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Market development and Newspaper advertising in Early Modern Norway 1760-1800

Bachelor's project in Master's degree in History / Lektor

Supervisor: Britta Kägler

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Abstract

The paper seeks to contribute evidence on market development in Norway in the Early Modern Period. It does this through the analysis of two weekly published newspapers from 1760-1800. A secondary goal for the paper is to explore what roles the newspapers played in early market development. The papers analyzed are *Norske Intelligenz seddeler* and the *Bergens Adresse-Contoires Efterretninger*. The focus of the analysis is domestic and fresh goods which can suggest increased rural production for sale in local and regional markets. Other goods covered are luxuries, colonial goods, alcohol and durable goods although these are less important.

Quantitative findings show a large growth in commercial advertising in both papers although the *Norske Intelligenz-seddeler* has more such content throughout the data. This growth seems to manifest in more promotions by advertiser of more modest means and more advertising for domestic, local and low value goods. The societal and market role of the paper increased considerably during the period and helped facilitate trade on a regional and local level. Differences between the papers were significant notably differences in overall size. Divergences largely mirror regional production patterns. Overall results are that goods produced for an internal market were increasingly promoted suggesting by extension an increase in production and sale of goods like butter, animal feed, produce and meats for domestic consumption. The trend found is likely to be more modest than what is advertised, giving signs of a slow process towards market integration. This falls in line with Ragnhild Hutchisons research which points to a more slow-paced market proliferation in the Norwegian case¹.

Sammenheng

Oppgaven har som formål å bidra med materiale om Norsk markedsutvikling i Tidlig nytid. Den vil gjøre dette gjennom analyse av to ukentlig publiserte aviser i perioden 1760-1800. Et sekundært formål for oppgaven er å undersøke rollen avisene generelt spilte i markedet i perioden. De brukte avisene er *Norske Intelligenz-seddeler* og *Bergens Adresse-Contoires Efterretninger*: Analysens fokus vil være på jordbruks og fersk varer som kan signalisere produksjon og salg for lokale og regionale markedet. Andre varer om luksus og colonial varer, alkohol og utstyr av ulike slag er inkludert i analysen, men er mindre sentrale.

De kvantitative funnene viser en stor vekst i kommersiell reklamering i begge aviser skjønt *Norske Intelligenz-Seddeler* har mer slikt innhold på tvers av dataene. Veksten består i stor grad av reklameringer gjort av folk med mer beskjedne midler og mer reklamering av innenlands, lokale varer og varer med lav verdi. Avisenes rolle i samfunnet og markedet økte kraftig i perioden og denne utviklingen bidro til mer handel på regionale og lokale plan. Det var betydelige forskjeller mellom avisene særlig størrelsen på avisene. Andre forskjeller speiler grovt sett ulike regionale produksjonsmønstre. De generelle resultatene for oppgaven var at innenlands produserte varer som smør, dyrefor, grønnsaker og kjøtt ble mer reklamert for salg i de regionale og lokale markedene. Faktisk økning i produksjon og salg er nok mer beskjedent enn det økningen i reklamering viser, men det viser tegn til en gradvis overgang til en markedsøkonomi. Dette samsvarer Ragnhild Hutchisons forskning som tyder på at Norge gjennomgikk en sakte prosess i retning markedsintegrasjon.²

¹ Hutchison (2012:220f)

² Hutchison (2012:220f)

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1. Introduction

In the period between 1600 and 1800 there was a shift in some European regions that changed the economic nature of society. The rural population gradually began shifting more of their production towards sale for markets, both locally and regionally. The sale of produce and rural manufactures like textiles were sold in return for colonial goods like sugar, coffee and tobacco. As a result markets of regional³ scale were created as tied together with the established overseas trade. The creation of the regional markets and its effects are currently understood as a vital steppingstone between the subsistence economy of the middle ages and the industrial society that would follow.⁴ This transition is known as the industrious revolution manifested itself in new patterns of production and consumption.

Theories developed to describe this phenomenon uses North western Europe as its base, which were at the forefront of industrialization later on.⁵ Evidence for this trend has since been found in wide areas, especially in the North Atlantic region. The geographic boundaries of the trend and when it began are however up to debate.⁶ How much of society was affected by this phenomenon is additionally a subject for research, where the current evidence is “fairly thin” even in England and the Netherlands.

Compared with earlier periods the number of sources is greater, but these are generally used are clearly skewed towards more affluent social groups.⁷ Further study of economic change in context of the industrious revolution thus provides challenges in both geographic and social dimensions.

This paper aims to contribute evidence to the Norwegian case, which has some divergences from the changes in North Western Europe. It will attempt to provide insight into what market structures and by extension consumption trends were present and how these changed between 1760 and 1800.

Specifically, it will look at Bergen and Christiania and their respective hinterlands through the scope of their weekly published newspapers. These papers are the Bergens Adresse-contours Efterretninger and the Norske intelligenz-seddeler respectively. The regions have some clear differences in their economic production. Bergen is a hub for fish exports to the rest of Europe and by far the largest Norwegian town throughout the period.⁸ It also has a largely mountainous hinterland. Christiania while smaller, was central to the export of timber and metals and has access to a more agriculturally productive hinterland.⁹ Given the size and significance of these towns as the largest two towns in the “country” it is natural to assume that they would be the first areas to develop local and regional markets and the associated consumption patterns.

1.1 Structure

The paper will first briefly outline the details of the production and consumption patterns central to theory surrounding the industrious revolution. An overview will then be given of the Norwegian case, the research conducted on it and how this paper fits into the body of research. Information about the newspapers and the methodology used to analyse them will then commence before the findings are laid out in detail. Findings are categorized thematically where the analysis will use both qualitative and limited quantitative data. The findings will then be analyzed in light of the thesis. The paper will conclude that the contents of the papers show signs of regional market development, although these signs vary between papers.

³ In this analysis a Eastern and Western Norway will be designated as regions without further specification.

⁴ Ogilvie (1996:1)

⁵ Ryckbosch (2015:65f)

⁶ *ibid* p.13f

⁷ *ibid* p.16f

⁸ Moseng O.G, Oppsahl E., Pettersen G. L & Sandmo E. (2015:304)

⁹ Hutchison (2012:69)

1.2 Historiography

There are generally three aspects to the industrious revolution; an expansion of global and regional markets, proto-industrialization and increased consumption of non-essential goods.

Proto industrialization is typically a putting out system where merchants “outsource” manufacturing from town guilds to rural producers.¹⁰ This phenomenon utilizes the available “unemployed” manpower of rural households, like women and children’s labor and surplus time in seasons with little agricultural work. Notably it complemented rather than supplanted agricultural income. Such a diversification allowed peasants incomes to be more stable and finance increased consumption.¹¹ Production usually includes local raw materials and is sold to an external regional market rather than local consumption.¹² The textbook case of proto-industrialization is the growth of the English and Dutch textile industries leading up to industrialization.

The expansion of markets and consumption go hand in hand. Increased consumption in the early modern period is closely linked to the oriental and colonial goods made available by the growing market.¹³ The overseas trade gradually provided demand for European produced goods. These trades along with other factors introduced a gradually spreading commercialization where more people produced at least in part for a market.

Norway is a close periphery area to the central areas of the industrious revolution and the associated development. It does differ quite a bit from other European nations as it was traditionally very trade oriented. Throughout the early modern era Norway was dependent on grain imports. These Imports were financed by a series of established export sectors notably fish, timber and raw metals, which featured prominently in regional economic production. These sectors also engaged large portions of the rural population¹⁴. This diversity of income alongside agricultural was of varying importance, leading to different degrees of production towards a market.¹⁵ making it impossible to generalize the market integration of Norwegian farmers.

The diversity of income that most Norwegian farmers had provided them with both subsistence and purchasing power in somewhat differing quantities. Participation in these export trades did however severely constrict the amount of free manpower available for Proto-industrial production. The export trades and the provision of supplies to the export trade are too different to be considered proto industry. The export trades consisted of raw and half-finished materials rather than manufactures while the trade in supplies for the export “industries” was oriented towards domestic consumption and lacked the merchant intermediary in most cases.¹⁶

Within this frame Proto industry was limited if not insignificant in Norway¹⁷ with some exceptions in certain regions like inland Hedmark and Toten¹⁸.

While Norwegian farmers were participating heavily in the export trades, regional trade took hold more slowly. Research done by Ragnhild Hutchison investigated the structural changes made at the end of the early modern period. While Norway did not exhibit signs of rapid economic growth like that occurring in England, it did show signs of market integration that enabled later industrialization.¹⁹ Signs of a consumer revolution are not present but there is a proliferation of both durable and colonial

¹⁰ Ogilvie (1996:60)

¹¹ Ibid:65

¹² Ibid:64

¹³ Mccants (2007: 438)

¹⁴ Hovland E, Nordwik H. W. & Tveite S. 1982 p.46f

¹⁵ Lunden K. 1996 :235

¹⁶ Tveite S. & Co p.53f

¹⁷ Tveite S. og co p.55f

¹⁸ Tranberg A:(2007:..205)

¹⁹ Hutchison (2012:219)

goods within a limited scope.²⁰ A fair amount of infrastructure was also created during this period to facilitate internal trade on regional and local levels. These include expansions of roads²¹, guest houses and the gradual opening of rural trade.²² Changes like this opened the trade between cities and the countryside. It thus contributed to integrate rural peasants into the market.²³ A new-born commercial press in the form of weekly printed papers contributed to this integration as it increased the flow of information on goods and prices within local and regional scopes.²⁴

1.3 Thesis

The primary scope for this analysis is to look for further evidence of internal and regional market development in Early modern Norway. With the newspapers as sources, the increased prominence of marketing found in newspapers and by extension sale of fresh and domestic goods, may indicate market development. A parallel aim for the analysis is to establish what role these papers had in regional and urban trade and thus explore their limitations as sources. In order to determine the significance of each paper it will be necessary to monitor the amount and the kinds of goods advertised in the paper. Products with low value, small scale transactions or other barriers to effective marketing are useful here, as they can give some insight into what role the paper plays in the overall market.

2.0 Methodology

2.1 The Potential of Newspapers

Newspapers could provide significant insight into production and consumption patterns in early modern times. While it does not give explicit insight into the consumption patterns of households, it can give us an indication of what goods were traded between people. If a consumption revolution began to take place in these cities, it would follow that more rural producers would become active salesmen and consumers of goods in the market. These vendors and their goods might eventually end up advertising given that they have the means to do so. By monitoring for adverts of the kind of goods that rural producers would likely sell, newspapers can potentially give us an indication on whether such producers became more active in the market.

Limitations to this approach are naturally plentiful. Vendors advertising in the newspaper are likely to inhabit the same wealth bias that other written sources of the period do. It is likely that new entrants into the market might lack the means to advertise their goods and thus fall outside the source material. I hope to account for that bias by also focusing on goods that are more likely to be sold by people of more modest means. Such control is limited however given the general diversity of income that Norwegian producers have in this period. Overall the barriers to entry in terms of advertising fees also make it clear that the papers largely monitor the upper section of market vendors. It is however possible that these barriers are lowered through the samples and this will also be subject to analysis.

2.2 Sources - Early Norwegian Newspapers

The first recurring Norwegian newspaper was *Norske Intelligens seddeler* which began weekly circulation in 1763. It was published by printer S.C. Schwach and threaded a fine line since it could not include political content.²⁵ *Bergens Adressecontours efterretninger* began circulation in 1768 by Ole Brose which later became police chief in Bergen.²⁶

²⁰ Hutchison (2012:181f)

²¹ *ibid*:72f

²² *ibid* 80

²³ *ibid* 97

²⁴ *ibid* 95f

²⁵ *Norske Intelligens-Seddeler*. (2012, 31. mai). I *Store norske leksikon*. Hentet 25. mars 2020 fra https://snl.no/Norske_Intelligens-Seddeler

²⁶ *Bergens Adresse-contours Efterretninger*. (2019, 7. august). I *Store norske leksikon*. Hentet 25. mars 2020 fra https://snl.no/Bergens_Adresse-contours_Efterretninger

It largely had the same limitations as the Norske Intelligenz seddeler. Both kept up weekly circulation throughout the period 1768-1800 with the exception of the BAE in 1779. *Norske Intelligenz seddeler* was in circulation in southern and Eastern Norway, while *Bergens Adressecontours Efterretninger* covered Western and to some extent Northern Norway. For brevity's sake, the papers will be named by their abbreviations NIS (Norske Intelligenz seddeler) and BAE (Bergens Adresse Contours Efterretninger) for the rest of the paper.

2.3 Limitations of the sampling data

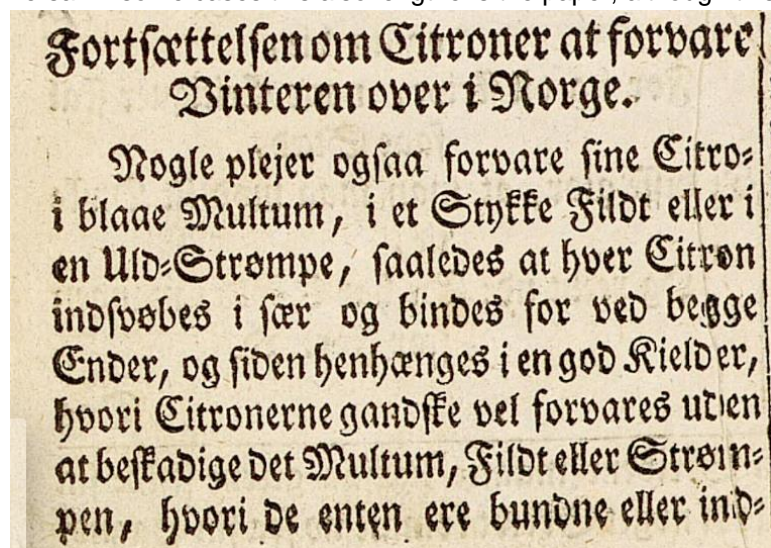
The quantity of data available through these newspapers is huge, since they both papers have weekly publications from 1768 to at least 1799. The amount of advertising in each paper varies considerably and increases generally in the later samples. In 1768 a paper can have anywhere from half a page to two pages of advertising whereas papers in 99 have at least three and up to five pages of advertising. Given the sheer amount of data available it is necessary to limit the data to samples. The analysis will therefore be based on a sample from each paper roughly every five years from 1768 to 1799. The BAE has also one less sample because the papers from 1779 were either not published that year or these papers were simply not available at the national library. The cumulative amount of data still consists of 7 samples from the NIS and 6 from the BAE totalling roughly 250 papers, which should be more than adequate for an analysis of this scale.

The BAE sample for 1768 and the NIS Sample 1763 have been excluded for the quantitative part of the data. This is because the papers were by then new in circulation and contained very few adverts relevant for the analysis. Both are however used in qualitative examples.

Each sample will cover the months of May to September, which will hopefully cover seasonal goods such as fresh produce and livestock products.²⁷ The data will be categorized thematically and will focus primarily on agricultural products, although separate sections will cover textiles, colonial and durable goods as well.

2.4 Newspaper structure and contents

The papers are for the purposes of the analysis divided into four parts. Each paper always begins with some non-commercial content, usually official information and in some cases travelling letters. What always appears in this section is information regarding debt and inheritance settlements. This part can be anywhere from a single page to half the paper in length and greatly determines the amount of adverts in the paper. The longer the official parts, the less adverts are present in the paper and vice versa. In some cases this also lengthens the paper, although this generally occurs in the NIS.



²⁷ Hutchison R. 2012: p.73

(Non-commercial content was not always official: here we have an article on different ways to store lemons during the winter.)²⁸

Official content is usually followed by auction which are a prominent part of both papers. Auctions largely concern farms, land and the household items, although they can also include animals, ships and company shares. While this section largely falls outside the scope of the current analysis, the household items auctioned could enhance our understanding on household wealth in this period. In the case of this analysis, only auctions of animals are considered relevant and will be included when we look at trade in fresh meat and livestock. This is to give a complete view of the trade in livestock. Some rare cases of auctions containing grain and fish have also been included into the quantitative analysis.

The third part of the paper is where one finds the regular adverts which are the meat and potatoes of this analysis. Here one finds adverts both of goods for sale and requests to buy goods. I have clustered both these kinds of adverts into the same category of data since requests to buy goods are rare and largely cover very specific goods that are not categorized. Generally, promotions can be divided into those who advertise only a couple of goods and those who include large inventories. The final part of the paper consists of adverts that cover services, lost and found and miscellaneous content. In the final two(three?) samples of the NIS, one can also find an overview of grain prices. These price overviews have been included when we look at grains and services are briefly mentioned in other goods.



(A lost and found note of a missing black and white cow. it is common for these promotions to offer a bounty, like this one does.)²⁹

The size of the papers needs to be mentioned as it has a significant impact on the amount of advertising. Both papers start circulation with a standard length of 4 pages and have increased to about 8 pages by the 1799 sample. The papers do however not increase in size at the same time which has some implications when comparing the them. The NIS increases to 6 and then 8 pages by around the 1784 sample, although the paper varies somewhat in size through all the samples, to a maximum length of 12 pages. The BAE by contrast maintains a size of 4 pages for most of the samples and only increases its regular size to 6 pages by the final sample of 1799. NIS has by virtue of this more advertisement space than the BAE in all samples. Both papers also tend to have similar amounts of official content, which contributes to less advertisement space in the BAE.

2.5 Processing the data

2.5.1 Collection of data

Before going over the newspaper data, it is necessary to go over data collection and categorization. The gathering of data is quantified by measuring the frequency of the advertisements in their respective categories. Many of the advertisements will have goods in several categories and will

²⁸ NIS 01.06 1763 p.2

<https://www.nb.no/items/61fb2992eb09075afbb50891b52380d7?page=1&searchText=>

²⁹ NIS 14.07 1779 p.7

<https://www.nb.no/items/ecf1d5b4182fcd552278cc275c68e603?page=5&searchText=>

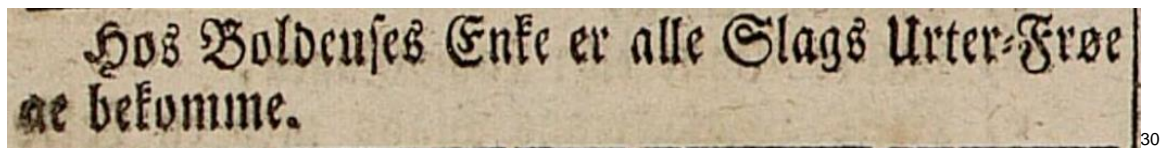
thereby in both categories. If an advertisement contains several goods that are in the same category, they will not count as more than one in this category. This is because advertisements containing certain kinds of goods, notably grains and luxury goods usually mention several goods in the same category, up to a dozen in the largest cases. This would skew the sampling away from the supply and the demand of the commodities in question. So overall, the data is quantified to measure the number of advertised vendors of a given category of goods, rather than the array of goods that each vendor provides. The goal is to rather describe this diversity in qualitative examples and by dividing the goods into meaningful categories.

2.5.2 The Categorization of data

The data will be divided into thematic categories. These will be grains, meats, dairy, produce, colonial goods, alcohol, luxuries and durable goods. The advertisements have been categorized in this way to make comparisons between different goods within the same category possible. Another factor taken into account will be whether a product is seasonal, basic or a luxury good. Seasonal products have a limited shelf life and/or a seasonal variability. These goods are generally more likely to be domestically produced and fresh goods generally can suggest a more developed market. Luxury goods are goods whose marketing is intended for the upper classes, while basic goods can likely be afforded by more people. This distinction is useful because it allows us to look at what kind of audience the paper is expected to have by the ratio of luxuries compared to basic goods. These distinction will be made explicit for goods in each category.

2.6 The diversity and development of advertising in the papers

Advertisements of goods in both papers can be roughly divided into vendors that advertise a single product or category of products and vendors who advertise parts or all of their inventory at once. Inventory promotions generally cover a greater array of goods by category.



(Promotion A - Translation: at Boldeufes widow, all kinds of herbs seeds are for sale)

Advertisements like the one above tends to be vendors that seem less established given their limited array of products. In this case the vendor is a widow which sells herb seeds which does not necessarily mean she is less established but suggests modest means. Advertisements such as these tend to sell goods that are not luxuries, but rather seasonal and basic goods. These kinds of vendors also usually sell goods out of their residences and not a store, as can be implied here with the omission of a store in the description.

By contrast the advertisement below show the inventory of what we can assume to be an established merchant. The list of goods on display covers basics like grains, butter and salt in addition to luxuries like French sugars and wine. Inventory advertisements like this are considerably larger and hence more expensive than singular product advertisements.

³⁰ NIS 05.01 1774 p.4

<https://www.nb.no/items/35235288759fdb63630c66279543f84a?page=3&searchText=>

Alle Slags Korn, Vahrer, Bryn, Weter,
 Bonner, Spansk Salt, Risengryn i Partier,
 Smør i Qvartere ongefær 1 Rdlr. Bismerpuud,
 Dansk Korubrændevin, Fransk Dito, samt Franske
 Wiine, Franske tørre Confect-Sukkere, Boutellie-
 Korfer, Engelsk beste Sort Hvedemeel, Papioca
 Bryn, med meere, kand faaes for billige Priser
 hos Peder Kiørboe.

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(Promotion B - Translation: At Peder Kiørboe the following is for sale at cheap prices: all kinds of grain goods, whole grains, peas, beans, spanish salt, rice, butter, danish and french spirits, french wine and sugars, bottle caps, English wheat flour, tapioca grains and more.)

Although these two types of advertisement are representative of the majority of most advertisements, especially in the earlier samples, some vendors fall in between these extremes. These vendors advertise up to half a dozen items of different categories. Importers of goods are noticeable here as they will sell export of a given region or country. Such an importer generally sells Danish, German, English, Dutch or French goods or a combination of two. This can be seen in the example below. The vendor is a captain of a vessel unloading English and French goods. These vendors are well established but less likely to be recurring vendors over time like the other two types. The size of the advertisement is also larger than a singular ad, but not to the extent of an inventory ad.

Hos Skipper Thomas Roede er at bekomme
 allerbeste Engelsk Hlors Hvedemeel i Qvartere;
 beste Engelsk Humle; friske Franske Confec-
 turer, saavel tørre som vaade; alt til billige
 Priiser.

(Promotion C - Translation: At captain Thomas Roede the following is for sale: Good English wheat flour and Hops; fresh and dry French confections at cheap prices.)³²

Importers are not the only vendors that fit this type, but they are very visible within those advertisements. Generally speaking these advertisements over time seem to become more common. The assumption that vendors only sell some goods combined like grains or luxuries or iron goods do not seem to hold very well. The smaller advertisements in particular can contain products that combined seem out of place.

(advert on English wheat, cheese and ships rope)

Some advertisements are also different in that they include other aspects than just the sale of goods. These advertisements can include a rental of rooms or even job offerings in addition to the sale of

³¹ NIS 05.01 1774: p4

<https://www.nb.no/items/35235288759fdb63630c66279543f84a?page=3&searchText=>

³² NIS 8.07.1768 p.7

<https://www.nb.no/items/d1f998f324a2209458ca5b85c2fd74e4?page=5&searchText=>

goods.

A historical advertisement in Old Norse script. The text reads: "Modue Meloner, Spansk Peber, Ambrod, Skarlotlog, Norsk Peberroed og Moreller i Pundes viis er til Riobs for billig Priis hos Urtergaardsmænd Horn. NB. Hos ham er og 1 Sahl, 2 Kammere med videre, strax at faae til Leje."

(promotion D - The upper part of the promotion is for produce, while the lower outlined rooms that the vendor also leases out)³³

whether advertisement recur in papers over time is an additional factor. It is difficult to describe these trends overall, but the impression from the papers is that advertisements can rather regularly appear through a sample, but very rarely through several samples. Especially in the last sample for the BAE and the NIS there is a significant amount of adverts that occur throughout much or all of the sample. Overall I've found one advert across samples in the NIS from 1774 to 1794:

A historical advertisement in Old Norse script. The text reads: "Af mig Jacob Borg fabriqveres og forfærdiges adskillige Sorter got fint rødt og sort Lak, som er hos mig at bekomme for billige Priiser."

(Promotion D - translation: Jacob Borg makes and sells red and black laquer at cheap prices)³⁴

A historical advertisement in Old Norse script. The text reads: "Af mig Jacob Borg fabriqveres og forfærdiges adskillige Sorter got fint rødt og sort Lak, som hos mig er at bekomme for billige Priiser. Eigesaa god Islandsk Rapee og Pergamot Rapee for 1 Mk." The number "96" is written at the bottom left of the text.

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(Promotion E - this is the same vendor ad in 1794, where he also sells two kinds of rapee)³⁶

Adverts concerning the sale and rental of property as well as job postings are also generally more recurrent than those regarding the sale of goods that this paper focuses on. This is natural due to the amount of potential revenue these adverts can make given the size of the transaction.

³³ NIS 20.07 1774 p.3

<https://www.nb.no/items/9831022a604c85e14f21a141a161c1a7?page=1&searchText=>

³⁴ NIS 25.06 1774 p.4

<https://www.nb.no/items/daf72ba259041a4c07a8fcfb69feaa97?page=3&searchText=>

³⁵ NIS 02.07 1799 p.4

<https://www.nb.no/items/cb2c7f2770e20b9d1b761084c350a8f5?page=7&searchText=>

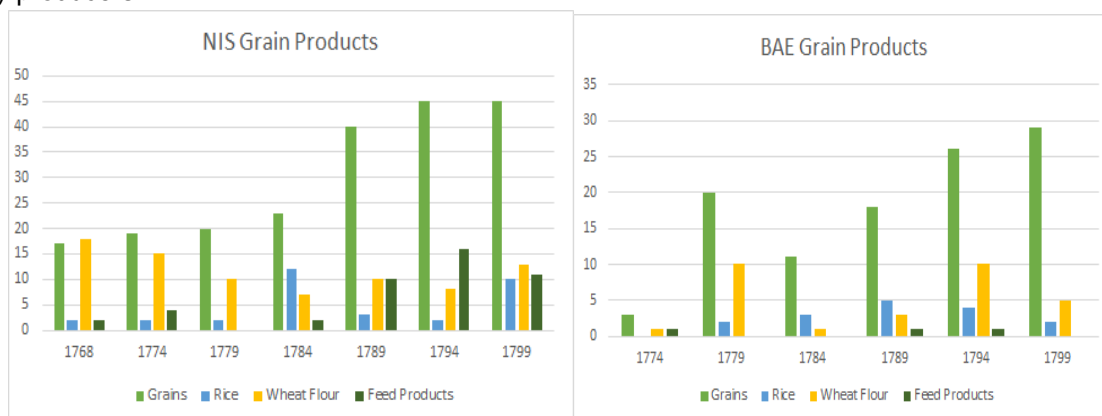
³⁶ NIS 04.06 1794 p.11

<https://www.nb.no/items/45369221118f169b92624c4d84279826?page=9&searchText=>

3.0 Findings

3.1 Grain Products

Grains are a huge staple in the advertisements of both the NIS and the BAE. It is telling that in the sample of the BAE from 1768, there were very few actual advertisements but each issue had noted several incoming ships loaded with grain.³⁷ Grains are historically the main import for the country as it generally has an insufficient domestic grain supply.³⁸ It is thereby useful to distinguish between cheap import grains like oats, rye, barley, malt and peas on one hand and the luxury grains such as wheat flour and rice. Wheat is normally advertised along with luxury and colonial goods, suggesting it was largely sold by as a more expensive product.³⁹ Rice on the other hand, has been distinguished because of its usual explicitly noted origin as “Carolina rice grains”. Its colonial origin makes it likely more expensive than the other grains. There were whole array of other whole grains (Gryn) with similar origin but have been categorized as cheap grains due to the lack of explicit colonial origins. As such, rice and colonial grains might be somewhat less represented than in reality. There is a distinction to be made for feed products, which are goods used as fodder or manure instead of human consumption. This is because these adverts necessarily include high bulk and low value items which are hard to transport and difficult to profit from. Feed products might also indicate an increased sale of goods between rural producers. It is an article of goods which can be assumed to be sold by less wealthy producers.



(Figures 3.1 and 3.2 The graphs show the amount of advertisements covering goods in each given category for every sample. In this case grains products in the NIS and BAE respectively. Later graphs use the exact same structure.)

The amount of advertising for grain products as a whole increased markedly through the examined period. This growth is largely accounted for by the substantial increase in cheap grains. These advertisements do not necessarily represent an overall increase in the amount of grains sold, but rather the amount of grain vendors advertising their goods. Bergen in particular has a strong trade in cheaper grains as opposed to wheat and rice. The fact that these kinds of goods were advertised more can partly be attributed to increasing size of the papers in general and thus the lower barrier cost to advertising.

³⁷ BAE 13.06 1768 p.3f

<https://www.nb.no/items/802b3f6b3b40aa00e6438fba99f5020f?page=1&searchText=>

³⁸ Hovland et al. (1982:46)

³⁹ NIS 16.06 1784 p.4

<https://www.nb.no/items/08af3dacbc4cec29eb02d1f9af9fb2c6?page=3&searchText=>

The more expensive grains have more modest growth in general. Wheat was heavily advertised in the NIS from the very beginning of the period but appears to at least stagnate if not decline in the later samples. The BAE shows some increase in the expensive grains in general, but these do not form a general trend. The same can be seen in the adverts of rice in the NIS.

The case of feed products is interesting. The NIS show signs of a significant growth in adverts for feed products, possibly indicating a greater degree of sale of high bulk farm goods potentially not only between the city and its hinterland, but between rural producers in the region. This is not the case for BAE at all where feed products are barely present at all through the samples. It does however correlate well with the different hinterlands that each town possesses. Bergen has a relatively unproductive hinterland in the case of farm products given the rough mountainous terrain. By contrast, Christiania has access to more productive farmland in Eastern and Southern Norway.⁴⁰

3.1.1 Grain Prices

A peculiar promotion concerning grains appear in the last three samples of the NIS. The promotion occurs at the very end of each issue and details the price of different grains. In some cases the promotion specifies a vendor, but in most it does not. This is an interesting recurrent advertisement as it provides regular and reliable price information about grains. It also shows the fundamental importance of grains as the main tradeable food staple. A regular promotion like this could have set some sort of standard price or price ceiling for these goods. It is among the few ordinary promotions which explicitly outline the price of goods rather than just their availability.

Korn: Priiserne:		Kornpriserne:	
Dansk Hvede	5 Rd. pr. Tonde	Dansk Hvede	5 Rd. à 6 Rd. 1 Mf. pr. Tonde.
Rug	3½ à 4 Rd. — Do.	Rug	4 Rd. 1 Mf. — Do.
Dyg	3 Rd. — Do.	Malt	2 Rd. 3 Mf. — Do.
Malt	3½ Rd. — Do.	Dyg	2 Rd. 3 Mf. — Do.
Øvre	1½ til 2 Rd. — Do.	Øvre	2 Rd. 1 Mf. — Do.
Christiania den 3. Junii 1789.		B. S. Kloed Møglar.	

(Promotions F and G - Transcription: Grain prices Danish wheat, rye, barley, malt and oats with prices per barrel outlined on the right)^{41,42}

3.2 Meat, Fish and Livestock

Meats and fish are general consumption goods that are heavily promoted in both papers. It seemed useful to combine these into the same category as they fill the same consumption role. Fish and meats are roughly equally advertised in the papers, with the BAE slightly favor of fish, which is to be expected as Bergen is the center of the fish export trade at this time.⁴³ Beyond that the goods differ in the information available in the advertisements concerning them. Meat is generally not advertised with an explicit origin, although it can be deduced in some cases like in Importers promotion where all the other goods have a specific origin. This suggests that meat was a more general trade product, whose origin could range considerably and is not particularly relevant. Certain kinds of fish do however clearly state their origin, specifically Flounder from Sunnmøre⁴⁴ and Herring from Trondheim⁴⁵. Other

⁴⁰ Hutchison (2012:68f)

⁴¹ NIS 03.06 1789 p.8

<https://www.nb.no/items/3e65167336e05150cb36c7ab13320b5b?page=0&searchText=>

⁴² NIS 09.07. 1794 p.8

<https://www.nb.no/items/11a1c01acb8b1b6335c95790b456893a?page=0&searchText=>

⁴³ Moseng O.G. (2015) p.273

⁴⁴ BAE 11.07 1789 p.3

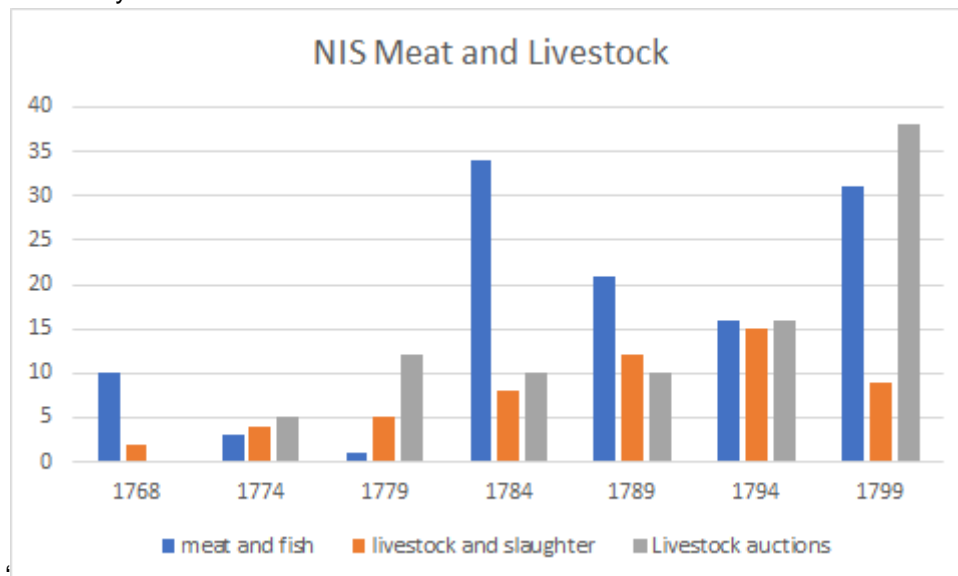
<https://www.nb.no/items/3f8d6da585e3d3d01f4d782d7c23a9d6?page=1&searchText=>

⁴⁵ NIS 18.06 1794 p.5

<https://www.nb.no/items/318aa040088f4ee4674fc4a056ad8f4d?page=3&searchText=>

types of fish like the staple export cod⁴⁶ was advertised in a general fashion like meats. Overall these goods became more promoted as the papers expanded in length.

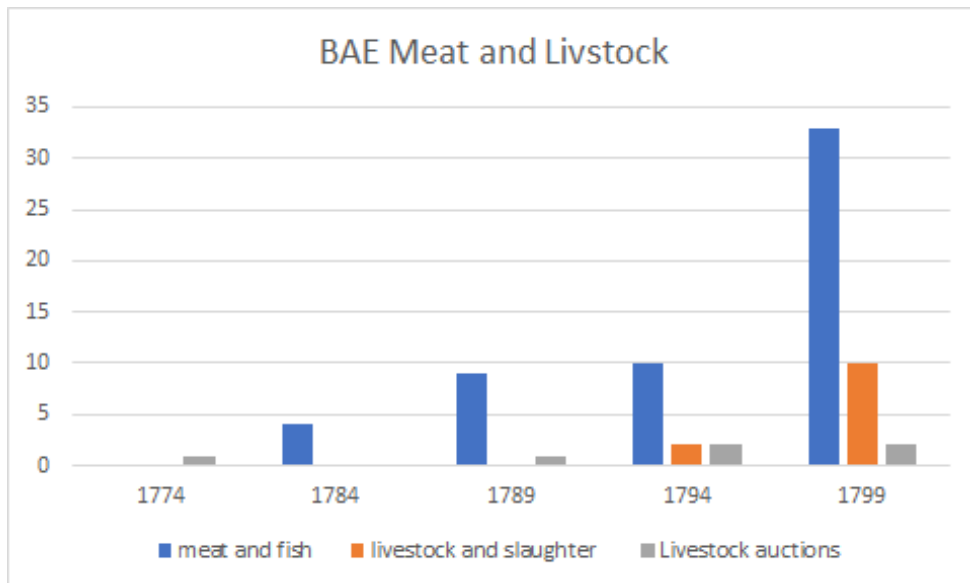
The meats and fish discussed above are of course processed in one way or another to extend their shelf life. No promotions of fresh fish or meat was found in the samples, which makes sense given the short shelf life of these goods. The logistical barriers for not only selling such perishable goods, but also advertising them in meaningful manner seem to be very high. The papers do however include many promotions of the sale of livestock which can be connected to the consumption of fresh meat. Fresh meat in this period does quite explicitly mean the very recent slaughter of livestock. The trade of livestock can thereby provide some insight into the trade and consumption of meats. Promotions of livestock in the papers have to be divided between livestock sold at auction and those for “regular” sale. Auctioned livestock are usually sold alongside real estate and other personal effects. Their sale may not have the same implication towards consumption as the regular sale of livestock. Auctioned livestock are more of an accessory to the auction of real estate in most cases and can thus provide high numbers overall if not differentiated from regular sale. The amounts of regular livestock sales is rare in both papers in earlier samples but rise in the later ones roughly in tandem with the paper size expansion. Livestock auctions on the other hand show a great increase in the NIS but not in the BAE. This is despite both papers devoting roughly the same amount of pages to auctions. The difference can be explained by the fact most BAE auctions concern houses in the city while auctions in the NIS are mostly farms.



(Figures 3.3 Quantitative data for advertising of Meat and livestock in the NIS)

⁴⁶ BAE 12.09 1789 p.3

<https://www.nb.no/items/35e81a6d6200c0e3955192761b155747?page=1&searchText=>



(Figures 3.4 Figures for advertising of meat and livestock in the BAE)

3.2.1 Autumn pasture promotions

Concerning the sale of meat there is one particular kind of advertisement that stands out. These are advertisements for “Høsthavn” which roughly translates to providing pastures for animals in autumn. A few of these advertisements explicitly include the slaughter of these animals, while most do not. Several signs do however suggest that these services play a role in this trade regardless. Livestock was largely sold and slaughtered in late summer and early autumn when the animals were fat from the summer pasture. At that time, they could be herded to market.⁴⁷ These promotion occur largely in August and September which fits well with this trend. The advertisements largely use the terms “slagt”(slaughter) for the cattle, meaning animals raised for meat production, which further suggest the intended end goal of the cattle. In the case of the first advertisement, the note of proximity to Christiania also suggest that the services cater to those wanting to sell their livestock in town. Because of these implications these advertisements have been included into the sale of livestock, despite slaughter being explicitly mentioned in only some of the promotions. The amount of signals do however vary widely, as can be seen in promotions (H) and (I). (H) shows all the signs outlined earlier, but in (I) the case for implying sale and slaughter is considerably weaker. If the weaker cases were to be categorized differently, they should be considered feed products instead of the “livestock and slaughter” category. Since these promotions occur in the NIS mainly in the same samples which already have high numbers of feed products, these numbers would be even greater.

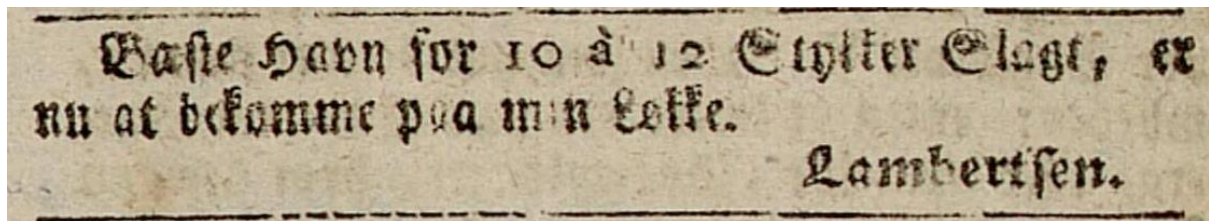


(Promotion H - Transcription: Pasture for meat and dairy cattle as well as Slaughter is available near Christiania at the Farm Hougen. New Argus on 8th september 1789 - Kirksteen.)⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Hutchison (2012:73)

⁴⁸ NIS 09.09 1789 p.7

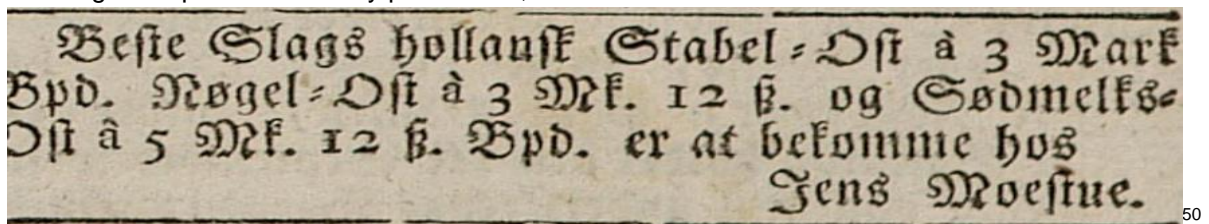
<https://www.nb.no/items/5869348988fe62a1c094c5f5ea2c0a25?page=3&searchText=>



(Promotion I - Transcription: The beast pasture for ten to twelve cattle (meat cattle) can be acquired my fields - Lambertsen)⁴⁹

3.3 Dairy

Dairy goods are for our purposes divided into three main products; cheese, butter and milk. They each have a different shelf lives, cheese can last for up to year, butter can last a couple of month and milk a few days. This difference necessitates different conditions for trading in these commodities. Cheese is quite forgiving and can be traded quite extensively. It features rather heavily in both Dutch and English importers inventory promotions, with a host of varieties like in this advertisement:



(Promotion J - Paraphrase: Jens Mostue sells the best kinds of Dutch “stack” cheese, “key” cheese and sweetmilk cheese for sale)

Domestic cheese is more rarely advertised with explicit origins. Butter is traded fairly extensively and advertised by the same importers of dutch and English goods. Some notices do however make clear the time of the butters production like a advert for “Dutch May month butter” in 1768⁵¹. Both cheese and butter are not always advertised with their origins explicitly stated although this seems to be the case for Dutch, English and domestic butter. Noted origins for domestic cheese is “Nordlands ost”⁵² and simply Norwegian cheese while the origins of butter seem to be more regional. The labels for domestic butter was “Døhle smør”⁵³ and “opplands smør”⁵⁴ in the NIS which are inland regions, while in the BAE there was “Vossefør smør”⁵⁵ which is a mountainous area close to Bergen. The production of these goods in inland mountainous regions makes sense since keeping livestock was more practical in areas with unproductive soil.⁵⁶

For comparison's sake, the analysis counts all non-specified goods as imported. This is because domestic production is more relevant to the analysis and to avoid falsely high numbers in that category. Overall there seems to be a surge of local butter and cheese in the NIS in 1784 and 1789

⁴⁹ NIS 24.09 1794 p.7

<https://www.nb.no/items/8406f4c739065d8bea97a96420426e8be?page=0&searchText=>

⁵⁰ NIS 16.06 1784 p.4

<https://www.nb.no/items/08af3dacbc4cec29eb02d1f9af9fb2c6?page=3&searchText=>

⁵¹ NIS 20.07 1768 p.2

<https://www.nb.no/items/fa2a3a7c68d9f4754fb0e42bd4fa329a?page=1&searchText=>

⁵² BAE 01.06 1799 p.5

<https://www.nb.no/items/6bf8a0ee05d4a89365923dfb42e85c23?page=3&searchText=>

⁵³ NIS 09.06 1784 p.2

<https://www.nb.no/items/79c615eae6cc8112589b87b68dd9434f?page=1&searchText=>

⁵⁴ NIS 1789 03.06 p.4

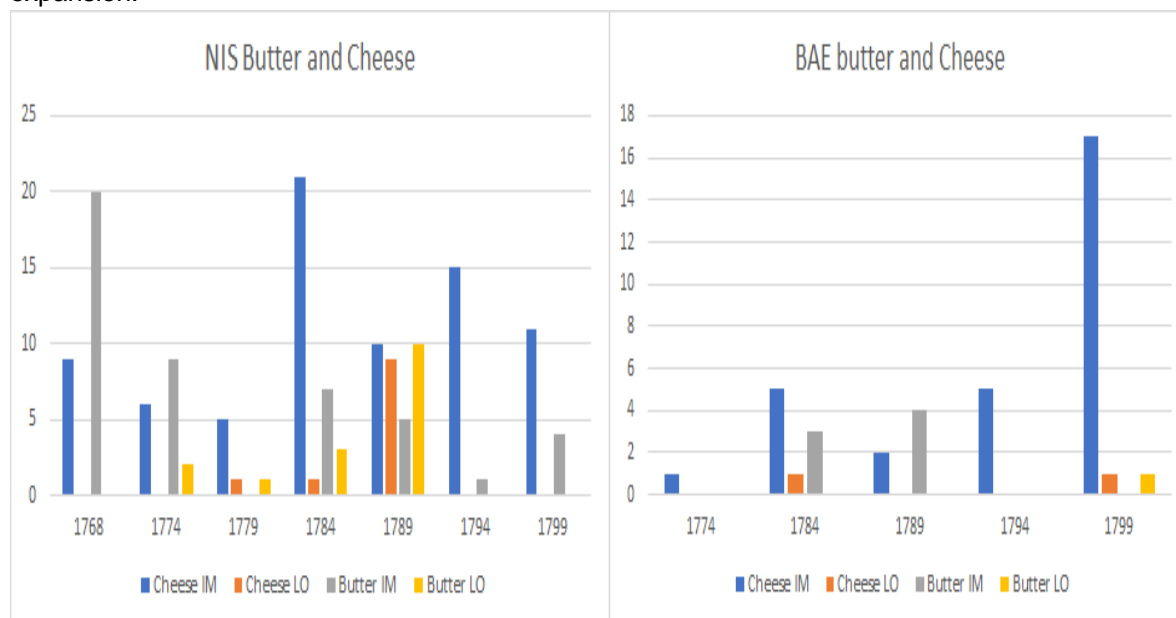
<https://www.nb.no/items/3e65167336e05150cb36c7ab13320b5b?page=3&searchText=>

⁵⁵ BAE 14.09 1799 p.4

<https://www.nb.no/items/fa2a3a7c68d9f4754fb0e42bd4fa329a?page=1&searchText=>

⁵⁶ (Hutchison 2012:69)

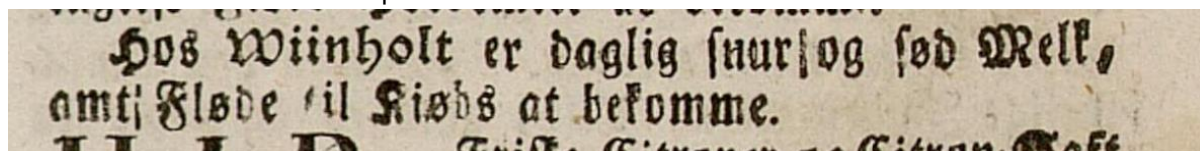
samples before these local goods are no longer advertised in the final two samples. Interestingly, the rise of domestic goods from 84 to 89 coincides with a drop of the imported varieties of those goods at the same time. This can suggest a temporary substitution of these imports by higher domestic production, or at least a considerable level of domestic production of these goods for sale. While the promotion of domestic cheese and butter seems to collapse in the final two samples, imported cheese and butter see no clear rise here either, meaning promotion of these goods seems to decline slightly. The BAE shows some promotion of imported butter and cheese, where cheese promotions takes off with the expansion of the papers size in 1799. Domestic cheese and butter are noted just three times in total two of which are in the last sample. This is likely due to the lowered cost of advertising by the expansion.



(Figures 3.5 and 3.6 Quantitative figures for Dairy promotions in the NIS and BAE respectively)

3.3.1 Milk and Dairy Livestock

Unlike the cheese and butter, Milk has a far too short shelf life to be traded over any significant distances. As such the sale of milk is very local affair where a vendor has to advertise not only where he/she will sell the milk but *when*, in order to avoid risking the product spoiling. These advertisements in the latest samples of the NIS they either specify that they sell it daily or on a specific day of the week. When attempting to monitor the sale of so fresh goods in an era before refrigeration however, it can be useful to include the sale of dairy livestock to supplement the data. While overall the promotion of milk and cream is limited to the two last samples of the NIS, Dairy livestock are also noted in the NIS sample for 1768⁵⁷ suggesting that there is a more general consumption and trade in fresh dairy products. No advertisements were however found in the BAE, although this is not surprising given its shorter size for most of the samples.



⁵⁸(Promotion K - Transcription: Wiinholt daily sells sour and sweet milk and cream)

⁵⁷NIS 17.08 1768 p.3

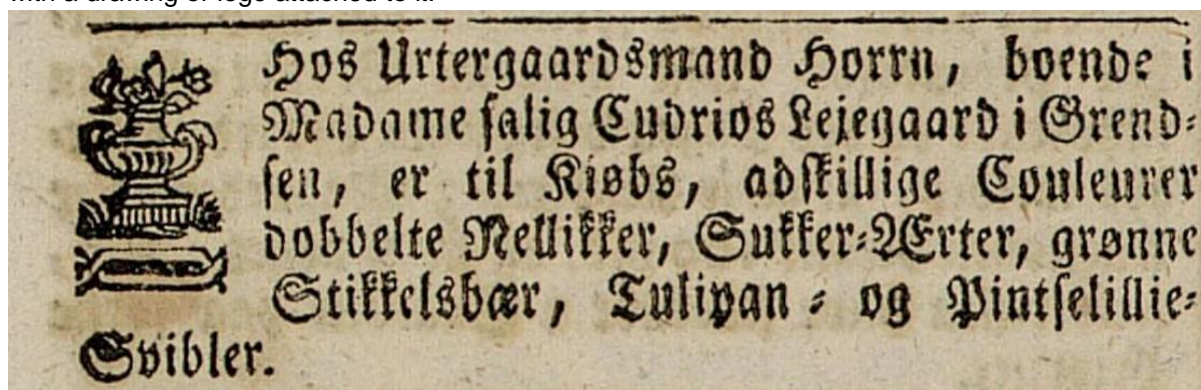
<https://www.nb.no/items/7531a11dfe5b4b22180d266aae6073ba?page=1&searchText=>

⁵⁸ NIS 12.06 1799 p.5

<https://www.nb.no/items/81e02b5fb3ffd35cec8d364590f51fb9?page=3&searchText=>

3.4 Produce

Produce is in this sense a catch all term for fruits and vegetables that are not grain. For our purposes produce needs to be divided further to be able to ascertain fresh and domestic produce accurately. I have assigned all processed fruits, nuts and similar goods into a category called confections. This category is comprised of obviously imported goods like dried figs and olives, although some conceivable domestic dried apples appear in later samples. These goods likely vary significantly in price within the category although most of the imports should be considered luxury goods. These goods are prominently advertised throughout the NIS and in the later half of the BAE samples. Confections are mostly comprised into inventory promotions, usually with a several confections advertised at once. Separating citrus into its own category was necessary as it is fresh commodity but also obviously imported. It should be noted that citrus juice have been categorized as confections as it is a way to preserve the product. Citrus is heavily advertised in the NIS but sparsely in the BAE. What produce remains can be reasonably assured to be mostly domestically produced fresh goods. Overall this produce was either fruit in the form of apples, cherries and cloudberries or vegetables and herbs like cabbages. The papers have different promotion patterns for produce, where BAE promotions start off prominent in the last three samples. In the NIS produce seems to maintain the same amount of promotions throughout the samples to some degree with 1779 and 94 representing small peaks. One of the reasons for the peak in 79 is a recurrent promotion for vegetables and herbs. This promotion was recurrent through most 79 and sometimes in 74, although the vendor at times sold only flowers and plants and not edible produce. The advertisement is the only one in the samples with a drawing or logo attached to it.



(Promotion L -Transcription: Gardner Hornn, living at Madame Cudrio's tenements sells the following: Carnations of different colors, snow peas, green gooseberries, tulips etc.)⁵⁹

3.5 Alcohol

Alcohol in this category covers all kinds of alcoholic beverages as well as hops which are used to brew beer. Like with other categories it is useful to separate alcohol considered luxuries and cheaper alcohol. That is a bit more difficult in this category than in others as what is affordable varies between wines, beers and spirits. The basic category will for this reason include only hops, beer and unadorned grain alcohol. These items can be deemed "essentials" due to their inclusion in a requisition of rations to the Garrison in Bergen. Their rations contain hard bread, butter, beer and grain alcohol.⁶⁰ Wines and other spirits are considered luxury goods, although some are considerably more expensive than others. Rum was also separated due to its colonial origin. Overall alcohol becomes more promoted over period. In the NIS luxury alcohols in particular wine is more advertised in the earlier samples while "basic" alcohol articles become more promoted later. In the BAE alcohol becomes advertised in the later samples with considerable quantities of both basic and luxury

⁵⁹ NIS 30.06 1779 p.4

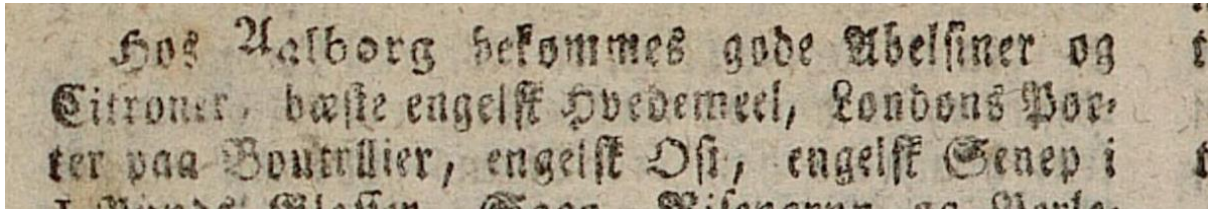
<https://www.nb.no/items/3ad66e2755b6c61aee817342d0d5edb2?page=3&searchText=>

⁶⁰ BAE 03.07 1784 p.2

<https://www.nb.no/items/abc15d27b476a05ed2ea955257ec9a13?page=1&searchText=>

alcohols. Colonial alcohol is a less promoted but growing feature in the NIS while the BAE has a single promotion of it in the final sample.

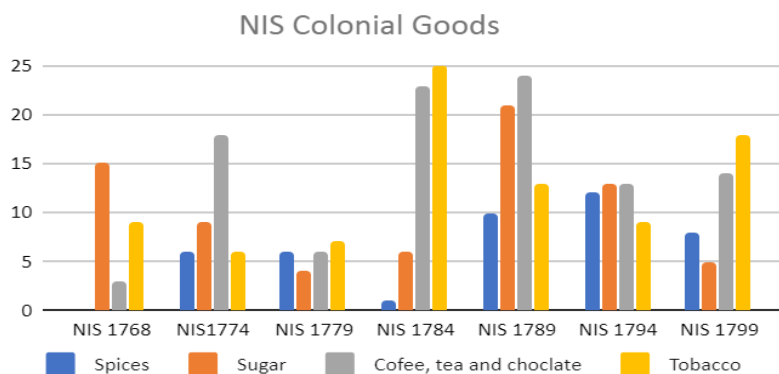
In the basic alcohols. Hops are the most advertised article in the samples overall, especially in the earlier samples. Grain alcohol and liquor is by contrast a rather minor feature throughout. Beer is sparse in the earlier samples but increases in the later samples with growing advertisement for “English porter” alongside other English goods like wheat flour and mustard.



⁶¹ (Promotion M - Paraphrase: At mr. Aalborgs the following is for sale: good oranges and lemons, English wheat flour, London's Porter in bottles, English cheese and Mustard. - The advertisement continues)

3.6 Colonial goods

The classic goods from the colonies in this period are spices, sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate and tobacco. These goods are all luxuries in the sense that they are non-essential but they became increasing normal in this period. With the exception of tobacco, these goods are luxuries whose consumption spread from the elites and downward into the lower economic strata's of society. Tobacco spread the other way from sailors originally and eventually became consumed by all classes. As for promotions, there is a general increase in tandem with paper size. Beyond spices, the only product of likely Asian origin, is considerably less advertised than the rest. Other such colonial goods china and soy were very sparse and have thus been excluded. Tea was also rather sparsely promoted with some explicit origins like Congo tea. As for origins generally they were included in the promotion of most colonial goods, although not completely consistently. With tobacco and coffee specifically, origins were sporadically included when the tobacco was from Virginia and the Coffee from Martinique. The origins were clearly a sign of quality in these cases. There are also visible differences between papers regarding these goods. The BAE has less promotions overall, which is to be expected but the composition of these promotions is very one sided. While the NIS has a lot of advertisements in any of these categories save spices, the BAE promotes tobacco more relative to other goods. Sugar is also very differently promoted, since it is barely present in the BAE. A possible explanation for more tobacco in the BAE are Bergen's greater role in maritime trade.⁶² As for the lack of sugar, the NIS overall have a higher amount of Danish goods than the BAE, of which sugar is a prominent commodity.⁶³



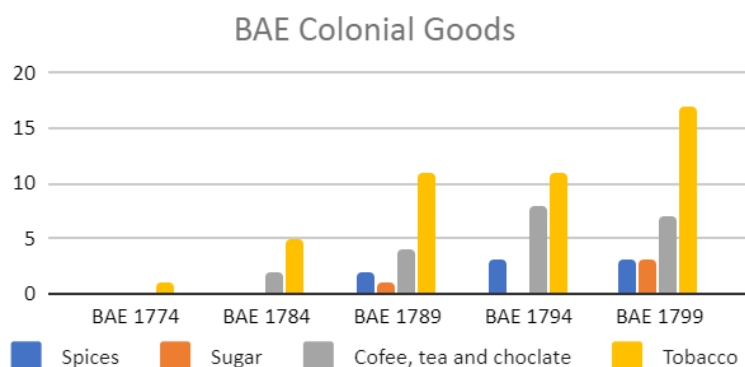
⁶¹ NIS 04.06 1794 p.8

<https://www.nb.no/items/45369221118f169b92624c4d84279826?page=7&searchText=>

⁶² Bull (2009:282f)

⁶³ Hutchison (2011:162f)

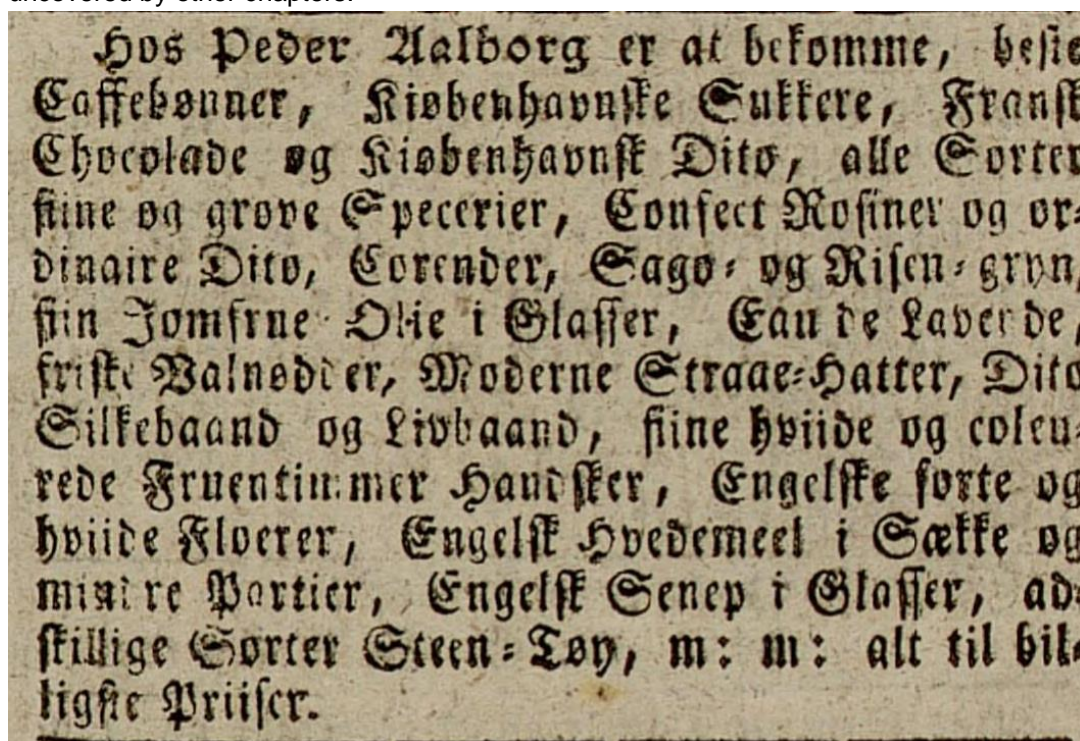
(figure 3.7 Quantitative amounts of advertising for colonial goods in NIS colonial goods.)



(Figure 3.8: Quantitative amounts of advertising for colonial goods in BAE colonial goods.)

3.7 Luxuries

Given the luxury goods covered in other chapters, the remaining luxuries are diverse. While some articles like textiles in silk and cotton are heavily advertised, the amount of variation within luxuries makes categorizing them difficult. Rather than attempting to create quantifiable data, the paper will instead look at one inventory promotion displaying an array of the common luxuries that has been left uncovered by other chapters.



(Promotion N - paraphrase: Peder Aalborg sell coffee beans, Danish sugar, French and Danish chocolate, spices, confections and ordinary raisins, currants, sago and rice grains, olive oil, perfume, walnuts, modern straw hats, silk bands, white and colored sewn gloves, English black and white textile flowers (?), wheat flour, Mustard and different kinds of ceramics.)

⁶⁴ NIS 02.09 1789 p.3

<https://www.nb.no/items/31fe7084b63e25e9374a00744be7a6c4?page=0&searchText=>

This promotion is rather typical and combines an array of goods from most categories covered so far. Besides colonial goods, confections and English imports, articles like silk textiles, perfume and olive oil are common in these sorts of inventories. There are some trends as to what luxuries are sold by the same vendor. Olive oil is usually sold alongside citrus and confections while luxury textiles and perfumes are sold by the same vendor. Some vendors like the one above, sell all kinds of these categories of goods. Advertisements in textiles also tend to be either raw textiles or gloves, stocking and hats, many of which seems to be domestically sewn.

3.8 Durable Goods

These goods were ones that could specifically offer equipment and products to professions and trades. These products would specifically be linen goods, building materials, timber and iron goods. Linen goods like sailcloth and fishing nets can be tied to shipping and fishing, as can certain iron goods. Additionally, linen goods are promoted significantly in both papers but far more in the BAE. Some of these advertisements are even for specific trades like catching cod:



(Promotion O – paraphrase: I sell the following; different kinds of lines and yarn, fishing nets for cod, raw linen from Riga and liquor – Jacob von Erpecom)⁶⁵

The NIS has a spike in Timber in 1784, but otherwise there are few promotions of it. Timber is a major export article making it difficult to ascertain local consumption. Iron goods are promoted sporadically, although there was too much diversity within the category for it to be useful quantitatively. Bricks were either roof tiles or regular bricks and a Dutch import which was sporadically advertised.

3.8.1 Services

At the end of each paper, there is a section where services are advertised. For our purposes, these services can be divided into work postings and offers of freight or transport. Job postings can be quite varied with both “applicants” and employers advertising. The jobs advertised are mostly for domestic servants and farm hands, although apprenticeships and otherwise education for children were advertised as well. By contrast, transport services are offers to freight goods and passengers to a given destination. These services are mostly supplemental to the main shipment of the advertiser to use all of the ship’s cargo capacity on the journey. These services were exclusively freight by sea in both papers. Both papers advertise the work postings quite heavily, while freight services are negligible in the NIS and heavily advertised in the BAE.

⁶⁵ BAE 03.08 1799 p.4

<https://www.nb.no/items/303a507127808a2a7ed4e0e7b0953b83?page=3&searchText=>

4.0 Analysis

4.1 Paper development

Before looking at the signs of market development, it is useful to look the development of the papers themselves as they provide us with potential limitations to the findings in these sources. Specifically, there is the issue of the paper's change in size and audience, both in the sense of readers and advertisers.

4.1.1 Barriers to advertising and Vendor Bias

As noted earlier the papers give us a sample of the actual transactions that occurred in these towns. This sample has a certain bias, as more established vendors would be more likely to have the means to advertise their goods while new entrants would not. Does this bias change over the course of the samples? It is difficult to determine that with proper certainty but there are some factors which might be useful in this regard.

Firstly, there is the expansion of both papers from 4⁶⁶ to 6 pages in the BAE⁶⁷ and from 4⁶⁸ to 8⁶⁹ pages in the NIS. Since official content generally did not increase as much as the paper did overall, advertisements had roughly doubled from the earliest to the latest sample. More advertisements could have lowered the cost of advertising since more room for such advertisement was available. But the papers could have expanded to accommodate an increased demand to advertise by the same more established and wealthy vendors. The relation between the size of the paper and the demand to advertise is thus likely complex in nature.

Another part to look at is what kinds of advertisement filled these extra pages in the papers. If inventory style advertisements were the bulk of these new promotions, then that would suggest that the papers largely still has the same bias towards upper class vendors. If smaller advertisements proliferated more than inventory ones, that would suggest that more vendors of modest means advertised in the papers. Overall there was a clear increase in the number of small and medium sized advertisements. Inventory advertisements did not noticeably increase in number but some of them clearly increased in size like the example promotion for luxuries. Combined this suggest that both vendors that already advertised and a fair amount of new vendors used the extra advertising capacity of the papers. Since more vendors advertised in the later samples these samples likely represent a broader amount of sales conducted in the cities than earlier ones.

4.1.2 Audience

Newspapers gained a steady readership through the 1700s in Denmark-Norway. Estimates suggest 5-10% of the adult Norwegian population read newspapers, up from around 1% in 1720. Readership additionally expanded beyond the towns and into rural areas.⁷⁰ In this regard both papers have quite an extensive reach. The BAE's official content regularly mention people in areas throughout Western

⁶⁶ BAE 13.06 1768 (4 pages)

<https://www.nb.no/items/802b3f6b3b40aa00e6438fba99f5020f?page=0&searchText=>

⁶⁷ BAE 1799 15.06 1799 (6 pages)

<https://www.nb.no/items/cdf50483e5c87d84cb859a2956a99af1?page=0&searchText=>

⁶⁸ NIS 01.06 1768 (4 pages)

<https://www.nb.no/items/40ba5c6a27c643a2e89ea97360dfb688?page=0&searchText=>

⁶⁹ NIS 01.07 1789 (8pages)

<https://www.nb.no/items/b8dbb2db49496782346544fe82870ddb?page=0&searchText=>

⁷⁰ Hutchison (2012:95)

and Northern Norway⁷¹ in the context of inheritance and similar issues. This suggests a readership spanning these areas although likely a sparse one as the vast majority of newspaper content is related to Bergen. The NIS has sales and auctions from as far north as Elverum⁷² and circulates as far south as Kristiansand⁷³, suggesting a readership covering most if not all of southern and eastern Norway. The NIS generally speaking also advertises more sales outside of Christiania, like in the hinterland or in nearby towns like Drammen.⁷⁴ The majority of sales is still oriented around Christiania but this suggests a more extensive readership outside of the town. Its coverage of the timber trade in the 1784 sample also suggests this as the trade is largely focused outside of town.

As for what kind of people read the paper, one can attempt to deduce that from the goods and services that the paper advertises. This deduction becomes based on the advertiser's knowledge of the newspaper's readers. If advertisers did not see their potential customers as readers of the paper they likely would not purchase it. The method is rather imperfect as it assumes that all sales are to the final consumer but beyond that it has clear merits. For our purposes the newspapers' potential audience can be divided into the wealthy, farmers, seamen and local consumers. The wealthy are the most advertised to, especially in the early samples. Luxury goods, auctions and the job postings for domestic servants all pander more or less towards this audience. As such the wealthy are a reliable and important audience of the papers throughout the samples. For farmers promotions of livestock, farmland, feed products and fresh goods as well as job postings for farm hands suggest this group's interaction with the paper as advertisers. As consumers there is little that exclusively panders to them other than feed products and Autumn pasture which suggest trade between rural producers themselves. Farmers also naturally consume all kinds of other goods that are advertised, but in these cases they are not the exclusive consumers. Based on these goods, farmers are a considerable and growing audience in the NIS, while it is a rather small one in the BAE.

In the case of seamen and fishermen there are promotions of linen goods like sailcloth and fishing nets that outline them as consumers. While fish sold can be attributed to fishermen as advertisers, this is unlikely given the extensive infrastructure around the fish trade. Promotions of fresh fish would have more significance in this sense but unfortunately no such promotion has been found in the samples. Both papers show a rise in these linen goods in the later samples, suggesting fishermen and sailors as readers of the paper in these samples. These readers will however be very skewed towards those of this group with not just enough means to buy the equipment, but also likely own their own vessels. The BAE has far more of these promotions than the NIS reasoning that it has a larger readership of this sort.

Local consumers are by contrast to the wealthy, farmers and seamen defined by their proximity to town, rather than their means or their occupation. As such it is not an exclusive group from the others, but rather a complementary one. The obvious way to gauge local consumers as readers and advertisers is to look the amount of fresh goods like produce, dairy and livestock. In this sense both papers have a significant and growing amount of fresh goods, although the NIS has more dairy goods.

Based on these promotions, the audience has expanded in both papers to include local consumers, rural producers and seamen. Unsurprisingly NIS has more content aligned towards farmers while BAE contains more content aligned towards seamen.

⁷¹ BAE 27.07 1789 p.1

<https://www.nb.no/items/e5b10b061adf1b70531bc8d949e2930e?page=0&searchText=>

⁷² NIS 01.10 1784 p.9

<https://www.nb.no/items/096e22314f6883c0d42efbe3a06f5326?page=0&searchText=>

⁷³ Hutchison (2012:96)

⁷⁴ NIS 23.06 1784 p.5

<https://www.nb.no/items/c6ea816dc6f5be3b6438b20cf6ff2e01?page=0&searchText=>

4.2 Signs of Regional market development

The advertisements relevant to investigating regional and local markets are largely fresh goods like meat, dairy and produce. Most of these are signals of regional trade in that the goods seem to be produced somewhere else than they are sold. Other goods must be understood as produced and consumed in a local fashion. The line between these two are somewhat blurry, so the analysis will first deal with the explicitly local goods, then the regional and then the goods which walk the line between. Finally, a view will be given on the occurrence of other potential goods of Domestic origin.

The goods that can tell us something about local markets tend to be recurrent promotions, which feature across months or even samples. The sale of fresh milk in the NIS is good place to start. It features a little in the 1794⁷⁵ sample and all through 1799⁷⁶. Its clear signal definitive market development but it does so in a strictly local sense. No one a couple of day's travel away is going to consume these products without it spoiling first. A similar case can be made for the "herb farm"⁷⁷ which sells fresh produce from a clear place very close to the local market. While both promotions do not signal regional, they are nevertheless significant signs of an increased consumption trend within Christiania. When such fresh and relatively mundane goods like cabbages and milk not only are sold regularly but profitable enough for their vendors to advertise them, it shows signs of strong reliable consumption of these goods. Most of the job postings and the like are also seemingly local in nature but there is rarely not enough information available to establish that firmly. Overall job posting services increase through the samples however.

Like with local goods it is difficult to determine the extent to which a product is traded. Regional trade is thereby difficult to establish through the types of goods advertised. The strongest evidence that the analysis has are the explicitly domestically produced goods in fish and dairy. The available information on some of these goods are also superior to others. Domestic butter is perhaps the best of these, since it is usually labelled with a region, and so that is where we begin. Domestic butter seems to be regionally produced within some proximity of the town where their sales are advertised. There are sporadic amounts of these promotions, with the 1789 sample in the NIS as a clear peak. Domestic cheese is labelled with more loose origins but follow the pattern of domestic butter roughly. Explicitly domestic fish products increase with the sample in both papers, although they might constitute different extents of trade. The flounder from Sunnmøre⁷⁸ in the BAE is clearly a case of regional trade, but the Herring from Trondheim⁷⁹ in the NIS might better be understood as interregional. The other unspecified fish products like cod which we can assume to be domestically produced are unspecified in their origins leaving us with too little information as to their trade. Trade in such fish products likely constitute a mix of regional and interregional trade.

With the rather fluid distinction between local and regional goods, a good array of goods fall in between these. Produce is a good case of this middle ground, since with the exception of the herb farm advertisement we cannot assume where they were produced beyond that it is domestic given the product's short shelf life. Similarly, the sale of livestock can both be instances of regional and local trade, although here one can assume a somewhat larger degree of regional trade. These increased in both papers alongside their expansion in length. Auctions in livestock have less of a tangible connection to regional, as their sale alongside the farm can result in very different transactions as

⁷⁵NIS 09.07 1794 p.3

<https://www.nb.no/items/11a1c01acb8b1b6335c95790b456893a?page=1&searchText=>

⁷⁶ NIS 12.06 1799 p.5

<https://www.nb.no/items/81e02b5fb3ffd35cec8d364590f51fb9?page=3&searchText=>

⁷⁷ NIS 30.06 1779 p.4

<https://www.nb.no/items/3ad66e2755b6c61aee817342d0d5edb2?page=3&searchText=>

⁷⁸ BAE 11.07 1789 p.3

<https://www.nb.no/items/3f8d6da585e3d3d01f4d782d7c23a9d6?page=1&searchText=>

⁷⁹NIS 18.06 1794 p.5

<https://www.nb.no/items/318aa040088f4ee4674fc4a056ad8f4d?page=3&searchText=>

noted earlier. The advertised autumn pasture⁸⁰ (Høsthavn) also fall in between this line. The slaughter of livestock could easily fall into an instance of regional trade, where rurally raised livestock become slaughtered at least close to market. The grazing element of these promotions do however have undertones that could be very local. Finally the posting of grain prices⁸¹ in the NIS can be local and/or regional depending on the size of the vendor and the effects of that advertisement on the regional trade in grain.

There are many other kinds of goods which might be the product of domestic, regional and local trade which are present in the samples. These do however suffer from being both not explicitly advertised with their origins and being generally too diverse to categorize in a meaningful fashion. Durable goods in general fall into this category, but specifically the rent and sale of ovens,⁸² wagons and riding gear⁸³ was present in many papers. A significant portion of finished textiles⁸⁴ could also be domestic, but the label used there (fruentimmer) is far too vague to say something explicitly about it. There are other domestically produced goods occurring sporadically, like grindstones from Trondheim⁸⁵. The point of including these goods now is to show that there are a fair amount of durable goods and traded extensively and to some degree advertised that take place in these towns and regionally. Unfortunately, the analysis' focus on fresh goods, goods with explicit origins and quantitative data have side-lined these products.

Although there is some uncertainty as to how certain goods are traded and to what extent, there are in total clear signs in favor of a growing internal market and consumption. This is clearly seen since most goods covered here become more advertised over the course of the samples. Different goods have become more prominent at different rates, with regional goods probably proliferating before local goods. Colonial goods in the NIS and Luxuries generally differ somewhat from this overall increase with great variation between the samples. For perspective these goods were promoted heavily in the early samples, unlike most other goods. In the BAE colonial goods do however become more advertised over time⁸⁶The increase in regular advertisements also seem to take up a big bulk of the increased advertising space in the papers. This overall suggest an increase in the actual sale of the goods relevant to this analysis in the samples, and not just an increase in their advertisement.

4.3 difference between the papers

A short overview of the differences between the papers are necessary to understand the analysis properly. It is clear that the NIS show a lot more signs of market development than the BAE. This is especially clear when looking at dairy and locally traded goods. Put plainly this means that the available data show a greater degree of internal market development in Christiania and Eastern Norway than in Bergen and Western Norway. It is however not a fair comparison for reasons covered earlier. The BAE has an overall smaller amount of advertising, and the late expansion in 1799 give a poor outlook on the longer term development that the paper could have shown. This is especially true when we look at the recurrent local advertisements like milk and to some degree grain prices, which appear in the latest version of the NIS. Since the NIS generally expanded either in 1784 or 1789, the samples for the BAE would have to cover at least two more samples or ten years for it to be fair

⁸⁰ NIS 09.09 1789 p.7

<https://www.nb.no/items/5869348988fe62a1c094c5f5ea2c0a25?page=3&searchText=>

⁸¹ NIS 09.07. 1794 p.8

<https://www.nb.no/items/11a1c01acb8b1b6335c95790b456893a?page=0&searchText=>

⁸² BAE 12.06 1784 p.3

<https://www.nb.no/items/a20561a7149150f28ca8a62169559d97?page=1&searchText=>

⁸³ BAE 04.07 1774 p.3

<https://www.nb.no/items/19c71bd9c24c59c16c7122ad74087f0c?page=1&searchText=>

⁸⁴ NIS 21.07 1784 p.2

<https://www.nb.no/items/ea107c17e5ffda2df80a48222faa438a?page=1&searchText=>

⁸⁵ NIS 10.07 1799 p.4

<https://www.nb.no/items/ad210fef80384c2fab44bd6efa3043af?page=3&searchText=>

⁸⁶ See figures 3.7 and 3.8 on colonial goods on pages 20 and 21

comparison. Extending the samples beyond 1800 however would likely incur factors from the Napoleonic war, especially after Denmark's entry into the war and the subsequent blockade of Norway from 1807 onwards⁸⁷. A fair example is there by impossible with these sources without also including papers from the 1820s onward when economic stabilized and growth returned.⁸⁸With these limitations in mind it would be short sighted to simply attest that internal markets appeared earlier in Eastern Norway than in Western Norway, but rather that there is more evidence available for Eastern Norway. Given Bergen's size and position as a trade hub it should also follow the kind of local transactions advertised in the NIS take place in the town but the vendors just do not have the means or inclination to advertise yet. This is true of every kind of product the analysis has covered; if it has been advertised, Similar goods have likely been traded without advertising it beforehand. We can assume this because the papers are as new as they are, with the samples covering their first 40 or so years of circulation.

There are some noticeable differences between the papers which can be compared rather easily. The NIS has more goods like dairy and feed products that are more aligned with rural producers, While the BAE has more equipment and services aligned with maritime producers. This is a clear and expected difference but also one that visibly flavors the analysis. The goods more prevalent in the NIS are goods that also factor into regional market trade, while the BAE goods largely do not. Fresh seafood is the one good that the BAE would likely have more of that also factors into regional and local trade, but it is unfortunately completely absent from the samples. In summation, the different goods advertised in each paper also skews the analysis in favor of a larger market development in the NIS.

5.0 Conclusion - A proliferation of market advertising and consumption

Ragnhild Hutchison concludes her analysis of Norwegian development to differ significantly from those of European leaders. The consumer revolution played a lesser role here and the Norwegian Economy did not become as integrated as its the Netherlands or England.⁸⁹ Nevertheless it experienced a growing market integration that while insufficient to supply all needs of the population allowed the diversification of household production. An overall slower pace to a market economy ensued⁹⁰ smoothed along by judicial and infrastructure improvements.⁹¹ Newspapers played a part in this transition by spreading information about both the availability and price of goods for sale. The changes and expansion of newspaper advertising in the Norske Intelligenz seddeler and Bergens Adresse-contours efterretninger show signs of increased consumption, both of colonial and of domestic goods. The papers cover increasingly more market activity and show a more complete picture of the goods and services traded and consumed towards the end of the samples. The Increased importance of these papers alone point to regional market integration by providing better market information to facilitate trade. The expansion of both papers to about double their original size in particular facilitates trade by lowering the barriers to advertising.

The increasing amounts of advertising has in particular increased the promotion of more locally produced goods. In wider terms both advertised goods traded regionally or inter regionally within Norway also increased significantly. These increases in favor of domestic goods have an impact of some imported goods like dairy but seem largely complementary rather than opposed to the overseas trade. The papers have significant differences in their advertising which fits well into established differences in regional production. These findings show signs of market formation and integration at the regional and to some extent the local level. This case is stronger for Eastern Norway given the sources, although this does not necessarily incur a stronger development there. While the papers

⁸⁷ Bregnsbo (2014:339)

⁸⁸ Sandvik (2018:50)

⁸⁹ Hutchison (2012:219)

⁹⁰ *ibid* (221)

⁹¹ *ibid* (2012:97)

show an overall increase in volume however there seems to be too little evidence to support the occurrence of a consumer revolution, although there are signs of increased consumption.

6.0 Literature

6.1 List of Figures

- 3.1 Quantitative data for Grain products in the NIS (page 11)
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- 3.4 Quantitative data for Meat and livestock in the BAE (page 14)
- 3.5 Quantitative data for Dairy in the NIS (page 16)
- 3.6 Quantitative data for Dairy in the BAE (page 16)
- 3.7 Quantitative data for Colonial goods in the NIS (page 18)
- 3.8 Quantitative data for Colonial goods in the BAE (page 19)

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1779: 02.06 - 29.09 (NIS only)

1784: 02.06 -29.09

1789: 03.06 -30.09

1794: 04.06 - 01.10

1799: 01.06 - 28.09

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