

### **Norwegian-Russian relation in 1814-1917**

We have stated the international situation in Northern Europe established mostly amicable Russian-Norwegian relationship in Modern Times. In 1700-1721 Norway as a part of Danish kingdom was ally of Russia in Great Northern War, and Swedish king Charles the 12-th saved himself after Poltava battle in Ukraine was perished in Norway. During Napoleonic wars King of Denmark became ally of France and enemy of Russia in 1812. But there were no war operations between kingdom and Empire. In 1814 Denmark had lost Norway. Swedish king had ascended to Norwegian throne and became consistent ally of Russian tsars (Aleksander the 1-st and Nikolay the 1-st). So, international relations created opportunity for development of Russian-Norwegian relationship.

It's most important to study local level in Russian-Norwegian relations. We can distinguish the most general topics in history:

1. Economic activity of citizens of both countries, incl. but not only famous pomor trade or russehandel, for ex. activity of consulates of both states.
2. Norwegian colonization of Russian Murman coast in the second part of the 19-th – beginning of 20-th cent.
3. Russian-Norwegian land delimitation. Formally it had been in 1825/26, but actually was continues during 19-th cent.
4. Another subject: Russian-Norwegian conflicts, mostly in fisheries and sea-animal hunting. Despite the subject was concerned to regional relations some of events were reason of correspondence between Norwegian and Russian governments and even king of Sweden (since 1905 Norway) and emperor.

There is no secret relations between Russian and Norwegian citizens and the governments of two countries are the main topic in many researches. In the field of relations of two states it is possible to mark out commercial and industrial mutual influence. Despite the fact that this direction is most developed in the Russian historiography (researches of T.A.Shneider's etc.) the theme is not closed. E.Niemi in the article "Pomor trade with Norwegians eyes" has specified scantily explored topics of a history of trade, has stated the own point of view on chronological frameworks of trading activity of pomors in Finnmarken<sup>1</sup>. It's necessary to define notion "pomor trade". There are some disputable questions. Have we confine the topic on sea trading communications only? Which role of overland trade between Russia and Norway? Thus what territorial frameworks of this phenomenon: Russian North, the European North, all Northwest or only the Arkhangelsk province without Saint Petersburg? The significance of Russia in foreign economic relations of Norway is weak discovered. What's place of Sweden in the Russian - Norwegian trading connections?

In our opinion the theme of economic activities of Norwegians in the European North demands the further development. In the given topic it should be interesting to estimate a share of Norwegian carrying value and mixed capital (not only with Russian, but also English, Swedish, German etc.) in various branches of economy of the north of Russia. It's a very important to make an investigation to find out value of the Norwegian firms working in Russia in actually economy of Norway. And what about prevalence of investment to the Russian economy for the Norwegian businessmen in this period? In this sense the theme of a public opinion in Norway about Russia from the economic point of view demands the investigation.

We include to economic sphere activity of the Sweden-Norwegian consulates in northern cities of Russia. In practice these institutions carried out not only diplomatic, but also trading functions. But this side of their activity has not received due reflection in a historiography. Though both archival materials and publicism of boundary XIX-XX centuries show that the Sweden-Norwegian consuls saw the their primary goal the protection of economic interests of

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<sup>1</sup> E.Niemi. Pomor trade with Norwegians eyes// Ottar – 1992 - № 192

Norway: in trade, the freight shipping, in customs policy etc. And foreign diplomats in combination were engaged in enterprise activity frequently.

The developing of diplomatic cooperation is not less interesting. The Russian-Norwegian relations became the reason of the conclusion of several interstate agreements. Many questions were discussed at a level of the governments and in some cases monarches of two countries. It is necessary, in our opinion, to look after development of the legislation regarding to the Russian-Norwegian relations. Thus it is not good way to be limited to only theoretical analysis of documents but it's necessary study their application in practice. Therefore a theme of research may become activity of central and local authorities of Russian empire in the field of the Norwegian influence in the North (in other words, evolution of "Norwegian policy" of Russian state in Russian North). The theme of the Russian-Norwegian delimitation of 1826 year is not closed also. The problem of Convention 1826 year was more than once mentioned by researchers. However it is obviously necessary to continue studying of a history of this question in view of attraction of sources from the central archives of Russia, Sweden and Norway.

The next theme in researches, in any measure uniting previous blocks, the Russian-Norwegian conflicts. Problems concerning two countries were reflected in international agreements, legislation and a policy of authorities. In the beginning of XX century regional specialists studied the Russian-Norwegian conflicts on crafts, border, in trade in smuggling, in settling by Norwegians Murman coast from middle of XIX century. Scantly studied till now there are conflicts in trade, activity of foreign firms in Russian North.

In 1815 after napoleonic wars areas of the Sweden-Norwegian kingdom in the west and the north were retarded<sup>2</sup>. But economic development of the north began approximately in this period. In 1858 the Russian general consul in Norway Mehelin visited Finnmarken and was much surprised as far as there this northern province was advanced. How it was possible to rise Northern Norway? The basic branch of economy 2 centuries ago was fishery. Between 1815 and 1830 trade an of cod and a herring (as a rule, with Sweden and Russia) was doubled, at the same time export by timber had fallen<sup>3</sup>. The basic importer of the Norwegian wood there was England, however the British tariff policy in any way did not promote increase of deliveries of timber in the western direction<sup>4</sup>. In northern settlements fairs were periodically arranged, vessels on islands were loaded by a fish in a dried, fresh and salty kind, eider down and products of a sea craft. Fairs had provided an annual holiday for inhabitants of the remote fjords and islands who by boats reached places for trading of the goods and handicrafts. It was possible frequently to find a passion for the conclusion of a marriage<sup>5</sup>. And the government highly estimated the welfare importance of similar trading festivals was giving a privilege and establishing low duties. Bergen and Trondheim trades people received fixed tax privileges for delivering to the north by manufactory goods (a wire, perfumery, tobacco, clothes etc.).

In 1775 peddling was declared the illegal. Henceforth all commercial operations were carried out by owners of hotels, taverns etc. institutions through specially created warehouses. The Decision of 1797 gave the privilege skippers and to other dealers, and so owners of the houses, who let rooms (the majority of them owned schooners). Thus, the government created an exclusive class of natives dealers. The purpose was to guarantee the best maintenance with provisions of inhabitants of Norland. Delivery of a grain was cardinal a question within military years (1807-14). For many pomors time of blockade became favorable at times for an illicit trade of grain and a flour. On the Norwegian sources trading activity of the Russian fishing vessels on coast Finnmarken for the first time had paid attention of the Danish government in 1749 when the diplomatic report to Saint Petersburg was made<sup>6</sup>. In 1769 Ekaterina II had ordered, that all Russian citizens had to refrained from secret trade and fishing in the Norwegian territory. This

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<sup>2</sup> Derry T.K. 1973, 98

<sup>3</sup> Derry T.K. 1973, 102

<sup>4</sup> Lieberman Sima. 1970, 105

<sup>5</sup> Stagg Frank Noel 1952, 135

<sup>6</sup> Stagg Frank Noel 1952, 114

decision, however, had not conceived any influence at that time. Trading company of Finnmark had forbidden to inhabitants to give any lodging to the Russian fishermen. This prohibition became the cause of mass well-known wooden constructions made by pomors who drifted logs from various places, including Arkhangelsk<sup>7</sup>. In 1774 1300 Russian fishermen traded in Finnmark. In the Norwegian historiography complaints of Norwegians to pomor's behaviour are described. At the same time trade of fresh a fish (so-called "Russian trade") is estimated positively from the point of view of beneficial influence on economic development of the north of Norway. In 1790 local authorities Finnmark declared, that their relations with Russian skippers "are good and faultless"<sup>8</sup>.

Finnmark was historically formed in 40th years of XVIII century when local government have moved in the Alto from fortress Vardehus. In 1787 Tromsø-amt was united with Finnmark to Finnmark-amt. However, local authorities continued to be in the Alto till 1814, after it had moved in Tromsø. In 1866 it was again formed Tromsø-amt and Finnmark with an administrative centre in Hammerfest (after 1888 in Vadsø). Historically these northern areas of Norway always were border zones of dialogue with foreign peoples, including in business and trade. Therefore a plenty of Russian vessels, usually a small displacement, at the close of XVIII - the beginning XIX c. did not surprise anybody. Pomors came not only in traditional Hammerfest and Vardø, but occurred in amts Sandoya, Meyefjord, Fagervik, Indrefjord and others<sup>9</sup>. According to certificate of amtman Sommerfeldt in 1799 pomors traded by a great many of goods: oats, a canvas, soap, honey, a manufactory and even the French wines officially forbidden for import to Russia. A cod cost 24 shillings per vog (1 vog is, approximately, 18 kg). In over side Russian flour was in demand not only in the most northern Norway, was acting through Trondheim to the south. In 1807 merchant Esbensen had sent a party of Russian flour 7000 vogs to Copenhagen<sup>10</sup>.

But by 20-th years of XIX century the Russian trade began to collide with more and more growing competition of other European sea powers. Insignificant recession set in after napoleonic wars when the continental blockade which given a powerful stimulus for development of an illicit trade of grain, was abolished. The ships from France, England brought salt, a manufactory, groceries etc., took away traditional for the north dried fish and cod-liver oil. In 1819 English bark "Elias" has approached to Tromsø harbour, the largest vessel of coming here before. Having taken away a cargo of a smoked fish, "Elias" left to Mediterranean. Thus, "Elias" opened southern trade for Northern Norway. Nomenclature of the goods in the western and southern trade varied also. Though, in spite this, Russian direction took predominating in trading of Tromsø in first half of the XIX centuries. In 20th years Bodø and Tromsø exported fishes to 6 times less, than Hammerfest<sup>11</sup>. The reason of such disproportion local authorities directly connected to Russian trade, namely, absence at areas of Senja and Troms of the privileges of free foreign trade with Russia. In 1827 lord - lieutenant of Finnmark informed, that Tromsø despite of difficult times, successfully competed with Bodø and Hammerfest, the ports used full privileges in the taxation and payment of the customs<sup>12</sup>. The governor had offered also the plan of measures for improvement of economy of region. First, on example of Bodø, reorganization of trading houses in city centre, second, introduction though any privileges in business of Russian trade. Position when it was necessary to trade of the goods destined for Arkhangelsk through Bergen middle-agents, really, irritated merchants and industrialists of the north. The history analogy - Copenhagen monopoly of 1729-1789 when restrictions on trade in grain with pomors, more than once were reason of famine in areas of modern Finnmark<sup>13</sup>. Lord-

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<sup>7</sup> Stagg Frank Noel 1952, 114

<sup>8</sup> Stagg Frank Noel 1952, 115

<sup>9</sup> Jacobsen R. 1983, 298

<sup>10</sup> Gamst L. 1983, 167.

<sup>11</sup> Derry T.K. 1973, 163

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ytreberg N.A. 1980, 63-69

lieutenant Tromsø proved in the official reports that northerners knew better the Russian trade requests.

During summer fishing the trade in Tromsø reduced. It is no wonder: the lion's share of commerce was in hands of the Norwegian industrialists. However, foreign skippers in harbours of Northern Norway also did not disdain barter, including with Russian. The lord-lieutenant mentioned about Tromsø as a centre of trade in fur with Russia. Furs went not from Russia to Europe, it delivered to Russia. In particular, the fox furs from Germany sent through Bergen to sell to Russian in Tromsø<sup>14</sup>. Deciding change in trade with Russia had taken place in 1828 after the conclusion of the trading agreement Tromsø was on equal with cities of Finnmarken - Vardø and Hammerfest. In 1815 food stuffs from Russia were delivered to Tromsø duty-free, however in the next, 1816, the main subject of the Russian import – a flour began to be assessed again. Young northern city required in deliveries of Russian grains and flours. So merchants submitted the petition about decrease of duties, but without result. The commission appointed for consideration of the complaint, started with state interests of a kingdom: you saw Norwegians were obliged to pay in the Russian ports all gathering. However, the commission had given the recommendation to allow in the certain periods when lack of the foodstuffs was felt especially sharply, some indulgences in import of Russian bread. Recommendations were realized in the Trading agreement, signed in St.-Petersburg in February, 1828. Norwegian government agreed to release from the customs a flour, a grain, hemp, ropes, pitches and the building materials imported from harbours of the White sea to Finnmarken. The agreement was operating during six years. The new agreement of 1834 actually confirmed trading privileges for Russian goods till 1839. In April, 1838 between Sweden-Norwegian kingdom and Russian empire concuded new treaty: Finnmarken still left privileges in trade with Russia, however amts Senja and Tromsø lost the right of free foreign trade<sup>15</sup>. In same time, in cause of diligence of England (in particular, one of propagandists of these ideas of British vice-consul D.R.Krou) there was to arise a problem so-called “Russian threat”. In any measure in this political problem it is possible to look after commercial interest, you see the Pomor-Norwegian barter was a part in trade relations of many countries. Governor of Finnmarken Ole Edward Bak visited Northern Russia in 1840-41. In the reports to governor, analyzing the Russian - Norwegian trade, specified ridicule of assumptions of the English press that Russian under a kind of trade prepare for capture of nonfreezing harbours of Finnmarken, and hiding under a camouflage of pomor “snyaks” warships<sup>16</sup>.

Years of free Russian trade (1828-39) gave a significant stimulus for development Tromsø to its growth and prosperity. The population of city had increased in 10 times from 1807 to 1835.

Influence of the neighbour Norway to Russian North was ambiguously estimated by contemporaries. On the one hand in Norwegians saw the positive factor for development of territory. Especially this approach was showed at the first stages of colonization of Murman coast. The secretary of Statistical committee P. Chubinsky proved in 1864, that Norwegian “enterprise and rational receptions of economy would recover this lonely territory”<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, in 1871 the governor had declared, that “Norwegians – the most harmful and bad element of local colonization”<sup>18</sup>. Conflicts between Russian and Norwegian colonists became a theme of correspondence between the Arkhangelsk governor and the Sweden-Norwegian consul. In 1870 the governor had offered to meet in Kola for summit talks with the commissioner from the Norwegian authorities about this problem and the questions concerning illegal crafts in the Russian waters<sup>19</sup>. However the government in Christiania answered evasively, referring to necessity of consultations with Stockholm and offered to meet governor Finnmarken so however that the meeting could not had the diplomatic character and could not obliged “in something in

<sup>14</sup> Stagg Frank Noel. 1952, 164

<sup>15</sup> Lunde Aage. 1979, 99

<sup>16</sup> Kraft S. no year, 112

<sup>17</sup> P. Chubinsky. 1864

<sup>18</sup> Statisticheskie issledovaniya Murmana-b.1, ed.2. S-Pb,1904r.

<sup>19</sup> Arkhangelsk regional state archives (GAAO), f. 1, inv. 5, д. 1018, д. 41.

the future for the Norwegian government”<sup>20</sup>. Governor N.A.Kachalov in the report October, 3, 1870 to Minister of Finance marked, that settlers of Murman both Russian, and Norwegians, “not thinking at all becoming actually strong colonists of this district, have conceived to take advantage only of the benefits given by the right of duty-free trade... And with this purpose have arranged in some of colonies and camps small hovels to have only a kind of colonists... In these hovels there are warehouses with a foreign strong drink with which they accustom to drinking working people are entered by them and for nothing get manufactures of a craft...”<sup>21</sup>.

Governor N.P.Ignat'ev proclaimed in 1871: “Fatal influence of trade by the Norwegian rum frequently brakes the best undertakings colonists and undermines their well-being, enriching with the next districts of Norway”<sup>22</sup>. Police officer of 5-th stan of Kemskiy district in the report of official journey in navigation of 1873 in the western side of the Murman coast wrote in conclusion: “Drunkenness with all disgraces kills crafts”<sup>23</sup>. For consumption in Russia of rum the whole industry worked in Norway. Besides single second-hand dealers rum made by: in Vadsø – 12 firms, including the Russian consul (!), in Vardø - 13, in Tromsø - 9, in Hammerfest - 10.<sup>24</sup> However not only Norwegians made rum-trade, but also Russian were engaged: “there was freedom to sell rum, and all were engaged in it... Women were engaged in places also, in places traded both rum, and a female body”<sup>25</sup>.

At the close of the 60th of XIX century official of Kemskiy district Ponikarovskiy complained to provincial authorities of Norwegians who “interfered in our limits on the Murman coast for illegal fishing and smuggling”<sup>26</sup>. The complaint was finished up to the Sweden-Norwegian consul in Arkhangelsk. In result the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Christiania had ordered to the Finnmark governor “to publish by means of announcements that Norwegian fish industrialist have the right to come into lips and gulfs of the Murmansk coast only in time of gale and that it is strictly forbidden to them to take away from Russian coast a wood material and other products of the territory”<sup>27</sup>. Announcements were really published, additionally was forbidden for Norwegians, except for listed, to arrange on Murman fishing establishments<sup>28</sup>.

80th years XIX - the beginning XX c. – is a government of emperors Alexander III and Nikolay II. Their general rate was restriction of foreign influence. In the Arkhangelsk press of the beginning of XX century practically not possible to found the positive response about activity of Norwegians in Russian North. The newspaper “Golos” apparently was the first periodical which talked about harm of Norwegians in colonization. In 1874 in it informed: “The Norwegians who have lodged on our coast, at all do not develop local crafts but only increase a class of “blood-sucker”. It mainly the relatives of the Norwegian merchants serving on Murman as commission agents and primary factors for selling of the Norwegian rum and business of illicit operations. Other part consists of the run criminals recognized as bankrupts, the speculators ruined and looking an easy money, - in general, people, the extremely doubtful”. The main trouble of development of peninsula, in opinion of correspondents of “News of the Arkhangelsk society of studying of Russian North”, consist in absence of the certain strategy, system in the basis of settlements, the organizations of crafts etc. What is why foreigners “abuse maintain natural riches of Murman..., reaching recently almost up to open predatoriness”<sup>29</sup>. The biggest danger in this respect - the Norwegian natives, “which make closely serried and

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, list 55-60.

<sup>22</sup> V. Tihomirov. 1903.

<sup>23</sup> Murmansk regional state archives (GAMO), f. 28-i, inv. 1, d. 59, l. 28.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Statisticheskie issledovaniya Murmana-b.1, ed.2. S-Pb,1904г., p.52-53

<sup>26</sup> GAMO, f.24-i, inv.20, d.4, l.1

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 1.3

<sup>29</sup> Izvestiia Arhangel'skogo obshestva izucheniia Russkogo Severa (IAOIRS) - № 10 - 1910.- razdel "Kolonizaciia"

displacing from Murman Russian persons group”<sup>30</sup>. Magazines posed the problem of transformation Murman from a place, “where to the Russian colonist is already unsafe” to prospering territory” as the future of these coast great is our second Alaska where the spent money will not be gone and if will be spent to benefit of Russian people and his state”<sup>31</sup>.

Authors of “Statistical researches of Murman” (SPb, 1904) specified that a foreign part of inhabitants of peninsula became more and more criminalizing: a refuge criminals found here disappearing from justice. V.Tihomirov in 1903 published the research of colonization “Cares of settling of Murman in second half of last century”<sup>32</sup>. The main conclusion which can be made of article – a hope for foreigners in development of Russian grounds – a mistake was conducting to fatal consequences: unauthorized settlements, conflicts in fisheries, smuggling by alcoholic drinks of poor quality from Norway and so. S. Postnikov in the article “To revival of Murmansk fisheries” named colonization by "peace" conquest of Murman by Norwegians: “First of all it is necessary to forbid access for foreigners instead of what to encourage settling Murman by Russian”. Though the mass anti-Norwegian company on pages of the Arkhangelsk newspapers and magazines would unwrap later, at the close of XIX – in the beginning XX. In this period the problem of protection of Russian fisheries from “foreign predators” become aggravated sharply. Other problem – conflicts between colonists and Lappes to which correspondence between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Arkhangelsk governor in 1912-1913 was connected. Under the Russian - Norwegian protocol from August, 6/18, 1834 Lappes had kept the right for salmon fishing in Paz and Rovdino gulfs passed on delimitation of 1826 to Norway. In the beginning of 80th of XIX century Paz Lappes “began to collide with boundary Norwegians on trading and other affairs, got into disaster”<sup>33</sup>. Under complaints of district official, Norwegians constructed a whaling factory in Rovdino bay (on the Russian-Norwegian border) and threw out waste products of manufacture in ocean, reduced arrival of a salmon. Kola official reported the Arkhangelsk governor, that Russian Lappes were not capable to protect the interests in cause “of carelessness and backwardness”<sup>34</sup>. Besides on border the official from Russian side was not provided, as against Norway which provided lensman (police officer)<sup>35</sup>. However, the governor had answered to Kola official, that “Lappes should be grateful to the Norwegian government which do not prohibit them to make crafts within the limits of Norway, Norwegians in the territory are free to be engaged in any crafts and to arrange factories, ... the fear of that a salmon will not go to the river the Paz conjecturally and consequently it’s impossible to discuss this subject”<sup>36</sup>. In 1906 the Norwegian government addressed to Russia with the offer to redeem these rights<sup>37</sup>.

Russian-Norwegian trade was reflected in the negative estimation in reports of local officials. According to the report Kola official trade of inhabitants of colonists Murmana and of the Kola towns people “consist within the limits of Russian products of crafts”: a fresh fish, salty and dried fish, cod-liver oil, fire wood, a wood, bacon, berries. From Norway the goods were imported: rum and other drinks, tea, coffee, sugar, clothes, footwear, the manufactory goods, hooks, cords for crafts, salt, flanks under bacon and other goods “for rather significant sum”<sup>38</sup>. Pomors of Kem, the Onega, Arkhangelsk and Murmansk districts took away to Norway, mostly from Arkhangelsk, a flour, groats, a wood, pitch, cords, oil, and took out from Norway a dried fish for Arkhangelsk. As considered official boundary Murman served for the Norwegian cities as a place of selling of a significant amount of the goods, and received raw material - a basis for

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<sup>30</sup> Postnikov S. №8, 1910

<sup>31</sup> Postnikov S. №7, 1910

<sup>32</sup> AGV - №№ 219 - 286 - 1903.

<sup>33</sup> GAMO, f. 24-i, inv. 1, d. 73, l.1.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., l.3

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, l.5

<sup>37</sup> GAAO, f. 71, inv. 4, d. 692, l. 10.

<sup>38</sup> GAMO, f. 24-i, inv. 1, d. 73, l.8.

many enterprises, the fish and resells bacon on the European markets, thus, trade of Norway with Murman more brought the profit to Norwegians, instead of Russian<sup>39</sup>.

The disorder in the Russian – Norwegian relations at a local level was kept during the beginning of XX century. Perhaps, fears of influence on the part of Norway it is possible to explain refusal of the governor by the political exiled to settle on Murman coast. The similar applications were submitted in 1903 by Alexey Petrov and Yakov Shpak, who were under police surveillance<sup>40</sup>. Minister of Internal Affairs had left the decision of a question at the discretion of the civil governor who had rejected the request subsequently<sup>41</sup>.

Beginning of I world war became a new reason to restrict measures the Norwegian colonization of Murmansk coast was practically stopped. According to governor N.V.Sosnovsky on Kola peninsula in 1910 lived 72 families of Norwegians (11,5 % of the population)<sup>42</sup>. I world war had considerably undermined the Pomor-Norwegian trade. In 1915 the Ministry of Finance “had not found possibility to resolve export of food goods from Arkhangelsk region to Norway”<sup>43</sup>. So it was possible to export from Murman reindeer’s horns only.

By virtue of the objective economic reasons, and also under pressure of local authorities of region departure of Norwegians from Russia began. This approach concerning Norwegians was not reflected via diplomatic and state-legal documents but via documents and notes of local and central authorities devoted to various questions. At a diplomatic level of the relation of two states had easygoing character (in 1905 Russia has completely supported Norway in its conflict to Sweden concerning union). But the Arkhangelsk administration displayed growing discontent about foreign influence in northern territories. The question was infringement of geopolitic interests of Russia in its own territory. Within I World war the relation to Norwegians from official remained suspicious, in materials Arkhangelsk Region state archives there are some dossiers about “spies – Norwegians”. After October 1917 and Civil war conditions for Norwegians were not improved.

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> GAAO, f. 1, inv. 4, b. 3, d. 428, l. 1

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., l.6

<sup>42</sup> Sosnovskiy N.V. 1910.

<sup>43</sup> GAAO, f. 1, inv. 4, b. 5, d. 1385, l. 384.

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### List of abbreviation:

- AGV - Arhangelskie gubernskie vedomosti  
IAOIRS - Izvestiia Arhangel'skogo obshestva izucheniia Russkogo Severa  
GAAO - Arkhangelsk regional state archives  
GAMO - Murmansk regional state archives