. These groups were controllable if they were treated as wholes in the state's overall management.

Other instances were to force men "in the pay or service of any foreign prince or state" to return "home to their native countries."¹⁴⁵ In May 1790,

¹³⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13193, 17–20 April 1790.

¹⁴⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13193, 17–20 April 1790.

¹⁴¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13383, 28–31 Jan. 1792.

¹⁴² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13383, 28–31 Jan. 1792.

¹⁴³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13199, 8–11 May 1790.

¹⁴⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13199, 8–11 May 1790.

¹⁴⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13199, 8–11 May 1790; issue 13200, 11–13 May 1790; issue 13201, 15–18 May 1790; issue 13202, 18–22 May 1790.

the state threatened “mariners and seafaring men, our natural-born subjects” who became “offenders” by entering into foreign service.¹⁴⁶ This group is still associated with both loyalty and wages. The servicemen were referred to as a plural collective and addressed with a “promise” for pay.¹⁴⁷ Soldiers were not the only ones that needed to be controlled, as the regulations for preventing “artificers and manufacturers” from going to “foreign countries” were also common.¹⁴⁸ They were valuable in terms of service and production but could be costly if they violated directives.

The king’s voice was directly invoked in speeches and proclamations about war and diplomacy. Conflicts drove positive portrayals of Britain as well, carried over to domestic economic matters. Statements about the peace between the Ottoman and Austrian Empires were formulated as being “under my mediation and that of my allies.”¹⁴⁹ Additionally, “our intervention” with the Russians and Ottomans was also referenced.¹⁵⁰ The troops “bravery” in India was also described.¹⁵¹ These items preceded separate sections about economic matters; ideas of “expenses,” “grants” and “resources” were referenced.¹⁵² The monetary qualities of each were left open but also emphasized that the “public expenses” and suffering would decrease with the solutions. From this and other similar proclamations,¹⁵³ economic matters were offset but still coupled through symbolic qualities. The king’s presence connected the realms, although they were also divided textually.

Similar techniques were used as the anger of the people escalated by 1795. After a proclamation about the attack of George III, his speech at the House of Commons described the threats by other states and emphasized alliances to protect the kingdom. Economic ideas are observed through the mentioning of “the flourishing state of our commerce and manufactures” and “the produce of the wheat harvest.”¹⁵⁴ These were offset from the other discussions but drew on loyalty. The qualities of the ideas were determined by the context, connected to trusting the state rather than the monetary qualities.

Announcements about royalty often narrowed subjects from symbolic news to economic matters. Celebrations of the anniversary of the king’s ascension to the throne and its “public demonstrations of joy,” for example,

¹⁴⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13198, 4–8 May 1790; issue 13199, 8–11 May 1790; issue 13200, 11–13 May 1790; issue 13202, 18–22 May 1790; issue 13203, 22–25 May 1790; issue 13205, May 29–1 June 1790.

¹⁴⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13307, 10–12 May 1791. This is another situation but the phrasing and order are the same.

¹⁴⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13187, 27–30 March 1790.

¹⁴⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13383, 28–31 Jan. 1792.

¹⁵⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13383, 28–31 Jan. 1792.

¹⁵¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13383, 28–31 Jan. 1792.

¹⁵² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13383, 28–31 Jan. 1792.

¹⁵³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13314, 4–7 June 1791; issue 13600, 10 Dec. 1793.

¹⁵⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13826, 27–31 Oct. 1795.

were published prior to the Navy Office item about contracts.¹⁵⁵ Descriptions like this item were crucial for both state legitimacy and resource management. The Victualling Office had similar authority to the Navy Office but dealt with different matters.¹⁵⁶ The explanations of what was involved were at the end of proposals. The contracts needed to be open to attract bidders, but the state was driving the terms and needed to establish the routines. The state was trustworthy and could demand much of those interested.

Lottery and Integrated Social Matters

The items related to the social or cultural realm are primarily represented by connections to the monarchy or state involvement with the people. They differed from politically defined items by their placement in the order, as well as these content aspects. The lottery continued to be published, along with horse racing.¹⁵⁷ For economic matters, the social realm extends to these practices, whether involving the state or other individuals. The growing function of respectability was also connected to the continued publication of professions.¹⁵⁸ Although the public had access to other newspapers, there was notoriety when part of the official record. This was connected to traditional concepts of identity markers.¹⁵⁹ As the state both created and reinforced societal norms, these expressions reflected the importance of being known and respected in public. This also used similar phrasings as the previous period.

Like the lottery, George III was not personally interested in horse racing, but his sons were so patronage through the Royal Plates continued.¹⁶⁰ Typically, the King's Plates were run around March at various sites; the races were presented "as usual" and included a certificate for the winner to submit with county approval.¹⁶¹ Interactions like this with the public were social, as was the granting by the king the "one hundred guineas" to the winner. The races created a cultural context, emphasized by the royal participation. The placement on the latter pages also reflected a more domestic public.

Like the Plates, the various lotteries operated cyclically. The state again emphasized its control through the approved lists for "licensed" lottery sellers.¹⁶² These highlighted trust in the regime for maintaining public interests and dividing resources. As those purchasing lottery blanks were

¹⁵⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13248, 23–26 Oct. 1790. A similar item regarded the anniversary of the George III's coronation, see: issue 13345, 20–24 Sept. 1791.

¹⁵⁶ The two would be absorbed into one office, the Board of Admiralty, in 1832.

¹⁵⁷ For the example of the King's Place in 1790, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13187, 27–30 March 1790.

¹⁵⁸ Smith (2002), pp. 220–221.

¹⁵⁹ Wahrman (2004), p. 202.

¹⁶⁰ Vamplew & Kay (2005), p. 264.

¹⁶¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13187, 27–30 March 1790; issue 13302, 23–26 April 1791; issue 13394, 3–6 March 1792; issue 13507, 2–5 March 1793; issue 13629, 4–8 March 1794; issue 13757, 3–7 March 1795.

¹⁶² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13507, 2–5 March 1793.

entering into a potentially risky economic practice, the state announced additional protective measures prior to State Lottery draws. Those who were “persisting in illegal attempts” were to face “the increased vigilance of the magistracy in the effectual maintenance of the law.”¹⁶³ Those entering into the illegal practice of selling “shares of tickets” that were not “legally stamped” could also be punished.¹⁶⁴

There were additional economic practices connected to the negative aspects of the social realm. Reports about the Birmingham Riots stretched from July to October 1791.¹⁶⁵ The details decreased over the months, shortening the proclamations so the news could remain on the first page. The punishment for the rioters extended to negative economic practices of those who “by force or terror illegally take money from [...] our subjects.”¹⁶⁶ The reward, as in other cases of breaking the law, was listed; here, it was one hundred pounds.¹⁶⁷ When George III was attacked in 1795, the reward was one thousand pounds.¹⁶⁸ These also involve the political realm, since the payment came from the Treasury, but encouraged behaviour in the social. Although the amount was obviously increased for the king, these types of proclamations were similarly formatted and placed early in the issues.

Other than these examples and the overlapping aspects of contract offers, the items with both economic and social meaning were the final notices. How the state portrayed economic matters of individuals, or from a more private perspective, is significant here. A firmer order and content were established over time. In the 1790s, one type of notice had different labelled content; the “fugitives for debt” list was no longer printed, but “prisoners for debt” continued, taking on the function of the other list.¹⁶⁹ These were to make public notice of individuals “with any debt or debt, sum or sums of money, not exceeding in the whole the sum of one thousand pounds.”¹⁷⁰ Naming a sum and associating it with a group — fugitives — generate economic objects. They violated a known idea of debt and acted against the state. Economic practices, dealing with financial obligations were part of the social realm. These were subjective to creditors and the system that punished debtors.

Due to the repetitiveness and amounts of these notices, I have instead focused on a few examples to illustrate some key points. Since the forms

¹⁶³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13507, 2–5 March 1793.

¹⁶⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13385, Jan. 31–4 Feb. 1792.

¹⁶⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13329, 26–30 July 1791; issue 13330, July 30–2 Aug. 1791; issue 13331, 2–6 Aug. 1791; issue 13332, 6–9 Aug. 1791; issue 13347, Sept. 27–1 Oct. 1791; issue 13348, 1–4 Oct. 1791; issue 13350, 4–8 Oct. 1791.

¹⁶⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13350, 4–8 Oct. 1791.

¹⁶⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13350, 4–8 Oct. 1791.

¹⁶⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13826, 27–31 Oct. 1795; issue 13827, Oct. 31–3 Nov. 1795.

¹⁶⁹ The final list of fugitives for debt appeared in 1780. See: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 12112, 22–26 Aug. 1780.

¹⁷⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13700, 2–6 Sept. 1794.

were consistent, the order and content are significant. The content reflects some private economic matters made public. The average practices were presented, along with dispute resolutions. For this, I use females in the notices as a point of reference, since the majority were about male partnerships or debt. This characterizes some aspects of women and their role in economic matters through the voice of the state.

Each item of these dispute sections informed parties about the dates of meetings, other deadlines, as well as described the transgressions. The paper made the parties equal in this knowledge. As real-world routines, these disputes are economic practices, based in the social realm due to the reputation involved. An issue from 1794 typified the disputes and those involved.¹⁷¹ Merchant partnerships were the most common; wool-staplers, liquor-merchants, glass manufacturers, and others like this were depicted. These notices involved five stages: claiming, considering and approving, disclosing and discovering, intending and proving, and conforming.¹⁷² These had meaning in judicial court, expressing economic practices and the social contexts of resolving disputes.

Many individuals can be followed throughout these different stages, even after death when reputations could no longer be repaired. Women were primarily mentioned in relation to their spouses, who were most often deceased, or their children, who they were representing. The example I use here explores the descriptions of a business transition. Widow Mary Medley, her son John, daughters Elizabeth and Ann and partners Thomas Bates and William Currer in York had been maintaining the firm started by her husband, William Medley. The partnership would now only be “carried on” by John, having come of age.¹⁷³ Mary’s name was listed first, “as witness their hands” to the signing reference, followed by her children and the executors.¹⁷⁴ While there was a loss of power, Mary’s name was first so she drove some aspect of the firm. The private economic matters of men extended to their wives and children, although still not commonly mentioned.

Similar representations were also in other notices. The state represented women in relation to economic matters based on common practices of social order. For example, Lady Hill the “executrix of the late Sir John Hill, and sole possessor of his recipes” could now take orders for “balsam of honey” and other various goods.¹⁷⁵ This item is an advertisement with a woman, although another signer was needed on the bottles as a “cheque of authority to the purchaser.”¹⁷⁶ This was placed after the smaller office notices, but before lottery table. In these cases, the practices were conducted outside the papers, either through selling goods or business dealings.

¹⁷¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13624, 15–18 Feb. 1794.

¹⁷² These are the most common phrases. They were generally grouped together.

¹⁷³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13624, 15–18 Feb. 1794.

¹⁷⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13624, 15–18 Feb. 1794.

¹⁷⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13185, 20–23 March 1790.

¹⁷⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13185, 20–23 March 1790.

Separate and Separating Economic Matters

Negotiations were more than political or social disputes. In an offer for contracts to supply beef and rum, repeated in a number of issues,¹⁷⁷ there were qualifications: “such tenders as contain extravagant prices upon some articles, and prices much inferior to the real value upon others, will not be considered as proper to be admitted.”¹⁷⁸ Expressions of ideas like prices were again not exact and the practices were negotiations. The tenders as economic objects were instead emphasized because of their real-world qualities. Although related to a regime office, the item related more to economic than political concerns.

Tables continue as the clearest expression of economic matters. Many types from the previous period were used; the state was expanding the information and adding increased details. The tables that were occasionally on the first page were related to luxury objects. These also transformed. The prices of sugars, gingers, and often aloes and turmeric were printed in a combined table form; sugar was a constant while the others varied.¹⁷⁹ By 1792, it was part of the regular grain table, as well as with luxury goods. The average price of sugar “computed from the returns” was “fifty-seven shillings and ten pence per hundred weight” for example.¹⁸⁰ This double expression is an example of how an object of luxury could be integrated into various types of markets over time and how those markets were expressed.

Luxury goods and everyday cereals were critical for the development beyond the physical market place. The tables are still economic discourses, sustaining the conversation about resources the state started in parliamentary acts or contract notices. The “Average Prices of Corn” table was consistently two columns wide after 1792. Although it was no longer published on the first page, this expansion shows a change in thinking from the state. The organization was like the tables from 1770–75, but the categories were different, in addition to the expanded types of crops; the marketplace was bigger. Previously, the locations were noted as “counties inland” and “counties upon the coast.”¹⁸¹ Here, they were “inland counties” and “maritime counties.”¹⁸² The earlier categories of grain included wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans; this period expanded to note prices for peas, oatmeal, and “beer or *bigg*.”¹⁸³ More counties were included so the conversation was more detailed.

¹⁷⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13343, 13–17 Sept. 1791; issue 13344, 17–20 Sept. 1791; issue 13345, 20–24 Sept. 1791. These are the examples from 1791.

¹⁷⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13343, 13–17 Sept. 1791.

¹⁷⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13163, 2–5 Jan 1790. This example lists all of the items.

¹⁸⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13431, 28–30 June 1792.

¹⁸¹ For example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 11208, 24–28 Dec. 1771.

¹⁸² For example, see: recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13382, 24–28 Jan. 1792.

¹⁸³ For example, see: recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13382, 24–28 Jan. 1792. *Bigg* is a four-rowed barley.

Despite the threat of war, there were sustained domestic developments in Britain connected to economic matters. For other aspects of the state, the Bank of England received some separate mentions, including expressions of a representation of how to prevent bank notes being lost in the post; an example was to be posted through the post office, advising how to cut the bank note in two and “send then by different posts.”¹⁸⁴ Many of the Bank references, however, were still part of the political or social; meetings were announced but pushed back in issues, such as when the king was threatened in 1795.¹⁸⁵ The king as a symbol of loyalty was important in both contexts. The solutions his government made for the people were the best possible. There was also increased encouragement to be involved with the state and take part in mutually beneficial practices. Maintaining colonial connections and continuing social controls were part of this. The regime had to reduce suffering, but also manage limited resources and wage war without losing grip.

4.3.2 Gustav III’s Death, Giving, and Working Together

Although Sweden was behind Britain in industrial development and lacked a colonial presence, the state encountered depictions related to those areas as well. News increased, but not necessarily from the smaller parishes in the *Inrikes*. Gustav III had attempted to penetrate all elements of society; this delayed efforts of change during the regency. Economic matters at this time continued many trends from the previous chapter, but some aspects were given more detail or greater emphasis, although many forms were stable during revolutionary times.

Continued Complexity of Tables and Marketplaces

For the regime, the currency table was unchanged, only fluctuating with the included foreign states. The first issue of 1792, for example, listed three accumulated days worth of tables, listing Amsterdam, Hamburg, and London; Copenhagen appeared in the second issue, while London did not.¹⁸⁶ Printing missed dates continued the conversation and put emphasis on the state’s role of controlling, providing, and repeating the information. The discourses existed and transformed outside the print, but still needed to come from an official organ and be recorded by it. These exchanges were in table form, although there were other references as articles in the international context, especially during times of crises.¹⁸⁷ Discourses about currency were

¹⁸⁴ The item, including a representation from the other category, noted that this notice was repeated from an original posting from February 1782. For some examples, see: *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13188, March 30–3 April 1790; issue 13192, 13–17 April 1790. The continued to be repeated semi-regularly until June 1790.

¹⁸⁵ For example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13843, 10–12 Dec. 1795.

¹⁸⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1792; *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 2, 5 Jan. 1792.

¹⁸⁷ For example of items from France, see: *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 131, 19 Nov. 1795.

crucial for growth,¹⁸⁸ but threatened by conflict, causing the content changes to include more states or relay late information.

Like in the previous period, market tables continued to be included at the start of the year, detailing the previous season. The categories again ranged from tonnes of various grain, animals, types of work, and clothing. These were generally the same from parish to parish, but there were some extended aspects. For example, the prices from 1789 were printed in several issues in January 1790; these were from Västerås, Vänersborg, and Nyköping, covering Sweden from the centre to the east and west. While clothing was a common category in the previous period, the examples from Vänersborg and Nyköping expanded on a specific grouping of “soldier equipment” or “boatmen clothing” from Västerås.¹⁸⁹ Like the references to specific work, the prices listed were connected to previously defined items. Prices for “dark blue dress of the new Swedish outfit, consisting of jacket, shirt, and pants” and “a pair of white wool socks, one-fourth cubits long” were examples of detailed economic objects placed in this marketplace discourse.¹⁹⁰ Commodification and manufacturing improvements are also gauged from these additional categories.

As the number of papers published increased, so did the amount and space to tables. The export tables, listed with a Gothenburg placeline, listed various international places and the amount of goods that were exported.¹⁹¹ Each year had standard locations — England, St. Petersburg, Amsterdam, Riga, for some examples — while other places varied; “America” was mentioned in 1793, 1794, and 1795, but not in 1792.¹⁹² The categories of goods listed at the top of the tables were consistent: bar iron, finer and wrought iron, steel, planks, salted herring, herring fish oil, and East India goods at value. These tables nearly took up entire pages, including paragraphs on the next page that explained the “specifications of the previous East India goods at value.”¹⁹³

The most significant export locations for both types of iron were the combined countries of Britain; England, Scotland, and Ireland were noted separately, but combined they outnumbered the other countries each year. These tables, along with auctions and the square and harbour prices, were published more frequently in this period, although sometimes as a list form.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ Eisenstadt (1993), p. 126–128.

¹⁸⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 11, 8 Feb. 1790; No. 13, 15 Feb. 1790; No. 15, 22 Feb. 1790.

¹⁹⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 13, 15 Feb. 1790.

¹⁹¹ For 1791 data, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 5, 16 Jan. 1792; For 1792 data, see: No. 8, 18 Jan. 1793; For 1793 data, see: No. 7, 17 Jan. 1794; For 1794 data, see: No. 7, 20 Jan. 1795.

¹⁹² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 5, 16 Jan. 1792.

¹⁹³ The tables printed in 1792 and 1793 had paragraphs under the tables, while the example from 1795 took up the entire page, due to the length of the market price table from Uppland from the previous page. The details of the worth were on the following page.

¹⁹⁴ For example of square prices from Stockholm, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 5, 14 Jan. 1794. The Stockholm import list from 1793 was also in a form of a list, although with added whitespace it resembles a table. See: No. 28, 7 March 1794 through No. 45, 22 April 1794. These were not always in consecutive issues, and included a *bihang* for some issues.

As the amount of issues increased, so did the local and international trade news. Without political notions, these tables express the importance of marketplaces.

The state dictated processes through discourses established in the paper, especially connected to new objects or practices. The East India Company auction tables from Gothenburg also represented an ongoing dialogue,¹⁹⁵ including new categories and, by extension, new objects. Economic objects from China were for sale, often printed on the first page. Tables and lists noted the amounts of items, especially diverse teas.¹⁹⁶ In these auction notices, goods ranged from “real pearl necklaces” to “sleds and saddles.”¹⁹⁷ The acceptable payments were listed in specific portions of *riksgåld* and *banco* notes.¹⁹⁸ The lottery plans had clarifications like this as well; the table about the costs of blanks noted how the “ticket owner is to pay for himself.”¹⁹⁹ Participating in auctions or lotteries, as well as acquiring luxury objects, required social preparations and understandings of currency. State ideals established these conventions that were later repeated through described practices and objects.

The state papers were economic objects as well. In earlier issues, there was no noted cost for submitting items in the notifications. In 1793, however, a cost per line and letter was introduced. To be included in the “so-called notifications” the submission had to be “legible and correct” and would cost “nine *runstycken* for every printed line, consisting of forty letters.”²⁰⁰ These payments show the expectations of the Academy towards profits. Submitting a notice was part of an economic practice between the paper and the state, now clarified in terms of an object with scarcity; each notice usually described an object textually but now with the attached cost, it became one as well.

Politics and Representing Collective Economic Activities

The state represented economic matters politically in both papers, but there was a greater focus on domestic topics in *Inrikes*. There are economic discourses observed that emphasized collective behaviour for mutual benefits both within local communities and the larger state. Paying into the General Fire Insurance Fund,²⁰¹ distribution of rewards from captured enemy ships,²⁰² duties of the Royal War Academy Company,²⁰³ and other similar content had many positive economic practices, objects, and ideas. Under a Stockholm placeline with signed names and dates, these items

¹⁹⁵ For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 25, 28 March 1791; No. 4, 13 Jan. 1795.

¹⁹⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 40, 27 May 1790.

¹⁹⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 32, 21 April 1791.

¹⁹⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 32, 21 April 1791. Another example listed changed payments. See: No. 46, 16 June 1791; No. 52, 7 July 1791.

¹⁹⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 37, 12 May 1791.

²⁰⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1793.

²⁰¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 141, 20 Nov. 1793. Swedish: *Allmänna Brandförsäkrings Fonden*.

²⁰² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 144, 6 Dec. 1793.

²⁰³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 96, 16 Aug. 1793; No. 99, 23 Aug. 1793.

represented regime decisions but mentioned other people more than the king. By including names, the state assured that these practices were legitimate.

These names and labels, as well as the content, defined the economic concerns of these state offices. By using these early bureaucratic labels, the state spread trustworthiness to other individuals and their real-world actions. Currency, payments, or types of work were explained through developing parts of the same system. The Debt Office, for example, dealt with the types of credit notes that could be exchanged.²⁰⁴ It was represented by the Stockholm place- and datelines; topics like this were part of the “public and common benefit.”²⁰⁵ The Royal General Assistance Office also defined interest payments and debts connected to *riksgälds* and *banco mynt*.²⁰⁶ There were other items that included notions of discourses, relating to writings submitted to state householding journals.²⁰⁷ These ideas were being thought about, described, and put into practice by the extension of the state.

One of the major events of this time frame, the opening of the Gävle Riksdag, was described initially like other royal arrivals.²⁰⁸ Economic matters were significant enough to be integrated into speeches promoting the land at peace. In his lengthy speeches, Gustav III described the strength of the realm. The clothing of the king and participants in the meetings were depicted directly with oral qualities and the language of presentation. The king, for example, wore “the royal mantle, crown, and sceptre.”²⁰⁹ The connections to God were emphasized in the traditional fashion with the descriptions of the church service prior to the opening of the meetings.²¹⁰

The semi-public sphere is an important idea when approaching the Gävle Riksdag. Its symbolic representations of the king and the message for the kingdom referenced the various estates, so there were connections extending from the royal court. Love and devotion to the people was expressed at the end of the meeting.²¹¹ The speeches were reproduced over the month, along with the lists and selection notices of people to various positions.²¹² Monetary reforms, bank improvements, and agricultural development were grouped with military and naval strengthening in the descriptions of the meetings, along with trade being freed “through the protection of the Swedish flag.”²¹³

²⁰⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 23, 21 March 1791.

²⁰⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 23, 21 March 1791.

²⁰⁶ For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 97, 20 Aug. 1793.

²⁰⁷ For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 96, 16 Aug. 1793.

²⁰⁸ For example, the king and regent’s arrivals to Gothenburg continued to be similar. For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 95, 14 Aug. 1793.

²⁰⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 10, 2 Feb. 1792.

²¹⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 10, 2 Feb. 1792.

²¹¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 23, 19 March 1792.

²¹² While some issues did not contain mentions, it was described in issues from *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 10, 2 Feb. 1792 to No. 23, 19 March 1792.

²¹³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 11, 6 Feb. 1792.

The assassination of Gustav III was just as significant, although not economically. The offer of a reward for information about the assassination was a type of an economic practice, but was symbolic meaning. It was connected to compensation and was one of the few economic descriptions linked to the death.²¹⁴ The king, in turn, was an economic idea; he represented the symbolic head of the household, brought back into usage from the 1740s.²¹⁵ The attack was described as a “murderous plot” against his “holy person” in the *Inrikes*.²¹⁶ The responses from the rest of Sweden were published in the weeks and months that followed, primarily expressing sorrow.²¹⁷ These messages of devotion continued in the months after the death but regular economic matters, such as the ship news, began to be published regularly on the first pages alongside them over time.²¹⁸ Ultimately, the death of the king did not disrupt the printing of standard economic matters, although they were moved in the immediate aftermath to latter pages.

There were additional links between the state and the people. Throughout issues after June 1794, alphabetical lists were published of those contributing to the “voluntary collection of money.”²¹⁹ The “freemen’s names and characters who have contributed to this collection” were listed from various parishes and counties, along with the amount of their portion.²²⁰ The contributions were “to support the government for the preservation” of the Swedish state’s “honour and the kingdom’s independence.”²²¹ Due to the reference to the kingdom and the added line of instruction, the practice of giving earnings to the state was political. The state encouraged economic practices, but represented the political and social meaning over the donation. Although the state attempted to present economic matters as stable by the repetition of regular items, tables like this show the difficulties the regime faced.

Social and Economic Involvement with Reputation

Similar to these items about giving to the state or facing debt, there were additional items that had social functions. Support for poor families gave positive attention for all parties. Charity is an economic idea in this sense, tied to social conditions involved in the economic exchange practices. Names of the donors, and often the family names of those receiving the

²¹⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 24, 22 March 1792.

²¹⁵ Sennefelt (2001), pp. 60–61.

²¹⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 24, 22 March 1792; No. 25, 26 March 1792.

²¹⁷ For examples of prayers from various towns, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 25, 26 March 1792; No. 28, 5 April 1792; No. 29, 12 April 1792; No. 31, 19 April 1792; No. 32, 23 April 1792. For a description of some of the funeral events, see: No. 39, 17 May 1792.

²¹⁸ For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 44, 7 June 1792.

²¹⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 64, 4 June 1794 through No. 72, 25 June 1794. Another period of collection was listed from No. 90, 6 Aug. 1794 through No. 101, 2 Sept. 1794.

²²⁰ For an example from Västerås and Gävleborg, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 75, 2 July 1794.

²²¹ This was repeated before many of the lists, for example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 75, 2 July 1794; No. 81, 16 July 1794.

charity were mentioned; on some occasions, such as Christmas, the season was emphasized.²²² Prayers were referenced as well.²²³ The actions of donating funds in local cases were primarily to Christian charity and aiding the poor.

Charity filled the space overlying economic matters and early modern social responsibility. In a 1792 example, donations were received from parishes around Norrköping; the collection was given to the needy of Drögestad.²²⁴ The amount given, the donor, and often the intents of the giver were noted. For example, the donation of one *riksdaler* was meant for “the most needy widow” while a “small gift” of two *riksdaler* was listed from a “sympathetic” donor.²²⁵ The notice ended with a first person narrative, as the vicar of Dagsberg offered thanks. With the author, there was a personalized tone similar to a letter. All individuals were not named, but were given distinct qualities. Charity and giving were topics of many items from 1792 through 1795.

Reputation is also shown through the printing of names in other issues. The lists of births, deaths, weddings and engagements, for example, reproduced these to maintain trust with important society members; the state was counted on to represent these people’s significant milestones. There was also the potential that anyone reading might be placed in a dire situation, such as facing misfortunes. In another example using the first-person device from 1790, the *Inrikes* listed the donations received by the family of Lars Andersson, who died in a fire, and Anders Jansson, who was injured.²²⁶ The suffering of the victims was repeated, as well as how those donated felt. Andersson “lost all his good livestock,” indicating the cost of the fire; the livestock were given a quality rather than a quantitative measure.²²⁷ References of God and “Christian compassion” connected this to charity and donating.²²⁸ In the same issue, these were again referenced about gifts to wounded soldiers and their families.²²⁹ The destitute in society required help from others, who would later be represented by the state. The practice of donating had a short-term cost requiring elaboration, indicating the social benefits were greater in the long term.

There were also examples about suffering widows.²³⁰ Pains of widows were also recorded in table form, involving donations and payments from a fund for Swedish soldiers.²³¹ The donations included sympathetic comments in other examples. The impoverished were often reduced to non-monetary, collective definitions similar to soldiers. Descriptions of destitute widows

²²² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 4, 9 Jan. 1793.

²²³ For example, “amen” was a usual phrase. For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 6, 15 Jan. 1794.

²²⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1792.

²²⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1792.

²²⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 2, 4 Jan. 1790.

²²⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 2, 4 Jan. 1790.

²²⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 2, 4 Jan. 1790.

²²⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 2, 4 Jan. 1790.

²³⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No.4, 14 Jan. 1790.

²³¹ For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 70, 18 June 1794.

seeking accommodation were also reduced to simplified worth, such as possessing her “own household stuffs” in one example.²³² Her value was represented by what she owned and what she could offer, while she had the social description as a widow.

During the war with Russia, patriotism and independence were connected to practices of saving and donating. Times of war required stability and proper planning, as well as trust in the king. Some of the regular economic matters could be delayed, but only briefly. A women’s organization in Åbo gave up “comforts” and “collected for some fund for general defence.”²³³ News arrived to Västerås about the suffering in Finland, encouraging donations to “fallen soldiers widows and children.”²³⁴ Although not about economic matters, a “letter to a friend from the army” was published later in the issue; it referenced the king in battle.²³⁵ Despite focusing on war to start, the rest of the paper followed the standard order; the lottery’s draw and prize table, announcements list, currency table, and notifications section closed the issue.²³⁶ Another edition that followed a similar pattern had additional battles near the end of the war, although without the full lottery table.²³⁷

Some economic practices were left open for further negotiations and social potential, while others had more defined scarcity qualities. Items for those seeking employment and items for sale were increasingly offset into their own classifications in the notice sections, as noted in the section about the Swedish newspapers presented earlier. The main notice items were still based on economic practices: buying, selling, searching for work, and looking for land to purchase, among other topics. Like in the previous period, prices were mainly listed with book sales and property locations; named and titled individuals, for example, could have additional qualifiers as well, such as a notice in 1793 stating that “*rådmannen* Adolph Kihlberg in Arboga has meadow oats for eight *skilling* per pound and extra quality canaries for a cheap price” combining both the price and quality descriptions.²³⁸ By using stronger categories and using prices in connection with titles, the state indicated greater social implications for economic matters.

The state was encouraging participation in other ways as well. Ceremonial references, like the influence of the Academy, gave the *Inrikes* more of a cultural focus. The effects of the Academy were explained early in 1792, noting its planned consistencies.²³⁹ This notice was in the notifications of the *Post-Tidningar* but first overall in another issue of *Inrikes Tidningar*. This

²³² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 2, 7 Jan. 1790.

²³³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 40, 27 May 1790.

²³⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 40, 27 May 1790.

²³⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 40, 27 May 1790.

²³⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 40, 27 May 1790.

²³⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 56, 22 July 1790.

²³⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 130, 5 Nov. 1793.

²³⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1792; *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1792.

is an example of the shared, yet contrastable, focus of the two papers. The message was printed again in an altered form and order in 1793, for instance.²⁴⁰ Both used the phrase “so called,” indicating an explanation of the new role of the Academy in producing the section.²⁴¹ The state repeated the changes to make sure they were established.

Descriptions of some monuments were related to the other category of items, including efforts to represent real-world artifacts. One example began with an article about attempts to honour the meeting between Gustav II Adolf and Christian IV prior to the Thirty Years War.²⁴² The order reflects a greater emphasis on a cultural issue, rather than the everyday economic matters. This was before the ship news lists, for instance. The majority of the issue was devoted to this monument planning, so the economic matters of the last four pages were subsumed under the cultural notions.

Cultural items also used other forms of expression. These were primarily linked to funerals, such as the structure of the Latin text honouring a bishop.²⁴³ From this example, the social and political significance of the death preceded information about economic matters. A cross began the memorial, in the non-Gothic typeface used for other languages. Appearing towards the beginning, details of the event started the text. The event preceded the price table from Västerås, an unnumbered price list from Stockholm, an auction announcement from the West Indian Company, and the other standard items.

Overall, encouraging constancy and charity shows the difficulties the state was facing. The death of the king and the general turmoil around his rule meant that collective ideals were shaken while most of Europe was at war. The papers, however, persisted; the state continued to involve the public in its efforts of managing economic matters, offering more information and opportunities to print notices. With the *Post-Tidningar*, the descriptions reflected both perspectives of the international environment and the general views of economic matters.

4.3.3 Enemies, Worldly Views, and International Trade

The examples from the Swedish press also conveyed matters of uncertainty for Britain as well. Due to the international focus of the *Post-Tidningar*, Swedish thinking about economic matters benefited from information relayed by other sources. Reporting about Sweden in Britain was similar to the information associated with other states, focusing primarily on the king. After Gustav III's death and the end of the Russian war, the items decreased. Here, Sweden represented how a state not in open and direct conflict with Britain was portrayed. The actions of the king or other state agents, whether connected

²⁴⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1793.

²⁴¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 2 Jan. 1793.

²⁴² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 80, 11 Oct. 1792.

²⁴³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 20, 15 Feb. 1793.

to a Swedish placeline or not, generally appeared in the first half of issues. Goods, actions of individuals, or other events not related to the king were in the second half of the *Gazette*. Listings declined over time and by 1795, there were no direct items associated with a Swedish placeline.

Less Sweden, More Focus on War from Britain

Due to the attention on territorial conflicts, there were few references to Sweden's economic matters; Britain's gaze moved away once the Russian war was concluded,²⁴⁴ although it was a major focus in 1790.²⁴⁵ The instability threatened Britain economically, even though it was not directly referenced; both Sweden and Russia were traditional providers of iron. There was, however, a significant increase in tariffs and domestic advancements that led to a shift to British-sourced iron.²⁴⁶ The state did not address this aspect of trade as a separate international item; instead it integrated it in the political area of parliamentary acts. In this way, the British state asserted that it was in control of the matter rather than depending on partnering states.

One of the items about Sweden related to aspects outside of military action was still connected to Russia. This example separated the consequences of conflict from the actions by the regime to recuperate expenses. The first half of the item discussed an amount of prisoners, while the other part stressed the cost. By mentioning reducing expenses, this item relates to an economic practice, as well as an idea. It noted how the state "endeavoured to lessen the expense and trouble" by "inviting proprietors of land, farmers, tradesmen, and manufacturers to make use of their labour."²⁴⁷ Work is an economic idea, while stating its division establishes the distinct practices involved. The state was emphasized, rather than an action by the king. The prisoners were economic objects for work, although their initial mention was connected to war and political meaning.

Other items related to the conflict were about military movements with minor economic matter connections. The description of an attack on the port of Rågervik shows the practices of war negotiation. When one garrison was unable to fight against the Swedes, "4,000 roubles" were demanded in "ransom" and "all the public stores" were burnt.²⁴⁸ Gustav III was in charge; framed by the king's movement, reports spanned from April to September.²⁴⁹ By

²⁴⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)* No. 13529, 23–27 Nov. 1790.

²⁴⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13191, 10–13 April 1790; issue 13193, 17–20 April 1790; issue 13197, 1–4 May 1790; issue 13222, 27–31 July 1790; issue 13225, 3–7 Aug. 1790; issue 13234, 4–7 Sept. 1790; issue 13237, 14–18 Sept. 1790; issue 13239, 21–25 Sept. 1790; issue 13259, 23–27 Nov. 1790.

²⁴⁶ Evans, Jackson, & Rydén (2002), p. 645.

²⁴⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13230, 21–24 Aug. 1790.

²⁴⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13191, 10–13 April 1790.

²⁴⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13225, 3–7 Aug. 1790; issue 13193, 10–13 April 1790; issue 13197, 1–4 May 1790; issue 13222, 27–31 July 1790; issue 13225, 3–7 Aug. 1790; issue 13234, 4–7 Sept. 1790; issue 13237, 14–18 Sept. 1790; issue 13238, 18–21 Sept. 1790.

referencing the ruler, the information was made legitimate through the symbolic depiction as the defender of the state and his official political and military role. These views echo the ideas of the transforming semi-public and critical public sphere in Britain at the time.²⁵⁰

Following the conflicts, Swedish references were limited to envoy and minister appointments,²⁵¹ the Gävle Diet,²⁵² and the assassination.²⁵³ Although not directly about economic matters, the death of Gustav III included separate paragraphs noting aspects of the event. The news was significant not only because of the attack, but also due to the lack of other international items. The initial report, on the fifth page, was the only news that was not about Britain.²⁵⁴ In the overall order, proclamations about acts mainly concerning trade with the USA were first, followed by the military promotions list. The remaining pages were devoted to the grain table and debtors notices. The focus was centered on Britain's economic matters, although space was still created for the Swedish king. This generally encapsulates how Sweden was portrayed; there was limited attention to other developments of society besides the political ones. Economic depictions of the other were less important in Britain. The news was trustworthy, since intermediate sources were not attached, however.

The article about the assassination had three paragraphs, with the middle paragraph being one sentence: "the assassin was arrested early the next morning."²⁵⁵ The initial paragraph began as "an atrocious attempt was made on the life of his Swedish majesty."²⁵⁶ The final paragraph stated how the king "gave orders for the publication of an edict, constituting a regency, which has already begun to act."²⁵⁷ This final description differed from the other paragraphs because of the implications associated with continuing the regime. The first paragraph, although political, indicated the social issues for the Swedish crowd, focusing on the physical health on the king.²⁵⁸

The report of his death was printed in a similar format and order as the initial attacks.²⁵⁹ No other international news was printed, and the previous

²⁵⁰ O'Malley (1986), p. 25.

²⁵¹ There are examples of these throughout the period, often listed under the Whitehall placeline or related to St. James ceremonies. For example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette*, (*London Gazette*), issue 13416, 15–19 May 1792. This was "at the request of the late King of Sweden" for an investiture to the Royal Swedish Order of the Sword at St. James.

²⁵² Recorded in *The Gazette*, (*London Gazette*), issue 13385, Jan. 31–4 Feb. 1792; issue 13399, 20–24 March 1792;

²⁵³ Recorded in *The Gazette*, (*London Gazette*), issue 13403, 3–7 April 1792; issue 13405, 10–14 April 1792; issue 13411, 1–5 May 1792; issue 13412, 5–8 May 1792; issue 13416, 15–19 May 1792; issue 13420, 26–29 May 1792.

²⁵⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette*, (*London Gazette*), issue 13403, 3–7 April 1792.

²⁵⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette*, (*London Gazette*), issue 13403, 3–7 April 1792.

²⁵⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette*, (*London Gazette*), issue 13403, 3–7 April 1792.

²⁵⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette*, (*London Gazette*), issue 13403, 3–7 April 1792.

²⁵⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette*, (*London Gazette*), issue 13403, 3–7 April 1792.

²⁵⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette* (*London Gazette*), issue 13405, 10–14 April 1792.

trade acts and corn table were again included. On the third page, the article described the proclamation of Gustav IV Adolf as sovereign under the regency. The orders given to the court of George III about the mourning details were published in the same format as other bereavement guidelines.²⁶⁰ The focus was on the relationship between Gustav III and George III as first cousins, followed by what the ladies and gentlemen of the court were to wear.²⁶¹ Britain was emphasized, with minor connections to Sweden.

Between 1794 and 1795, there were few references to the king's minority or Sweden in general. Outside the international news, the instances connected to Sweden were about iron. Amongst the economic objects that were described as available for tender, Swedish iron was one of a few commodities with a consistent and specific label. Danish, Norwegian and Riga goods were also assigned monetary value, but were published less often.²⁶² A 1794 example called for proposals of: "anchors and grapnels, iron guns, canvas, nails, flour, pitch and tar, Swedish iron, shot and shells."²⁶³ These were more frequent before the death of the king. They also establish relationships between offices of the British regime and the public. The groups requesting it, given the specific label, valued Swedish iron.

Benefits to Sweden through British Notions

Important economic ideas were being introduced in the late eighteenth century. The term budget, for example, started appearing in Swedish in the 1780s.²⁶⁴ The descriptions of Pitt's budgets received varying treatment over the years. Here, an initial mention of the "so-called budget or the revealed state of Britain's finances for the current year" was printed in May 1790.²⁶⁵ The item was first under the London placeline, followed by its analysis and ensuing parliamentary debate. News from Poland, Belgium, and other parts of Europe filled the first page and a half before the direct British news. The article had other economic ideas, with specific references such as "subsidies and incomes for [...] the land and field tax" and the "consolidated fund's surplus."²⁶⁶ The new or changed idea introduced an economic discourse, connected to political decisions and further ideas. While a similar concept existed in Sweden, this new aspect was explored from another source.

²⁶⁰ The Duke of Cumberland in 1790, for example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13238, 18–21 Sept. 1790.

²⁶¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13411, 1–5 May 1792.

²⁶² For example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13340 3–6 Sept. 1791.

²⁶³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13713, 14–18 Oct. 1794.

²⁶⁴ *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok* lists a 1788 entry in the *Göteborgs Tidningar* as one of the earliest uses of "budget" in the published Swedish language. See: <http://www.saob.se/artikel/?seek=budget> (Accessed: 3 Jan. 2017.)

²⁶⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 37, 13 May 1790.

²⁶⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 37, 13 May 1790.

These examples show how an economic idea from another context was related by the Swedish state. Pitt's other budgets were referenced in the 1790s. In a description of a 1794 budget, his decisions were placed after reports from the India war and Cornwallis's appointment in Ireland.²⁶⁷ The initial part of the article was straightforward with no indication if the report came from a specific source, such as another newspaper or rumour. The second offset item used the phrase "believe" in reference to Cornwallis, offering less certainty.²⁶⁸ Finally, Pitt opened his "so-called budget" and "the whole population was very pleased, with his state calculations, as with the new taxes."²⁶⁹ The legitimacy was connected to how the crowd responded.

Pitt's later 1795 budget lacked reactions. After articles about Copenhagen, Berlin, and Vienna, the London item started the second column of the second page. The budget mentions were placed at the beginning, led off by the reading of the king's annunciation and how a captured Dutch ship would be used.²⁷⁰ Both the 1794 and 1795 budgets had new tariffs and military expenditures. Including the king near the 1795 news shifted the negative aspects towards the court. The budget was also referenced in the second example as "the calculation of the state's needs."²⁷¹ It had not yet been firmly established in the Swedish context, as shown by this description of the word.

The term "so called" introduced and explained an idea, as well as expressed caution. The rest of the items broke down the debate, relating the idea to the economic discourses discussed in Parliament from the 1790 example.²⁷² The economic ideas making up a budget, such as surplus, were used to define both the general concept and the circumstances of Parliament. Pitt's budgets varied from positive to negative, reflecting changing attitudes towards his management and how the king and Parliament were referenced.

House of Commons debates were routinely separated into sections, including economic matters and military reporting. In one example, the House attempted to regulate trade with China, in terms of silver, tin, and tea; there needed to be an "open a tin trade" to "send less silver [...] for tea."²⁷³ A toll was referenced to regulate the issue.²⁷⁴ In a later edition of the Swedish paper, economic practice of repaying "the British war costs" was a solution to the war in India.²⁷⁵ This also shows how the idea of war costs was common in political discourses. The positive condition and hope for peace reflected how repayment was a necessary part of war, while trade had more neutral portrayals.

²⁶⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 26, 3 March, 1794.

²⁶⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 26, 3 March, 1794.

²⁶⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 26, 3 March, 1794.

²⁷⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 148, 31 Dec. 1795.

²⁷¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 148, 31 Dec. 1795.

²⁷² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 37, 13 May 1790.

²⁷³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 19, 8 March 1790.

²⁷⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 19, 8 March 1790.

²⁷⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 40, 23 May 1791.

Although war costs were mentioned separately from other military movements, the association with the House connected them to politics. Military costs and the amount soldiers mustered were often debated.²⁷⁶ Other economic matters were depicted with the House as well. From London in 1790, there was a lengthy discussion about how much the speaker earned and how much taxes he needed to pay.²⁷⁷ Here, the post of speaker appeared as an economic idea; it was given a value through debate rather than scarcity.²⁷⁸ This economic idea was offset from other discussions.

Parliamentary news was combined in uninterrupted paragraphs when a number of bills were discussed. An example from 1793 shows how economic matters were highlighted by other means. Lord Francis Rawdon's "bill for creditors and debtors" was mentioned along with two other unrelated bills.²⁷⁹ Although not totally offset by em dashes, the bill was summarized and included a final line about how "other items, which have been handled, concern mostly economic subjects."²⁸⁰ Its contents were primarily economic ideas, concerning the guidelines for loaning and repayment.

In a later issue, the bill was again referenced, but offset to a greater degree. The rest of the article concerned issues outside of parliamentary concern. There were two sets of economic ideas: the politically focused content of the bill, and Pitt's attitude towards the economy in general. Rawdon had conducted an investigation, calculating that "in England there are 20,000 people detained for debt, with 1,300 Wives and 4,000 Children."²⁸¹ Issue No. 44 was referenced, showing the continuity efforts of the *Post-Tidningar*. The rest of the article involved a meeting between Pitt and "London's bankers, merchants and manufacturers," as he was "always [...] sorrowful over the commerce department's promotion."²⁸² The topics were apart in the text, while Pitt's character was again emphasized over the king.

Economic ideas of need and shortage also relate to the budget. The Albion Mill fire of March 1791 was documented in one issue, noting that it was where nearly all the flour for the capital was milled, causing a "noticeable shortage."²⁸³ This had the "so-called" phrasing, both used to introduce relatively unknown or potentially rumour-filled entities; "the so-called Albion mills" and "the so-called Hand in Hand, Phoenix, Sun, Union, Exchange with others" established the location and insurance companies involved.²⁸⁴ Like

²⁷⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 16, 25 Feb. 1790.

²⁷⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 28, 12 April 1790.

²⁷⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 33, 29 April 1790.

²⁷⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 44, 22 April 1793.

²⁸⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 44, 22 April 1793.

²⁸¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 55, 23 May 1793.

²⁸² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 55, 23 May 1793.

²⁸³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 27, 4 April 1791.

²⁸⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 27, 4 April 1791. Trusler (1790), pp. 8–14. These companies for fire issuance were outlined in *The London Adviser and Guide*, first published in 1786.

with the budget, the term introduces and further establishes ideas, showing how the phrase appeared in relation to other topics.

Internationally, the Nootka Crisis was regularly referenced in 1790. The potential war was connected to economic discourses in several examples. The *Gazette* included two *Extraordinary* sections aimed at the Spanish king.²⁸⁵ The British view of Spain and the crisis is discussed here not through Sweden, but mentioned for context. The *Gazette* used the term “His Catholic Majesty” in reference to Ferdinand I, for example.²⁸⁶ In an August 1790 issue of the *Gazette*, the diplomatic text was in French and English; a response from the court was also included.²⁸⁷ In July, speeches from Parliament argued for peace, trying to resolve a dispute about captured cargo and crew.²⁸⁸ The resolution was only in English as an *Extraordinary*.²⁸⁹ The cost at such a distance emphasized colonial trade; agreements went beyond the direct parties involved.²⁹⁰ Military planning had costs. Like slaves, potential sailors were treated as economic objects; their potential earnings classified them as a uniform group.²⁹¹ By the time the crisis came to its peaceful conclusion, Spain was incorporated into the colonial discourse.²⁹² There were heavy political costs mentioned with these items, while the economic consequences were also consistent. The use of multiple phrases reflected the economic and social elements of the situation.

Economic discourses were used to defend certain practices. The state needed to improve the military and maintain its reputation. Returning to the Swedish perspective, from “one of our official papers,” the efforts creating a “society that would make a try to trade with pelts between China and the west coast of North America” were described, effectively telling the events leading up to Nootka.²⁹³ The article represented Britain’s presence, referencing economic practices to create claim: build, trade, and establish terrain, for example.²⁹⁴ This discourse was separated from other items, based on preparing for war. In the next item, offset by a dateline, the king was granted “one million pounds sterling” in order to increase the land and sea forces.²⁹⁵ The mentions of the king, Parliament, and military forces gave political overtones to the discourses connected to a decided fund and economic idea.

²⁸⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13224, 5 Aug. 1790; issue 13251, 4 Nov. 1790.

²⁸⁶ This was his title as the king of the Two Sicilies, after unification in 1816. At this time, he was styled as Ferdinand IV as the king of Naples and Ferdinand III as the king of Sicily.

²⁸⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13224, 5 Aug. 1790.

²⁸⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13216, 6 July 1790.

²⁸⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13251, 4 Nov. 1790.

²⁹⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 40, 27 May 1790; No. 41, 31 May, 1790; No. 42, 3 June 1790; No. 44, 10 June 1790; No. 47, 14 June 1790.

²⁹¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 42, 3 June 1790.

²⁹² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 47, 14 June 1790.

²⁹³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 41, 31 May 1790.

²⁹⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 41, 31 May 1790.

²⁹⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 41, 31 May 1790.

Also related to the Nootka Crisis, the national debt was separated from Parliament's reaction to the troubles in the Swedish paper. The first paragraph referenced economic matters, specifically the practices of trade and payment of military costs; Spain's movement threatened to cost an "estimated two million *riksdaler*" in trade and armament.²⁹⁶ As it cited another court and military costs, the item is political. The national debt was placed apart, indicating a more distinct economic value; its reduction was given legitimacy since it was "according to a publicly proclaimed list."²⁹⁷ Two different currencies were referenced in these examples: *riksdaler* and pounds sterling. The Swedish paper consistently noted pounds in connection to Britain so this must have been a reference to the Spanish currency. As an economic idea, the national debt was crucial and had to be expressed in pounds sterling to avoid confusion. In the Swedish paper, debt depictions were framed more critically but still depended on the conditions of the item.

Britain was presented as prepared for a potential war through descriptions of its naval power. For example, the number of ships at various ports was in a table, followed by information about building more vessels.²⁹⁸ The costs of mustering troops connected to the averted Spanish war show economic discourses. In early 1791, the *Post-Tidningar* relayed an article from late 1790 about parliamentary discussions of Pitt's budget, the national debt, the national credit, and other economic ideas.²⁹⁹ These discourses, like others, present a problem, highlight the debate, and offer potential solutions.

Three paragraphs described three different contexts here. The first was devoted to an unexpected flood of the Thames.³⁰⁰ The ongoing economic discourse and political debate over the national debt was next, describing the continued "procurement of funds for the national debt's reduction."³⁰¹ There was a line at the end of the debt article, however, discussing another topic but not fully separated. Set off by an em dash, the final lines noted the costs allocated by the House of Commons to the military "in England" and "in Gibraltar and in the colonies."³⁰² Although not about the same economic matter, the final aspect also focused on spending. The national debt was mentioned as the "enumeration of all state revenue and expenditure" as another expression of the economic idea; this was primarily in political contexts, such as forming a committee in Parliament.³⁰³

The slave trade was also dealt with in terms of political concerns and economic matters. In 1790, Parliament opened to "the familiar issue of

²⁹⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 66, 26 Aug. 1790.

²⁹⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 66, 26 Aug. 1790.

²⁹⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 91, 22 Nov. 1790.

²⁹⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 3, 10 Jan. 1791.

³⁰⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 20, 10 March 1791.

³⁰¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 20, 10 March 1791.

³⁰² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 20, 10 March 1791.

³⁰³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 23, 21 March 1791.

the slave trade.”³⁰⁴ Although the Department of Trade was mentioned, the discussion regarded a commission being assembled to deal with the matter. In another parliamentary decision, slave-ship captains were to be penalized for each on-board death. This was meant to create “milder” treatment.³⁰⁵ These consequences for the slaves were rarely emphasized. When a “so-called African prince from Sierra Leon” arrived in Exeter,³⁰⁶ his title was questioned through that phrasing. He had come to discuss “the slave trade’s abolition.”³⁰⁷ Problematic, the item framed an outside perspective towards the slave trade as important yet not equal to Europeans’ views.

The debate continued, including the defeat of the first bill to abolish the “unnatural trade” in 1791.³⁰⁸ The argument attempted to shift the concept of slavery, moving away from objects and towards ideas of abolition. Also noted earlier, economic objects come from nature or the natural order. In this debate, the slave trade was said to violate both “nature’s sentiments” and “the Christian religion.”³⁰⁹ The economic objects of the trade were altered from being considered objects in this sense. The slave traders in Liverpool and Bristol celebrated “their victory in Parliament over humanity” overenthusiastically “to the credit of their character.”³¹⁰ The slave trade, from these examples, was a negative idea beyond economic matters — there were also political and social consequences.

In an edition focused on colonial production and shipping, another example of rebellion was relayed. This also shows how slaves were a collective economic object, becoming problematic. Under Amsterdam’s placeline on the first page, the 1787 production and trade from St. Domingo was reported.³¹¹ This was not in a table, combining earnings for goods and slaves in a paragraph instead. French and American trade were offset from the main tally and each other. These states were in focus from many perspectives, as the initial narratives explained, with economic matters highlighted here.

A variety of information was published, with certain topics increasingly separate. News from London was next in this 1791 issue, reporting a royal ceremony. Naval strength was discussed in a *ditto*, while trade and a slave uprising followed. Split into two items, the first noted the arrival of a Russian ship to Britain. There was a lack of goods and “fifty English Ships” left with ballast; the “prices were too high so the Merchants, rather than take goods, let the ships go back empty.”³¹²

³⁰⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 16, 25 Feb. 1790.

³⁰⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 29, 15 April 1790.

³⁰⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 81, 17 Oct. 1791.

³⁰⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 81, 17 Oct. 1791.

³⁰⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 37, 12 May 1791.

³⁰⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 37, 12 May 1791.

³¹⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 40, 23 May 1791.

³¹¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 100, 22 Dec. 1791.

³¹² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 100, 22 Dec. 1791.

The next item again discussed trade. A boat “with a load of Negroes from the Guinea coast was decided to St. Domingo” when the ship was taken over and the “rebellling Negroes set fire to the powder chamber” which made the ship explode.³¹³ There were other examples like this; although reported through Philadelphia, St. Domingo sought help against “the revolting Negroes” again in 1791.³¹⁴ The Swedish description of international trade encompassed both economic and political interactions, using examples of ideas and discourses to be critical of other states. International trade, in this sense, involved all economic matters and could be cast negatively or positively depending on the nature of the objects or practices.

Difficulties in Ireland were consistently referenced through London in the Swedish papers.³¹⁵ For potential for trade agreements, Pitt needed to “have a strong plurality in the Irish Parliament on his side.”³¹⁶ There were political and economic repercussions for both sides. There was an overlap between economic and political values, linked through an economic idea and stately practice. Exchanging goods were everyday practices, while the system managed by states was a discourse that included ideas and tense connections.

An example of discourses again explained trade aspects. The shipping of grain in the North Sea required British intervention, especially when France was involved. After news from Warsaw, Vienna, and Brussels, an article from London ended the first page. A bill regarding “English trade’s flourishing condition” was “described” after noting troops movements on Martinique and waiting for “official telling” from the island.³¹⁷ Next, an American ship “tells that the French fleet” was sailing, offset by em dashes.³¹⁸ Finally, after another dash, a paragraph noted that “the government received intelligence” about a “Nordic trade fleet with grain,” which was headed towards France; Danish and Swedish traders were involved.³¹⁹ Of the references, the final one had the most legitimacy because of the state connection and the lack of oral tags. Trade and troops outside of Europe involved new practices but familiar ideas of trustworthiness.

The state of the harvest, prohibition of shipping Quebec grain to countries other than Britain, and a meeting of the Russian and English fleets were mentioned together in another example.³²⁰ Although the final aspect dealt with a political alliance, the focus was on shipping. Like other references, these were combined as a discourse to relate the new to the old. For instance, Mackenzie’s journey was as a positive economic idea. It was reported through

³¹³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 100, 22 Dec. 1791.

³¹⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 98, 15 Dec. 1791.

³¹⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 11, 8 Feb. 1790.

³¹⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1790.

³¹⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 48, 28 April 1794.

³¹⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 48, 28 April 1794.

³¹⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 48, 28 April 1794.

³²⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 100, 5 Sept. 1795.

a “letter from Montreal in Canada [...] of great importance to trade.”³²¹ He reached the “northwest, until now an almost completely unknown part of America, yet where furs and leather goods are abundant.”³²² The description included how the route required “the Indians’ small canoes.”³²³ The goal was to establish a “western way to China.”³²⁴ The known idea of trade was driven by new practices of discovery and cooperation with Aborigines in new contexts.

Economic objects were again assigned values of scarcity in the international context, but were often driven by political ideals. In an example from 1791, decisions about Parliament were mentioned before news about “English goods being lost” in a fire in the Philippines.³²⁵ The destruction of goods, without specificities beyond the origins, received only a monetary designation. No direct source or voice was mentioned with the cost; this should be accepted as trustful, through the phrasing of the items and the use of the value. The colonial aspect was also indicated, as control over the Philippines had once again fallen into Spanish hands.³²⁶ Also through London, developments in the USA were noted through mentions of increased immigration and the expansion of manufacturing and agriculture in another example. There was a large arrival of French and Irish immigrants, and the establishment of a “linen and canvas manufactory,” as well as increasing agriculture.³²⁷ These matters were summarized through an economic object in the final sentence as “in the last four years, one million 83,000 barrels of flour” were “carried out.”³²⁸ Scarcity, in some cases, created legitimacy.

In another example for 1790, there was such an overwhelming amount of the unspecified goods arriving in East India that the prices were far better than in Europe.³²⁹ It was so much so that they could not be disposed of easily.³³⁰ The idea of uncertainty of trade with Asia was condensed into the description. Following this first paragraph, Pitt’s political criticism was discussed; the third and final segment returned to India about military conflicts. The three items had descending levels of legitimacy; the first item had no attribution, while the other two are defined by the terms “it is yet told” and “tells.”³³¹ The economic matter, in this case, had the greatest legitimacy.

Tea is also an example of a dynamic economic object in the international context. It could be described by monetary cost or a subjective quality. From

³²¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 129, 15 Nov. 1794.

³²² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 129, 15 Nov. 1794.

³²³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 129, 15 Nov. 1794.

³²⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 129, 15 Nov. 1794.

³²⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 85, 31 Oct. 1791.

³²⁶ Manila was under British control very briefly, from 1762–64.

³²⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 74, 23 Sept. 1790.

³²⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 74, 23 Sept. 1790.

³²⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1790.

³³⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1790.

³³¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1790.

the *Gazette*, tea was discussed in a variety of ways. It was primarily placed in a colonial context, similar to sugar prior to its inclusion in the grain table. For Sweden, tea was related more to local happenings through auctions. There were also cultural artifacts that accompanied it. Porcelain was important for trading companies; a description through London highlighted the general hope for a cheaper, locally produced variety. As a letter from Jamaica, the legitimacy of the find was somewhat questioned because the term “says” was added.³³² A process was described, noting how once a type of stone hardened, it was “similarly complete to the white glaze of the Chinese porcelain.”³³³ Even when items had less legitimate markers, these objects could be expressed in economic terms, as they were distanced from political concerns.

In another example of colonial-European economic objects, a tea auction occurred in 1790. The reference was only four lines long, including the place- and dateline, but referenced the auction amount as “the largest ever held.”³³⁴ In another item from 1790, the amount of jewels from Europe arriving to London were so numerous that the price “fell fifty per cent” and there were six rapid jewel auctions, costing owners up to “180,000 pounds sterling.”³³⁵ Other than naming the company or the type of goods, the items were not politicized and instead were referenced in terms of scarcity. This was an economic expression, without additional connections to the other realms.

Describing the economic matters of a state involved all four categories. While not under the London placeline, an example from New York discussed Britain and Sweden. The USA was concerned about European trade and its neutrality granted broader reporting. A table-type item broke down “trade and shipping” for one year.³³⁶ The table had two parts, including two explanation lines. The first half of the table noted what “articles” were “most substantial;”³³⁷ although not ordered by amount, the items with the most value were “provisions” at “5,750,482 dollars,” while “fish goods” were listed at the start as “1,194,287 dollars.”³³⁸ Potatoes and indigo were stated, each valuing under a million dollars.

The various trading states were not specifically ordered; France was first, although England had the greatest trade. Sweden did not have the smallest amount of trade; it was greater than Flanders, the Mediterranean, and “North-west America.”³³⁹ This example highlights how each category of economic matters can be viewed, but also how they are related. The final explanation noted that “trading with England far surpasses trade in other localities.”³⁴⁰

³³² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 73, 19 Sept. 1791.

³³³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 73, 19 Sept. 1791.

³³⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 17, 1 March 1790.

³³⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 73, 20 Sept. 1790.

³³⁶ Swedish: *Handel och Sjöfart*.

³³⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 55, 18 July 1791..

³³⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 55, 18 July 1791.

³³⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 55, 18 July 1791.

³⁴⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 55, 18 July 1791.

The line detailed the tolls received for the goods. From this example, usages of discourses (the table), economic ideas (references to tolls, provisions, and trade), economic objects (the categories of the table), and economic practices (collecting tolls, trading with states) are observed.³⁴¹

News from France was also included from London, prefaced by political and military news. Some positive economic ideas connected to the war were expressed in relation to an enemy. For instance, the “French news and war” influenced British “newspaper’s circulation” causing an increased income from 1792 to 1793 compared to 1791 to 1792; as it was noted in pounds, this indicated British income.³⁴² This was part of a continuous paragraph about military movements against France, before an offset letter from Constantinople. Although textually connected, this economic matter was still separating but not completely disconnected due to its inherent war meaning.

Socially related economic matters were few because of the political focus of the *Post-Tidningar*. In a brief part of an item from London, a new society encouraged rich members of society to invest in the kingdom. The “*Brittanicus*” group wanted “rich landowners, capitalists and other wealthy Englishmen” to give funds.³⁴³ There were additional reports of personal wealth, including an example of how “the richest individual man in England” earned “70,000 pounds income yearly, even more than the Crown Prince.”³⁴⁴ The international focus of the paper limited these depictions of economic matters, but do show how cultural tensions were different in the domestic sense.

Descriptions of economic matters given by the *Gazette* were too few to form a strong depiction of Sweden. The focus on the war with Russia and the death of the king show that, prior to the shift towards France and India, the Swedish state was of general, yet limited interest. As the *Gazette* grew in length, it accommodated more government offices, contract offers, notices of sale, other price tables, and many more categories. This reflected the domestic focus of the regime. For Sweden the influence of Britain brought more economic ideas and discourses, transforming local thought. Swedish economic matters and trade were rarely offered in the British context, though. From the conflicts with France, issues in the colonial sphere, to struggles at home, the *Gazette* turned inward.

4.3.4 Exchanging and Shaping Economic Portrayals

Discussing economic matters was important for a functioning society. Both states advocated loyalty and confidence in their abilities to manage resources, but with different focuses. Sweden turned to charity while Britain emphasized an ability to guide the kingdom through troubles. Expressions of

³⁴¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 55, 18 July 1791.

³⁴² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 109, 30 Sept. 1793.

³⁴³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 23, 24 Feb. 1794.

³⁴⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 34, 24 March 1794.

many economic matters were more associated with political or social issues as a result of the pressures of war or unrest. The references to economic objects, practices, ideas, and discourses are consistent with many from the first period, but altered due to these times of conflict. Since war was sometimes mentioned without economic matters, the secondary results of the conflicts are often observed in the order and content.

4.4 Positive and Negative Depictions During Conflict

The French Revolution, Revolutionary Wars, threats from Russia, the assassination of Gustav III, and multiple colonial struggles all influenced depictions during this time frame. Although there were still efforts by the state to communicate a stable situation, many factors were at play that limited these efforts. Knowledge was being transferred from surrounding states and the editors had to interpret it, fitting the concepts with the state's broader perspective on economic matters. The discussions of local affairs were still social, removed from those distant communities but still affected by them.

For Britain, economic matters in the *Gazette* were connected to security due to war, reflected by a turn towards domestic news. The state treated economic matters from a politicized perspective, and needed resources to be managed differently than during peace times. While Britain was referenced more often in Sweden, and the opposite in the other case, this was not unique. This shows how neutral states viewed one another's economic matters during war. Britain included many proclamations and notices, often pushing regular economic items to latter pages. The international news was also reduced as a consequence. The mentions of Sweden were rarely on the first page, but the economic matters were also placed later in the order in many issues.

In Sweden, however, there was a dual focus on international and domestic news. Though Gustav III's reforms were primarily aimed at stripping nobility of privileges, the state in turn benefited the peasants' social position and agricultural production. More land could be used with increasing efficiency. Cereal prices were rising, as Sweden continued its agricultural transformation. The role of the press from a cultural angle was emphasized during Gustav III's reign.³⁴⁵ This is related to the increased tension between the political and cultural realms, as well the situation for the state's papers during king's transfer to the Swedish Academy. The domestic view included more contests and interactions with the readership. Important terms were also appearing more often into descriptions of economic matters from external sources. Sweden's economic matters were more complex when contrasted with the previous chapter. There were increased elements of important economic ideas being described with varying legitimacy.

³⁴⁵ Sandmo (2015), pp. 236–251.

Both states created forms of economic objects in the papers as well as representing them. The Swedish state assigned a value to their publication's lines, while Britain attempted to connect its colonies through shared documents or protect bank notes from being stolen. Tables continue to represent clear separations and elaborations in economic thinking; the Swedish paper was including more tables and information from abroad with crucial trade data. The Swedish papers often emphasized the specific source, including languages of legitimacy. International trade — especially about the slave trade and colonial negotiations — represented how discourses were created by broad practices across the globe but were not recorded as tables.

For this period, the forms continued to be mostly consistent with the previous one. There was an expansion of some tables, however. Tables express economic matters in terms of complexity and the state's access to information in many cases. The use of the other category genre also continued to grow. While these did not always express economic matters, they are connected to technological changes for printing. Tables that were integrated into other articles or proclamations show how the state framed and attempted to justify the information. Tables were included in articles just as economic data could be used to add legitimacy to arguments, especially in the Swedish papers.

The order of items was a dynamic element of this time frame, although standard domestic items tended not to change on the latter pages. War meant extra devices were needed to protect the legitimacy of the state when it was weakened. Placing proclamations first increased these efforts. References to other papers were rising, although these were still referred to with additional attribution forms in most cases. Economic matters were displaced or limited by war themes in both the domestic aspects, as well as in the comparative sense. Sweden's domestic news was under less pressure so there were more expressions of economic matters in the *Inrikes* with the increased tables. The contextual section presented at the outset highlighted major political, economic, and social shifts in the world. The content is generally as varied as the previous chapter and is a reflection of these changes.

CHAPTER 5

1815–1820: Global Shifts, Uncertain Futures

From 1815–1820, Napoleon Bonaparte and the end of the Napoleonic Wars were central influences on this final period under discussion. The conflicts that began in Europe spread around the world, leading to movements like independence in South America and slave rebellions in the Caribbean. The Congress of Vienna and the Congress System had ramifications for politics and culture as well. Additionally, the 1816 Year Without Summer strained fraught regions. Industrial change in Sweden and the Industrial Revolution in Britain continued, even during times of difficulties. Britain and Sweden negotiated changing world associations with new monarchs and the continued revolutionary times.

5.1 Industrializing a Changed World

Napoleon rose to power during counter-revolutionary conflicts, sustained by the military tactics he learned during the Revolutionary Wars. The wars continued after 1795, following his rise during the Directory. Later helping to overthrow the government, he kept the centralized method of administration and aided in economic recovery. Napoleon, however, was focused on expansion. Even after peace with Britain with the 1802 Treaty of Amiens, ending the Second Coalition, anxieties endured. Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and lastly the Seventh Coalition were formed, defeated, and reformed until 1815.

Napoleon, finalizing a planned invasion of Britain, tried to actualize gains from colonial dealings at the start of his reign.¹ He acquired much of the formerly Spanish Louisiana territory in 1800. The later Louisiana Purchase in 1803 transferred territory, gold, and cancelled debts between the USA and France. Invasion plans were ended with the British Trafalgar victory in 1805, although the Third Coalition was initially defeated. Around that time, Napoleon installed himself as emperor and formed the Confederation of the Rhine. This collection of German states was beaten in 1813, forcing Napoleon to flee. The Sixth Coalition maintained the momentum and invaded France, forcing the first abdication and exile to Elba.

With this initial defeat, Britain was able to reassign troops to the American extension of the conflicts. The War of 1812 concluded lingering

¹ Fleming (2003), p. 129n.

issues from the American Revolution; Britain also saw the USA as a French ally that threatened trade.² In 1814, the Burning of Washington occurred in retaliation for an attack on the Parliament in York, Upper Canada.³ Criticisms increased over British tactics, despite this symbolic blow.⁴ British delegates dealt with both the Congress of Vienna and negotiations with the USA, as the 1814 Treaty of Ghent was not ratified until 1815. The USA defeated the British at the Battle of New Orleans during this time. Colonial security and trade were strained, despite a restored status quo.

After Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in June 1815, the Congress of Vienna exemplified Europe entering a modern era.⁵ Concluding just prior to the defeat, democratic thinking was embraced, despite rejecting some civil rights generated by revolutionary movements.⁶ From 1814 to 1815, the Treaty of Kiel and the Treaty of Paris were part of the formal precursors to Vienna, with Ghent only partially connected.⁷ The Polish Question was also a topic at the meetings.⁸ Napoleon had created the Duchy of Warsaw from Prussian claims in 1807, allowing serf freedoms under the Napoleonic Code.⁹ Russia's Alexander I desired the territory for his forces and to create a buffer from the west; he was one of the few monarchs to attend Vienna.¹⁰ To resolve this divisive Polish-Saxon Crisis, Russia received much of the Duchy, while Prussia got the Poznań region. Poland's right to representative rule was affirmed, however.¹¹ The Congress supported European monarchies, although a return to prior borders was not a stated goal.

The Congress System changed how monarchs signified their rule. No longer declaring divine rights, they now shielded society from revolution.¹² Spain's Ferdinand VII was restored with related thinking in 1813, returning to traditional ideals, such as fewer press freedoms.¹³ The kingdom was strained by war and agricultural policy.¹⁴ Compounded by the restoration, increased taxes and tariffs drove independence in Central and South America,¹⁵ and royalists clashed with freedom seekers.

² Bickham (2012), p. 8, 20.

³ Bickham (2012), p. 5. This remains a founding myth of Canadian nationalism.

⁴ Muir (1996), p. 333.

⁵ Jarrett (2013), p. 353.

⁶ Wolfson, Madjd-Sadjadi, & James (2004), p. 609.

⁷ Treaties for Britain-Sweden against Denmark-Norway (1814) and for France (1815) after the second defeat of Napoleon, respectively.

⁸ Jarrett (2013), p. 96.

⁹ Jarrett (2013), p. 98.

¹⁰ Jarrett (2013), p. 99.

¹¹ Rey (2012), p. 288.

¹² Jarrett (2013), pp. 353–354.

¹³ Fehrenbach (1970), pp. 52–69.

¹⁴ Tortella Casares (2000), p. 23.

¹⁵ Tortella Casares (2000), p. 23. These lasted until 1833.

Similar tensions mounted in the Caribbean over slavery as well. The Haitian Revolution, ending in 1804, was one of the few successful sustained slave rebellions. This was mainly due to the French style of maintaining colonies.¹⁶ The transfer of Louisiana territory added pressures; many of the inhabitants were either slaves or slaveholders, while the Spanish and French backgrounds of the colonists meant many were Catholic. Uprisings of freed slaves contributed to the Slave Trade Act 1807 in Britain. Evangelical groups and like-minded parliamentarians worked together to express feelings of Enlightenment, while managing other economic interest. There were, however, no universal outlooks. Spain and Britain, for example, had mounting disagreements over the end of the trade and the extent of British searching of suspected slaving vessels.

Underlying many of these events was a period of cooling temperatures and crop failures. The eruption of the Tambora volcano spread ash from Asia after April 1815. It was a period of global climate change, like previous volcanoes.¹⁷ Food prices rose as the weather patterns were disturbed.¹⁸ Tambora impacted populations already strained by war and rebellion. Weather could not be controlled, only managed.

5.1.1 Troubles around the Globe and a New George

Britain's empire grew in the vacuum left by Napoleon. The Regency also characterizes this period. Despite George III ruling in name, the Prince Regent took formal control from 1811–1820. There was a new balance between the crown and Parliament. Prime Minister Robert Banks Jenkinson, also known as Lord Liverpool, led the Tories after the assassination of Spencer Perceval in 1812. The Corn Laws, the fragility of the gold standard, calls for parliamentary reform, food riots, and the slavery debate all pressured government.

The Corn Laws, in place from 1815,¹⁹ imposed protectionism. High wartime grain prices dropped after the peace, leading to limits on foreign entry.²⁰ Intending to aid domestically, Parliament looked to contemporary political economists. Malthus and others focused on free trade, arguing it would lower wages for agricultural workers who would seek other employment, causing industrial wages to fall; David Ricardo and his supporters argued that protectionism caused lower wages, as producers received less and cut pay.²¹ As the population grew, farmers were unable to manage these burdens, leading to hunger, unemployment, and displeasure with the regime.

¹⁶ Girard (2011), p. 45.

¹⁷ Hoppe (2016), p. 113.

¹⁸ Hoppe (2016), p. 114.

¹⁹ The 1846 repeal is outside of the frame of this work, but represents Britain entering a new era of free trade ideology.

²⁰ Schonhardt-Bailey (2006), p. 9.

²¹ Schonhardt-Bailey (2006), p. 163.

Protectionism was also thought to be negative for industry.²² Many sectors were moving away from household production during the Industrial Revolution. This earlier proto-industry had developed alongside urban industry, increasingly dependent on overseas demand.²³ The growth of local tastes also sustained the textile industry, for example.²⁴ Spinning and weaving inventions changed the amount of labour needed; coal and steam also drove advances while shifts in culture and communications were also beneficial.²⁵

Colonial links were crucial for both exportation and raw goods supply. The War of 1812 was costly for the USA as a trade blockade limited growth. British commerce dominance grew,²⁶ as the loyal aristocracy in Upper Canada emerged. The Family Compact spread Toryism, limiting American influence beyond the border affirmed at Ghent.²⁷ In a nearby conflict, the island of St. Croix in the Danish West Indies was captured by Britain in 1802 and again in 1807.²⁸ Although returned in 1815, a British presence remained. Naval forces were also strengthened by these developments.²⁹

On the other side of the globe, the East India Company held power over most of India. The Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817–1818) spread the company and the British state, culturally and politically. Fort St. George at Madras, for instance, was a major port and governmental centre, acting as a regional capital. India and the EIC were more connected, providing a path for British educational and practical training for natives of both Britain and India. Trade in tea and opium furthered associations. Transportation alterations also connected Europe to colonies in Asia and the South Pacific.

Back home, pressures were mounting over the Corn Laws, rising unemployment, taxes, and currency instability. The 1819 Peterloo Massacre resulted from discontent; the charge by the cavalry into the crowd defined a growing unrest and led to press restrictions, among other efforts. The financial woes incurred during war contributed to the national debt, although Britain recovered faster than others.³⁰ Parliament ended wartime income tax, borrowing instead to pay pensions and curb interest. Gold was restricted due to a lack of reserves. For the Bank of England, this threatened bank note confidence and the relationship with the public. Many country banks issued notes and counterfeiting subsequently increased.

²² Schonhardt-Bailey (2006), p. 11.

²³ Hudson (1996), pp. 52–53.

²⁴ Hudson (1996), p. 54.

²⁵ Bayly (2004), p. 51–52.

²⁶ Muir (1996), p. 374–375.

²⁷ The Treaty of Ghent superseded the 1794 Jay's treaty. The later 1818 London Convention further affirmed the borders as disputes arose after the Louisiana Purchase.

²⁸ The plantation was French until 1733 and at its height had about 20,000 slaves, with the white population about a tenth of that. See: Loftsdóttir & Pálsson (2013), pp. 41–42.

²⁹ Rodger (2004), p. 575.

³⁰ Muir (1996), p. 376.

George IV ascended to the throne in January 1820 after the death of his father, ending the Regency. Liverpool continued as prime minister, furthering efforts to end the slave trade, return to the gold standard, as well as face the growing pressures of Catholic emancipation. The continued limits on forming of trade unions were part of Liverpool's reactions to domestic unrest. Issues of succession were raised even before George IV formally became king. His relationship with his wife, Caroline of Brunswick, was filled with derision as he attempted to divorce her. Their only daughter, Charlotte, had died in 1817. Frequently ill, the king let Liverpool manage governing.

Britain benefited overall from the defeat of Napoleon, rewarded in terms of its colonial reach and economic growth. Although threatened by other powers, the rise of *Pax Britannica* spread over much of the world. These external elements were paired with internal political resistance, economic troubles, growing pains of industrialization, and issues of the crown. The death of his father in 1820 did not change much for the Prince Regent, now George IV. With outrage aimed at traditional power systems, the state turned towards fixing the crown to cultural efforts. For the upper class, there were greater opportunities to portray luxury and differentiate their tastes. Although part of the traditional political process, the monarchy now drove more elements of cultural change due to other tensions

5.1.2 Different Dynasty and Union with Norway

Monarchs changed in Sweden as well, along with political and industrial transformations, although on a reduced scale when compared to Britain. While a supplier of resources during the Napoleonic Wars, the instability of the conflicts and agricultural difficulties were substantial and could not be balanced. New forms of criticism were created out of these issues of succession and constitutional change. Russia, Napoleon, and Britain were connected to these events as well, pressuring externally.

Gustav IV Adolf's turned eighteen in 1796 but delayed his coronation until 1800 to avoid criticism from the Riksdag. There was dissatisfaction when the Estates met in Norrköping. Issues of failed wars and agricultural struggles lingered when Sweden joined the Third Coalition in 1805. In the years that followed, Prussia took Swedish Pomerania and Russia invaded Finland. Russia pushed towards Stockholm in 1808 as the Finnish War continued. When the king abdicated as fighting neared Umeå, Russia accepted negotiations. With the 1809 Treaty of Fredrikshamn, the Grand Duchy of Finland was created under Russian rule.

Domestically, Georg Adlersparre's march on Stockholm and military and nobility uprisings pushed for the coup that ended Gustav IV Adolf's erratic absolutism. With the 1809 Instrument of Government,³¹ parliamentary rule

³¹ Swedish: 1809 års regeringsform.

was re-established. As royal power was curtailed, the king's descendants were deemed ineligible. The 1810 Act of Succession stabilized the situation; Gustav III's ill and childless brother Charles was placed on the throne and the search for a successor began. The agreement between the Riksdag and Charles XIII put weight on the symbolic qualities of the monarch. In turn, Danish general Charles August was chosen due to his popularity in Norway. After he died suddenly in 1810, Marshall of France and Prince of Pontecorvo Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte was accepted. He acted as prince regent until the king's death in 1818, officially becoming Charles XIV John.³²

The popularity of the choices in Norway was an issue due to territorial changes. Sweden sought compensation for Finland and Pomerania. With Denmark on Napoleon's side, Norway was handed over as part of Kiel. Norway already had established expanded voting rights and a strengthening trade, primarily with Britain, and the idea of an independent state had arisen by the 1800s. Two sides debated either remaining with Denmark or forming a union with Sweden. After a short war, the Convention of Moss formalized the arrangement at Kiel as a personal union. Sweden had influence over the head of state and foreign policy. The internal conflicts that had started in Norway over independence continued during the union, however.

Sweden and Norway both supported a fairly popular ruler. In both roles, the regent contributed to agricultural and commercial developments. Academies were created while education was also changing in association with the state. For example, the school for the deaf and blind was founded in 1809.³³ Queen Hedwig Elisabeth, during her time as duchess, helped its formal establishment, along with primary instructor Pär Aron Borg. After a conflict with the queen, Borg left in 1816 to recreate a private institution; his complaints were a lack of control over the state-sponsored school. There were additional autocratic tendencies affecting press freedoms.

Though under conservative rule, the Riksdag had some power for reform. Liberal free trade thinking spread slowly, though.³⁴ High import tariffs on things like coffee in 1816 led to a sort of prohibition. Currency and gold supply issues also pressured banks. Many notes were unredeemable due to fluctuating rates, generous issuing, and the supply of rival notes.³⁵ War also contributed to the national debt.³⁶ International loans and speculation joined private interests and the state.³⁷ The Stockholm Stock Exchange developed, despite these difficulties.³⁸

³² In Norway, styled in English as Charles III John.

³³ Swedish: *Allmänna institutet för döfstumma och blinda å Manilla*.

³⁴ Magnusson (2000), p. 69.

³⁵ Magnusson (2000), p. 72.

³⁶ Magnusson (2000), p. 103.

³⁷ Magnusson (2000), p. 104.

³⁸ Swedish: *Stockholmsbörsen*.

Ideas about poverty, work, and charity developed during industrialization, reflecting a realization of its social consequences.³⁹ Manufactory production was steadily growing, particularly for textiles. Wool production, for instance, grew substantially in Norrköping while it fell in Stockholm; already a site of sugar and tobacco production, the easterly town was more successful in meeting rural demand.⁴⁰ Infrastructure projects were invested in at greater rates, offering work for idle soldiers.⁴¹ Lighthouses were built and modified after 1816.⁴² The construction and funding for the Göta Canal also advanced, although impacted by inflation.⁴³

Major shifts in political and economic thinking followed the Napoleonic Wars. Industrial change spread around the world. The conservative attempt to establish territorial normalcy at Vienna was disturbed by independence movements in the Spanish-speaking world and slavery disputes. Despite being behind Britain in terms of industrialization and urbanization, Sweden was entering a new political phase. The Riksdag had more power, but the king still had residual influence. Domestic issues required looking for solutions abroad, while also focusing on how to sustain a cooperative population.

5.1.3 Endings of the Early Modern

Britain and Sweden experienced similar and unique events. Consequently, the end of the early modern period is not identical in the two. Despite industrial turns, agriculture was still the base of the economy, strained by climate problems and war costs. This chapter is structured like the previous ones; the contexts and examinations of the newspapers are next. Economic matters in the British, Swedish, and comparative perspectives are all part of the third section. Finally, the conclusions are presented.

5.2 Newspapers and the State in a New Century

The Napoleonic Wars generated a large amount of news that needed quick and thorough distribution, similar to previous wars. Commercial papers held increasingly more influence, drawing on these sources. The desire for greater sovereignty in the USA increased in newspapers in North America as well. Some advancement was possible due to improved steam power; quicker and cheaper printing techniques were more available. Many papers and systems, however, remained in a transitional period. The state presses were under greater pressures but still sustained many previous efforts.

³⁹ Magnusson (2000), p. 137.

⁴⁰ Magnusson (2000), pp. 50–51.

⁴¹ Johansson (2007), pp. 7–10.

⁴² Stevenson (1959), p. 246.

⁴³ Johansson (2007), p. 9. Calculated in 1823.

5.2.1 Emerging Opportunities and Challenges

While news was created during the Napoleonic Wars, domestic news was restricted. Under Napoleon, some censorship was reinstated in France. While press freedoms vacillated after the Revolution, there was a general increase in the Francophone press where former French slaves resided, such as in Louisiana. The press under Napoleon limited contrary opinions,⁴⁴ even originating from foreign sources.⁴⁵ The number of daily papers was limited during the wars, elevating *Le Moniteur Universel* to the paper of record by 1814. Once Napoleon fell from power, some constraints were loosened under the Second Restoration.⁴⁶

Newspapers in the USA were moving away from British traditions already in the 1790s. Earlier papers primarily had four to five columns and authoritative mastheads, reflecting contemporary trends.⁴⁷ Starting in the 1810s, some newspapers adopted bolder typefaces and engraved images for advertising.⁴⁸ Using column rules for separation also increased; the town meeting of equals was transformed into a courtroom of advocates.⁴⁹ Papers also encouraged more merchant interests, increasing commercial information. Differentiation between news and advertising increased in the lead up to the Market Revolution.⁵⁰ Technology affected the content and character of papers, although it was not fully realized. The lithograph was invented in 1796 and created faster and cheaper reproduction of images.⁵¹ These changes were gradual and did not emerge simultaneously, however.

Between the freedoms in the USA and Napoleon's restrictions, traditions elsewhere were between the two extremes. Ferdinand VII's restoration again resulted in press controls, but the independence movements in Spanish America could not be contained. There had been a brief return to freedoms during the earlier Peninsular War (1808–1814). The colonial press was split between revolutionary and regime-loyal papers, although circulation was limited. With politics difficult to navigate, many published more social and cultural issues, including the maturing Russian press, for instance.⁵²

Just as in previous centuries, many private papers did not last long. Many domestic papers also no longer relied solely on the state filtering foreign news. Using the developing telegraph and lithograph, papers turned to the diplomats that remained across Europe and the developing professional correspondents network, representing news in gradually more unique forms.

⁴⁴ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 88.

⁴⁵ Söderhjelm (1971), p. 193.

⁴⁶ Haynes (2010). French: *Les lois de Serre*. The Serre Laws allowed publications, as long as the owner's name was mentioned, and a jury rather than judge would try offenses.

⁴⁷ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 54.

⁴⁸ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 55.

⁴⁹ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 55.

⁵⁰ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 58.

⁵¹ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 31.

⁵² Russian: *Syn otechestva* (1812–1852).

5.2.2 Official News and its British Rivals

The *Gazette* was being produced in an ever-changing environment. The circulation of untaxed newspapers and *The Times* affected the state paper. Many influential titles began in the early decades. Increased newspaper taxes hindered some growth, although many readers were relying on popular papers. Changes to press controls caused protests that were hard to contain.⁵³ The Fourth Estate was beginning to form in Britain.⁵⁴

John Walter II took over the *Times* in 1803 after its 1785 founding.⁵⁵ The paper used emerging technology, adopting the Koenig system in 1814.⁵⁶ The cylindrical steam press increased printing. Politically, *The Times* also ensured its own survival by appealing to public opinion; it gave a voice to the middle class and influenced changes in beliefs.⁵⁷ Reporting on Peterloo, for example, altered the respectability of backing parliamentary reform.⁵⁸ The *Times* stopped relying on state sources, asserting its independence.

The provincial press also continued to transform. Early in the 1800s, many papers adopted defined political identities. Radical and reform publications debated the War of 1812, slavery, the Corn Laws, and other disputes. Peace, after constant war, was argued for because of economic hardships.⁵⁹ Reforms were disputed, changing parliamentary and manufacturing ideals.⁶⁰ The London press, consequently, was less important outside of the centre.⁶¹ Stamp taxes increased in 1802 and 1815 to control this spread, although many papers opted not to pay. There were fewer options for control.

Oppositional opinions gradually became more sustainable as advertising developed. Like the American press, British papers were expanding and experimenting. Despite state efforts, the *London Gazette* was also forced to change, due to the tensions of this period. The paper stressed its role as the transmitter of the public record, as other publications were created in the spaces it vacated, for example regarding international news.

5.2.3 New Competition for the *Post-Tidningar* and *Inrikes*

The *Post-Tidningar* continued to provide international information, unlike the *Gazette*. The *Inrikes Tidningar* instead reflects aspects of change here. This was also a time of altered press freedoms, despite additional competition. The

⁵³ Andrews (1859), p. 354.

⁵⁴ Clarke (2004), p. 230.

⁵⁵ It originally had the title of *The Daily Universal Register*. Clarke (2004), p. 225.

⁵⁶ Clarke (2004), p. 225.

⁵⁷ Clarke (2004), p. 227.

⁵⁸ Clarke (2004), p. 227.

⁵⁹ Clarke (2004), p. 127.

⁶⁰ Clarke (2004), p. 127.

⁶¹ Clarke (2004), p. 128.

Swedish Academy improved production; after 1791, it increased from about 2,500 issues per year to 3,600 issues in a roughly ten-year period.⁶² Printing advances meant that more information could be included. Although many papers continued to follow the format of the *Post-Tidningar*, new presses were gradually introduced. Other media increased, sustained by the abdication, effects of Napoleon, and other foreign stimuli. By 1820, the Swedish press was at a different stage than Britain, France, or other states.

The 1809 coup was difficult to communicate for the state press, with the news appearing without commentary.⁶³ Secretary Mathias Rosenblad tried to limit the spread of the news of Gustav IV Adolf's imprisonment,⁶⁴ restricting printing rights.⁶⁵ Developments in cultural and military papers reduced some negative opinions. After 1810, papers dispersed debate over succession under the new division of powers.⁶⁶ Disputes continued until an official decision was made in 1812, later revised in 1815 and 1818. The new contract for the editors of *Post-Tidningar* and the *Inrikes* gave them some flexibility, but still required them to follow prior styles and submit changes for approval.⁶⁷

Papers aimed at householding and toll policy were produced in greater numbers. These were meant to repair the economy after the Napoleonic Wars,⁶⁸ and sustain concern for the topic.⁶⁹ Statistical journals also circulated.⁷⁰ The *Inrikes* had the task of reporting on more economic exchanges;⁷¹ the contents reflected this interest. Just as in Britain, Sweden's newspapers had more modern expressions with each revision to printing freedoms, technological breakthrough, and political dispute. Criticisms of the regime grew, despite measures against it.⁷²

Political debate and economic discussions amplified outside of the state's control, pressuring the state's media network. By the end of this period, there were sustained arguments for less press control. Johan Theorell and Johan Johansson founded *Stockholms Courier* and the *Argus*, respectively, in 1820. The announcement of the *Courier* appeared in the *Inrikes* in 1819.⁷³ Despite changing names, the *Argus* lasted longer. Like other papers, it used

⁶² Oscarsson (2000), p. 120–121.

⁶³ Torbacke (2005), p. 240.

⁶⁴ Torbacke (2000), p. 218.

⁶⁵ Torbacke (2000), p. 220.

⁶⁶ These rumours contributed to the death of Axel von Fersen, blamed for supporting Gustavians and suspected of poisoning Charles August. See: Torbacke (2000), pp. 223–224.

⁶⁷ Torbacke (2005), pp. 244–245.

⁶⁸ Torbacke (2000), p. 249.

⁶⁹ Adamson (2014), p. 119.

⁷⁰ Torbacke (2000), pp. 251–252.

⁷¹ Torbacke (2005), p. 250.

⁷² Adamson (2014), p. 72.

⁷³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 143, 15 Dec. 1819.

Britain as a model.⁷⁴ Sweden's first modern daily newspaper, *Aftonbladet*, began publishing in 1830 out of disparagements of the monarchy. The modern Swedish press emerged around 1820, using new paper sizes, navigating costs, and discussing broader topics.

5.2.4 Diverging Layouts and State Growth

Although this period was on the cusp of the breakthroughs of modern newspapers, the state still had to respond in their press with consistent methods. The two states were emphasizing their trustworthiness by utilizing established traditions as other publications adopted new trends. These formats, however, would transform over the rest of the nineteenth century. The examples issues represent the general patterns of many standard issues, showing parallels and variation from the previous two chapters, as well as how emphasis changed in this five-year period.

London Gazette: June 1818

For the *Gazette*, France and the USA dominated topics in 1815 and 1816. Waterloo and the associated peace treaties were printed in supplements and repeated in standard issues, for example.⁷⁵ The *Gazette* had mainly between four and thirty-two pages, with many issues having twenty-four pages.⁷⁶ Shorter *Extraordinary* and supplementary editions — sometimes only a single page — were exceptions, along with longer editions. The Prince Regent's main proclamations were proroguing parliament or announcing days of thanksgiving, along with throne speeches. War dead and divisions of prizes added to the length, along with the increased number of state offices.

In a change from the previous two chapters, there was only a single date printed in the masthead. The Royal Coat of Arms was still used, but lacked some symbols featured previously. Due to the union with Ireland becoming official in 1801, the United Kingdom arms replaced the Britain arms. Governmental offices used this, while the symbols representing the king in other settings had more details. Images and increased symbols also represent a state under pressure.

Just as in earlier periods, lengthy items had their information broken down by paragraphs. More material was included, offset internally. More headline-like qualities were used. Printing time decreased, contributing to an increased length and more supplements. An example in 1815 had fifteen pages about the Battle of New Orleans.⁷⁷ The Treaty of Ghent was reproduced later that month for quick circulation as an *Extraordinary* then later reprinted in a standard

⁷⁴ Torbacke (2000), p. 259.

⁷⁵ For example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17027, 7 Jan. 1817; issue 17028, 11 Jan. 1817.

⁷⁶ The first half of the 1820 editions (from January to July) were unavailable.

⁷⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16991, 9 March 1815.

issue.⁷⁸ News from India was often published similarly, summarizing weeks of correspondence in supplements.⁷⁹

Overall, item forms were consistent; troubles instead influenced the content and order. International news, however, was limited to royal announcements or private notices. By the end of the period, deaths in the British royal family caused addresses of condolences during the turmoil of Peterloo.⁸⁰ Other newspapers, such as the *Times*, focused on foreign news about general events. Notices about foreign interests were the main international element, including extra languages. In addition to French, Danish was printed as notices regarding St. Croix, for example.⁸¹ Like Sweden references, Britain and the paper's reach are reflected by this content. International news was reduced but economic prospects around the world remained.

For an average issue of the *London Gazette* to represent this time period, I have selected a Saturday issue from June 1818.⁸² Like the previous chapters, this had the grain table. Princess Charlotte's death occupied many editions at the start of the year, while dowager Queen Charlotte's death was prominent at the close. Additionally, the Third Anglo-Maratha War dominated early supplementary editions. Choosing an issue from the middle of 1818 also avoids atypical mentions of Sweden, due to Charles XIV John's succession.

Two proclamations from the regent were printed at the beginning: first, a call for a new Parliament and second electing of peers in Scotland.⁸³ The ruler's titles began the items, in this case the Prince of Wales, along with a line announcing the proclamation. The addresses followed, while the location and date closed the items. These were also in the two issues prior and continued into July, although not always first.⁸⁴ Other proclamations from the court in council continued this example. Here, acts for militia enrolment, trade into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the prohibition of exporting arms, and another militia act were presented. Other items that were often first or early pages were the courts of assizes or sheriff appointments lists.⁸⁵

There was no defined order of what was printed after these initial items, except that they originated from state offices. There was more consistency in this final period, but only when compared to the previous chapters. In

⁷⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16994, 14 March 1815.

⁷⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17301, 5 Nov. 1817.

⁸⁰ For numerous examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17663, 26 Dec. 1820; issue 17664, 30 Dec. 1820; issue 17665, 2 Jan. 1821.

⁸¹ For examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16986, 21 Feb. 1815; issue 17065, 26 Sept. 1815.

⁸² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17371, 20 June 1818.

⁸³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17371, 20 June 1818.

⁸⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17385, 4 Aug. 1818. The proclamations were repeated until this issue when the announcement about the proroguing of Parliament was printed first. The texts, however, were not first in four issues. For another example, see: issue 17378, 14 July 1818. This issue had an item about the marriage of the Duke of Clarence first.

⁸⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17452, 23 Feb. 1819; issue 17454, 27 Feb. 1819.

this example, a ranks list from the War Office was published.⁸⁶ Medical staff was separated from the regimental listings. Announcements from Whitehall and St. James's Palace, regarding various appointments, were next in the order. Groupings like this in other issues often had notices from the Lord Chamberlain's office about court activities.⁸⁷ One of the announcements from Whitehall in this issue reflected an interactive element; a subversive letter was sent in Dorset that threatened a church rector, so a reward was offered.⁸⁸

The next notices in this sample were from the General Post Office and the Office of Lord High Admiral. First, the Post Office announced free postage for letters associated with Parliament. Second, the Office of High Admiral had several items, separated by line breaks and headlines. Notices were more varied in this time frame. A notice of harbour conditions explained an act of Parliament, followed by a "notice to mariners" from the Ballast Office.⁸⁹ The middle pages normally contained content related to contracts, auctions, or announcements for meetings. This issue's contracts ranged from fishing gear to cabinet and upholstery notices; the meeting announcements were about the West India Dock Company, the Royal Exchange Assurance Office, and the Gas Light and Coke Company.⁹⁰

The tables for the average prices of grain and sugar followed in this sample issue, taking up more than a page on the seventh page of twenty-one. The size varied in some issues, depending on sugar amounts. Other tables were in this the second half as well. These broke down the prize proportions for captured ships; there were two notice items in this sample.⁹¹ The final items were the dissolution of partnerships, estate sales, and bankruptcy private notices. In this period, there were often headlines separating items. In this case, two notices were offset from other claims based on location; one was about Herefordshire while the other was about South Carolina.⁹² Names also divided items as end lines. This issue contained twelve pages of these types of notices, taking up about half the space. This was the final phase of the *Gazette* delivering international news; rather than representing wider varieties of events, functions of the state were instead documented.

Post-Tidningar: November 1817

In terms of the Swedish papers, there were some minor trends that differ from the previous two chapters. The *Post-Tidningar* consistently included reports from London, often at the start; news about the monarchy or Stockholm was

⁸⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17371, 20 June 1818.

⁸⁷ For example, see the notices of mourning various minor royal relatives: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17368, 9 June 1818.

⁸⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17371, 20 June 1818.

⁸⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17371, 20 June 1818.

⁹⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17371, 20 June 1818.

⁹¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17371, 20 June 1818.

⁹² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17371, 20 June 1818.

often first in either paper as well. An official article or other extraordinary news-labelled items could also be first; these often discussed economic matters and are item forms not observed in the earlier time periods. As for languages, non-translated articles or notices in German appeared almost every week.⁹³ By the time of Charles XIV John, there was more French included.

The issue of the *Post-Tidningar* that represents this period is from November 1817. Starting with Stockholm, an article included the phrase “open letter” about the resignation of Erik Julius Lagerheim.⁹⁴ The international news followed. Overall, Russia and Spain increased in reports. London, unless it was absent, was mainly printed on the first two pages. For this example, Britain’s national income was broken down into a comparison between 1816 and 1817.⁹⁵ A dash divided the line from the rest of the British news about Russian ships.⁹⁶ France and Germany items were next; two additional items from Italy and Constantinople, noted as letters, were also printed.⁹⁷ Unlike the previous periods, Warsaw news decreased.

The second half of standard issues turned to domestic events. These notices took up more pages and often included a stock table as supplement pages; this listed various types of currencies in Europe. Typically, the regular currency table was included every other issue. There were seven currencies here, including the average rate for Hamburg in addition to it being part of the regular rate;⁹⁸ there were two types of exchanges for some states, depending on the currency and connection to banknotes.

The notifications followed, after a dividing line. Bankruptcies were first here,⁹⁹ but auctions also appeared at the start. These informed about the arrival of documents or deadlines, covering topics like previously described notices. The final notices were miscellaneous announcements, describing similar topics from the previous periods. Like the *Gazette*, there were more headlines or names dividing information.

Returning to the currency or stock topic, both papers published details of the trading of promissory currency notes as tables as an extra section, in addition to the standard currency table. These supplementary pages listed issuer, broker, and the third party holding the notice. These tables, sometimes referred to as stock tables in this dissertation, were expansions of the smaller currency table, printed with it or referenced in another issue. Here, the *Post-Tidningar* referred to an item in No. 122 of the *Inrikes*.¹⁰⁰ The printer, Olof Gramh, was noted on a final line, after this supplementary section.

⁹³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 93, 29 Aug. 1815; No. 95, 5 Sept. 1815; No. 97, 8 Sept. 1815.

⁹⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 131, 1 Nov. 1817. Swedish: *Öppet Bref*.

⁹⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 131, 1 Nov. 1817.

⁹⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 131, 1 Nov. 1817.

⁹⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 131, 1 Nov. 1817.

⁹⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 131, 1 Nov. 1817.

⁹⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 131, 1 Nov. 1817.

¹⁰⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 131, 1 Nov. 1817.

***Inrikes Tidningar*: June 1818**

The *Inrikes Tidningar* has some contrasts to the previous periods; more items for Stockholm and fewer from smaller parishes were included, for example. Some news was still featured, such as remarkable births or remedies for illnesses, as articles or letters from outside Stockholm. Death and wedding announcements, as well as the bankruptcy and testament sections, also included references to smaller towns. Recipes and advice letters were printed,¹⁰¹ but were reduced in comparison to the earlier time frames due to news from abroad and a new genre, as noted earlier. These were labelled as official articles, various happenings, or notices to the public,¹⁰² much of the news from abroad was phrased as rumours in these types of items, or referencing sources like other newspapers or letters. While there was reduced news from all over Sweden, most item forms remained standard, aside from these new varieties. Most issues were between four to twelve pages, with the closing tables increasing the length.

For the sample issue from June 1818, the *Inrikes* started with an article. Under a Stockholm placeline, the thanksgiving ceremony after the death of the queen dowager was described.¹⁰³ The attendance at the Royal Chapel was listed, as well as how similar ceremonies were performed “in all of the capital’s churches.”¹⁰⁴ The main focus, after the type of ceremony, was listing the names of those in attendance, including the king, crown prince, and Swedish and Norwegian ministers. The mention that Sophia Albertina was absent is noteworthy, not only because of her ill health. The reverberations of the transition from one royal house to another are indicated in the listing of names, with some persisting into the next phase.

The second item was also based on the symbolic capacity of the king. This aspect also included an economic element. News from Medevi Spa described how the king granted forty sufferers a year access to a new clinic for treatment “at their own high expense.”¹⁰⁵ Descriptions of the site and the reaction of the locals were included. The king was described as having great mercy for the sickly poor.¹⁰⁶ The symbolic tone towards the monarchy is stronger in this second item. Together, these first two pieces of news filled the first page, lasting two lines over the second. News from Malmö was the third item, recounting celebrations of the king’s coronation. Again, the reactions of

¹⁰¹ For an example on the preparation of cider, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 95, 5 Sept. 1815; For a list of tips for cold weather, see: No. 146, 30 Dec. 1817; for a description of a wolf hunt, see: No. 8, 22 Jan. 1819.

¹⁰² Introduced in Chapter Two. For an example of various happenings, including a “German paper” see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 97, 8 Sept. 1815; for various happenings with a letter from Innsbruck and other international sources, see: No. 36, 1 April 1817. Many of the paragraphs referred to sources as letters or as foreign newspapers.

¹⁰³ Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta died June 20.

¹⁰⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

¹⁰⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

¹⁰⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

the people and how they intended to “celebrate the day” were recounted.¹⁰⁷ The poor were referenced again, noting how they were also provided a feast. This article almost filled the entire page, leaving about half of the second column to the next news.

The item that followed could also appear on the first page, when ceremonial, foreign, or Norwegian news was not prominent. The ship news list had the same format as earlier, noting passengers and the movement of the post. The next list item was also similar to earlier editions; the death, births, and engagements were again divided between Stockholm and the provinces.

Offices or groups associated with the state were the next items in this sample, continuing the third page from the lists. These again explained minor state decisions, breaking down how positions were filled or how meetings were conducted. Here, there was a notice about a meeting to discuss an increase in interest from the National Debt Office in Örebro and an offer for a clerk position dealing from Älvsborg County.¹⁰⁸ Since the two described state functions and actions, there was a reduced need to include any oral descriptions as legitimacy was connected to the authority of the office.

Opportunities for jobs were included in both this and the labelled notifications sections. Positions connected to the higher state positions were often listed outside of the notifications, as seen with the clerk. After notices for a bell ringer and watchmen — examples of the types of work offered — the auction notices were printed.¹⁰⁹ Names were increasingly representing the trustworthiness of the items, as seen in the final signature-like lines. Eight different types of auctions or sales were described, including the date, location, and sometimes names.¹¹⁰ The goods ranged from boats, to the contents of inventories, to property, both large and small.¹¹¹

In this example, private notices about creditors were part of the overall notifications section.¹¹² These seven notices varied in length, but had names attached. The items for sale dividing line preceded two and a half columns of various goods and property, including books and houses.¹¹³ There were more details for buyers in this period, including prices. The list of diverse announcements ranged from the offer of tutoring from a widow, mentions of grave duties, as well as settling debt and inventories conflicts.¹¹⁴ Dates, names, and instructions all provided forms of legitimizing language for these announcement items.

¹⁰⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

¹⁰⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

¹⁰⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

¹¹⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

¹¹¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

¹¹² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

¹¹³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

¹¹⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

The final pages partially explain why papers in this period are the longest. The currency stock table, introduced in the *Post-Tidningar* section, spanned over three pages in this edition, including trading for the previous Friday. This table also shows the interrelated qualities with the *Post-Tidningar*, as the two would often reference one another; this edition listed pounds sterling, Hamburg *banco* (which had the most transactions), Dutch courant, and Lübeck courant, all with rates.¹¹⁵

For the two Swedish papers, there were more items from Stockholm when compared to the previous two chapters. While the rest of the world was represented much as it had before, coverage of other parishes were reduced. Britain was looking away from Europe, however, through its focus on domestic representations. More government offices and the contexts of the period affected issue length, while foreign news was not addressed directly with separate placelines in the *Gazette*. Overall, all three papers had lengthier issues, along with some new forms and content.

5.2.5 Twilight for Early Modern State Newspapers

Through the papers, the states responded to multiple forces, while attempting to continue previously adequate routines. These sample issues show some of the reactions to these tensions. This was the time frame when the Swedish papers and the British publication are the most varied regarding overall content, although there are important parallels of form and order. There was increased attribution and use of names in both contexts; tables, for the most part, also included the source of the information and the corresponding dates. The addition of more tables meant more areas were sourced and more content represented. Technology and the development of advertising began to separate the state from other commercial papers, although these were under various press controls and developments when comparing Britain and Sweden.

5.3 Clarifying New and Old Systems

As external and domestic forces gradually affected the newspapers' functions, Sweden still looked to Europe and the world, while Britain was focused on its empire and the domestic. I have structured this analysis portion like the previous two chapters: British economic matters are presented first, Sweden second, the comparative section third, and the summary fourth. Both states attempted to portray restrictions on economic matters as positive elements, while also acknowledging difficulties caused by war and some environmental problems.

¹¹⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 69, 23 June 1818.

5.3.1 Warring Britain and a Global and Local Divide

With the increased length of the *Gazette*, there was a shift in how British economic matters were portrayed. Political associations continued, along with the standard aspects of social control through judicial notices. There were increasingly more government offices requiring representation, however. Economic matters were often presented separately, including a further variety of tables and economic depictions in connection with state offices. The wars discussed at the outset of the chapter also influenced the content.

Parliament, the King, and Temporary Political Panic

Speeches related to Parliament separated economic matters from other issues, although these proclamations were still part of the political realm. Organization and order are key aspects when analyzing these parts of the paper. Representatives of the monarch, the Lords Commissioners, delivered speeches, as both George III and the Prince Regent were often absent. This also reflects changes to the semi-public sphere, including other representatives of the state. In examples from 1816 and 1818, two speeches were structured similarly and presented analogous subjects. In both examples, the royal family was discussed first, before moving onto political news and the economic matters. The proclamations still had monarchy at the centre, while also extending to other figures due to their increasing weaknesses.

The 1816 speech separated economic matters and provided explanations for struggles. After the 1815 treaty with France, Britain entered a new era.¹¹⁶ The king's health was addressed before "peace throughout Europe" was noted.¹¹⁷ This was the context for the economic matters, separated by a line addressing the "gentlemen of the House of Commons."¹¹⁸ The economic matters were about "the estimates for the present year," "manufactures, commerce, and revenue [...] flourishing," and "measures of economy."¹¹⁹ The "great exertions" and "heavy pressure" of the previous years were referenced, establishing how the state considered peace in connection to these economic ideas. Recovery was possible but needed justification.¹²⁰

In the same speech, colonial news contained economic matters. A discourse connects Britain to its periphery; this needed to be maintained through cooperation. The reference to "a commercial arrangement" with the USA preceded military reports from India and Europe in separate paragraphs.¹²¹ Economic ideas of trade negotiations were connected to the hopes for "union"

¹¹⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17105, 2 Feb. 1816.

¹¹⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17105, 2 Feb. 1816.

¹¹⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17105, 2 Feb. 1816.

¹¹⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17105, 2 Feb. 1816.

¹²⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17105, 2 Feb. 1816.

¹²¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17105, 2 Feb. 1816.

and “internal prosperity.”¹²² Separated to a degree, the economic matters focused on a secure world and improvement.

In the 1818 example, there were similar expressions; the Commissioners were again in place of the regents.¹²³ It was initially a supplement the day parliament opened,¹²⁴ then repeated as part of a regular edition. Efforts to maintain a sense of legitimacy are observed when these types of speeches were repeated, as the figures of the rulers were emphasized. George III’s health and the “suffering” of the Prince Regent over the death of the princess were first.¹²⁵ Charlotte’s 1817 death caused repeated addresses that disrupted aspects of order in other instances.¹²⁶ Political news about various “foreign powers” conveying “strongest assurances of their friendly disposition” was discussed next.¹²⁷ Like the 1816 proclamation, separation highlighted certain concepts when a number of topics were discussed. There were political and economic panics, although the difficulties were referred to as “temporary” so the state assured they could be managed.¹²⁸

The economic matters with the 1818 example were separated from a paragraph about “discontent” and “treason,” addressing political loyalty.¹²⁹ A discourse reflecting “national prosperity” framed the discussion, again promoting collective sentiments for success.¹³⁰ Ideas such as the “sources of our national prosperity” were followed by mentions of “domestic industry” and “public credit.”¹³¹ Recommendations for Parliament were next; the first was regarding “estimates for the current year,” and continued with the economic ideas of “state of the public income and expenditure of the country” as well as “revenue.”¹³² Parliament’s function, connected to economic matters, was stated; The references to the “estimates for the current year [...] laid before you” and “His Royal Highness recommends to your continued attention the state of the public income and expenditure of the country” represent how Parliament was also a central point of converging notions.¹³³ Parliamentary decisions connected economic and political values. Additionally, there was an offset paragraph about religion. It referred to the deficiency “which has so long existed in the number of places of public worship belonging

¹²² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17105, 2 Feb. 1816.

¹²³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

¹²⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17327, 27 Jan. 1818.

¹²⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

¹²⁶ For some examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17329, 3 Feb. 1818; issue 17330, 7 Feb. 1818; issue 17333, 17 Feb. 1818.

¹²⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

¹²⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

¹²⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

¹³⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

¹³¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

¹³² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

¹³³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

to the established church.”¹³⁴ By dividing the speech, unity was emphasized while also highlighting some separated economic matters, as well as other topics.

Acts given royal assent were split between military and economic matters in many cases. Some addressed managing troops; others dealt with bank funding, trade regulation, land management, and infrastructure. In one example, an initial act referenced a sum of “three millions” being granted to the “governor and company of the Bank of England.”¹³⁵ The growth of banks was crucial to the transformation of economic thought and development. With the specific amount, the requirements for the permissions were listed; the bank would “supply for service,” although this was not defined.¹³⁶ The bank encompassed many economic matters; its descriptions are part of a discourse the state relied on but also tried to dictate. Naming an exact amount reflects these attempted parameters.

Other acts dealt with national and local issues. “Certain duties,” one example noted, would be charged for “foreign packets or passage-vessels” entering ports, and “the trade and commerce” with the Cape of Good Hope would continue to be regulated.¹³⁷ Economic objects, ideas, and practices are observed, connected to an overall discourse of regulation. The local economic matters here were building of roads and an issue of land holding; these two aspects of management were regularly expressed.¹³⁸ An act for “spiritual persons holding of farms” was meant “for explaining and amending several acts.”¹³⁹ When acts were amended, the additional comment reflects a changed idea towards something, in this case about “spiritual persons” and land holding.¹⁴⁰ The infrastructure items were like those produced about roads, canals, lighting, and other county issues of upkeep practices.

Addresses of support for the king show recognition of unrest, near and far. Warnings for acting against the state were repeated at the end of 1818.¹⁴¹ Attempts at detaining rioters and rewards for their apprehension were mentioned. One noted how the author was thankful for the “divine providence from the excellent constitution” to protect from attempts to “disturb the public peace, or endanger the safety of His Majesty’s Government.”¹⁴² Responses from the regents mainly concerned repairing or strengthening loyalty; one example in 1815 hoped to “secure and improve all the advantages

¹³⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

¹³⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17121, 23 March 1816.

¹³⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17121, 23 March 1816.

¹³⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17121, 23 March 1816.

¹³⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17121, 23 March 1816.

¹³⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17121, 23 March 1816.

¹⁴⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17121, 23 March 1816.

¹⁴¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17500, 3 Aug. 1819 through issue 17520, 28 Sept. 1819.

¹⁴² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17520, 28 Sept. 1819.

of peace” after the conclusion of the war with the USA, although this was printed on the fifth page after proclamations addressing matters of trade and customhouses.¹⁴³ These were still attempts to maintain loyalty, although there were limited references to economic matters.

Various government offices developed in reaction to and despite feelings of distrust. Many were created to manage economic matters as they became more complex; consistently offset items indicate new or changed duties again. The political meaning was disintegrating towards a more purely economic value. One of these is related to taxes, as the *Gazette* referenced taxes most often in this selected time frame. Beginning in 1799, the paper printed the Office For Taxes as a separately labelled item, after Pitt’s 1798 budget had introduced formal income taxes. He emphasized the importance of preparing for war and trusting the administration.¹⁴⁴ Acceptance was limited and managing the system was difficult.¹⁴⁵ All returns could not be reviewed because of the limited size and abilities of the office workers.¹⁴⁶ It was abolished with the peace in 1816, but the office was still associated with notices for bank annuities and other matters.¹⁴⁷

International news influenced content, but was not actively included under separate place- or datelines. The USA and France were represented by treaties initially,¹⁴⁸ produced as supplements and then later repeated. Some negotiations involved economic matters, but these events mainly influenced the ordering of the papers. Items that would normally appear first were pushed to later pages, for instance. While content varied, there was a greater emphasis on domestic events due to issues of turmoil.

Interactive items established practices for those far from Britain, joining the centre and the periphery through economic matters just as in the previous period. The continuation of this type of item indicates its effectiveness. Trade is a significant economic idea and discourse, as mentions of regulation increased. An act about trade between British colonies and the USA again included an item that was a duplicable economic object; the paper reproduced the “licence to import bread, flour, Indian corn, and livestock, into the island of Newfoundland.”¹⁴⁹ The item was to be used or consumed, attaching value to it. It was again a practical tool for “British subjects, and in British-built ships, owned by His Majesty’s subjects.”¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16987, 25 Feb. 1815.

¹⁴⁴ Sabine (2006), pp. 27–28.

¹⁴⁵ Sabine (2006), p. 33.

¹⁴⁶ Sabine (2006), pp. 33–34.

¹⁴⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17663, 26 Dec. 1820.

¹⁴⁸ For examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16993, 14 March 1815; issue 17000, 4 March 1815; issue 17027, 20 June 1815; issue 17028, 22 June 1815; issue 17044 25 July 1815.

¹⁴⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17328, 31 Jan. 1818.

¹⁵⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17319, 3 Jan. 1818.

In another example, a proclamation was after the condolence letters.¹⁵¹ The act involved “regulating of trade between” British “colonies and plantations in North America and the West India islands” with the USA and “foreign islands in the West Indies.”¹⁵² Acts like this were repeated; another example was about “trade and commerce” from the Cape of Good Hope.¹⁵³ Acts about both colonial and local trade often were first in the first-page order,¹⁵⁴ and then gradually moved to later pages as newer bills were introduced in subsequent issues. Another bill of this type was about “the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in neutral ships, into and from His Majesty’s territories in the West Indies and continent of South America.”¹⁵⁵ The order shifted due to repetition and the factors of each issue, but the topic of colonial trade dealings was often repeated.

Economic discourses about regulation were also connected to other areas of society. Directing the movement of people, goods, and ships limited economic practices and emphasized the state’s control over violence and management of resources. Prohibiting gunpowder and other weapons exports were repeated through various acts, for example.¹⁵⁶ These types of economic objects, from this perspective, had value in the political as well. While scarcity created economic value, objects had other uses attached to them as the state developed. Plague and quarantines were also referenced with acts to prevent the spread of disease, reflecting regulation practices with economic and social meaning in a similar manner but a different circumstance.¹⁵⁷

Addresses also separated paragraphs by subject in many issues. After an attempted 1817 attack on the Prince Regent, several addresses in support of his rule were printed in one example.¹⁵⁸ While loyalty and shock were professed, economic matters were also referenced. Discussing the “national resources” and “the distresses, which affect every class of the community” shows the poor situation at the time,¹⁵⁹ there was also hope that “agriculture, manufactures and commerce of the country will soon revive” through the “enlightened

¹⁵¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17319, 3 Jan. 1818.

¹⁵² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17319, 3 Jan. 1818.

¹⁵³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17534, 13 Nov. 1819.

¹⁵⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17253, 24 May 1817. This was for the act for trade and commerce to and from Cape of Good Hope.

¹⁵⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16971, 3 Jan. 1815.

¹⁵⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16985, 21 Feb. 1815; issue 17051, 15 Aug. 1815; issue 17166, 17 Aug. 1816; issue 17167, 24 Aug. 1816; issue 17170, 7 Sept. 1816; issue 17305, 15 Nov. 1817; issue 17306, 18 Nov. 1817; issue 17494; 13 July 1819.

¹⁵⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17258, 10 June 1817 for processing quarantine ships; Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17529, 14 June 1817 for processing quarantine ships and prohibiting export of weapons Order in Council; For another example of quarantined ships see: issue 17246, 29 April, 1817.

¹⁵⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17233, 22 March 1817.

¹⁵⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17233, 22 March 1817.

policy of ministers.”¹⁶⁰ The discourse of national resources is indicated again later on; the Prince Regent was “relinquishing a large portion of your income to the service of the state” so this was a “patriotic example” that would settle difficulties.¹⁶¹ Other addresses referenced religious health. While God was important for unity, loyalty to the state helped for the successful management of economic matters.

Economic ideas took on other qualities outside of political contexts dictated by the government and sometimes needed revision. In order to amend and alter bills, a notice was given that listed the acts that needed “enlarging” or amended “powers.”¹⁶² In various examples, these ranged from the “powers and provisions” granted to road building and the changing of non-specific tolls,¹⁶³ harbour construction,¹⁶⁴ and a public carriage toll.¹⁶⁵ These notices were placed on latter pages, preceded often by war office lists and other proclamations; there was reduced importance for these revisions, although they were often prior to the grain tables. The various types of acts in the proclamations that were on the initial pages shared parallel phrasings, however. Revisions also lacked monetary sums, unless there were specific parties involved.

Slavery was a changing and challenging topic. In September 1816, the issue of ending slavery was brought up with a lengthy preamble.¹⁶⁶ This included separate issues of economic matters; liberties and commercial revisions were apart in the statement that read:

We feel the most lively gratitude to Almighty God, that our country is placed so preeminent among the nations of the earth, for the wisdom and magnanimity, the humanity and constitutional rule of her Prince, his parental care of all classes, the security he affords to their civil and religious liberties, that fostering attention which he pays to commercial and agricultural improvements, and the countenance which he gives to religious and moral instruction [...] promise the long wished for protection to the enslaved African [...].¹⁶⁷

While the *Gazette* represented slavery negatively both politically and socially, economic connections were harder to reverse. Slavery was part of the state’s trade practices and discourses. In a notice of sale from Jamaica, “Negroes and other slaves” were mentioned with livestock and buildings, contextualizing them as objects.¹⁶⁸ Dealing with the end of slavery required cooperation, such

¹⁶⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17233, 22 March 1817.

¹⁶¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17233, 22 March 1817.

¹⁶² These types of notices on the latter pages were included most often in this period.

¹⁶³ This example mainly involves counties in Middlesex, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17645, 24 Oct. 1820.

¹⁶⁴ This was in Cornwall, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17636, 23 Sept. 1820.

¹⁶⁵ This was again in Middlesex, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17064, 23 Sept. 1815.

¹⁶⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17170, 7 Sept. 1816.

¹⁶⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17170, 7 Sept. 1816.

¹⁶⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17658, 9 Dec. 1720.

as a treaty between Britain and the Netherlands to end trafficking,¹⁶⁹ as well as another treaty with Spain.¹⁷⁰ The agreement with France after Napoleon also referenced ending the trade.¹⁷¹ Slavery never disrupted much of the order but still shows changing content descriptions, although slaves were still treated somewhat as economic objects.

Social Contexts and Economic Connections

Printed interactions with the state could also be positive or negative. These ranged from the consistent representation of the lottery and its use of tables, to the continued offer of rewards for reporting crimes. These were increasingly detailed reports, ranging from murdered sheep,¹⁷² attacks on houses and gun threats,¹⁷³ arson,¹⁷⁴ and destruction of property.¹⁷⁵ Economic practices, such as the granting of rewards, would not have been offered unless there was a loss and the state sought a solution. The destruction of a lace-making factory caused the offer of “five hundred guineas” for the person who helped find the guilty.¹⁷⁶ The damage described a destroyed economic object, showing a monetary value created by replacement. For this factory, in addition to wounding a guard, the cost was stated as “ten thousand pounds.”¹⁷⁷

As with the previous chapters, there were notices connected to the social realm that aimed at determining diverse “felonies, trespasses, and other misdeeds committed within the said city” associated with London trade.¹⁷⁸ Economic discourses are part of this; after the inclusion in the various acts of Parliament, they were expanded to a broader meaning with social consequences. Since most notices were meant to discourage criminal acts, the information needed to be authentic. The economic element is seen through the state’s acts and the social punishment, printed on the latter pages with the more domestic items.

Smaller grain tables were often integrated in some notices, elaborating on them. These described how the prices were calculated from “the aggregate quantities, prices, and average prices [...] by each and every person carrying on the trade or business of a corn-factor” and “have been made up, formed, computed, and distinguished, and fairly and properly inserted.”¹⁷⁹ The

¹⁶⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17477, 15 May 1819; issue 17465, 3 April 1819.

¹⁷⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17458, 9 March 1819.

¹⁷¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17105, 2 Feb. 1816.

¹⁷² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17452, 23 Feb. 1819; issue 17454, 27 Feb. 1819.

¹⁷³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16986, 21 Feb. 1815.

¹⁷⁴ For several examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17071, 17 Oct. 1815; issue 17088, 5 Dec. 1815.

¹⁷⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17153, 13 July 1816.

¹⁷⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17153, 13 July 1816.

¹⁷⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17153, 13 July 1816.

¹⁷⁸ For example: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17454, 27 Feb. 1819.

¹⁷⁹ For example: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17454, 27 Feb. 1819.

averages and prices were founded and included in ensuing editions.¹⁸⁰ By continuing impacts of political acts, discourses were connected to many conditions; some notices were more socially contingent, as they involved cooperation and exchange that were not necessarily economic. The discourses connect through the political, but the practices signify the social in these notices.

The Perpetual Assurance Office had a growing social importance, although items about it could be pushed to latter pages by proclamations or war office lists. Policyholders were assigned a number rather than named in the papers; when these were in arrears, they were presented as a table, arranged in ascending orders in four or five columns.¹⁸¹ The form of the item and the ideas of the office increased in economic focus. In the previous time frames, these numbers were in a list rather than a table, showing how the form changed over time.¹⁸² As one of the first providers of a form of life insurance, state charters regulated the office and provided a service of mutual assistance; the purpose was to provide benefits upon deaths.¹⁸³

Pensions involved new ideas during wartimes and rising national debt. These are both economic ideas and objects; there was a practical existence, and the textual reference. In 1815, the Admiralty Office described the pensions for those wounded in the navy as “the ancient practice of smart money is continued” and how “every man will know to what benefit he may be entitled, and he will feel that nothing but misconduct on his own part can deprive him of an honourable provision for his future life.”¹⁸⁴ The pensions were listed along with their scale, as well as ten additional regulations.¹⁸⁵ Out-pensioners needed to be examined to receive their dues; the distance travelled would be compensated.¹⁸⁶ The provisions, both negative and positive, connect pensions to social and economic values.

¹⁸⁰ For example: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17454, 27 Feb. 1819.

¹⁸¹ The publications were based on the quarter days: Lady Day (March 25), Midsummer (June 24), Michaelmas (September 29), and Christmas (December 25). For 1815 examples: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16984, 14 Feb. 1815; issue 17001, 8 April 1815; issue 17048, 5 Aug. 1815; issue 17081, 18 Nov. 1815. For 1716 examples: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17110, 13 Feb. 1816; issue 17126 9 April 1816; issue 17163, 13 Aug. 1816; issue 17192, 16 Nov. 1816. For 1817 examples: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17217, 11 Feb. 1817; issue 17238, 8 April 1817; issue 17276, 12 Aug. 1817; issue 17304, 11 Nov. 1817. For examples from 1818: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17330, 7 Feb. 1818; issue 17347, 7 April 1818; issue 17387, 11 Aug. 1818; issue 17418, 14 Nov. 1818. For 1819 examples: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17449, 13 Feb. 1819; issue 17466, 6 April 1819; issue 17504, 10 Aug. 1819; issue 17534, 13 Nov. 1819. For 1820 examples: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17624, 15 Aug. 1820; issue 17652, 18 Nov. 1820.

¹⁸² For examples: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 13255, 9 Nov. 1790; issue 13225, 3 Aug. 1790; issue 11612, 7 Nov. 1775; issue 11550, 4 April 1775; issue 11376, 3 Aug. 1773; issue 11272, 4 Aug. 1772; issue 11237, 4 April 1772.

¹⁸³ They changed their charter in 1807 and began setting duties based on age.

¹⁸⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16977, 21 Jan. 1815.

¹⁸⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16977, 21 Jan. 1815.

¹⁸⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17023, 13 June 1815.

Entering into an economic practice with the state required procedures, quality objects, and instructions in order to be trusted. Notices about contract deadlines and auctions appeared consistently, just as in the previous periods. They were generally placed on the middle pages, along with the division of captured ships tables. Descriptions of some economic objects reflect usefulness and a relationship with the state. When looking at contract offers, there were two objects mentioned: the contract, which was being bid on, and the requested supply. The procedures the applicant had to follow were restrictive. In an example from 1815, a request was made for bread, beef and mutton, and forage for various counties; the proposals were required to be sent and dated by a deadline, and noted that “no proposal will be noticed unless made on a printed tender, and the prices expressed in words at length.”¹⁸⁷ These were often for foodstuffs or structures for the military,¹⁸⁸ while others were for contracts ranging from “colours, both dry and ground in oil,”¹⁸⁹ Guernsey stones and chalk,¹⁹⁰ to “bed cases, made of linen cloth of a British manufacture.”¹⁹¹ Goods of certain origins were mentioned in these sections, among them Swedish.

Economic Expressions, Increased Data, and Technology

Economic matters are, as in the previous periods, most associated with tables. The interpretation of the data was left up to the readers, based on the state’s overall discourses. The state’s regulation of trade during times of war was illustrated in an example from 1815 as a proclamation and table. It described the situation of war and how “certain goods and commodities” could be imported and exported from the South American colonies from neutral ships; the proclamation gave a detailed list of the items while a table broke down the prices.¹⁹² It also noted economic objects that could be imported, and used the economic idea of duties. As these amounts could change, the table was a means of expressing flexibility and a separation from political or social connections.

Some tables referenced the currency related to concepts like duties. Rather than including a specific currency in an example from 1815, it instead noted only “the current money of Jamaica.”¹⁹³ The state separated the symbolic qualities of money from the economic idea of exchange, and the practice of paying. Money was referenced again regarding a new coat of arms in 1816.¹⁹⁴ Rather than being an economic object or idea, the cultural idea of money is observed. The duties act referenced the money as changing rates, while the money in the coat of arms act was related to the physical currency.

¹⁸⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16974, 10 Jan. 1815.

¹⁸⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16978, 24 Jan. 1815.

¹⁸⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16978, 24 Jan. 1815.

¹⁹⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17154, 16 July 1816.

¹⁹¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17003, 15 April 1815.

¹⁹² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16971, 3 Jan. 1815.

¹⁹³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16971, 3 Jan. 1815.

¹⁹⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17163, 13 Aug. 1816.

During times of low reserves, coinage and bank notes discussions were published frequently. While political, global economic discourses and Britain's prosperity were also connected. The state as the primary decision maker was emphasized. Proclamations in 1817 reviewed various types of gold, silver, and copper coins in relation to the gold reserve act of 1797.¹⁹⁵ The placements varied, moving due to domestic circumstances in a number of issues.¹⁹⁶ These proclamations clarified the character of the coins. In 1817, counterfeiting was discussed. Specifically, "great quantities of the gold coin of this realm, deficient in weight, are now in circulation" were referenced.¹⁹⁷ Symbols and weights were connected to "gold money" to be coined and "shall be current and lawful money."¹⁹⁸ The value was in the gold and symbolic content, aspects of a legitimate status for some economic objects.

The state made decisions over trade, currency, production, costs, and other types of resource management. Institutions and offices developed, requiring new ideas to be placed in familiar genres with known economic objects. The Bank of England was associated with economic matters, but was primarily linked to practices, often involving people who could act for the bank. Lists of individuals "who are now authorized to sign Bank of England notes" were with the value of the bills.¹⁹⁹ The notes are economic objects, referencing £5, £2, and £1 sorts that existed outside the text. The sales and prices of annuities were also referenced like this,²⁰⁰ linked to the sale "at the Bank of England this day."²⁰¹ When presenting new or changed matters, they were connected to a related and authoritative office.

The economic matters in the colonial context were connected from regional courts back to the centre of government. Decisions made in India were printed in large tables. Throughout the period, full pages listed estates and "sums of money, bonds, and other securities" associated with lists of names.²⁰² The

¹⁹⁵ For examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17265, 5 July 1817 to issue 17271, 26 July 1817; issue 17293, 11 Oct. 1817 to issue 17300, 4 Nov. 1817; issue 17304, 11 Nov. 1817; issue 17306, 18 Nov. 1817; issue 17310, 2 Dec. 1817; issue 17316, 23 Dec. 1817; issue 17317, 27 Dec. 1817.

¹⁹⁶ For examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17271, 26 July 1817, the item was pushed back due to proclamation about outrage at destruction by the people in the midland counties; issue 17306, 18 Nov. 1817, due to a proclamation forbidding gunpowder; issue 17310, 2 Dec. 1817, due to proclamations about Parliament being prorogued and forbidding British inhabitants from joining in arms in Spain; issue 17316, 23 Dec. 1817 and issue 17317, 27 Dec. 1817, due to the death of Princess Charlotte.

¹⁹⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17265, 5 July 1817.

¹⁹⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17265, 5 July 1817.

¹⁹⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17454, 27 Feb. 1819.

²⁰⁰ For example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16974, 10 Jan. 1815; issue 16968, 24 Jan. 1815; issue 17452, 23 Feb. 1819.

²⁰¹ The sale was through the Office for Taxes. For example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17452, 23 Feb. 1819.

²⁰² For examples from Madras, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17153, 13 July 1816; issue 17181, 12 Oct. 1816; issue 17280, 26 Aug. 1817. For Bengal see: issue 17377, 11 July 1818.

courts were located in Fort William, Bengal, Madras, or Bombay. The resolutions were based on the sitting of court.²⁰³ The *Gazette* linked all areas as part of a whole. Additionally, East India House and West India Docks were represented by local announcements of meetings, contracts, or auctions.²⁰⁴

Another example of war and economic matters as tables involved captured ships. While these were included in earlier periods, the divisions were expressed most often in table form during this time frame. These notices broke down shares for those on board when an enemy ship was seized. The total proceeds were listed, along with the payment schedule. The tables consisted of the “shares in the several classes,” going from Flag to Eighth class.²⁰⁵ In addition to ships, there were other captured resources, like a colony as an example.²⁰⁶ There were practices of receiving payment, and the division of a resource. At the centre was an object, involved in the larger discourse of distributing prizes as part of war or conflict.

Patents were referenced in the notices in the early periods, as well in this time frame.²⁰⁷ Like contract offers, these were economic ideas in the text as well as objects, placed in a section about domestic practices of assuring earnings. Patents often described the function of the invention.²⁰⁸ Scarcity was created by the need for renewal and as a factor in partnership disputes; there were extension bids, often to beneficiaries. In the case of James Winter’s sewing machine, the item was offset by a headline, stating how the machine sewed “gloves with neatness and strength much superior to that which is affected by manual labour.”²⁰⁹ Another application to extend by Arthur Woolf for “his invention of certain improvements in steam engines” also had a heading, parting it from an unrelated solicitors’ notice.²¹⁰

In a unique announcement, an image was included. This resembled an advertisement, although in the notice section. Images were rarely observed outside of funeral depictions, as noted earlier in the description of the other category genre. In February 1819, George Clymer announced that he had “established a manufactory” for orders using “the superiority of the patent Columbian typographic press, for expedition, correct impression, ease of labour, and every other qualification desirable in a printing press.”²¹¹ There

²⁰³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17153, 13 July 1816; issue 17280, 26 Aug. 1817.

²⁰⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17053, 19 Aug. 1815; issue 17064, 23 Sept. 1815; issue 17170, 7 Sept. 1816.

²⁰⁵ For example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17394, 1 Sept. 1818.

²⁰⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17660, 16 Dec. 1820.

²⁰⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16993, 14 March 1815 for a coffee example; issue 17011, 13 May 1815 for a blowing engines example; issue 17065, 26 Sept. 1815 for a paper example; issue 17067, 3 Oct. 1815 for a smoke conductor example.

²⁰⁸ For some examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17640, 7 Oct. 1820; issue 17641, 10 Oct. 1820.

²⁰⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17638, 30 Sept. 1820.

²¹⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17391, 25 Aug. 1818; issue 17393, 29 Aug. 1818; issue 17394, 1 Sept. 1818.

²¹¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17449, 13 Feb. 1819.

was a small representation of the press included with the item.²¹² As an economic matter, it was offset by the headline, the image, and the description. This example also shows how an economic idea involving a patent advertised new techniques, rather than noting it as part of another proceeding.

Other additional inventions and patents were referenced in the final notice sections, granting rights during estate and partnership disputes.²¹³ Petitions for patent rights were other common items. The rights to flammable gas and steam engine inventions were offset by headlines, for example. These named the patent-holders, “Invention of Edward Heard for purifying coal gas” and “Arthur Woolf’s patents for his invention of certain improvements in steam engines,” and were repeated throughout the period.²¹⁴ Like the press example, the letters patent was an economic idea and object; the physical patent had scarcity while the idea assured future earnings.

Transportation issues, both at sea and on land, were consistently referenced in forms other than acts as well. Lighthouses, for example, were entering another phase in their development. Building these structures helped with the safety of certain economic practices. This involved the technological realm, underlying the interrelatedness of the two. The tensions of industrialization were yet to arise fully. Despite being privately managed in Britain, owners were still required to seek a license to collect dues, thus making lighthouses a form of economic object as well.²¹⁵ They developed alongside the increased transatlantic trade, and now included rotating lights.

In an announcement from 1818, a “Notice to Mariners” was published about the building of a lighthouse near Ireland.²¹⁶ The details of the location noted that “the light [...] will be of a bright colour, on the revolving principle, and will attain its greatest magnitude once in every two minutes.”²¹⁷ This type of account was also used about lighthouses outside of Britain, such as Russia’s plans in the Gulf of Finland.²¹⁸ These were to avoid losses of ships and benefit those involved. These examples show tensions between the technological and the economic realm during early industrialization; while growing away from political and social contexts, there was some strengthening between the realms. Patents and other inventions had greater descriptions but were ultimately linked to economic scarcity.

²¹² Clymer had invented the press in 1813 in Philadelphia and the machine allowed for the printing of an entire newspaper page in one motion. See: Moran (1969), p. 1–23.

²¹³ For some examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17473, 1 May 1819; issue 17641, 10 Oct. 1820.

²¹⁴ For the coal gas example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17517, 18 Sept. 1819, issue 17518, 21 Sept. 1819 and issue 17519, 25 Sept. 1819; For steam engine examples, see: issue 17391, 25 Aug. 1818, issue 17393, 29 Aug. 1818 and issue 17394, 1 Sept. 1818

²¹⁵ Hauge & Christie (1975), p. 44.

²¹⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17319, 3 Jan. 1818.

²¹⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17319, 3 Jan. 1818.

²¹⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17088, 5 Dec. 1815.

5.3.2 Frugality, Unity, and the Swedish Perspective

Sweden experienced constitutional change, new kings, and developments in economic matters. Like the *Gazette*, table usage expanded to newer sorts of information. The *Post-Tidningar* printed news from abroad, but was also printing domestic information, including news from Norway and former Swedish Pomerania. The *Inrikes* was also including more international news. Finland was mainly noted as part of the ship news, still mentioned in connection with passenger and post circulations. The main topics were related to improving economic matters, collective ideals, and the continued development of communicating the division of resources.

Economic Matters, Official Articles, and Steadiness

Economic matters were expressed in more complex ways, but still retained many of the early conventions. The state discussed them more often, however, building on the purpose of the *Inrikes Tidningar*. There are four types of genres and content that express concentrated economic matters. First, as earlier, tables were an aspect. Second, the addition of the official article into consistent usage sometimes focused on economic matters. Third, speeches from the regents referenced the perspective of the state, providing assurance during times of difficulties. Fourth, discussions of the movements of goods in proclamations from the king, dispatches to specific directors, and the ships list were further expressions that noted scarcity; these types of items were printed in both papers, occasionally first in the order. This also shows the increasingly shared roles of the two papers for international and domestic news.

The movement of economic objects, through sometimes-illegal practices and how Sweden needed to manage them, were connected to the world economy. In 1820, there was a call for “frugality and reduction in consumption of abundant foreign goods” due to effects on currency.²¹⁹ There was a desire to increase “general assets” so that “the nation was free and independent of foreigners.”²²⁰ Within this discourse, various economic ideas related to currency weakness, bank management, “toll misappropriation,” and “imposters” needed to be remedied by limiting foreign goods. These negative ideas were addressed in other proclamations as well, reflecting concern for the problem.²²¹ A dispatch dealt with the management of tolls, and how the “tariff guards” and “domestic customs authority” should be reduced “without harm to the kingdom [...] or customs incomes of the Estates of the Realm.”²²² These proclamations sought to strengthen the state’s economic matters with varying restrictions, including negative depictions.

²¹⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 7, 17 Jan. 1820.

²²⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 7, 17 Jan. 1820.

²²¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 54, 14 May 1819.

²²² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 26, 5 March 1819.

While proclamations like these dealt with enforcement, others referenced specific economic objects and their related problems. These continuously gained new meaning in other realms while their economic value could be more easily controlled. Wine and arak toll imports were to be regulated, especially concerning the movement of Swedish goods to foreign harbours, as the tolls and import bans were being managed.²²³ Spirits, like in the previous periods, were economic objects that needed regulation; saltpetre and gunpowder also needed control, as they were hazardous and the state tried to retain a monopoly on violence. At the start of 1816, saltpetre prices were included with explanations of needs and locations; the state setting the price was emphasized, noting that private use was the only reasoning for obtaining the goods.²²⁴ Price settings were explained with regulation, and a division between private and public consumption and ownership.

Along with these discourses of regulation, the state also tried to promote production. These efforts, like other news about economic matters, were presented in official articles. In 1817, the report to the king from the National Board of Trade described the “factories’ and manufactories’ statuses.”²²⁵ Various types of production from 1814 to 1815, from throughout the kingdom, were described, followed by a four-page long table. Aside from explaining the report, the first aspect mentioned was the earnings from Stockholm and Norrköping.²²⁶ As the contexts at the start of this chapter noted, these were significant sites of production.

This example is significant because it describes the economic objects, practices, and ideas involved in production, and has the details in an extensive table. Clothing production was the central focus. As economic practices, these connect to the technological realm, encapsulating industrial development. The “establishment of [...] spinning machines,” the “selling of lots of wool,” and “the preparation of leather in the English way” are considered economic practices that reflect varying degrees of mechanization.²²⁷ These were supported by the state, through the king and the board.

The table detailed other types of factories, naming thirty-nine along with a fortieth category of “diverse smaller factories.”²²⁸ The table was split into two overarching columns for 1814 and 1815; the number of factories, workspaces, workers, and manufacturing values for each year were the categories for each year.²²⁹ Only six types of factories had their workspace amounts listed: clothing, cotton and linen, silk and half-silk, socks, ribbons and trimmings,

²²³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 5 Jan. 1819.

²²⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 6, 16 Jan. 1816.

²²⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 125, 7 Nov. 1817. The use of the term “factory” does not reflect the modern definition of the term. These were closer to mills in practice.

²²⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 125, 7 Nov. 1817.

²²⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 125, 7 Nov. 1817.

²²⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 125, 7 Nov. 1817.

²²⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 125, 7 Nov. 1817.

and sail and tent canvas.²³⁰ The table was described as “in many ways more complete than previous years,” indicating the effectiveness of the Board in collecting the information and how it was to be trusted.²³¹ There were other regular items in the issue, including the lottery information and the stock exchange table, while these reports took up the majority of the pages. An update for 1816 and 1817 was published in 1819, following a similar format.²³² The continued use of the table reflects consistent thinking, and how the state presented betterments to manufacturing and data collection.

Tables provided different sorts of content in this period but also represent topics noted earlier in other forms; certain economic matters were elaborated on, essentially. The state collected, relayed, and constructed more types of economic matters. Price lists,²³³ currency conversions,²³⁴ lottery summaries,²³⁵ monthly weather reports,²³⁶ and population explanations,²³⁷ continued to be printed. Although the market price lists were included, there were fewer printed on the first page. The market price tables were relatively unchanged, although fewer small towns were included as the *Inrikes* focused on larger centres.²³⁸ This was due to the increased inclusion of Norway and international news, as well as cultural events.²³⁹ The auction price tables for the Swedish East India Company were no longer included because the company folded in 1813.²⁴⁰

Continuing the discourse on trade, yearly tables about the “imports and exports relationship” were in successive issues.²⁴¹ The regular currency table was most detailed in this period, including both “noted exchange rates” and a number of currencies listed as “average rates.”²⁴² Some areas, like Lübeck, Rotterdam, and Reval (today’s Tallinn) were noted as paying in Hamburg, Amsterdam, and St. Petersburg, respectively.²⁴³ This also links to Russia’s role in the Baltic and its pressure on Sweden.

The largest tables in this period were currency trading, as an early form of stock or commodity exchange. These expanded from the smaller, currency

²³⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 125, 7 Nov. 1817.

²³¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 125, 7 Nov. 1817.

²³² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 55, 18 May 1819.

²³³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 119, 22 Oct. 1817.

²³⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 50, 7 May 1817; *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 61, 20 May 1820.

²³⁵ For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 60, 4 June 1817; No. 132, 25 Nov. 1817; No. 140, 12 Dec. 1817; Lottery draws were still presented in the single line table. For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 64, 13 June 1817.

²³⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 50, 7 May 1817; No. 68, 25 June 1817.

²³⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 72, 15 June 1820; No. 73, 17 June 1820.

²³⁸ Malmö, for example, in *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 116, 15 Oct. 1817,

²³⁹ For example, a table was listed in a paragraph form as the Protestant jubilee celebrations took first-page space, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 28, 10 March 1818.

²⁴⁰ Kjellberg (1975), pp. 161–163.

²⁴¹ For example, *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 143, 15 Dec. 1819.

²⁴² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 66, 18 June 1817; No. 68, 25 June 1817.

²⁴³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 66, 18 June 1817.

tables. The Stockholm Stock Exchange had advanced since the official building was completed in 1778. Expressing advancing economic practices, larger tables used more specific economic ideas to show increased significance for the state and, in turn, for merchants or traders. In addition to the smaller versions, full pages of note exchanges were printed in both papers.

The most common currencies were British pounds sterling, Hamburg *banco*, Holland *courant*, French *francs*, and occasionally the Danish *riks banco*. The Lübeck currency and other rates were also listed from time to time. These were in columns, ending with the exchange data. The brokers and traded amounts, also listed in columns, are examples of individuals entering into practices, while the consistency and length of the items show an ongoing discourse. The practice of signing a bill or buying a note is founded in reality, while the contents of the meetings could only be recorded in these table forms. They could be included in either paper, often with a note indicating where the information was published in the corresponding edition.

Ordered budgets, uses of funds, and summaries of donations were also part of the *Inrikes*. The combination of reports with tabled budgets highlights another aspect of the growing complexity of expressing matters. In an example from 1817, the deaf and blind school was discussed.²⁴⁴ The account information was produced as a table, defining yearly expenses. The division of resources was between stately contributions and private donations. The sums and balances came from accounts under a household management label, among them were: “account for students,” “payroll office account,” “workshop account,” and “teaching account.”²⁴⁵ Ideas, such as “interest-rewarding capital,” “account,” “liquidated,” were also mentioned, along with other charity ideas as “gifts and assistance.”²⁴⁶ The amounts and the donors were printed at the close of the item. The school’s details, such as the number of students and teachers, were also described, showing evidence of the use.²⁴⁷

The Queen’s Poorhouse was also described in similar terms. A tabled budget was on the first page of one example with detailed sums and costs.²⁴⁸ The announcement from the director included breakdowns of expected capital and expenditures in the next year.²⁴⁹ The state’s spending needed to be recorded in many account books and presented to the people, showing efforts of real-world reports and legitimacy efforts. Contributions and accounts were mentioned with many topics, but focused on poorer sorts.²⁵⁰ For example, a proclamation from the king listed contributions to Carlsrona’s inhabitants

²⁴⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 58, 30 May 1817.

²⁴⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 58, 30 May 1817.

²⁴⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 58, 30 May 1817.

²⁴⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 58, 30 May 1817.

²⁴⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 18, 13 Feb. 1816; No. 50, 7 May 1817.

²⁴⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 18, 13 Feb. 1816.

²⁵⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 12, 30 Jan. 1816; No. 18, 13 Feb. 1816; No. 24, 27 Feb. 1816.

towards a poor- and workhouse.²⁵¹ The amount given to the fund was listed at 3,000 *riksdalar*, along with the motivations for increasing certain poor fees by the Estates and the king.²⁵² Many needed to be persuaded to contribute; explanatory proclamations or tables prompted these habits with political or economic legitimacy.

Tables were part of complex economic matters and presented ideas, objects, or practices in familiar categories. There were similar types that dealt with state interests, connected to dividing resources received from the people. The General Fire Insurance Fund and the Göta Canal Company were discussed in tables that broke down costs; these were one-column account calculations,²⁵³ two-column half-page interest payments breakdowns,²⁵⁴ or full-page policy lists with valid sums.²⁵⁵ The one-column calculations were broken down like the school example, describing the insurance payments sums throughout the kingdom.²⁵⁶ For example, the damage from 1816 ranged from “fire damage to two properties in Gothenburg” for over 797 *riksdaler banco* to “a property in Norbotten” for over 255 *riksdaler banco*.²⁵⁷ Based on the listed information, it was meant for the investors in the funds, those managing the accounts, and the general public, in a descending order. As the insurance fund, canal company, and other associations advanced, more clarity was needed and new ideas integrated.

Political Impacts on Economic Orientation

Speeches to the Swedish Estates also dealt with aspects of loyalty and openness. In a meeting in late 1817, the crown prince offered direction.²⁵⁸ His speech was included in Swedish and then reproduced in the original French at the end of the issue, before the stock tables.²⁵⁹ This was typical for Charles XIV John, both as crown prince and as king.

Economic matters were again most associated with the burghers. Some references to economic ideas and discourses were also connected to the nobility and peasantry, but mainly connected to their political and social roles. In the part of the speech to the nobility, the crown prince advised having “calm minds” to “watch over the nation’s benefits” when they considered “the state’s prosperity” and “the restoration of mutual confidence in its monetary con-

²⁵¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 12, 30 Jan. 1816.

²⁵² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 12, 30 Jan. 1816.

²⁵³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 83, 30 July 1817.

²⁵⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 123, 4 Nov. 1817; No. 127, 12 Nov. 1817; No. 135, 1 Dec. 1817; No. 141, 16 Dec. 1817.

²⁵⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 130, 19 Nov. 1817.

²⁵⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 83, 30 July 1817.

²⁵⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 83, 30 July 1817.

²⁵⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 137, 5 Dec. 1817.

²⁵⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 137, 5 Dec. 1817. Another example of the same structure, see: No. 145, 27 Dec. 1817.

ditions.”²⁶⁰ The speech to the peasantry also described currency instability; everyday practices were drawn on, referring to “good peasants, who till the land” and their need to receive a stable value and not “fear depreciation from one day to another.”²⁶¹ Each estate needed to be concerned depending on their role in society and economy.

As with other Estate speeches, economic ideas and discourses were invoked most often to the burghers. This was presented directly, noting that it dealt with events “in financial regards.”²⁶² It was the most affected by “trade in coin and treatises” receiving “a firm and lasting value.”²⁶³ While unity framed all of the proclamations between the king and the Estates, these examples show the functions related to economic matters continued to be consistent over time. All groups played a role in the fortunes of the state but the burghers were related more to economic ideas and practices rather than the broad discourse of prosperity or the practice of physical work and exchange.

Other speeches also drew on economic matters. The king’s role, along with the Riksdag, was to advance matters for all by using various economic ideas and practices. A “finance project” around legitimate currency in the kingdom, improving foreign trade’s “liveliness,” factory building, and the relationship between foreign grain entry growing to “a sum of three million *riksdaler* Hamburg banco” and home cultivation were discussed in 1817 in separate paragraphs, for instance.²⁶⁴ In this speech, the king also referenced his roles in resolving the matters with the Riksdag; for instance, clothing factories had “attracted” his attention and he wished to support their “betterment” by ordering more cloth to the army.²⁶⁵ The military, various Academies, and poverty were also addressed regarding other concerns; the “voice of the fatherland” heard all interests.²⁶⁶ Each of the topics was addressed separately, with some receiving multiple paragraphs; the responses from the Estates followed, continuing the conversation.²⁶⁷ The overall discourse was to improve the various parts of life through the king in cooperation with the Estates and the people.

Issues of taxation were also to enhance society. These were portrayed as increasing options in other areas of life rather than only concerning parliamentary discussions. An example of this was in the second item of *Inrikes* in March 1819. Following the ship news lists, a five-paragraph article discussed changes to the postal system and new taxes.²⁶⁸ The letter rate would

²⁶⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 137, 5 Dec. 1817.

²⁶¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 137, 5 Dec. 1817.

²⁶² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 137, 5 Dec. 1817.

²⁶³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 137, 5 Dec. 1817.

²⁶⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 135, 1 Dec. 1817.

²⁶⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 135, 1 Dec. 1817.

²⁶⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 135, 1 Dec. 1817.

²⁶⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 135, 1 Dec. 1817.

²⁶⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 31, 17 March 1819.

increase between Sweden and the continent — Hamburg and Denmark — but the amount was not stated.²⁶⁹ Instead, it described how the system would be improved by allowing new routes. The decisions of the king and the mail director benefited the state, part of the earlier discourse of improving the kingdom. By not mentioning the amount, negative connections were limited and the social contexts were emphasized. Prices and costs appeared in proclamations to justify some decisions, while others relied on the trustworthiness of the named figure.

Omitting costs and stressing benefits were also connected to other enhancements, also referencing the king. There were economic ideas in social contexts, including the regime emphasizing loyalty. In July of 1819, a poorhouse for “forty sufferers” opened.²⁷⁰ The ceremony of the event was described; it emphasized how the attendees were thankful that the king thought about “this suffering class of his subjects.”²⁷¹ The king provided the funding “at his own cost;”²⁷² while the specifics were not referenced, the economic ideas of charity and state patronage are observed through his presence.

Previously, the Swedish state had not needed to integrate a new region into the conception of a kingdom. Loss was a larger factor. Printing Norwegian news as the first items in the *Inrikes* reflected a new perspective; through representations like this, Norway was integrated with the domestic news. After the union, ceremonies and speeches were published.²⁷³ These were to overcome the negative feelings spread in Norway prior to Kiel by Swedish and Danish propaganda.²⁷⁴ In early 1815, several issues described the king and crown prince travelling to Norway.²⁷⁵ The addresses expressed a need for “Nordic security and quiet” along with the rest of Europe.²⁷⁶ In a speech to the Estates in 1815 about “Nordic freedom,” economic matters were mentioned in separate paragraphs.²⁷⁷ The bravery of the Swedish people during war was addressed, and included responses from the Riksdag. These also extended to Norway.

In the 1815 speech, economic ideas of the state’s “financial assets” and domestic economic situation indicated difficulties.²⁷⁸ “Enlightened counsels and [...] patriotic involvement” were needed from those assembled to avoid “additional sacrifice.”²⁷⁹ In the next paragraph, the “insecurity of the banknotes

²⁶⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 31, 17 March 1819.

²⁷⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 80, 21 July 1819.

²⁷¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 80, 21 July 1819.

²⁷² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 80, 21 July 1819.

²⁷³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 97, 8 Sept. 1815, for example, included the schedule of the visit.

²⁷⁴ Glenthøj & Nordhagen (2014), p. 212–213.

²⁷⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 36, 5 April 1815; No. 38, 11 April 1815; No. 97, 8 Sept. 1815.

²⁷⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 31, 16 March 1815.

²⁷⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 29, 10 March 1815. Began in No. 28, 8 March 1815.

²⁷⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 29, 10 March 1815.

²⁷⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 29, 10 March 1815.

value” and “less favourable trade status” also required “strong action and sharp attention.”²⁸⁰ In the response from the estate most focused on economic matters — the burghers — the representatives stressed unity as “peace is restored [...] as well as the business of commerce and shipping.”²⁸¹ Set off by em dashes, the response mentioned that “the losses we suffered shall soon be cured [...] by association with a brave sister country.”²⁸² The solution to many problems was through the unity of Sweden with Norway.

A similar division of economic matters occurred in 1818 at the opening of the Norwegian *Storting*. A speech emphasized how those assembled were to trust the plans written by “enlightened men of all classes.”²⁸³ The start dealt with troubles. There were beliefs in “the country’s products, the capacity of their shipping, and the inhabitants’ commerce and business.”²⁸⁴ Together, they had “to create a system that can fill the necessities needed for the kingdom’s governance without great burden on the prosperous or the poorer classes of people.”²⁸⁵ Improvements were needed:

The truth, in support of this, witness our agriculture, far from being oppressively burdened, needs strong encouragement; our factories are in their infancy, rather these still can scarcely be found; our trade is neglected, notwithstanding the great benefits that have been granted for both imports and exports. This truth even teaches us frugality and thrift to replace the lack of what nature has denied us.²⁸⁶

In the next response from President Wilhelm Christie, loyalty was again mentioned.²⁸⁷ There was hope that problems would be calmed with “the blessings of peace and of the king’s paternal governance.”²⁸⁸ The monetary system would soon be capable again, although there was a need for sacrifices. Together, both speeches stressed the importance of the union, but also recognized aspects of Norway’s freedoms. Ideas of industry and agriculture are framed within a discourse of struggles that were helped by unity.

Although there were publications produced in Norway,²⁸⁹ notices from the other half of the union were frequently included in the Swedish paper. Some of these were practical economic matters for those with connections there. A notice about the redemption of Norwegian banknotes, giving deadlines

²⁸⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 29, 10 March 1815.

²⁸¹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 29, 10 March 1815.

²⁸² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 29, 10 March 1815.

²⁸³ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 20, 18 Feb. 1818.

²⁸⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 20, 18 Feb. 1818.

²⁸⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 20, 18 Feb. 1818.

²⁸⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 20, 18 Feb. 1818.

²⁸⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 20, 18 Feb. 1818.

²⁸⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 20, 18 Feb. 1818.

²⁸⁹ There were relatively more press freedoms in Norway, part of the new constitution. The first daily was founded in 1819, *Morgenbladet*, while *Adresseavisen* started in 1767.

for exchange before a change in currency, used the economic idea of “losing their monetary value,” for example.²⁹⁰ There were references to improving the union, and increasing associations, as well as every-day matters.

Social Connections to a New Kingdom

Poetry and songs were associated with monarchs in many references.²⁹¹ At the end of 1817, there were various celebrations of the tri-centennial of the Protestant Reformation throughout Sweden.²⁹² Some of these events displaced the regular ship news or market tables. Similar social content was in the newspapers throughout the entirety of this study.²⁹³ The article genre with song representations, for example, changed over time as well, gradually included more often and in more consistent forms. Although not related to economic matters, these examples show complementary developments in the cultural realm, as well as how some economic news was displaced from the first pages. While Britain was expanding political and economic interests, Sweden was emphasizing culture during some changing circumstances.

Poetry awards and contests continued to be offered through the Swedish Academy.²⁹⁴ These were expanded to new topics. The Royal Swedish Academy of Agriculture and Forestry was founded in 1811, looking for ideas to modify agriculture. Both the crown prince and Abraham Niclas Edelcrantz encouraged new techniques and created an experimental farm in Stockholm. Entries in 1816 were related to these ideas, with ten categories ranging from practical to academic, rewarding the top-three submissions.²⁹⁵ Prizes for managing “a good but previously waterlogged soil that can be sown in arable conditions” and one “to make a meadow at least five-acres wide acceptable partly by irrigation and partly through harrowing” described economic practices.²⁹⁶ These were to help production and add to the state’s knowledge.

Two additional entries, at the end of this announcement, were labelled as economic. The state represented value in everyday life, as well as the larger perspective of the kingdom’s economic matters. These examples were separated from the other academic prizes and the practical awards. There were householding and statistical economics categories. The awards were given to those who best described “everyday householding,” with another “for the best and most complete economic and statistical description of a solid stewardship

²⁹⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 22, 24 Feb. 1819.

²⁹¹ The rankings of an art competition, in this case involving the Norse gods, was formatted like poetry; the list was not in a standard paragraph, and instead had centred text. For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 30, 13 March 1818.

²⁹² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 130, 19 Nov. 1817; No. 131, 21 Nov. 1817; No. 132, 25 Nov. 1817.

²⁹³ The first issue of the *Inrikes* noted social content in its numbered list as well. See: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 1, 26 Nov. 1760

²⁹⁴ For example, an announcement of a contest for “Italian and outside architects.” See: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 65, 18 June 1816.

²⁹⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 31, 15 March 1816. The item began in No. 30 with the first three offers.

²⁹⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 31, 15 March 1816.

of the kingdom.”²⁹⁷ The two contexts were divided between the average household and the entire kingdom, based on the order and construction.

Other prize questions were also associated with the Royal Patriotic Society. The contests were part of how culture was expressed, as well as how the state was seeking input on various topics including managing economic matters. These were larger discourses than the practices raised in the previous examples. For instance, a question about the maintenance of the forest industry was raised, dealing with how exporting internationally could be sustained. There was also a query about poorhouses and work by the poor.²⁹⁸ These were additional practices the public could enter into with the state, exchanging economic knowledge, among other topics.

There were many aspects that remained consistent with the previous time frames. The lottery was a common topic; the tables of winners was lengthened and standardized, representing winners from various towns. The ship news lists were also unchanged in format, although more female passengers were added over time. This item was often on the first page, including instances as the initial item. The weather table was also a monthly item, often reporting conditions for the previous month.²⁹⁹ At the end of the paper, other than issues that included stock tables, were always the notices. These sections were longer over time, referencing more offices and individuals by this time. These included more headline separations, named individuals, and some price details. Prices continued to be referenced in connection to known book titles, properties, and with people with titles or contact locations; “all sorts of buying, selling, and renting announcements, and more can free of cost be left at house number one, Eurydice Quarter” listed one example, that added the cost of “six shillings *banco*” for the service.³⁰⁰

State decisions, referencing practices in terms of accepting work or education for example, were also depicted. Some offered employment, or other openings.³⁰¹ These were often referenced before the notifications, just as it was earlier, but more categories were included in the notifications. Other topics ranging from school admissions to banking decisions were also explained.³⁰² The final section of the paper was both a reflection of the consistency of the state communication, as well as its gradual development.

²⁹⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 31, 15 March 1816.

²⁹⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 36, 29 March 1816.

²⁹⁹ For example, see: *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 6, 17 Jan. 1817 for Stockholm weather for December, 1816; No. 20, 19 Feb., 1817 for the weather for January 1817; No. 30, 14 March 1817 for the February weather;

³⁰⁰ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 30, 13 March 1818.

³⁰¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 8, 19 Jan. 1815.

³⁰² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 7, 16 Jan. 1815.

5.3.3 Europeanness and Matters in Crises

Sweden's expressions of Britain were varied, including many references to economic matters in both international and domestic interactions. In the *Gazette*, Sweden was again shown like other European states, with the exception of France.³⁰³ Unlike in the Swedish papers, this meant that there were few international placelines. Meetings with monarchs or their representatives in Britain and related news were common; these did not have economic impacts. Reports of deaths or marriages were typical. The death of the Queen Dowager Hedwig Elisabeth, for example, was reported in the standard article form in 1818.³⁰⁴ The mourning of Charles XIII was announced with the standard procedures as well.³⁰⁵ Other items were recognizing Swedish honours.³⁰⁶ Appointments and political exchanges, such as the delivery of congratulations to the British Prince Regent from the Swedish king, were also included.³⁰⁷

Limited View of Sweden (and the World) Continued

The few items that connected Sweden to economic matters were under the state offices, further emphasizing the paper's British focus. When looking at economic objects, there were occasional requests for supplies of "Stockholm or Archangel Tar," similar to earlier time frames.³⁰⁸ The inquiries later included "British-made pitch" in 1818.³⁰⁹ Provisions were requested, like other appeals made to supply state interests. These types of economic objects also encouraged economic practices connected to the state. The value of the object was the cost and efficacy of the supplier, while additional worth to the state was sustained cooperation with the public. The reputation was equal to the Russian goods, a shift from the previous period when Sweden was placed under Russia.

Captured Swedish ships were also for auction.³¹⁰ On the pages in the latter half of issues, these events determined the value of the ship and often included tables. These ships are considered economic objects, involved in an economic practice with additional social meaning; individuals were not distinctively

³⁰³ For a French example, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17108, 7 Feb. 1816.

³⁰⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17382, 26 July 1818.

³⁰⁵ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17338, 7 March 1818.

³⁰⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16974, 10 Jan. 1815; issue 16986, 21 Feb. 1815; issue 16987, 25 Feb. 1815; issue 17021, 7 June 1815; issue 17253, 24 May 1817.

³⁰⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17258, 10 June 1817; issue 17295, 18 Oct. 1817; issue 17332, 14 Feb. 1818; issue 17385, 4 Aug. 1818; issue 17460, 16 March 1819; issue 17494, 13 July 1819; issue 17517, 18 Sept. 1819.

³⁰⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16999, 1 April 1815; issue 17000, 4 April 1815; issue 17002, 11 April 1815; issue 17012, 16 May 1815; issue 17014, 20 May 1815; 23 May; issue 17043, 22 July 1815 included a reference to steel. Archangel tar is another form of pine tar.

³⁰⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17352, 21 April 1818; issue 17353, 25 April 1818; issue 17354, 28 April 1818.

³¹⁰ For examples, see: Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16992, 11 March 1815; issue 17011, 13 May 1815; issue 17045, 29 July 1815; issue 17048, 5 Aug. 1815; issue 17058, 5 Sept. 1815.

ranked, although various classes of crew were involved in the economic discourse around ship auctioning. Swedish ships were like other captured enemy ships or neutral salvage operations. The social and economic qualities of the British crew were emphasized rather than the other state.

Some economic practices related to Sweden were in notice sections. Swedish Committees,³¹¹ merchants,³¹² and agents were referenced concerning bankruptcies.³¹³ These items point to the reach of the *Gazette*, especially about foreign involvement with British concerns. The appearance of the “Sequestrations in Sweden” line is not unique when put into the context of the increased use of these types of headlines.³¹⁴ These notices dealt with property after the treaty that ended the bloodless Anglo-Swedish War (1810–1812).³¹⁵ Notices were made for “persons and bodies politic and corporate” to pay their claims.³¹⁶ Practices in notices continued over time. The earlier language continued, although the forms now included more offset headlines for emphasis.

In one example, Sweden was referenced in an article from Denmark. The Royal Danish Board of Customs and Commerce was reported through the British Admiralty Office.³¹⁷ The report was “a copy of the translation [...] relative to a new light erected on Stevns Head, in the island of Zealand.”³¹⁸ The differences between the Danish and the Swedish lights were emphasized, noting the “distinguishable” qualities.³¹⁹ The purpose was “for the security of navigation to and from the Baltic.”³²⁰ State trade would be secured.

Like other states, Sweden was mentioned with royal symbols, auctions, and individuals involved in practices in Britain. Instead of looking to the other’s internal functions, the *Gazette* focused on Swedish entries into their domestic matters. Politically, treaties and war reporting represented the majority of news from outside Britain; speeches also had other states, like France, but these were also aimed at Britain mobilization.³²¹ More individuals of foreign origin were referenced in the

³¹¹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17099, 13 Jan. 1816.

³¹² Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17196, 30 Nov. 1816.

³¹³ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17541, 4 Dec. 1819.

³¹⁴ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16977, 21 Jan. 1815; issue 16978, 24 Jan. 1815; issue 17166, 24 Aug. 1816.

³¹⁵ The first announcement was made in 1813, as part of the proclamations rather than ending the notice section. Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 16745, 26–29 June 1813.

³¹⁶ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17166, 24 Aug. 1816.

³¹⁷ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17374, 30 June 1818.

³¹⁸ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17374, 30 June 1818; issue 17375, 4 July 1818 for the repeated item.

³¹⁹ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17374, 30 June 1818.

³²⁰ Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, issue 17374, 30 June 1818.

³²¹ For example, France was referenced in connection with supporting the monarchy in Britain so that the same mistakes that “rendered France for a long time an object of pity or of terror to the civilized world” would not be repeated. Recorded in *The Gazette (London Gazette)*, No. 17546, 21 Dec. 1819.

notice section, while other placelines were generally absent. Limiting international news allowed for greater organization of domestic topics.

Britain's Growing Power as Seen in Sweden

Unlike the inward turn of the *Gazette*, Sweden included items about Britain and the world. The view had changed somewhat from the previous two time frames, however. More domestic news appeared in the *Post-Tidningar* and the *Inrikes* included aspects of international rumours and other matters from foreign sources.³²² Despite this, Britain was a regular first-page topic in the *Post-Tidningar*. Additionally, the situation involving Napoleon was often published under a London placeline. An example is a first-page note about Napoleon's physician being printed after news about the British king in 1819.³²³ Like the rest of the world, the wars with France influenced content, along with conflicts with Spain over slavery and South American independence.

In the announcement of the *Prospectus* for *Stockholms Courier*, the supplementary pages broke down why an additional publication was needed. The pages stated that "rarely, perhaps never, has Europe experienced such important shifts as now" and how "the new and the old world strike in arms against each other" as part of its justifications.³²⁴ As an extra part at the end of the *Inrikes*, the two pages noted how the world and Europe were changing and Sweden needed to express itself in new ways. The pages also highlighted the importance of other states. Britain, or England according to the report, and Spain represented Europe and were failing; Britain had been "so far excellent, ahead of the rest of the world" and represented "Europeanness" but was now in "crisis" in the aftermath of Napoleon's Continental system.³²⁵ The topics Sweden reported about Britain were at the end of its second paragraph:

Now it shall be shown, whether England really is such a giant as one once believed; if it can contain a fight against the force of its terrible debt, its reformists, its Indian possessions, even renewed uprisings and America's entire joined forces.³²⁶

Both economic matters and the focus of the Swedish state are observed here. As it was part of the regular publication, the state approved of it. The new paper intended to have domestic and foreign news, although "not only positive news."³²⁷ Aside from political sources, "essays in statistics and other topics of value for citizens" would be published, along with "notices about the pace of trade, the exchange rate and general information on the subject matter" in

³²² This includes the official article and various happenings labelled items.

³²³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 50, 29 April 1819. Swedish: *Lif-Medicus*.

³²⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 143, 15 Dec. 1819.

³²⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 143, 15 Dec. 1819.

³²⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 143, 15 Dec. 1819.

³²⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 143, 15 Dec. 1819.

order to be attractive to merchants.³²⁸ Sweden's place in Europe was stressed in three areas — “politics, administrations, and livelihoods” — although a “better spirit appears to be breaking through.”³²⁹ As economic ideas about Britain and Europe are expressed, Sweden's place and how economic ideas should be presented are stressed through this international perspective. This item was unique and represents a shift in thinking towards more critical evaluation of Sweden and the world.

In regular editions, domestic news from Britain was the largest category, including topics ranging from the health of the king to parliamentary news. Like previous periods, much of the contents of London items referenced the royal family. These sometimes dealt with economic matters. When King George IV was crowned, the *Post-Tidningar* referenced the cost of the ceremony at “36,000 pounds sterling.”³³⁰ The ceremonial role of the monarchy was often separate from the economic matters of the state handled by Parliament, however. After news from the Swedish royal court regarding a ceremonial procession, a London item on the second page mentioned how “this morning the stocks have significantly risen, despite the efforts to reduce them and bring about the Chancellor of the Exchequer's new plans.”³³¹ These were “just as costly for the entire state as for certain members.”³³² These issues of stocks, funds, and parliamentary attempts to set new interest rates was printed before a *ditto* from another date that described the celebrations of St. George's day by the Prince Regent and his family. The regent had less influence on political and economic matters.

The illness and death of George III was discussed thoroughly in 1820 issues as well.³³³ In an item accompanying the London news, a Stockholm item encouraged mourning for the king in Sweden, presenting Britain's status politically and culturally. There were reduced items about British economic matters in 1820 due to the death of the king, and the difficulties of succession.³³⁴ Additionally, there was greater focus on South American independence,³³⁵ including conflicts between Spain and Britain. Political upheaval still limited the inclusion of some economic matters in the order.

Beyond the functions of monarchy, economic matters also include charity. In a London item with separated subjects placed second overall in the issue, the illnesses of the king and the Duke of Kent were described first in the

³²⁸ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 143, 15 Dec. 1819.

³²⁹ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 143, 15 Dec. 1819.

³³⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 42, 8 April 1820.

³³¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 55, 11 May 1818.

³³² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 55, 11 May 1818. An item earlier that month also dealt with Nicholas Vansittart's attempts at reforming currency, due to the abundance of foreign coinage in Britain, on the front page after an item from Copenhagen. See: No. 51, 2 May 1818.

³³³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 19, 14 Feb. 1820; No. 20, 17 Feb. 1820; No. 21, 19 Feb. 1820.

³³⁴ For example, see the list of succession: *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 96, 12 Aug. 1820.

³³⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 94, 7 Aug. 1820; No. 157, 30 Dec. 1820.

internal order.³³⁶ Aristocratic life was depicted as well, regarding the collection of funds for a poorhouse and aiding the poor. Providing “bread and meat” as well as “lighting with gas lamps” were some of the economic practices that could help the lower sorts.³³⁷ In another issue, Princess Charlotte opened a “subscription” to take care of “fifty poor children.”³³⁸ These examples show how economic practices are connected to political and social positions of various societal groups. Specific amounts were not presented, showing greater connections to the social realm and limited any negativity.

Debt and incomes were connected to states and individuals. These types of lines were often short, offset as part of longer items in many cases.³³⁹ Since managing resources was a significant discourse, discussions of these debt forms reflect both positive and negative notions about the other state. They are politically founded, although the separate line items shows increased economic expressions. The debt in the USA was also mentioned in London items.³⁴⁰ An item in 1818 referenced a range of topics, mainly about economic matters. The first line noted a “rumour” involving the Duke of Clarence’s prospective marriage to a “Mademoiselle Wyckham,” who was worth “18,000 pounds sterling.”³⁴¹ Although less legitimate due to rumour qualities, the economic idea of the duke’s debt was indicated. As a known figure, debt and rumour show a damaged reputation. The next item after this involved trade and its regulation. The harbours were “open for the entry of foreign grain from all harbours between Jutland and Spain.”³⁴² The final offset item noted the debt was in millions of pounds sterling.³⁴³ There was internal division, showing organization of economic news. This example shows how some items start at a lower and less legitimate level, and move towards more trustworthy national concerns.

In a brief article that includes many economic ideas, the state of British economic matters was noted as poor. This is a direct characterization of another state’s economic matters, without named political figures. The only reference to the state is connected to trustworthiness: “the trade looks bad. Almost every week there is a new bankruptcy, causing general mistrust and prolonged stagnation in economic activity once again.”³⁴⁴ These shorter items are significant because of the amount of ideas they convey in brief lines. This

³³⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 17, 10 Feb. 1820. The first item in the issue referenced a declaration of freedom for independent farmers in Russian Latvia.

³³⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 17, 10 Feb. 1820.

³³⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 40, 6 April 1818.

³³⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 41, 9 April 1818.

³⁴⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 44, 16 April 1818.

³⁴¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 33, 19 March 1818. The marriage was not approved because she did not have royal blood. See: Williams (2009), p. 129.

³⁴² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 33, 19 March 1818.

³⁴³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 33, 19 March 1818. This was “1108 million 59,615.”

³⁴⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 27, 9 March 1819.

item presented many terms associated with modern economic depictions, as well. The “so-called” reference was not included, denoting that the subjects were well known by now. It was a separate and direct line about the difficulties in Britain and how trust was shaken.

Debt and bank problems were also in longer items. When discussions about economic matters included debate, an ongoing picture of British economic discourses is shown. The regime dealt with difficult post-war conditions globally. Following the death of Charles XIII, an item from London was on the first page.³⁴⁵ The mourning routines for the Swedish readers, however, began the issue as the first item. A letter from Moscow and then the London news followed; parliament “already agreed on the finance plan for next year” mainly to oversee reducing the national debt.³⁴⁶ Problems with banks and “paying with real money” were offset by em dashes in the item, related to a “so-called Bank Restriction bill” set to expire.³⁴⁷ War had pressured currency and the question was raised about whether it was “advisable to deprive the bank of its money supply, as it disappears as soon as it is in circulation?”³⁴⁸ The Swedish king was important in the order, but Britain’s economic news was also significant enough to be on the same page.

There were breakdowns of Britain’s budgets as well.³⁴⁹ Tables are another part of the larger discourse of debt, as well as expressing separating economic matters in general. There were economic ideas included in these tables, gaining new meaning through their continued usage in many contexts. The 1819 and 1820 budgets were compared in three larger categories of “needs,” “funds,” and “unchanging debt,” each with subcategories.³⁵⁰ The largest amounts under “needs” dealt with funding to military resources. The funds’ subcategories ranged from the “yearly minimum tax” to the “lottery,” with the largest amounts coming in from loans.³⁵¹ With the inclusion of the estimates for 1820, the table described a nearly balanced budget, although there were only minor improvements from the situation in 1819.

The publication of British patents also reflects a spread of ideas, in this case about invention and ownership. Here, the connections between the economic and technological value realm are indicated. The *Inrikes* listed patents from 1675 until 1816 in one example, ascribing the information to a German newspaper; the numbers rapidly rose after 1780.³⁵² By highlighting the

³⁴⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 16, 7 Feb. 1818.

³⁴⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 16, 7 Feb. 1818.

³⁴⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 16, 7 Feb. 1818.

³⁴⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 16, 7 Feb. 1818.

³⁴⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 84, 15 July 1820.

³⁵⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 84, 15 July 1820.

³⁵¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 84, 15 July 1820.

³⁵² *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 131, 17 Nov. 1819. From 1770–1780 there were 299 patents, while in 1780–1790 there were 566, 1790–1800 there were 692, from 1800–1810 there were 943. The final period listed was only a five-year period from 1810–1815 and had 557 patents.

increase, Britain's uniqueness at the start of the 1800s was positive, also indicating the Swedish perspective towards these types of economic ideas. The ownership of a concept shows a new economic idea connected to technology.

As one of the markers of the Industrial Revolution, patent registration has been used in the British context to point to an increased self-innovation.³⁵³ The emergence of a unique technological value realm is associated with this spread and rise of industrialization throughout the world. The circumstances in Sweden meant that patents were not equal in a political sense. Patent law had existed in some form in Britain since 1623, spreading outward to France, some German states, and the USA by the 1790s. Sweden did not register a patent law until 1819, but had established a structure of regional control under the guild system since the seventeenth century.

In terms economic discourses, tables denote increased information and ways of organizing thoughts. Similarly to the patent example, the *Inrikes* printed a table from a German informant about the population of Europe.³⁵⁴ Economic ideas are connected to quantitative interpretations in tables like this. Sweden was not included in the calculations, but Britain was listed as the "British Realm in Europe."³⁵⁵ The area of each state was listed, along with population and population density. The final two columns of the table included two aspects of economic matters: state revenue and revenue per person.³⁵⁶ The idea of calculating such an indicator shows an elaboration on earlier economic thoughts. For Britain, the revenue was the highest at over four hundred million Rhenish *guilder*, with a portion of "23 5%" per person.³⁵⁷ Other than the source, there was no other explanatory text. Britain was the richest land in Europe while the Swedish state did not have the information both to integrate itself and appear accurate.

There were also increased references to other publications and sources, indicating that the Swedish state also looked beyond the traditional diplomatic network as well as incorporated new legitimacy devices. In 1818, a lengthy paragraph referenced two other British newspapers: the *Sun* and the *Courier*.³⁵⁸ Each subject of this item, including those related to the newspapers, was offset by an em dash rather than paragraph breaks. The pressures of war limited how meanings could be expressed, showing how economic and political connections were contingent on many contexts.

Noted first, but without a described source, the Prince Regent was unable to open Parliament personally due to sorrow over his daughter's death.³⁵⁹ The report from the *Sun* was next, noting how the next session of parliament

³⁵³ Kindleberger (2002), p. 123.

³⁵⁴ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 127, 9 Nov. 1819.

³⁵⁵ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 127, 9 Nov. 1819.

³⁵⁶ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 127, 9 Nov. 1819.

³⁵⁷ *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 127, 9 Nov. 1819.

³⁵⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 10, 24 Jan. 1818.

³⁵⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 10, 24 Jan. 1818.

would likely be “dissolved.”³⁶⁰ News from the occupation in France was then explained, stating that the “Duke of Wellington, who is generally believed for diplomatic reasons to be in Paris, is expected within a few days [...] he and his ministers will deliberate on the occupation army’s return march.”³⁶¹ Wellington was mentioned again later on as the British forces would “not leave France for at least one year” but this reference was only after other offset discussions, ranging from the travels of Prince Leopold of Belgium to the naming of a new knight order.³⁶² The reference to the *Courier* was towards the end of the page, referring to the insurgency in South America; another line, separated by an em dash, noted “how important it would be for England’s trade if Spanish America became free.”³⁶³

Much news was coming through Britain, including economic matters with fewer references to the involvement of the king. That influence is instead noticeable in the order rather than the economic content. After describing Wellington and the British forces in this example, a line referenced how the “French loan of eight-million pounds sterling” was “being negotiated by many domestic and foreign bankers in Paris.”³⁶⁴ An item from later 1818 also discussed France under a London placeline. Large deposits from “local people” in French stock funds were connected to Amsterdam and Vienna, as those cities “seemed to also be at the height of speculations on these funds.”³⁶⁵ Although suspicious, economic practices and ideas were directly connected; the large deposits caused speculation. The note started an article about a number of topics, including the continued ban on certain weapons in Britain and the status of the Spanish fleet.³⁶⁶ Paragraph breaks were limited when threats of war or other political issues occupied space in the internal or overall order.

Other areas connected to Britain were also represented. This included the conflicts in North America,³⁶⁷ India, and Europe. Further parts were also printed, both connected to Britain and as separate items. Insurrections in China, Mexico, and other events were reported throughout the time frame.³⁶⁸ An example from 1818, printed first on the first page, listed several items of news from Britain, Jamaica, and South America.³⁶⁹ Exploration and the costs of polar

³⁶⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 10, 24 Jan. 1818.

³⁶¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 10, 24 Jan. 1818.

³⁶² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 10, 24 Jan. 1818.

³⁶³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 10, 24 Jan. 1818.

³⁶⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 10, 24 Jan. 1818.

³⁶⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 140, 30 Nov. 1818.

³⁶⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 140, 30 Nov. 1818.

³⁶⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 2, 5 Jan. 1815.

³⁶⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 8, 19 Jan. 1815 notes an insurrection in China; No. 2, 4 Jan. 1816 notes the destruction of a British factory in Canton.

³⁶⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 53, 6 May 1818. The man from Jamaica was reportedly 143 years old and could remember an earthquake from 1687.

expeditions were also consistent topics.³⁷⁰ Some were reported through London or connected to British dealings. The economic idea of “England’s trade” was connected to South American independence movements, as noted in an earlier example; it was separated from other military news as an offset sentence.³⁷¹ The rest of the item also mentioned news ranging from New York to the West Indies. A “twenty-six hour” storm caused “twenty-five million *francs*” destruction, damaging the majority of the ships in harbour in Martinique.³⁷² A range of subjects with offset sentences shows Britain’s connections and concerns throughout the world, both positive and negative, and most not referencing the king or a political figure.

In an 1818 issue, a thirty-six-year loan to Prussia was discussed. As expressions of economic ideas, considerations like this are nearing aspects of the modern indicators, but with early modern construction. Like the reporting of debt, these lines were often short, referencing changing ideas in connection to state borrowing. Interest, obligations, and repayments were referenced, along with the security for British creditors.³⁷³ Later, the “five-million pounds sterling” loan was reported closed by the “Jewish trading house Rothschild and Company, supported by several of the richest merchant houses in London.”³⁷⁴ A new loan of the same qualities was reported, with “five-percent interest.”³⁷⁵

The financial situation for the USA, including a breakdown of costs and incomes, was also referenced over time.³⁷⁶ The USA was characterized with broad caution; in one London example, there was nervousness from Quebec expressed in “letters and newspapers” about the rival government “establishing fortifications and improving the Canada-reaching roads.”³⁷⁷ The initial peace with the USA after the War of 1812 was defined as a letter from London in the placeline.³⁷⁸ Placed after an item about Stockholm about the granting of titles, a narrative described the signing.³⁷⁹ The article continued onto the second page, where four articles of the treaty were described, referencing the *Sun* and *the Courier*; the rights of both the American and the British Aboriginal allies were outlined.³⁸⁰ The final act listed in the article restricted American trade with British colonies in the West Indies. The closing parts of the item had sources from the USA, such as “the Federalist newspaper in Georgetown,” noting

³⁷⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 38, 2 April 1818; No. 43, 13 April 1818; No. 47, 23 April 1818.

³⁷¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 10, 24 Jan. 1818.

³⁷² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 10, 24 Jan. 1818.

³⁷³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 14, 2 Feb. 1818.

³⁷⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 46, 20 April 1818.

³⁷⁵ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 48, 25 April 1818.

³⁷⁶ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 14, 2 Feb. 1818.

³⁷⁷ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 50, 30 April 1818.

³⁷⁸ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 7, 16 Jan. 1815.

³⁷⁹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 7, 16 Jan. 1815.

³⁸⁰ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 7, 16 Jan. 1815.

attempts to increase cooperation after the conflict.³⁸¹ There were increased items about the USA, including separate expressions as well as mentions through Britain. In many cases, like this one, the USA remained politically and economically fixed, due to the described British dominance.

Ending the slave trade involved Britain and other states. It is an international discourse that took a different shape over time. The topic of abolishment expanded to topics other than payments, while stressing Britain's role in ending the matter. Stopping the slave trade was referenced with economic matters divided by punctuation.³⁸² Ideas about slavery, such as islands associated with France, were described as performing an "ultimately regrettable" task.³⁸³ Parliament encouraged the Prince Regent to react to Spanish and Dutch actions regarding the treaties to end the slave trade, offering 400,000 pounds of compensation to Spain, and approval of the Netherlands to search "all African trading ships."³⁸⁴ Slavery was still an economic practice for successful economies, but was politically more controversial over time.

When contrasting the two states, similar discussions of supporting the monarchy during times of change are noticeable. The most common interrelated items were about mourning each other's leaders, showing political and cultural relations. For economic matters, there are some similarities but also divergent elements. Britain was important to Sweden, as it was a growing world power. In the *Gazette*, however, Sweden and the rest of the world were not directly described as separate international sources. Without the size and resources of Britain, Sweden needed a wider perspective and a closer examination of local and global resources while Britain turned to the domestic and colonial concerns, many with economic values.

5.3.4 Conflicting Economic Matters at Home and Abroad

Economic matters were about the management of the home state in both contexts, despite contrasting international views. The continued use of tables reflects expanded ways of interpreting economic happenings. The *Gazette* had created a sense of authority and continued it through defined item forms. Sweden, meanwhile, was developing along similar lines. Influences from the social realm shifted how some values were communicated, although Sweden represented cultural items with more separation than Britain. Both had some technological representations, however, indicating those gradual tensions.

³⁸¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 7, 16 Jan. 1815.

³⁸² *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 28, 7 March 1818; No. 30, 12 March 1818. The final lines go on to reference the First Seminole War (1816–1819). Another reference to the cost of ending the trade, this time involving Spain, was in No. 26, 2 March 1818. The separate article announcing the treaty with Spain, again referencing the cost, appears in No. 24, 26 Feb. 1818.

³⁸³ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 16, 7 Feb. 1818.

³⁸⁴ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 41, 9 April 1818.

5.4 A Modernizing World in Flux

The final chapter ends before the major breakthroughs of mid-nineteenth century industrialization, communications, and modernity, but still traces these developments.³⁸⁵ For both Sweden and Britain, the Congress of Vienna and the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo were central at the beginning of this period. France was influential in both states, especially regarding foreign news. By the end of the period, slavery and independence movements stirred world dialogues. Both states also faced the deaths of monarchs. In contrast to the lack of information about Sweden in the *Gazette*, there was a British presence in both Swedish papers. Articles about Britain indicated how Sweden viewed a powerful state in Europe during times of crisis and advancement. There were also global implications linked to both states, tied to topics of debt, slavery, and increased economic and political ties.

Despite the major changes at the end of the eighteenth century, how the state presented some economic matters remained consistent in the early nineteenth century. Both attempted to portray stable economic matters to a public encountering new and varied ideas. The development of the private and commercial press provided competition influencing the needs for accuracy and extra devices to portray it. Within these situations, there were positive and negative economic changes that the states were trying to control. These changes in media and society meant that the state had to respond to both internal and external developments, while maintaining the legitimacy to manage resources and drive dialogues. The semi-public sphere was changing with greater forms of competition and expressions of the public sphere.

Economic matters had changed in terms of content and order, as thoughts and circumstances were developing. Expressions of economic ideas, objects, practices, and discourses are observed regarding many topics in the papers. Slavery, insurance, and most importantly technology represent some of the most significant changes for this time. The two states were facing unique pressures, as shown in the range of topics brought up in the three papers. Regarding form, prompt and accurate data that was transforming over time is represented by the table shifts. The size and details of the tables and separation shows the gradual use of more complex economic matters. The internal order of items, as well as the overall order, also separated economic matters in similar ways. Paragraphs concerning economic matters were consistently divided and more complicated tables were used.

Discussions of economic matters about Britain were often associated with other areas of the world, portraying its growth and attempts to guide global discourses. The *Gazette* represented Britain at a turbulent time, as internal mechanisms matured. Control over economic matters and renewed trust were important to emphasize under a new, politically weak regent with a growing empire. Dispatches, lists of dead or promotions that represented

³⁸⁵ Jones (1996), p. 5–7.

war, led to longer editions. More offices of government were also included, although some of the information was under different departments in earlier time frames. More examples of economic matters are observed in offset spaces with increasing legitimacy, as offices were created to deal with them.

While the contents varied, the Swedish papers had adopted some of the previously noted features of the *Gazette*. The additional categories of articles with labels in the *Inrikes* — official articles, other happenings — indicate its changing contents and focus. More labels and names were included, showing a shift in how trustworthy information was communicated. Politically, unrest was expressed in the ousting of the king and the selection of a new, less directly influential monarch prior to this period. Sweden also represented more items from Norway, attempting to increase its ties while including fewer smaller Swedish parishes. The charity and figures of the king and crown prince were presented to unify both Sweden and Norway. The semi-public sphere was shaken but still formed by consistent publication of the state papers. As a smaller state in Europe, Sweden kept looking towards the world for news, while also managing internal changes.

This chapter describes aspects of the separation and elaboration of economic matters, as well as introduces an emerging technological realm. Expressions of all the value realms were gradually organized into separate sections or paragraphs, although this process was in no way complete. From the perspective of the state, these issues were still subsumed under the political and social/cultural values they were attempting to manage, especially during times of crises. Separation could occur in one area but increased connections would take place in others. This was communicated faster and with greater supposed accuracy in the British context, while Sweden still relied on many of its traditional ways of representing information, although this was also changing.

The Embedded Economic Voice of the State

In late 1818, the *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* contained an item about speculation in France. Under a London placeline, the first line noted that “local people have deposited unusually large sums into French stocks” and Amsterdam and Vienna “seemed to also be at the height of speculations on these funds.”¹ These statements, although not directly related to Britain, still show how items from London gave a sense of the world converging there. The Swedish state did not elaborate on what speculation meant and instead focused on the suspiciousness of the actions, relating it to British interests but without mentioning the king or regime. Like the examples that started this dissertation, this depiction of economic matters represents a time of global tensions. Sweden looked to Britain, relaying an economic idea to its population from a foreign source without explicitly added explanation; it was textually separated, to a degree, from the other news, as well. This language of economic matters was transforming during the Age of Revolutions, but still appears familiar to today. The construction, however, shows the uniqueness of how economic matters were portrayed at the end of the early modern period.

6.1 Questioning and Concluding Economic Matters

I approached a complicated but significant query in this dissertation: *how were economic matters described in state-controlled newspapers from two different, yet interrelated, early modern contexts and did this change over time?* A value-realm model helped answer this question, combining critical views of previous research and early modern state newspapers. C.A. Bayly’s ideas of uniformity and tensions were both demonstrated and challenged. Karl Polanyi’s interpretation of embeddedness and Jürgen Habermas’s concept of the public sphere were both viewed critically. I also looked to the works of Keith Tribe and Carl Menger to establish my starting point for economic matters. Tribe’s conceptions especially showed the value of studying this topic, time period, and source material.

A type of stable media was studied from Britain and Sweden; as these newspapers did not significantly change from 1770 until 1820, aspects of uniformity, disintegration, and modernity were examined in two comparable

¹ *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, No. 140, 30 Nov. 1818. This item is analyzed in Chapter Five.

settings. Five key aspects regarding modernity were described in Chapter One: the transfer of Enlightenment ideals, the rise of the state, the transformation of the public sphere, the development of nationalism and the nation, as well as changes to communication and news. Although these are broad concepts, I focused on research questions about economic matters and their descriptions based on the time period, source material, and research aims.

Values were actively being questioned during the Enlightenment. I viewed the Enlightenment as multiple and interrelated occurrences in different European regions. In the beginning, the experiences in Britain differed from Sweden but gradually grew to be similar; this was an example of the uniformity described by Bayly. According to his work, there were multiple uniformities that helped create the modern world. The Enlightenment and the early modern period were studied from my modern perspective, as well as representing the uniqueness of the time frame.

Polanyi's description of embeddedness relates primarily to institutions in market and non-market societies and how economic activities are integrated in each. The model of connected political, economic, social, and technological value realms illustrated this. I viewed unembeddedness as a process where the economic realm separated from the others in a textual or described sense. The state depicted economic matters as becoming more abstract and distinct from the political and social realms, while technology emerged with the industrial transformations of the early nineteenth century. The concept of economic indicators encapsulated how economic matters are viewed today; there is quantitative meaning behind qualitative statements. Unembeddedness traces how these familiar notions were generating.

I viewed the public sphere in a form of a semi-public, with the readership being brought to the purview of the court when studying state-managed newspapers. I drew on the works of Ann C. Dean and Nancy Fraser for this. The public had an inherent influence on the material the state produced. I used a critical view of Habermas, asserting that the representational media of the state was not one-sided propaganda. It also responded to the people and processes on the periphery of the court. The state could not fully control all viewpoints and needed to acknowledge them to maintain a cooperative public. These sorts of language and techniques were changing by the end of the Age of Revolutions.

Sweden and Britain in the eighteenth century were described using householding and mercantilism, among other economic ideals and processes. Early modern capitalism, for example, developed in connection to both; according to Bayly, this accelerated towards the end of the nineteenth century.² Managing economic resources and exercises was central to the state. The state was also studied because of the nature of the newspapers. They had a central political message, explaining the state's views and need for control.

² Bayly (2004), pp. 10–11.

This study was a comparative effort from two perspectives. Britain and Sweden were contrasted, while my secondary research question directly addressed the comparison: *in what ways were Swedish economic matters portrayed in the British press and how were Britain's economic matters described in Sweden?* Private and public functions make economic matters an important facet of collective views. Both productive and consumptive activities took place in public settings, as well as in private contexts. The state indicated the matters of rival or neutral partners with less embedded qualities since they were not directly involved in shaping them. The state and the public knew about economic developments in other parts of Europe; this indirectly and directly influenced their successes, failures, choices, and values.

The Swedish papers represented a perspective from the periphery of Europe and the world, contrasted to Britain's central position. British newspapers connected far-reaching areas to its centre in one way or another. With its expanding empire, Britain portrayed its colonial holdings as part of its overall economic matters; the Swedish papers represented both a sense of inclusion and exclusion regarding Britain and other parts of the world. Increased numbers of individual placelines for the USA and India, as well as other regions, showed what contact Sweden had with the world and how the information was treated, for instance. This was not a total division, as Britain was a point of convergence for the colonial world and its European partners. Sweden needed Britain, its ideas, and its access to the world. Over time, market and trade tables were printed more often, representing these connections. From Bayly's perspective, similar expressions arose in different states from exchanges of information, but also from local meaning. By studying two contexts, I have shown the uniqueness of the papers, along with the uniformity articulated by Bayly.

6.2 Form, Order, Content, and the Total View

By looking beyond the contents of the items, I have shown how modes of emphasis and qualities of abstractness for economic matters increased over time. My third research question concerned this approach: *did the form, order, or content change for these items regarding economic matters? What aspects were reflected by these alterations, if there were any?* This specified what I meant by changes to the depictions of economic matters. I studied the newspapers based on construction, organization, and phrasing. I used qualitative approaches rather than quantitative because of the qualities of the *Gazette*, *Inrikes*, and *Post-Tidningar*. While quantitative data might have enhanced my findings, many of the item genres and contents could not be separated into permanent and workable categories.

Although some concepts had changing portrayals — such as no longer being included with lines of explanation — the contemporary changes to the meanings could not be directly traced in this type of material. Tribe has shown how the works of economic thinkers can be examined with similar approaches to this study, indicating how these concepts changed elsewhere.³ How economic matters were recorded was significant both for his study and my work. There were structures and patterns in the construction that show what differentiates economic matters at the end of the early modern period from today: they were more embedded. Tables are my primary argument for the separation of economic matters from other concerns, as they represented changes in form, order, and content.

Polanyi's embeddedness was both confirmed and challenged from this view. Economic matters here were inherently embedded in political and social — and in the final period the emerging technological — descriptions. Tribe, however, stresses the importance of understanding the language of economic thought, underscoring structure and pattern.⁴ Current notions of economic indicators are not new, but are based on familiar ideas generated during the Age of Revolutions.⁵ I have shown how the early modern economic indicators were driven by broader and more connected factors than the modern varieties. Concepts like debt, budget, currency value, and other central comments were more abstract and separate with each time frame, and their assembly showed how they were different from today. The early modern indicators were larger concepts than the key numerical-driven indicators of today because of the interconnectedness of the value realms and inherent embeddedness.

The central aspects of unembeddedness were abstractness and quantitative measures. For this, I have primarily pointed to the increased use of tables over time. The state gradually gave other types of legitimacy devices greater prominence. Economic matters were still presented as under state control, but some were represented outside of this regulation. Tables denoting market prices, global trade, currency exchange, and other information were linked to the state by the publications. Quantitative indicators became qualitative concepts that could be trusted without lengthy explanation over time.

6.2.1 Dividing Newspapers, Separating Values

Newspapers around the world developed firm divisions over time as the medium matured, another expression of modernity and uniformity. A study with only one type of source paper or focus on a specific market — luxury goods for instance — would have shown how some references increased quantitatively. Since I was interested in the qualities of economic matters and

³ Tribe (2015).

⁴ Tribe (2015), pp. 298–299.

⁵ Tribe (2015), pp. 311–312.

how they changed over time, this type of approach would not have been suitable. This would have only shown that they changed, rather than looking at how it was different.

This relates to Tribe's assertions that studying economic language is a "philological" undertaking.⁶ Using the concept of the semi-public sphere, the construction of the paper reflected the state's perception of society, ordering elements reflexively based on the views of the public. This economic embeddedness was expressed in how the state organized and maintained its newspapers as part of its wider media apparatus. The objects, practices, ideas, and discourses outlined in this study helped create the modern matters as they became more abstract and separate from other values.

My approaches to the newspapers were described in Chapters One and Two, as well as through the newspaper example sections in each empirical chapter. By using a total view of the papers, a number of methods were used. First, I outlined form. Each newspaper can essentially be broken down into a number of parts; I defined eight item genres. Since some item forms could be combined, I focused on how certain genres became more consistent over time. Several items had specific content. For this information to be trusted, those forms had to continue to be printed. Increased labeling and headline-type lines accented the divisions of the paper and emphasized that the information was credible.

The second way I analyzed the newspapers was based on order. There were two aspects of this: overall and internal. The state portrayed both the home kingdom and the world. More important items took precedence at the start of issues; alternatively, they were more significant based on the dependability of their placement. By studying order, the political motivations of the papers were confirmed. Economic matters were placed first when outside events did not create panic; these were also the first types of items to be shifted at the outbreak of troubles in many instances. The internal order of items also roughly followed this pattern. While some of aspects of embeddedness were expressed in the construction of the forms, others were observed in organization.

Thirdly, I looked at the content. This partly differed from how the construction elements were approached. Content was varied, so I mainly looked at how certain concepts and themes had changing treatments over time. I primarily drew on an oral tag approach, connected to a language of legitimacy. Conversation or ceremony were represented in the descriptive elements of the newspaper content. This also reflected the semi-public sphere; the state communicated news based on how the crowd was meant to overhear or "oversee" it. Throughout the three periods, economic matters were presented with varying degrees of emphasis. Although the term "so-called" was used in the Swedish papers, fewer economic matters

⁶ Tribe (2015), pp. 14, 298–299.

were addressed with this explanatory usage over time. This analysis cannot define the changes to specific concepts but did show how they were presented differently and how certain concepts, like the budget, took on the terminology from another source. Drawing on the critical views of embeddedness and modernity, these variations relate to a gradual, yet inconsistent, disintegration amongst the value realms.

Initially, there were similar item forms observed in both states' papers. This was another example of the parallel situations in Britain and Sweden. This aspect also reflected Bayly's international ideological production, although I mainly focused on Western contexts. By the final time period, the *Gazette* had moved away from using some of the genres that still dominated the *Post-Tidningar*. These were mainly the article genre. The forms of the items in all three papers, however, received added modes of legitimacy markers. Names, titles, and official responses were used more often, including when economic matters were mentioned. These types of responses also moved away from the traditional voice of the king. While the *Gazette* employed these techniques more often than the *Post-Tidningar* or *Inrikes*, by the last period there were ways of establishing and presenting authority that are closer to modern definitions. This was the beginning of the end of the phase when the state was to be trusted simply because it was the sole voice of oversight. Although these forms were not yet complete, there was a gradual evolution that follows a sense of uniformity.

The *Post-Tidningar* and *Inrikes* are examples of both persuasive and passive communication.⁷ The end of separate papers after 1820 demonstrated a strategy shift. There was more shared information between the two papers before the amalgamation, as demonstrated in Chapter Five. Domestic reports were placed with international news, while foreign items were published in the *Inrikes*. This followed a similar trend set by the *Gazette* in the 1770s. The first newspapers in the seventeenth century only included content about events decided by the state, or intellectual groups able to create a publication. In papers from the early eighteenth century, there were only these news-presenting article forms; many of the item genres I noted originated from these basic types.⁸

Publications printed by private interests, usually with more openly propagandistic or revolutionary ideals, increased by the eighteenth century. Although these often only had brief printing runs, the state newspapers were forced to take on other characteristics. Information connected to the state required consistency for its legitimacy, however. The material investigated here was not independent journalism or part of the Fourth Estate. The state introduced censorship and press controls to emphasize these efforts, but the controls were limited by the mid- to late nineteenth century.

⁷ Holmberg (2005), p. 31.

⁸ This is reflected in the transition of papers in Sweden from the 1740s to the 1760s. Many item types were introduced after the 1740s, during the Age of Freedom.

6.3 Uniformity, Revolutions, and Non-Linear Progress

Political, agricultural, and industrial developments varied during each period. The details presented at the outset of each empirical chapter established both historical contexts and supported the analysis. I chose to study the turn of the eighteenth century because this was a known time of major economic change; Bayly viewed it as a period of early modern globalization, which was also integrated in this study. The Revolutionary Age has been studied for its political and social breakthroughs, while the economic perspective has been studied based on quantitative change and progress. By studying economic matters qualitatively, I needed to take the contexts described at the beginning of each chapter into account. The general linear progression of economic unembeddedness was unstable and consistently affected by political or social matters. Bayly's uniformity occurred over a much longer period of time.

6.3.1 From a Calm Period to Insecurities, 1770–75

Chapter Three described a world between major conflicts. The end of the Seven Years' War and the beginning of the American Revolution was a relatively short gap. This chapter established the form, order, and content of the newspapers. The end of the Seven Years' War created a new status quo in Europe and the world that Britain and Sweden had to navigate. Pressures built over time in both states, however. The American Revolution changed how matters were organized in the *Gazette* while Gustav III's coup influenced the content of the *Post-Tidningar* and the *Inrikes*.

The central points of this chapter were linked to the initial turmoil of the American Revolution. At first, the *Gazette* presented a relatively stable international and domestic perspective. With the outbreak of revolution, however, the order of the news and content changed. The forms of the economic items remained similar, but were pushed back. Sweden expressed some of the economic factors related to the situation with separation. The outside perspective allowed for greater notions of unembeddedness because of the distance from the political, social, and economic values of the other state.

This chapter included the most references to Sweden in the *Gazette*. The comparative aspect of this study was not only based on the content, so the later lack of references was not problematic. Sweden was described like the other states in Europe; the unique aspects were the portrayals of free ports and meetings of the Estates. For Sweden, Britain was included more often due to the changing balance of power, as well as the significance of the Seven Years' War and later American Revolution.

6.3.2 Reduced Emphasis on Economic Matters, 1790–95

Chapter Four described a period where Britain and Sweden underwent the most upheaval. The French Revolution and its fallout continued, while the impacts of the American Revolution also changed world orders. Sweden again experienced the death of a monarch, this time the assassination of Gustav III. The political events of this time frame affected economic matters; much of the content and order had less separation. This chapter highlights how uniformity and the disintegration of the value realms were occurring, although it was nonlinear. Despite changes to order, many of the forms and content from the earlier time frame continued, but the degrees of separation were not consistent. The state newspapers established many aspects of everyday life, even though those activities were changing.

The middle period showed an important perspective about continuities and changes during this Revolutionary Age. I agree with Bayly's linear progression but the times of crises around 1790 showed how regimes reacted to major upheaval in unique ways. He also noted stronger global connections during war, especially between diplomacy and the economy.⁹ I contend that revolutions were ongoing processes that never fully eliminated the previous systems, as other scholars have also shown. The continuities of some aspects of economic matters lasted throughout each time frame, while others were limited when Britain and Sweden faced internal and external pressures. Practical information, such as dates, merchant price tables and ship news, currency tables, and other genres affiliated with economic matters did not change in inclusion but changed in the order.

For Sweden, there were a number of significant tables in this period that related both to economic matters and state panic. The descriptions of giving to the state and the export tables from Gothenburg show what type of economic resources the state took in, but also how they were organized. These tables were to be trusted, as they came from the state. The consistency of the export table shows the significance of Gothenburg as a port, as well as the paper's focus on economic data. In terms of the comparative perspective, Britain had a limited view of Sweden while Sweden portrayed the increased tensions in the world.

6.3.3 On the Edge of the Modern Age, 1815–20

Chapter Five exemplifies what Bayly calls the "first age of global imperialism" in two states with varying worldly significance.¹⁰ This was the start of a "period of flux," lasting until 1865.¹¹ Britain had turned its focus away from providing direct international news in its state paper, instead

⁹ Bayly (2004), p. 161.

¹⁰ Bayly (2004), p. 45.

¹¹ Bayly (2004), p. 125.

concentrating on its international role and its colonial world. With the lack of international news, the observations of the *Gazette* from this final empirical chapter represents the paper up until the twenty-first century.¹² Sweden maintained its focus on the world, but began to limit descriptions of its domestic matters. The *Inrikes Tidningar* was combined with the *Post-Tidningar* in 1821, officially joining matters into one publication again.

In both contexts there were changes to the position of the monarchy in the power structures by the final time frame. While the formal court structure remained with the king at the centre, his symbolic and practical descriptions were altered. The changes in representations occurring after the Congress of Vienna were indicative of the aftermath of a long era of revolutionary movements. Economic matters, as they became unembedded from the political and the social, were distanced from the king. This was represented by the king professing greater interest in his people's wellbeing in the Swedish context, while additional forms of direct legitimacy were used in Britain. The role of the king in economic discourses as a point of convergence was reduced, although this process was still ongoing.

The tensions of the middle and last periods highlight the troubles after multiple types of revolutions; the contrasts between the two states show how these were expressed differently depending on domestic circumstances. There was no direct or sustained criticism of the regime or the king from the domestic perspective; instead, any voices of opposition were aimed at society and social problems. The official voice of the British state turned away from portraying international events, aside from those that directly affected it or its empire. The semi-public sphere can be used into the nineteenth century in Sweden because of the limited access to other newspapers, as well as the delayed rate of industrialization when compared to Britain.

6.4 Changing and Parallel Values

The results of this study are primarily based on how the form, order, and content changed over time. The descriptions of economic matters go beyond whether they were observed to be positive or negative; there were important elaborations, changes in emphasis, and expanded contents. Economic matters, although they can never be fully removed from the other value realms, showed increased unembeddedness in various ways. One of the most significant aspects was that the forms of the items continued to stabilize. Although the media were largely consistent at the outset, technological and other advances changed how information could be presented, representing increased abstract thoughts.

¹² The paper kept the two-column paper size, until new digital formatting was adopted.

Using the categories of economic objects, ideas, discourses, and practices involved modern economy and economic thinking as well as the uniqueness of the early modern. Changing expressions represent tensions amongst the realms, but also reveal areas of increased similarities. Over time, all four had new content or changed in form. Being moved in the order, due to times of crisis or for emphasis, or expanding in size and complexity were the most common alterations. Tables were the clearest example of this. The grain table in Britain increased in size and needed to be shifted in the order, for example. Sweden expressed greater details of the currency exchange procedures, also with tables. As the state encountered new notions or needed to express more complex concepts, these categories became more defined based on form and order. The content continued to represent new concepts and occurrences that needed explanation.

To summarize how I answer my first research question, descriptions of economic matters were presented in more complex, emphasized, and separated ways. When the *Inrikes Tidningar* described what type of news it would provide in 1760, the economic matters it intended to cover were limited to trade, livelihood, and selling goods; these fall under the definition of scarcity I set out with initially. By 1820, these basic definitions expanded to include presentations of currency exchange, other state's debt, types of work, and many other classifications. Britain portrayed economic matters in a similarly more elaborate fashion, but with limited consideration for its European neighbours. Complexity here means that the state had reduced its explanatory language around certain concepts. This process was still ongoing and none of the descriptions were in their modern forms, with some matters more developed than others.

To outline the direct question of the comparison, the descriptions of the other in this study were focused on a neutral partner that had varying significance. Britain was a central point in a developing empire while Sweden could only aspire to those qualities. The struggles and unrest through each of these periods has shown that both states attempted to convey stable matters, but struggled in the process. Britain was most likely to divert attention to proclamations during times of difficulties, pushing economic matters to latter pages of its publication. The information was still there, but had a reduced presence. Struggles required increased expressions of embeddedness in order to motivate all of the state's decisions. Sweden experienced minor crises when contrast to Britain, but still expressed similar notions when Gustav III was assassinated, or when at war with Russia. The aspect of reduced disintegration was instead seen in the depictions of Britain, especially during the middle period. The 1790s were a time of non-linear progression for these concepts, due to a convergence of revolutionary ideals.

My study expands the general view of other states from the traditional view of enemies at war or confessional others. Although descriptions of the other were primarily political, and with many references to the monarchy

from a social perspective, the use of economic matters showed an additional exchange and another form of trustworthy descriptions. Economic matters were used to frame states both positively and negatively, becoming more reliable and known. Sweden was less important to Britain over time, while Britain earned increased references in the Swedish papers. Britain, however, was never the most central state for long; it was instead a consistent presence, having regular placement in the middle with a substantial amount of space devoted to its news. Sweden also had a broader view of the world when contrast to the *Gazette*. The Swedish context for economic matters was not quite parallel to the British case, but both states expressed concerns in similar terms.

Portraying economic matters extends beyond creating a collective political union. The generation of both modern nationalism and capitalism occurred during this time. Political and ideological shifts worked in relation to economic changes throughout Europe. These feelings in Sweden, expressed through the use of the early modern media network by the state to promote a sense of community, cannot be equated to modern nationalism. The decrease in news about Sweden in the *London Gazette* shows how the state was changing. Britain was focused on empire and maintaining its increasingly complex state functions. Sweden portrayed Britain critically mainly because it was more dependent on its relatively more powerful neighbour.

To return to the question of form, order, and content, the changes to the papers represented the disintegration of the value-realm model introduced in Chapter One. The three initial realms I presented existed out of the tensions of the medieval period, forcing culture and politics apart. The economic realm was created due to the stresses of the marketplace and early forms of capitalism, coming out of the sixteenth century. The fourth realm — technology — arose out of the developments between the economic and political realm, encapsulated in the Industrial Revolution and other forms of industrialization.

6.5 From a Stable Media to Stabilizing Realms

The indicators that were invented in the modern period have their origins in the early modern ideals discussed in this dissertation. These were also linked to the transformations of the public sphere, journalism, and communications. Rather than only focusing on the contents of the newspapers, this study has shown the effectiveness of a total perspective. Many scholars have already drawn statistical and quantitative conclusions from the information available in these and related sources. This study adds to that knowledge by providing early modern context based on form and order, as well as content. The changing emphasis and integration of economic matters showed how the state considered the significance of the information at the time, and how its views were dynamic.

My modern and contemporary perspective indicated how the state, by publishing newspapers, attempted to control access to economic matters and the loyalty of the crowd during a time of global change. Command of resources was important, considering the consequences of war and the monopoly on violence by the total state.¹³ States had to satisfy the public and argue for these mercantile systems for their success and survival. There was an effort by the two states in this study to portray domestic economic matters from a position of strength, especially in contrast with opposing neighbours.

The state communicated world tensions by presenting separations and connections of its values. Religion and the military occupy important detached spaces in modern society. In the eighteenth-century world, however, these could not be removed from the political and social contexts. According to Bayly, uniformity of world religions emerged out of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ Economic concerns also overlapped and connected the two. Technology, for example, could not be separated from economics until the modern communications revolution, occurring because of industrial transformations.¹⁵ As the state continued to develop, and the foundational realms were affirmed, new categories emerged. If a study were conducted involving the other value realms, the results would likely be similar to these findings.

Towards the end of the early modern period, as the public matured and the ideals of the nation rather than allegiance to the king arose, this consistency faded. There was decreased harmony and increased maturity of value realms as modern public opinions formed. Prior to the 1800s, there were few uniform qualities in popular newspapers.¹⁶ State-managed newspapers, however, had relative consistencies. Both sorts began to take on modern qualities over time, such as illustrations, advertisements, and editorial voice not associated with the state. The shift in the nineteenth century to the recognizable broadsheet indicates a change in thinking towards expressing the value realms with increased stability.

This study ends before the mass-customer demand for newspapers. The issues of the *London Gazette* and *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, after the early nineteenth century, adopted the firm order observed in the modern, Internet-based versions discussed in Chapter Two. Technological advances, the professionalization of journalism, and changes in state regulations all represent the emergence of modern newspapers.¹⁷ The imagined community came into itself when languages became fixed and reading material was readily distributed.¹⁸ State newspapers were no longer the only voice of value.

¹³ For example, see: de Vries (1976).

¹⁴ Bayly (2004), p. 325.

¹⁵ Briggs & Burke (2009), p. 89.

¹⁶ Barnhurst & Nerone (2001), p. 54.

¹⁷ Jones (1996), p. 7.

¹⁸ Anderson (2006), p. 261.

6.5.1 Summarizing Significance

In this dissertation I have shown how economic matters were represented in two early modern states from a unique perspective. I have observed Bayly's ideas of uniformity, but I have also demonstrated how the disintegration of the value realms was non-linear. I used Habermas to view state-managed media to include the periphery public. The economic matters discussed in the papers were knowledge that involved the people, although through the lens of the state. In terms of Tribe, this investigation shows economic matters transitioning from "activity" to "issues."¹⁹ Polanyi's embeddedness was understood from a unique perspective; economic matters were integrated in descriptions beyond the content. By studying the form and order, this study took up Tribe's ideas of structures and patterns in texts. It also traced an important period for newspaper development. Tribe used this multiple-method approach towards the classical texts of economics; here, I showed how state-sponsored media could be used to show similar arrangements. Economic matters were recognizable in their early modern forms, but had unique compositions. These included aspects of loyalty and how the state related to a changing public. Ultimately, newspapers were transforming alongside the public sphere, separating values based on the ideals of a modernizing and gradually more uniform state.

¹⁹ Tribe (2015), p. 3-4.

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