

# Puritan Motivation for Serial Entrepreneurship: The Haugean Example

BY Ola Honningdal Grytten

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# Puritan Motivation for Serial Entrepreneurship: The Haugean Example

By Ola Honningdal Grytten  
Norwegian School of Economics  
[Ola.Grytten@nhh.no](mailto:Ola.Grytten@nhh.no)

## *Abstract*

*It is well known that protestant and puritan environments historically have fostered entrepreneurs. This paper looks at serial entrepreneurship which took place in Norway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in networks led by the puritan leader Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824) and his followers.*

*The paper seeks to give an overview of their entrepreneurship and discusses their motivation behind their actions. It concludes they were heavily engaged in serial entrepreneurship, not only within business, but also concerning, politics, welfare and education and that there was a clear religious motivation for their activities.*

Key words: Puritanism, Protestantism, Entrepreneurship, Education, Welfare

JEL-codes: B15, B25, N10, N30, N90, O10, O40, O47, P10, P30, P41, P47, P50

## Introduction

Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824) and his puritan movement stand as multi-entrepreneurs within several fields of the Norwegian society, e.g. industrialization, trade, shipping services, financing, investments, education, and political and social reforms. It is difficult to find anyone else who has played such an important role for the formation of the modern Norwegian society (Dørum & Sødal, 2017). Hauge's ethics and motivation are still strong in parts of present Norwegian business life. This paper seeks to give an overview of Hauge's motivation and different areas of his and his early followers entrepreneurship.

## Theoretical framework

Hauge served as a pioneer in many fields, some of the most important can be stylized in an equation, where  $E^H$  denotes Hauge's entrepreneurship, which is a function ( $F$ ) of religious entrepreneurship ( $R^E$ ), industrial entrepreneurship ( $I^E$ ). Political entrepreneurship ( $P^E$ ), educational entrepreneurship ( $E^E$ ) and welfare entrepreneurship ( $W^E$ ):

$$(1) \quad E^H = F(R^E, I^E, P^E, E^E, W^E)$$

This can be operationalized as an arithmetic sum:

$$(2) \quad E^H = R^E + I^E + P^E + E^E + W^E$$

Where  $I^E = P^E + M^E + T^E + F^E + S^E$ , where the left side variables denote the entrepreneurship of primary production ( $P^E$ ), manufacturing ( $M^E$ ), merchant and trade ( $T^E$ ), financial ( $F^E$ ) and other kinds of service ( $S^E$ ).

Important factors for industrial entrepreneurship ( $I^E$ ) will be access to capital ( $C$ ) in form of production tools, labour ( $L$ ) in form of employees, finance ( $F$ ), technology ( $T$ ) and markets ( $M$ ). Hence, we can describe industrial entrepreneurship as an equation:

$$(3) \quad I^E = F(C, L, F, T, M)$$

The utilizing of these factors will depend on a motivational factor ( $A$ ). Hence, we can operationalize the industrial entrepreneurship equation:

$$(4) \quad I^E = A(C \times L \times F \times T \times M)$$

This paper seeks to explain the most important areas and motivational factors for Hauge's multi-entrepreneurship.

## Sources

The task is made possible by systemizing different sources on Hauge's industrial and business transactions. This is possible by drawing from information given by Breistein (1953), Rødal and Kiplesund (2009), Grytten (2013) and Grytten and Minde (2019).

Two of the most important primary sources are business letters and financial accounts from the hands of Hauge himself (Kvamen, 1976). These give information on entrepreneurial activity, investments, financial sources, income, costs, profits and terms of condition for transactions. In addition, Breistein (1953) collected vast information on Hauge's business activities.

The documents were largely used in a trial against Hauge, in which he was acquitted not guilty in entrepreneurial and industrial activity. Hence, they should be considered both valid and reliable for the purpose of this paper.

### International context

Hauge should be understood in light of international puritan waves at the time. Puritans were in favour of individual, religious, political and economic liberalism. A core idea was that the individual was directly responsible for God. There was no clergy, royals or ceremonies, which could save, only the individual's answer to God's direct calling. It has been claimed with significant authority that the movement played a central role in the international establishment of the modern society. (Smith, 2010).

Weber (1905) published an anthology on relations between Protestantism and the growth of modern capitalism. His point of departure was that protestant countries were the first to become rich, and puritan groups were in the forefront of entrepreneurship and progress. Weber described how *the spirit of capitalism* developed from protestant ethics emphasizing individual discipline, responsibilities, asceticism, and duties. Profits were not consumed, but reinvested. This mentality gave birth to industrialization and economic growth.

Several scholars have extended Weber's research, e.g. Tawney (1926; 9-23) and Engerman (2000). They consider the protestant emphasis on individual responsibility and divine calling as a source of its success. Individual responsibility, hard work and modest spending would promote change and development. Thus, new orientation naturally followed the puritan way of life. However, Tawney disagreed that Protestant ethics created the capitalist spirit, since capitalism existed in Catholic Italy before Protestantism was established.

Young (2009; 5-11) concludes there was a significant historical correlation between economic growth and Protestantism until the 1950s, and thereafter convergence, as religion became less important as motivational factor. He concludes this was to a large extent due to dynamic versus static ethics and mentality. Grier (1997; 47-62) confirms a clear correlation between economic development and Protestantism in his quantitative study of 63 former colonies. Korotayev (2006) and Becker and Wossman (Becker & Wossman, 2009; 531-596) argue protestant supremacy when it came to literacy and education can explain historical differences within countries.

Recent studies have confirmed that nonconformist puritans, less bound by customs and practises, were essential entrepreneurs in the making of the modern society. Their multiple entrepreneurship skills were followed by modernized societies. Iannacone (1998; 1565-1496) argues religious beliefs are often formed through rational processes and that the relationship between nonconformist movements and entrepreneurship and growth are statistically significant. This confirms the conclusions of the British study conducted by Jeremy (1998). McCleary and Barro (2006; 49-72) conclude similarly.

Dalgaard and Supphellen (2011; 48-66) argue nonconformist movements

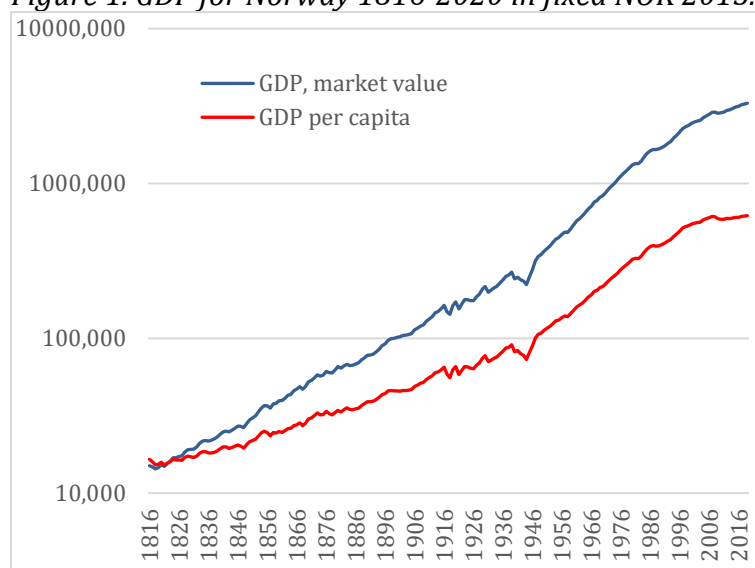
represented a mentality that favoured entrepreneurship, as was already suggested by Jonassen (1947; 676-686), who showed Norwegian industrial development started when the Haugeans gained foothold. Sejersted (1993; 28-35) argued that Haugean made up one of the most important capitalist networks at the time. The view is supported in general literature on Norwegian economic history (Hodne and Grytten, 2000; 82-83; Hodne and Grytten, 2002; 11-38).

Vea (2009; 92-105) argues the Haugean business community mainly was concentrated to the areas of the dynamic Norwegian herring fisheries. Thus, one needed a high degree of mobility. This suited the puritan way of thinking. Against Vea's view, it should be held that the Norwegian clipfish industry (salted and dried cod) gradually became dominated by Haugeans.

### Hans Nielsen Hauge

During the 19th century, Norway for the first time saw consistent long-run economic growth, despite significant fluctuations (Figure 1). At the core of the development, one finds important entrepreneurs. One of the most underestimated was Hauge. His entrepreneurial activities mainly took place during the turbulent early 1800s (Lunden, 1980; 88-108; Kristiansen, 1925; 3-4). Lack of land for extended production of crops also made labour supply higher than labour demand (Hovland, 1978, pp. 331-346). Hence, there was lack of jobs.

*Figure 1. GDP for Norway 1816-2020 in fixed NOK 2015.*



GDP in mill 2015-NOK. GDP per capita in 2015-NOK

Source, Grytten (2020).

Hauge was the son of a peasant from Rolvsøy, in Østfold. Despite his modest background he ended up as a multi-entrepreneur. His importance for the formation of the modern Norwegian society was huge. (Shaw, 1955, Kringlebotn, 2018). Significant parts of his followers were active in political, social, religious, and industrial life. Some became pioneers in building democracy, rule of law, liberalism, welfare, education and social reforms. They were sceptical to centralisation, large public spending, privileges, monopolies and established political and religious systems (Kullerud, 1996, Sjursen, 1997).

In 1801 Hauge earned his merchant privileges in Bergen, which at the time was the economic capital of Norway. The city was to be his base for an impressive

expansion until October 1804, when he was permanently arrested. He was a controversial, but still a highly respected man under the protection of the bishop of the city Johan Nordahl Brun (1745-1816).

Despite Hauge having started from scratch, he successfully built an economic and religious empire in a short time. He was arrested ten times between 1797 and 1804, when he was finally imprisoned without verdict for seven years. He was released for a seven-month period in 1809 in order to help the authorities with the establishment of salt distillation plants during the British blockade due to the Danish support to Napoleon's war against the United Kingdom.

Hauge was convicted to two years of slavery in 1813. Hundreds of witnesses were interrogated in hope of pleading him guilty of financial fraud. However, the prosecution authorities could not find anything illegal in this field. Finally, he was sentenced for preaching without the consent of local vicars, which was illegal at that time. In 1814 the sentence was reduced to a fee of 1000 riksdaler, which basically was paid by people in his business network (Bull, 1908; 88-93, Hauge, 1963; 78-91; Elseth 1998; 67-79; Supphellen, 2012; 78-86).

Hauge was a threat to the establishment at his time. He was popular within the general public and had faithful followers promoting individual, political and economic liberty. Thus, the political motivation for his arrest should not be underestimated (Koht, 1934; 53-57; Christoffersen, 1996; Furre, 1997).

## Motivation

Central to Hauge's motivation was a spiritual experience at the age of 25. He started as lay preacher and deemed it as a divine calling to comply with spiritual and physical needs. His theology was primarily inspired by German pietism and secondly by British puritanism. We find similar views on spiritual responsibility for human wellbeing with the Methodist founder John Wesley (1703-1791), and the founders of The Salvation Army William (1829-1912) and Catherine (1829-1890) Booth (Hattersley, 1999; 13-30).

Just like his spiritual relatives, Hauge's main goal was not personal wealth. A core value in his ethics was stewardship of resources. He saw job creation as part of his calling. In his writings on doctrines, he emphasised the importance of economic activity for the betterment of people as God's will:

*The primary Duty is to spread Knowledge of the Word of God. However, (...) the Lord commissioned our first Parents to cultivate the Land (...) the Bretherens should, according to God's will, produce necessary Clothing and Food (...) in order to enlighten them with the Love of Christ (...) To show Faithfulness in this earthly Ministry, is the Calling and Duty of Christian Citizenship (...) This is my basic doctrine. (Hauge, 1800; 216).*

Hauge viewed the *Faithful* as God's *Housekeepers* on earth. Thus, there was a huge responsibility with not spoiling spiritual and material gifts:

*If you have been trusted with some Pounds by God in the Spiritual or Physical Realm, be faithful Housekeepers over them, and do not magnify Yourself, but remember they are God's Property borrowed by You. (Hauge, 1796; 106).*

Thus, his faith played a decisive role for entrepreneurship (Ravnåsen, 2011; 103-121). Profit should be reinvested (Norborg, 1966; 43-46). He argued that continuous gifts to the poor would destroy incentive structures and deny them of developmental opportunities. The best form of aid was enabling people to provide for themselves. Hauge considered work and business as sides of spiritual life:

*Those who will not work should rather not eat. (...) I will, however, build Factories, be involved in Trade, work in help of Crafts, and when Time and Energy allows, preferably cultivate the Land. (Hauge, 1802).*

His business ethics mirrored that of the international puritan movement. They stressed both the responsibilities of the employers and the employees (Shaw, 1955):

*(...) Thus, naturally the Body demands its basic Needs, thereafter one must work by one's own Strength as much as one is able to. (Hauge, 1804; 291).*

*(God) provides us with His Blessings hidden by our Labour, Efforts and the Gifts of Nature (...) The Employees are never Subjects, but Subordinates, (...) if the Employer does not provide his Subordinates fair Salaries, Food and Clothing in due Time the Employer is a Thief. (Hauge, 1804, pp. 292-293).*

This is in line with McCullough and Willoughby (2009; 65-91) who conclude religious faith influences self-control, self-regulation and motivation, resulting in substantial work commitment, self-efficacy, persistence and sense of meaningful work.

## Entrepreneurial activities

### *Religious*

Hauge is best known for his religious entrepreneurship. He was born into a society where the church of Norway had an organized Christian monopoly. Religious gatherings without the consent of a vicar of the Lutheran state church, was in principle illegal (Nyborg, 1996; Sjørnsen, 1997). This was an important tool for the King, as he was the head of the church, the only state institution reaching out to everyone at the time. Through the *Konventikkelplakat* from 1741, it was given limited rights to gather small groups in house meetings as long as the local vicar gave his consent (Supphellen, 2012; 78-86).

This was a sleeping rule when Hauge started his mission. However, his movement gained immense support, and it was emphasizing individual freedom to an extent that made the ruling elites nervous. When most churches had very low attendance, the Haugean's could have large crowds. Both the church and the ruling elites were about to lose the grip on the people, and they feared Hauge would be a popular leader. Thus, the law was revived in order to stop his activity.

However, it proved difficult to stop the activity, despite Hauge was arrested ten times. The first successful popular movement in decades seemed to be unstoppable. An army of converts were willing to obey what they considered God's will more than they would follow the Danish leaders of the state. Thus, they were seen as a threat to the Danish dominated union between Denmark and Norway, with a huge spiritual force (Koht, 1934; 53-57).

It all resulted in a reformation of Church of Norway from the bottom up and the abolishing of the Konventikkelplakat in 1842. Hauge and his followers paved way for a strong revivalist lay-movement, with huge spiritual influence in the Norwegian society.

#### *Industrial*

Hauge took part in establishing and restarting at least 30 manufacturing plants. However, he was not always successful. He was at times in desperate need of capital. At the year of his final arrest in 1804 he had significant financial losses. The value of his assets nevertheless was higher than his debt. Due to the imprisonment he ended up indebted. Through goodwill from friends and contacts and financial compensation from the government, he made up his balance.

*Property.* To reach the level of privileged merchant it was required to have ownership of fixed property. Hauge bought a building in Bergen during the spring of 1801 for a low price. The building was purchased from his brother-in-law, Mr Johan Nicolai Loose, who became a member of Hauge's network. Later, Hauge became a part of consortiums buying properties in central Bergen. The buildings were taken care of by followers and needy people's rents were subsidised (Breistein, 1953; 120-124).

*Agriculture.* Hauge gained control over several farms, which were transformed to highly efficient production units. He took active part in the purchase of Svanøe manor. He gave the managing responsibilities to Mr Helling, one of his followers, who proved to be an innovative farmer, adding a mill, salt distillation plant and a small shipyard to the farm engagements.

*Mills.* In 1815 Hauge started his own grain mill at Svartediket in Bergen. Several followed, among them the significant Bjølsen Mill. (Breistein, 1953; 125-138).

*Fish processing.* Hauge was engaged in equipping fishing boats for herring fisheries. When doing so he learnt different ways of fish preservation, like salting, drying and smoking. He generously shared it within his network. Clipfish, i.e. salted and dried codfish, gained market shares from dried fish, and the industry grew rapidly along the west coast of Norway. Many of the successful entrepreneurs were Haugeans.

*Copper mine.* During one of Hauge's journeys in 1803 he was told copper was discovered at Vingelen in Østerdalen in East-Norway. However, a dispute over ownership rights made him sell the mines with a considerable profit (Kvamen, 1971; 75).

*Paper mills.* Hauge took an active part in the establishment of a paper mill in Aadalen, Eastern Norway. He rebuilt the paper factory in Eiker, close to the city of Drammen. His brother, Mikkel Hauge, was appointed manager. The plant soon had 50 employees, producing top quality paper. On the initiative by Hauge another paper production plant was established at Fennefoss in Southern Norway. It was considered very efficient and profitable. (Kvamen, 1971, pp. 263-264).



*Printing.* In 1803 Hauge bought a printing house in Kristiansand, as he saw a possibility for publishing his own books, magazines and a newspaper, i.e. *Christians and Adressecontoirs Efterretninger*. Christoffer Andersen and his son Martin Grøndahl made the establishment to one of the most prominent in Norway. (Breistein, 1953; 120-139).

*Brick factory.* In 1804 Hauge, due to huge crowds, had to move evangelical meetings to a former brick factory at Eeg close to Kristiansand. He soon suggested that a young man in his network, Ole Eyelsen, should restart production. The buildings were bought with Hauge as investor and banker. It earned considerable profits and expanded regularly. (Breistein, 1953; 137).

*Merchant houses and trade stations.* From his base in Bergen Hauge bought and expanded trade stations along the coast of South-Norway. The merchant house at the fishermen's village Sør-Giæslingan in Trøndelag is the best known of these. Hauge assisted his follower Arent Solem to buy the place. It served as a key base in a network of trade stations along the coast ensuring fairly good control of distribution of products traded by Haugeans (Aarflot, 1979; 106-114).

*Shipping.* Hauge also served as ship-owner. The idea was basically taken from his brother-in-law, who traded ships with high profits. Hauge served both as shipbroker and ship-owner. Hauge invested in nine sailing vessels. Shipping was a very risky business during the Napoleonic wars. Hauge experienced both heavy losses and good profits. The broker activity was an important tool for raising money for investments (Breistein, 1953; 120-139).

*Textile mills.* Hauge gained increasing interest in the textile industry. He took part in the establishment of the Drammen textile mill in 1818. In 1821 it was moved to Solbergelva at Nedre Eiker close to Drammen. It grew to become the greatest spinning mill in Norway, and a pioneer company regarding labour welfare. It continued its production until 1992. Haugeans set up several textile plants under his surveillance. They also launched textile colouring plants and production of highquality clothing (Breistein, 1953; 136).

*Salt distillation.* During the war with the United Kingdom, The Danish-Norwegian King gave Hauge permission from jail in order to teach potential entrepreneurs to distil salt from sea water. Many of his students became his followers. It marked the start of a network in a fastgrowing fish processing industry, producing salted herring and cod for exports to the European continent and later to South America.

*Distilleries.* Teetotalism conquered the puritan movement after Hauge's death. He spoke out against alcoholism but did not consider moderate consumption as inferior conduct. In fact, he set up several distilleries connected to farms.

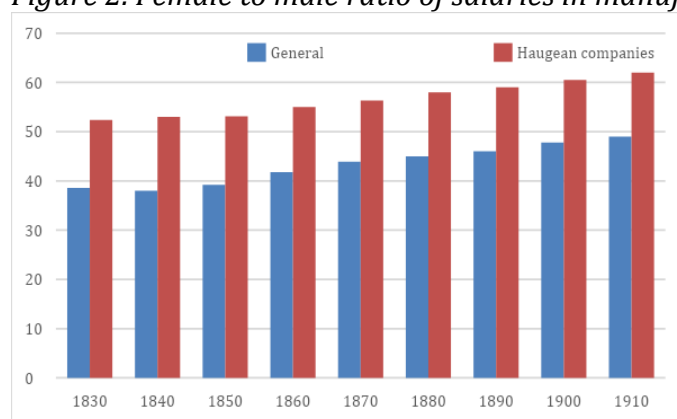
*Investment.* Hauge invested significantly in risky projects with borrowed money. The volume of his engagement as an investor was quite impressive and losses were surprisingly small. Through his involvement, he contributed to projects by his brethren in faith (Helgøy, 2010, pp. 27-38).

*Banking.* During almost the entire business career of Hauge, there was no regular bank in Norway. Thus, he filled a vacancy as a banker. The capital was to a large extent based on deposits or loans from friends with available savings. Hauge advised followers to establish saving's banks, which they did from the mid 1820s.

### *Political*

Hauge constantly challenged religious and industrial monopolies by holding religious meetings and establishing industrial plants (Koht, 1934, Furre, 1997). Due to this, he met huge opposition from the establishment. His followers followed along the same line. Research by Grytten and Minde (2015) reveals that Haugeans were very active in local policy and they gained many seats in the parliament. Minde has mapped around 70 until the 1970s. These not only managed to let go of the law regulating religious gatherings (Supphellen, 2012; 78-86), but they were guarantees for liberal laws, paving way for free industrial establishment and individual freedom. They also were architects behind the democratic reforms in the local rule, by securing majority for the law ensuring locally elected community councils.

*Figure 2. Female to male ratio of salaries in manufacturing 1830-1910.*



Source, Grytten (2007; 343-383), Grytten (2009; 48-87).

Hauge gave women the right to preach the gospel, and many of his followers maintained this line, and introduced women's right to vote in mission congregations, long before than in general elections (Haukeland, 2014; 326-342). They also introduced steps towards more equal salaries for the genders (Figure 2). Hauge authored 33 books and pamphlets on spiritual life, often with a political message of individual freedom and responsibility. These were published in as much as half a million copies. Hence, he was one of the most commonly known authors of his time. Part of his writing was translated into foreign languages.

### *Welfare and education*

Hauge became very early involved in setting up schools for orphans and poor people. He had an extensive program for training managers within his network bookkeeping and technical skills. He would often appoint his preferred managers for the plants he was engaged in. The appointed managers often moved quite a distance to take up their engagements. It may seem, as it was a deliberate policy to recruit local leaders outside the communities. Hauge acted both as informal bishop of an informal religious body and director general of a business

conglomerate. He offered both spiritual and business education to those he gave leadership responsibilities (Dalgaard; 48-66).

Hauge educated his followers in technical skills, product knowledge, purchase and sales strategy, marketing, distribution, accounting, labour welfare, business strategies, theoretical and practical theology and pastoral care. He also provided scholarships for young candidates to take up studies domestically and abroad. One of his recipients were the innovator of Omega 3, Peter Møller, who studied pharmacy, partly on Hauge’s expense (Grytten, 2014; 46-66).

Both Hauge and his followers were pioneers in labour welfare, as their employees were well paid, had favourable working hours for their time and pension schemes decades before such became common.

Even in arrest Hauge continued his multi entrepreneurship. On the basis of available sources, we have concluded he was an entrepreneur in many different areas of activities as being listed in table 1.

*Table 1. Hauge's entrepreneurship.*

Industrial			Political	Religious	Welfare and education
Agriculture	Manufacturing	Trade	Political influence	Preaching	Popular enlightenment
Cattle breeding	Salt distilleries	Property	Popular movement	Reformation	Social reformism
Forestry	Shipyards	Ship owner	Popular enlightenment	Authorship	Teaching
Fisheries	Printing	Ship mediation		Editorial	Labour welfare
Fish processing	Publishing	Investment		Revivalist	Business education
	Alcohol distilleries	Banking			Schooling
	Mining	Journalism			Technical enlightenment
	Brick making	Editorial work			Business enlightenment

Sources, Grytten and Minde (2019; 244-256).

Table 1 clearly depicts Hauge’s engagement as a serial entrepreneur. For him this was a natural duty of God’s calling to stewardship for the betterment of people and the society. Entrepreneurship in order to create financial returns and jobs was seen as part of his spiritual life and responsibility. His Christian faith should be seen in action in every field of his life, and business was part of his Christian faith and deeds.

### Extent of Hauge’s involvement

By drawing information from Breistein (1953; 75-349) and Rødal and Kiplesund (2009; 60-63) one is able to get an idea of what kinds of operations Hauge was involved in at 20 projects, as reported in table 2.

The table reveals that he generally launched the projects, organized finances and the business. He recruited management and acted as supervisor and adviser. However, the daily operations and recruitment of employees were often left to the appointed managers.

Hauge often contributed with his own finances, but rarely provided the entire finances alone. One also finds that he was almost entirely in control of his merchant and shipping activities and less in control of manufacturing activities. Rødal and Kiplesund (2009) also conclude he was a huge risk taker, borrowing 96% of the capital he invested.

*Table 2. Hauge's involvement as entrepreneur.*

Hauge's task	Yes	No	NA
Launch business idea	15 (75%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)
Organized finance	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	
Financed entire project	6 (30%)	14 (70%)	
Financed share of project	11 (55%)	9 (45%)	
Organized financial security	8 (40%)	6 (30%)	6 (30%)
Organized business	11 (55%)	7 (35%)	2 (10%)
Operational responsibility	6 (30%)	12 (60%)	2 (10%)
Recruited management	14 (70%)	3 (15%)	3 (15%)
Recruited employees	8 (40%)	8 (40%)	4 (20%)
Surveillance, advise, supervision	15 (75%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)

Sources; Rødal & Kiplesund (2009), Grytten (2010b).

## Haugeans

Followers of Hauge's ideas became true pioneers within business, industry, labour welfare, education, and formation of the Norwegian society. Many of their traditions still exist. Brandal (1981) argues that the mentality promoted by Hauge influenced most communities along the coast, as it formed both their way of thinking and conduct. The majority of the entrepreneurs along the southern and western coastline were influenced by the Haugean values and ideas. The novelist and County Governor of Rogaland in south-west Norway Alexander Kielland (1882; 255) described Haugeans operating within the herring fisheries in the Stavanger-area as modest spenders, extraordinary hard working and successful risk takers and speculants. Most of them were fishermen and peasants working themselves up into the bourgeois by typical puritan business and work ethics. He also stressed the importance of their concept of divine calling and close networks:

*Year by year they were successful: their capital increased: however, it was immediately reinvested into business. Those who one year had salted 1000 barrels, would the next year take 3000; they were active in all areas, set all sails, and while their conduct was silent with psalms and humble speech, they were in reality risk takers, yes, indeed audacious speculants. (Kielland, 1882).*

Accumulation of wealth was debated among the bretherens, and for some it was considered immoral conduct. Hence, some groups became negative business involvement. These groups often lost the dynamic momentum and retarded both in numbers and strength. However, the dynamic groups thrived and took active part in the development of the modern society (Hodne & Grytten, 2000).

On the basis of Breistein (1953) and Rødal (2009) we have been able to present 124 first generation Haugean entrepreneurs and their industrial involvement. Many of them had broad and diversified portfolios. Many also served as lay preachers.

A typical Haugean business approach with diversified portfolios is found in the example of Arent and Randi Solem (1777-1857 and 1805-1857). Solem worked his way up to become a major merchant, investor and proprietor in Trondheim. He pioneered a shipyard, a textile factory and developed a leading fishing community at its time, when his wife was one of the elders (leaders) in the Haugean movement. The Solheim family were like other Haugean entrepreneurs

at the time very clear that they took their motivation for their activities from the Word of God (Rørvik, 1993: 5-39).

*Table 3. Haugean entrepreneurs by industrial activity.*

N(A) = 124 N(E) = 301	Engagement	In percent of observations N(A)
Agriculture	41	33%
Fisheries, fish processing	51	41%
Manufacturing, crafts	57	46%
Trade	68	55%
Property	50	40%
Publishing, printing	17	14%
Misc	27	22%
Sum	311	251%

N(A) = Number of Haugean entrepreneurs

N(E) = Number of engagements by these entrepreneurs

Source, Breistein (1953; 75-349), Grytten & Minde 2019; 244-256).

John Haugvaldstad (1770-1850) moved to Stavanger in 1810. Without any start-up capital of significance, he gradually accumulated capital through fisheries, fish processing and exports. The capital accumulation was used for reinvestment. Thus, he built himself a portfolio including merchantry, proprietary, food processing, textile industry and farming with newest types of technology (Haugvaldstad, 1851: 22).

Another feature among Haugeans was innovation. A typical example is Christopher Grøndahl (1764-1864). In 1809 he moved from Kristiansand to Christiania, where he became a successful book printer after he obtained royal privileges in 1812. Two years later he started reporting daily news from the constitutional assembly and established a war press during the Swedish-Norwegian campaign. In 1840 he bought the first domestic fast press, and thereafter a double press by steam as power in 1854. Thus, he created one of Europe's most modern printing house (Nyquist, 1987).

Peter Møller (1793-1869) received a scholarship from Hans Nielsen Hauge in order to study pharmacy. In 1829 he bought a pharmacy in Christiania, which developed to be one of the leading of its kind in Northern Europa. The same year he invested in Lilleborg textile mill, which later developed to become a leading oil and soap producer in Scandinavia. In 1851-1852 Møller draw on knowledge from fellow Haugeans and developed refined fish oil. Within two years he set up three factories producing this new health product (Backe-Hansen, 1996: 22-24).

One of the best examples of Haugean entrepreneurs are Niels Devold (1790-1872) and his son Ole Andreas Devold (1827-1892). The latter established one of the leading European textile factories in Ålesund in the mid 1850s, which became in the forefront of innovation, technologically and labour welfare, which the family considered their Christian duty and calling.

Another feature with puritan entrepreneurship, was the persistence of the family businesses. Their companies stayed on local family hands for generations. And through these generations they typically took remarkable responsibility for their local communities (Grytten 2010; 51-66). Haugvalstad expressed that they were told by God's commandments to create jobs and obtain *high productivity in the Earthly and still have their Mind focused on the Heavenly*. (Haugvalstad, 1851: 22). In other words, their motivation was clearly Christian stewardship.

## Conclusions

This paper examines the multi-entrepreneurship of the Norwegian Puritan Leader Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824) and his followers, along with motivations for the entrepreneurship. According to Hauge hard work, modesty and reinvestment of profit in order to serve the society was part of Christian calling and responsibility.

Thus, he stands as an entrepreneur in many fields. This paper puts most emphasis on industrial, but also religious, political, and welfare and also educational entrepreneurship, as Hauge considered a Christian call of stewardship. The present study shows that Hauge had a broad portfolio and was involved in many areas of entrepreneurship. He launched business ideas, provided capital, recruited leaders and organized and supervised businesses, along with training of managers. However, he got less involved in operating businesses after he handed it over to trusted members of his network.

Finally, we conclude that Hauge's ideas were carried on by some of his followers. Together they played an important role in the creation of the modern Norwegian society.

## Literature

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**NORGES HANDELSHØYSKOLE**  
Norwegian School of Economics

Helleveien 30  
NO-5045 Bergen  
Norway

**T** +47 55 95 90 00  
**E** [nhh.postmottak@nhh.no](mailto:nhh.postmottak@nhh.no)  
**W** [www.nhh.no](http://www.nhh.no)

