

Gateways and shipping during the early modern times - The Gothenburg example 1720-1804

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ABSTRACT

In the 2010 *Journal of Transport Geography* Notteboom presented how the structure of Europe's container ports has been during 1985-2005. An economic historian who has studied trade during the early modern times immediately recognises the overview. There are striking resemblances between the gateways and multi-gateways port regions that Notteboom works with and with trade during the early modern times. The trade routes and transport systems built up during the age of sail ships have, in large part, the same importance today. This clearly shows that research in early modern trade and shipping has an important role to play when it comes to understanding modern infrastructure.

In our paper, we will work with the shipping and trade through the gateway city of Gothenburg during chosen years between 1720 and 1804. The city's location between the North Sea and the Baltic Sea places it in the middle of one of the central regions in the world's economic development during the first period of globalisation. It was in this region that the superpowers of the time got much of the raw materials they needed. To try to understand the shape of shipping and trade in this region is therefore vital to understanding global developments.

The source material is made up by custom records from Gothenburg harbour. These will be used to track ship movements to and from Gothenburg to determine the city's place in a larger system of gateways, primarily when it comes to the textiles and coal groups of goods, as well as products related to the substantial herring fishing industry. The theoretical starting point for the study is the extensive structure of theories that have been developed around gateways.

Different opportunities to use the custom records in an analysis of shipping structure will be discussed. Which part of the information in the source material is suitable to use (goods, skipper, destinations)? How can one, in the best possible way, make the results comparable to other studies? This is a few of the questions that will be discussed in our methods section. The main point of this paper will be the analysis of the gateway system as seen from the Gothenburg horizon.

Background (Per Hallén)

Today, Gothenburg and its harbour is included in a "multi-gateway port system" along with, among others, the harbour of Copenhagen.¹ Sweden, Norway and Finland are de facto islands with a great need of sea transports in regards to their export and import. Today there is certainly a connection between Sweden and Denmark via land transports, however, the bulk of the goods is still transported by ship. The position of sea transport will probably be strong even in the future. The expansion that Gothenburg's harbour currently is undergoing will make it possible to keep receiving the worlds largest container ships. The container harbour in Gothenburg is not just a gateway for merchandise to Sweden, it is also a gateway for the entire Norwegian market. How did this harbour get to be this dominant?

To account for the background of this harbour we would have to go back to the 11th century, but that is far outside the boundaries of this paper. In short it can however be mentioned that the Skagerrak and the Kattegat up until the middle of the 1200s was a Danish-Norwegian inland sea. After that a Swedish corridor was made to the West Sea, today the North Sea, but it had little importance to the kingdom of Sweden until the end of the 1400s when Gothenburg's predecessor, Nya Lödöse, was established. After that more serious attempts to begin to not only win parts of the international trade on the West Sea but winning parts of the financial control over western parts of Sweden, which were dominated by Danish-Norwegian interests.² An important advantage for Nya Lödöse as well as Gothenburg was that they were in direct contact with the West Sea. Hence traffic to and from the town did not have to pass through the Sound and the Danish toll.³

Thereby, Sweden created a gateway that would, through the aid of trade, control its hinterland and win increased taxes for the crown. During the 1640s and 1650s Sweden had great success in the battlefields of Europe and Denmark was thoroughly defeated. This meant that the town's position as a gateway in an exposed corridor changed. The town was no longer as exposed, but its position as a trade centre between an expanding hinterland and a foreland with a greater amount of money to spend grew even stronger.⁴ The function of the Swedish towns were strictly regulated, something that is important to remember. The "staple towns" had an especially favoured position as they had the right to import and export goods. Many of the old towns in the newly conquered areas lost much of their previous freedom to conduct trade.⁵

Gothenburg's position as a trade town and gateway came to be strengthened during the 1700s. More and more of the trade around Skagerrak and Kattegat came to be directed towards Gothenburg and the increase in population was larger than the neighbouring towns.⁶ This occurred at the same time as the fall of the Swedish empire and the country's financial policies changed.⁷

¹ Notteboom T E. (2010).

² Olsson G., (2003). p. 14-15.

³ Almquist, H., (1929). s. 1-12; Andersson B. (1996) s. 201.

⁴ Andersson B., (2002) p. 46-55; Grill E. (1954).

⁵ Sundberg, H.G.G. (1927); Holm P. (2001) p. 213-231.

⁶ Holm P. (2001); Hallén P. (2011).

⁷ Aldman L-A (2008).

Table 1 Yearly change in percent in towns around the Skagerrak and the Kattegat 1400-1850.

	1400-1500	1500-1600	1600-50	1650-1700	1700-50	1750-1800	1800-50
Aalborg			-0,72	-0,09	0,00	0,67	0,98
Nya Lödöse / Göteborg		0,31	1,34	1,30	1,66	0,90	1,33
Odense					0,45	0,37	1,22
Ribe					0,00	0,00	0,81
Varberg		0,13	0,12	0,68	1,08	-0,05	0,83
Halmstad		0,03	0,03	0,48	0,27	0,43	1,49
Uddevalla			0,00	0,98	1,97	0,65	0,00
Köpenhamn	0,11	1,40	0,05	0,93	0,42	0,47	0,51

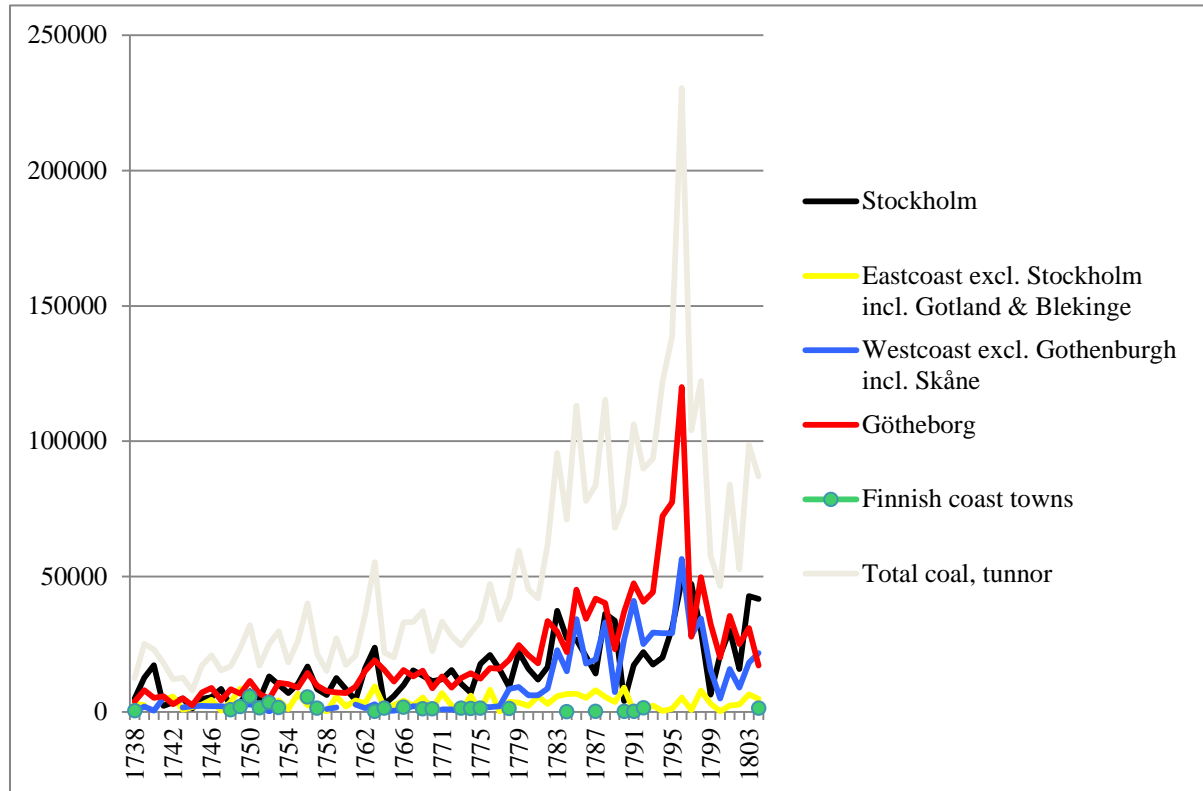
Source: Bairoch 1988; Dansk Center For Byhistorie 2011; CyberCity 2011.

Note: The population numbers for Nya Lödöse applies to 1400-1600. In the population of Gothenburg the suburb Majorna is included.

The century can rightly be viewed as a time of great change. Previously the town had first and foremost been a place of trade. Production in the town had a small extent and was mostly aimed towards local and sometimes regional needs.

The flow of merchandise through the Swedish staple towns reveals their significance to the Swedish economy. Stockholm and Gothenburg dominates in almost all types of merchandise. In many cases Stockholm is the largest import harbour until the mid 1800s. When it comes to coal, the early energy import, Gothenburg was the most important harbour. This can be connected to the herring period and the increased need for energy.

Figure 1 Import of Coal by town and region, 1738–1764, barrels.



Source: RA: Kommerskollegium: Kammarkontoret: Generaltullspersedelextrakt serie 1: 1739–1804

The traditional goods were challenged in the 1700s by the East-Indian trade and also by the herring period. The new merchandise changed Gothenburg's role as a gateway and the

need for credits were drastically changed. Gothenburg's integration with other markets around Europe deepened and strengthened during the 1700s.⁸

The 1700s was in other words a period of great change which would affect the development of the towns in the coming centuries. How can Gothenburg's position as gateway be assessed and measured? Some aspects of the town's gateway functions will be discussed in this paper.

Institutional factors (Lili-Annè Aldman)

The trade to and from Gothenburg was dominated during the 1600s by the Dutch, something that has to do with the founders of the town, as these founders were given special privileges to conduct trade with and in Gothenburg. However, during the 1600s the trade came to shift when the British Isles increased their trade with Gothenburg.⁹

During the great Nordic War the economic and trade policies in Sweden changed direction. At the end of the war the customs laws and import bans, that were instituted during the second half of the 1600s, had ceased. The loss of the Baltic Sea provinces had made its mark on the economic policies. Among other things the state attempted to redirect the Swedish foreign trade from the East Sea towards the West Sea through the addition of tolls, something that should have had less of an effect on Gothenburg than Stockholm. International trade in Gothenburg having already been dominated by the West Sea in the 1600s.¹⁰

Gradually the Swedish economical and trade policies became more protectionist. After the war, Sweden entered upon a mercantilistic course that lasted until the mid 1800s. It starts with the reintroduction of full and half freedom of toll, which in short meant that Swedish ships payed lower toll fees than foreign, at the same time as larger Swedish vessels, above 50 läster, payed full freedom, i.e. lower toll fees than the smaller ships. The Swedish toll laws that were introduced also meant that the international trade was divided into three sections; the East Sea, the West Sea and long distance trade. The East Sea reached as far as the mouth of the river Elbe, which in practice meant that Hamburg was included in the West Sea while harbours in Schleswig, Holstein, Denmark and Norway belonged to the East Sea. All traffic that went within or south of the Mediterranean counted as long distance trade. Even the port of Cadiz was included in the latter. Furthermore, there were special treaties with certain countries. Of these three regions ships coming from the East Sea payed the most and the long distance trade the least.¹¹

With the exception of grain, all import to harbours along the west coast had a larger difference in toll cost between the West Sea and East Sea, than Stockholm for example, as the traffic to these did not have to pay the the Sound toll. In part it could be argued that the lower toll costs for the traffic from the West Sea and the long distance international trade would be equalised when the import and export would have payed the the Sound toll. But, the possibility to not have to pay the Sound toll was there if the ship went into any Swedish port north of the Sound.¹²

Another change during the 1720s was the introduction of the produktplakat (Navigation act), a regulation that gradually tightened. After 1727 no international ships were allowed to transport cargo that was manufactured in a different region than the area where the ship came from, or the colonies of that state or region. A few years later international ships could no longer be purchased and reregistered as Swedish.

Gradually the toll was also increased on import and import bans were introduced as well as other fees. The so called "landshjälpsfondsavgiften" (fee to the fund for economic aid to

⁸ Grage E-B (1981) p. 97-128; Andersson M. (2011).

⁹ Andersson B (1996) p.196-200.; Dalhede C. (2001) p. 287-321.

¹⁰ Aldman L-A. "Foreland 1619-1760" (Fortcomming)

¹¹ Aldman L-A. (2008) cap. I:2; Definiation of läster see page 10.

¹² Aldman L-A. (Fortcomming)

manufacturing establishments) affected all import of consumption wares the same. From 1730 more specifically directed toll increases were introduced where trade with merchandise on the East Sea was punished harder. At the same time toll decreases on semimanufactures, for example the toll on import of white and undyed fabrics regardless of their origin was decreased by 5 percent. The 1730s was also the decade where the majority of textiles were banned from import. The exception after 1738 was all cotton fabrics, a small number of linen and wool as well as all textile import by the East-India trading company. The import bans were complemented with consumption bans for the very same international fabrics. During the same decade the first toll increase on coffee and tea also took place. In 1768 a consumption ban was implemented for some groups and the year after an import ban. The ban was however not maintainable. It was only in the 1780s that the toll at first was increased drastically in order to later introduce an import ban.¹³

Furthermore, in 1724 the first act concerning tobacco plantations came in effect. Four years later the import of tobacco stems is banned. About 20 years later the act is complemented with what type of tobacco leaves that can be imported and from 1750 the duty free treatment for tobacco leaves cease, first from the countryside to the town and forty years later for import of certain foreign tobacco.¹⁴ That the duty free treatment ceased was likely due to that the town, since 1745, were forced to dedicate at least two kappland (a total of roughly 310 m²) of their land for tobacco farming.¹⁵

At the same time as the trade policies began to change, a change occurred in the economic policies in Sweden, an investment was made to kickstart the domestic manufacturing. Unlike the investment in the 1600s on "luxury" products, the investments during the 1700s were more focused on everyday use. Wares such as woollen and tobacco were focused upon even though certain other production also received aid. For example the raw material import, such as cotton and woollen, were only tolled by one eighth of the toll value.¹⁶ This can be compared to the undyed cloth from the Baltic that in 1735 had a toll of 31 percent of the toll value, whereas if it came from the West Sea in the same year the toll was 26 percent.¹⁷

The next wave of change started after the long international crisis of the 1760s. In connection with this some toll cuts were done as well as the gradual opening of the grain trade. As early as 1757, an extra fee was placed on coffee and tea for those who drank these, but it was not until the end of the 1790s that coffee was banned from import, a decree that only lasted little over a year. In 1815 the toll on coffee and tea was increased and a few years later cotton fabrics were banned for the first time from import to Sweden.¹⁸

¹³ KB: Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga Förordning af den 26 junii 1766, i then del theraf, som angår Förbud emot Caffeböners införande och nyttjande, tils vidare kommer at hwila. Stockholm af Kongl. Slotts-Canceliet then 27 Novemb. 1769, Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1769. Kongl. Maj:ts Ytterligare Nådige Påbud, Emot Caffé Drickande. Gifwit Stockholm i Råd-Cammaren then 24 Martii 1768, Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1768. Kungörelse, Angående de Förteckningars afgifwande, som äro påbudne uti Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning emot Yppighet och Öfwerflöd den 26 junii innewarande Ar. Gifwen Stockholms Råd-Hus den 3 September 1766, Tryckt hos Lorens Ludvig Grefing, Stockholm, 1766; Kong. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, Emot Yppighet och Öfwerflöd. Gifwen Stockholm i Råd-Cammaren then 26. Junii 1766, Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1766.

¹⁴ KB: Publication, Angående åtskillige författningar i anseende så wäl til utländska Tobaks-bladers införsel, som inhemske Spinneriers och Planterings befördran. Stockholms af Kongl. Slotts-Cancelliet then 20 Februarii 1748.

¹⁵ Mickwitz J. (2010) p. 11.

¹⁶ Aldman L-A (2008) cap. I:2. By toll value, the value which was listed in the toll records for respective goods is intended. For raw goods, the same value was used until the 1770s, when the value was changed due to the [myntrealisationen], when minor adjustments are made. See also Samuelsson K. (1951) p. 61–62.

¹⁷ Aldman L-A.(2008) table III:1 & III:2 s. 136–137. Here, the calculations are made based on the amount of toll paid for the goods arriving on foreign ships.

¹⁸ KB: Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga Kungjörelse, Angående Förnyande af det uti Förordningen under den 1 januari 1794 stadgade förbud emot Caffés införsel och bruk. Gifwen Haga Slott den 6 april 1799; Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Kungörelse Om Caffés införsel och bruk. Gifwen Stockholms Slott den 6 April 1802; Kongl. Maj:ts och Rikets Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Lindring i Tullen på hwit Nättelduk, enär den för Cattuns- Tryckeriernes behof användas. Gifwen Stockholm den 2 Augusti 1802; Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga Kungörelse,

Theoretical starting points (Per Hallén)

The idea of a system of gateways in the world through which goods, services and people flow has gotten a gradually stronger position within the historical research. There is extensive literature on the subject which stretches back a century.¹⁹

The problem with understanding a flow²⁰ of goods, capital and people has long been discussed. Within historical research the gateway or network towns have gained a stronger position through the influential work of Hohenberg & Lees.²¹

An interesting description of how harbours develop over time can be found in works by Rimmer, in short his model is as follows;

In its simplest version a system of gateways along a coast can be seen as a long row of small ports, which compete against each other. Some of these ports developed faster and better than others. They may have been favoured by political decisions or changes in nature. Some ports obviously become more important and far more significant than its neighbours. The hinterland to a gateway becomes more complex over time. Harbours along the coast become fewer and fewer and many transform into feeding harbours for large ports. More and more small harbours disappear over time, mostly when modern transportation systems benefit a small amount of locations because of the huge investments needed for the transports of industrial society. In our time we can sometimes see a reestablishment of small competing ports, specialised in some specific goods. Other harbours reestablish outside, sometimes in close proximity to the large gateway-harbours.²² In order for a gateway to develop *many factors have to work together*. One key factor for growth is that the ports can offer more than one quay. The possibility to supply enough provisions and see to it that the ship can be repaired are also key factors in the choice of *harbour*.²³

This model of how gateways develop and change is interesting and it is possible to see similarities between the Swedish west coast and the entirety of the Skagerrak, the Kattegat and the entire North Sea area. Before Sweden conquered Halland and Bohuslän there was a large number of small ports along the entire coast that conducted both regional and international trade. The hinterland for these small harbours could be significant. During the Danish rule the hinterland of the Halland towns reached far into Småland and Västergötland.²⁴ Thus, for example, Varberg and Gothenburg were competing over the same hinterland during the start of the 1600s. The Swedish-Danish struggle for the small west coast corridor and gradually the entire coast should therefore be seen in a wider perspective than a pure power struggle. It was very much an economic struggle between the two countries where the Danish influence over the Swedish areas strengthened during the 1500s and 1600s.²⁵ Finn-Einar Eliassens research of the struggle between Mandal and Kristiansand is an important comparison. It is a perfect example of Rimmer's model in practice.²⁶

Angående Förbud emot införsel af Porter och om importens inställande, tills vidare, af Utländske Bomullstyger, Arrac och Winer; Gifwen Stockholms Slott den 31 mars 1817; Kongl. Maj:ts och Rikets Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Tillstånd, att införa de i Sjötulls-Taxan förbudne slag af Bomullsgarn. Gifwen Stockholm den 14 april 1817. For more see Sources.

¹⁹ An overview of the gateway theory until the 1980s is available in: Bird J. (1983).

²⁰ The organisation of these flows of goods have been discussed by a long line of researchers during the 1960s and 1970s. Some of the important works in this field are: Johnson E A J. (1970); Mintz S. (1960); Ortiz S. (1967); Smith C A. (1972); Smith C A. (1974); Smith C A. (1975), Vance J E. (1970); Kelley K B. (1976).

²¹ Hohenberg P M & Lees L H. (1995) och Lesger C. (2005).

²² Rimmer P J. (1967).

²³ Bird J. (1963) p. 411, 418-419.

²⁴ Grill E. (1954). p. 667-767; Grill E. (1946). p. 167-193.

²⁵ Holm P. (2001). p. 221-22.

²⁶ Eliassen F-E. (2001).

Some factors, however, are still missing in Rimmer's model. Not the least of which is the missing aspect of foreland. Trade towns are always *part of an urban network*.²⁷ In Clé Lesger's research of Amsterdam as a trade and information centre a deeper model on gateways is built.²⁸ Here the network of towns is not only taken into account, but also *the different levels within the network*. The towns' position within the complex network changes over time depending on what goods are traded. This shows a more realistic picture of the trade towns' relations to each other than a model, where the positions in the network is more or the less fixed.

There are in other words good theoretical models which discuss the issue of gateways and the flow of goods. Another important question, however, that we so far have avoided is how you decide what is a gateway and what does not belong to that category.

For the Swedish towns during the 1700s you can let the ranking of towns be what classifies a town as a gateway. Those who were staple towns were also gateways! It would be very simple, but the simple principle would be very misleading. There were great differences between the staple towns. Stockholm and Gothenburg were in a league of their own, the other Swedish staple towns were very small regardless how you compare them.

Several researchers have in recent years presented suggestions on how to classify and rank towns that are part of a trade network. One very important starting point for every such ranking is that you thoroughly account from where your observations are made and what questions direct the work. Trade towns create a complex system of flows. One particular type of goods can be important in one town but not necessarily the next. Which factors should weigh the most in a study? Shall you work quantitatively or qualitatively? These are questions many researchers are working on.²⁹

Method and material (Per Hallén & Lili-Annè Aldman)

In this paper we will be working with some of the factors previous research has put forth as important parts of a gateway. This paper should be viewed as an ongoing research for the understanding of the larger picture and the town's roll in the international and national system of trade towns.

- Point frequency
- Homeport frequency
- Home- market share of supply
- Supply vs. demand relation
- Port classification

- The flow of goods
- Gothenburg's production capacity
- Import over Gothenburg in comparison to other towns in Sweden
- Gothenburg as a gateway

This study is based on a survey and digitalisation of the Gothenburg toll records from 1720, 1730, 1760, 1790 and 1804. The towns from where the ships have arrived and departed to, the skipper's home towns as well as the ships' name and amount of läster have been registered. Furthermore, this study has looked at certain types of goods specifically.

In this paper we have chosen to use the old Swedish units of measurements used in the source material. We have thus not converted them into SI units. These units are as follows:

²⁷ Hohenberg & Lees, p. 55.

²⁸ Lesger (2005) p. 184-195. The model is presented graphically on page 190. There are similar thoughts when it comes to current conditions, see: Ducruet C., Rozenblat C. & Zaidi F. (2010).

²⁹ Jackson, G. (2007); Polónia A. (2011); Scheltjens W. (2010).

- Skålpund is a unit of weight, equivalent of roughly 425.1 grams.
- Barrel (in Swedish tunna) is a unit of volume, equivalent of roughly 146.6 liters
- Aln (plural: alnar) is a unit of distance, equivalent of roughly 59.4 centimeters. Also, a Swedish aln is 0.95 Danish/Prussian aln, or 0.5 French Aune.
- Läst (plural: läster) is a unit that measures cargo carrying capacity, where one läst is the weight that is needed to submerge the ship to the load waterline. In practice, the ship's ballast affected the number by +/- 1.5 läster. Until 1874 a läst was the equivalent of roughly 2 448 kg. In other words, to attain full freedom, a ship had to have a minimum cargo capacity 122 tonnes.³⁰

Analysis (Per Hallén & Lili-Annè Aldman)

In this first part of the analysis we shall test the possibility of using the classification model that has been suggested by Werner Scheltjens in order to rank port.³¹ One of the largest flaws when comparing ports has been in giving a stringent ranking. To begin with we present a short description of the model.

Point frequency

From where did the ships arrive and where did they depart to? In this paper we will concentrate on arriving vessels, but in the next step all incoming and departing ships on both international and national destinations will be used. This information can be of importance to researchers working with other ports as the relation between Gothenburg and these other ports can be determined. In the original model where the Sound toll was the "observation point" Point frequency could be used in a different way than what was possible when research is situated on a port rather than a toll station on an international route.

Homeport frequency

The home towns of the skippers is possible to determine in many cases through the source material from Gothenburg. A difference to the European material is that the skippers did not always come from towns, but could just as well be living in the countryside. There were, for example, many villages just south of Gothenburg which housed many of the captains and first mates. In some cases only the district "Halland" is noted as home. It is, however, viable to assume that they were from the northern parts of the district, near Gothenburg.³²

Home-market share of supply

How large a portion of the skippers were from a certain town? This measures to what extent the ports could meet the requirements of transportation for local skippers. If the calculated value is 1 it indicates that all shipping from a certain homeport had this homeport as depart destination. If the value is 0 the opposite applies.

³⁰ Owen Jansson S. (1995)

³¹ Scheltjens W. (2010).

³² Sandklef A. (1973).

Supply vs. demand relation

In this part of the model point frequency and homeport frequency are separated. This gives a value that contributes to the judging of the assessment of a port's rank. If the value is 1 there was a perfect balance between trade and shipping. If the calculation gives a higher value than 1 then the shipping capacity exceeded what was necessary and if the value is below 1 then there was not a high enough shipping capacity.

Port classification

Based on the four key variables this step decides the port's rank. In this step the port's external and internal functions and relations are brought together. According to the model there are five levels where Gateway is the highest and Insignificant is the lowest. Therefore, the model focuses on trying to integrate the external and internal functions rather than the external relations between harbour, foreland and hinterland.

- Gateway
- Entrepôt
- Hub
- Marina
- Insignificant

In this paper we will focus on Point frequency and Homeport frequency. In order to go through with the calculation of Home-market share of supply and Supply vs. Demand relation further work is needed on the export data for some of the studied years.

Point frequency (Lili-Annè Aldman & Per Hallén)

How many ships arrived to Gothenburg during the study period? In order to put the Point frequency research into context we hereby present a compilation of the number of ships arriving from foreign towns to Gothenburg and their total amount of läster.

Table 2 The amount of ships and tonnages arriving to Gothenburg, 1720–1804.

	1720	1730	1760	1790	1804
Amount of ships	198	266	362	747	533
Amount of läster	>6 216	>7 472	15 314 1/3	41 886	63 144

Source: GLA: Drättselkammarens arkiv; SER: Utrikes inkommande fartyg 1720 och utrikes utgående; dito 1730; dito: Utrikes inkommande 1760, 1790 and 1804.

Shipping traffic on Gothenburg rose significantly during the period from around 220 arriving in 1720 to 750 seventy years later. Already ten years later there is somewhat of an increase but it was primarily between 1760 and 1790 that the significant increase occurred, when the traffic doubled. Fourteen years later the frequency had dropped a little but compared to 1720 it was still more than double. Furthermore, seen to the tonnage there was a heavy increase over the period. Already ten years later the tonnage had increased with about twenty percent, forty years later more than double. Up until 1790 the amount of läster increased to 41886 and in 1804 it increased to 63144. In other words more and more ships arrived to Gothenburg between 1760 and 1804. This, in and of itself, shows that the long distance trade increased and that the town's foreland changed.

Table 3 The ten most frequent destination Ports ships arriving to Gothenburg were from 1720–1804, percent of all ships.

Port	% 1720	Port	% 1730	Port	% 1760	Port	% 1790	Port	% 1804
Hull	8,1	Stralsund	26,3	Amsterdam	8,8	Amsterdam	7,4	Stabens	13,9
Amsterdam	6,8	London	9,4	Lieth	6,6	Helsingør	5,5	Wollgast	6,2
Hamburg	4,5	Hull	8,3	Crosswik (France)	5,0	Copenhagen	4,7	Stralsund	5,8
Malmö	4,1	Aalborg	4,9	Danzig	4,7	London	4,3	Danzig	4,7
Berwich	3,6	Amsterdam	3,4	Hamburg	3,9	St. Übes (Sebutal)	4,3	Copenhagen	4,5
Rostock	3,6	Greifwald	3,4	Aalborg	3,6	Randers	3,3	Köningsberg	4,3
Danzig	3,2	Släben, Norway	2,4	Hull	3,3	Hamburg	3,2	London	4,1
Aalborg	3,2	Släben, SE	3,0	London	3,0	Marstrand	2,7	Riga	3,8
Flensburg,	2,7	Riga	3,0	Dundie	2,8	Bremen	2,5	Amsterdam	3,0
Lind	2,7	St. Malo	2,3	Friedrickshall, Riga, St. Übes (Sebutal)	2,5	Newcastle	2,0	Terra Vechia	3,0
St. Martin France	2,7	Seudres	2,3			Pillau	2,0	Newcastle	2,8
Pro cent of all	45,2		69,3		49,2		41,9		56,1

Source: GLA: Drättselkammarens arkiv: Stadens enskilda räkenskaper: Utrikes inkommande fartyg 1720 och utrikes utgående; dito 1730; dito: Utrikes inkommande 1760, 1790 and 1804.

1720-30 (Lili-Annè Aldman)

That Gothenburg was integrated in the international trade already at the beginning of the 1700s and the most important port on the Swedish west coast has been described above. As previously mentioned the toll politics from the 1720s favoured trade with the West Sea in comparison to the East Sea, something that should have favoured Gothenburg especially as the town's agents, just as in the 1600s, mostly conducted trade with the West Sea.³³

The dominance that the West Sea would have had on the international trade to Gothenburg during the 1600s is arguable in 1720 even though the traffic from the West Sea represented over half of the arriving ships. Traffic from the East Sea this year represented nearly 48 percent. It could still be argued that there were effects left in traffic due to the peace negotiations were not being finalised after the great Nordic War. Much suggests that there was no longer a disturbance as about a quarter of the traffic came from Denmark. If the Norwegian harbours are included in that traffic from Denmark, as Norway was Danish territory during this period, traffic from there was almost as frequent as the British Isles, from which a third of the traffic came. The old, well known, international trade with Denmark/Norway had hence been resumed.

From harbours on the British Isles almost eighteen percent came from English harbours, but the Scottish were also well represented. From Scotland as many ships arrived as from France, which was more than from Holland. Despite the fact that the Dutch had helped create and build Gothenburg from the start it is apparent that the traffic from Holland in 1720 was even lower than from the German Baltic ports.

Even if Gothenburg from a European perspective in the 1700s can, as Gordon Jackson claims, be seen as a "small Scandinavian port" the town was far more integrated in the international trade already in 1720, when traffic to Gothenburg came from 66 different harbours.³⁴ In general traffic was well distributed between towns. Some towns stand out, like

³³ Andersson B. (1996) p. 196.

³⁴ Jackson G. (2001) p. 10.

Hull that represented about 8 percent of the arriving ships. Even Amsterdam that represented just under 7 percent had a significant traffic. Something that is surprising is that London, which is normally considered one of the large European ports, was not among the ten most frequent. Instead it was ports like Hamburg, Malmö, Berwick³⁵, Rostock, Danzig, Aalborg as well as Flensburg, Lind and St. Martin (in France) that were most frequent. That St. Martin was one of the ten most frequent home ports is perhaps less surprising as it was a port known for its salt export. The traffic from Malmö, which was a Swedish town but was still registered among the international arrivals, has to do with the fact that these ships, on their way to international harbours passed through Gothenburg. Even if these harbours were the ten most frequent among the noted arrivals, the traffic as a whole was quite evenly distributed. London, mentioned above, represented barely 2 percent, i.e. the same frequency as the Scottish port Leith and the German port Lübeck had. Most towns were represented between one and tree times per year among the incoming, which also applies ten years later.

The number of ports from which ships came in 1730 had generally speaking only increased by one, but generally seen there were still many with only one ship.³⁶ However, traffic to Gothenburg had changed drastically compared to ten years earlier. In part the change can be seen as an effect of the produktplakat having been introduced. It was only Hull and Amsterdam that still belonged to the ten most frequent ports from which ships arrived. Remarkably it can be noted that traffic seen from a regional division on East and West Sea was relatively unchanged 1730 compared to ten years earlier. However, the part of traffic from the British Isles had increased some as the traffic with England had doubled, and Scotland had increased to about 26 percent. However, the traffic with Ireland was almost unchanged. Traffic from Holland had decreased while France was nearly unchanged. Hence, the largest change was the increased traffic with the British Isles. At the same time as traffic from the West Sea changed, large shifts occurred with trade on the East Sea, when the German East Sea harbours had taken over a lot of the traffic that ten years before had been represented by Danish harbours.

Among the towns in the West Sea, Hull had increased its share from earlier. Traffic from Amsterdam, however, had decreased significantly. One possible explanation to the decrease in traffic from Amsterdam could be the slight increase from the salt towns St. Malo and Seudres as well as St. Übes (today Sebutal). Another change was the significant increase in traffic from London which in 1730 represented almost a tenth of all incoming traffic.

That the increased traffic from Scotland does not show among the ten most frequent is due to the fact that instead of certain towns increasing their trade, more harbours became involved in the traffic than had been ten years earlier. The towns of Aberdeen, Dundee, Montrose and several towns in and around the Forth of Firth estuary had the same frequency as ten years earlier. More interesting is that this year there was traffic from completely new Scottish towns, some of which were Banff, Fraserburgh, Greenock, Peterhead and Port Said. According to Jackson several of the Scottish ports that trafficked Gothenburg can not be considered "ports" but were in fact service harbours to Aberdeen. Alternatively Greenock which would have been a "transshipment place for Glasgow".³⁷ ven Ramsgathe and Scarborough appear as new towns in the English traffic.

A reason that the traffic was still relatively evenly divided between the East and West Sea was the significant increase of traffic from Stralsund. In 1730 Stralsund was the town that had stepped forth as the most frequent port, and then alone represented more than a fourth of all traffic to Gothenburg. Furthermore, the trade with Riga and Greifswald had increased significantly in comparison to 1720. All of these towns are well known for supplying produce and raw materials to Sweden. Hence, the peace with Denmark is not reflected in the material,

³⁵ In this case, the ships really came from North Berwick, which is stated in the amendment made when they arrive from Scotland.

³⁶ In this context, we would like to thank Christina Dalhede for her help in adding the incoming ships' basic information as well as skippers and their origin during for the year 1730.

³⁷ Jackson G. (2001) p. 10. Jackson G. (2005) p. 277.

even though Aalborg this year was still part of the ten most frequent.³⁸ On the contrary, the traffic from the Danish Isles had dropped significantly and many of the previous harbours were missing completely. One contributing reason was that the Danish towns on Jylland and Fyn, that had provided Gothenburg with produce in 1720, had been replaced by the increased traffic from Stralsund and Greifswald. Traffic from Norway was, however, almost as frequent as ten years earlier. The frequent traffic from Släben in Norway mostly consists of an increase of limestone shipments.

Seen from Gothenburg's perspective, based on the ships that arrived there, Scheltjens' criteria that Amsterdam and Rotterdam being Gateways can hardly be argued for 1720 nor 1730, even though Amsterdam belonged to the ten largest both years.³⁹

If we include the cargo capacity, which is another of Scheltjens' criteria, another picture of Gothenburg emerges. The median for the tonnage that arrived from the West Sea 1720 was about 34,5 läster while the equivalent from the East Sea was 10. The variation between ships was very large as the smallest was 0,5 läster while the largest was 200 läster. Seen from this perspective it was in other words relatively small vessels that trafficked Gothenburg and the town could hardly be called a gateway if this one of Scheltjens' criteria has to be fulfilled. The largest ship at 200 läster was a Swedish ship en route to the Mediterranean.⁴⁰ The median for the Dutch ships, all from Amsterdam, was around 40 läster, which was the same as the French, while the English were somewhat smaller at 35 läster. The only nation with towns that had a high median was Portugal whose traffic had a low frequency but seen to the tonnage from Lisbon and St. Übes had a median of 130 läster.

Since, all in all more than 85 percent of the tonnage came from the West Sea. Despite the towns on the British Isles being few among the ten largest in the tonnage category, the dominance of trade with them is more apparent as they represented over 40 percent of the tonnage. English towns represented almost a fourth of the tonnage that arrived and the Scottish almost 16 percent. Portugal, who had few ships, still represented 6 percent. Denmark and Norway who had a high frequency seen to traffic, still only stood for 5 percent of the tonnage. Ships from there only had a median of ten läster. Seen to towns, Amsterdam had the largest part of the tonnage 1720, Hull the second largest and Hamburg closely followed by S:t Martin, Berwick and Lind on third, seen to arriving tonnage.

Ten years later the median for traffic on the East Sea has remained the same, while the median from the West Sea has risen to 37 läster. The tonnage share of the West Sea had decreased somewhat to about 81 percent. Less than a fifth came from the Baltic and almost 2 percent from the Mediterranean, whose ships had a median of 66. London and Hull had the largest share of the tonnage while Amsterdam had dropped significantly this year and had the same share as St. Übes. With its high frequency, Stralsund stood for almost 9 percent of the tonnage and had a larger share than Amsterdam and was the third largest seen to the arriving tonnage share.

The median had risen to 44 läster for the English ships and ended up somewhat higher than the French 42,5. The median for the Dutch had increased significantly to 53 while the Portuguese had dropped to 84 läster. Even the ships from Scotland had a lower median 1730 than ten years earlier, when the median was almost the same as the English ships. It had dropped to 19 läster, which can probably be explained by the increased traffic on the small ports in Scotland.

³⁸ In the materials, Släben (also spelled Sleben, today named Slependsen) is also listed as a location for another 3 percent. For these it has, however, been assumed based on the contents of the goods, which were designated as coming from Gotland, that these ships arrived from the area Släben on Gotland. If the assumption is incorrect, the trade with Släben would be more frequent than the trade with Aalborg. This also means that the French locations of St. Martin, Crosswick and Lisbon in Portugal then would have been among the ten most frequent. These locations represented 2.1 percent of the traffic.

³⁹ Scheltjens W. (2010).

⁴⁰ The information that the Swedish ship was on its way to the Mediterranean is based on a comparison between incoming and outgoing ships. GLA: Drätselkammarens kontor: SER: Utrikes inkommande och utgående 1720.

Even though the median rose it seems as though if Scheltjens' criteria could be used neither London, Hull nor Amsterdam would still be considered a Gateway. The median of the cargo capacity from London and Amsterdam was 52 läster which was lower than Seudres. Seen to the tonnage, Hull had a median of 36 läster. The only town that trafficked Gothenburg which would fulfil Scheltjens' criteria as a Gateway would be St. Übes. All others fit better into his term entrepôt or hub. For example, Stralsund was the town with the highest frequency and a median of 10 läster would therefore fall in under the concept of hub. However, the towns lively traffic to Gothenburg can explain the low median.

We maintain just as Ojala so finely put it that "different kind of ships were needed for different routes and to carry different kinds of cargoes". The cargo shipped between two harbours determined what size of ship was used. Another factor of significance is the labour cost, weather conditions and distance. It is, for example, known that the Baltic often froze up in the 1700s. The importance was therefore to get enough goods through while the weather still allowed shipping. Most came during the autumn months, i.e. when the winds were high. However, the shipping has to be after harvest and preferably before winter when the ports often were closed. The costs could certainly have dropped if larger vessels would have been used, since large ships proportionally needed less sailors than small ones, and as Ojala puts it: "the turnaround times in ports" lessens, but in the Baltic the labour costs were low which was "in fact one of the competitive advantage[s]". These factors together probably contributed to the use of very small or small vessels in the traffic between Stralsund and Gothenburg. Furthermore, it is doubtful if the turnaround times really could be lessened as the large ships had to dock outside town and the offloading and distribution to the town and the cargo reloading from the town that was supposed to go back with the ship had to be organised. All this took extra time compared to the small ships that could dock directly at the quay and therefore not have to wait for the reloading and distribution to and from town. Finally, this is an inter-regional trade. It is therefore possible to put it as Bensassi describes the asian trade that "there was no need to develop the technologies making it possible to stay away from the coastline in rough waters for long".⁴¹ For the inter-regional traffic in the Baltic knowledge of the weather conditions and were it was possible to shelter when the winds where too high was often enough. Traffic from Stralsund and Danish towns like Aalborg to Gothenburg mostly produce as well as raw materials for the textile industry and the ship wharfs. Cargo that was highly necessary for Gothenburg and the town's hinterland and then both for the populations survival and for the development of the industry of this region.

1760 (Magnus Andersson)

In 1760, most of the ships came from Amsterdam followed by Leith, Crosswik, Danzig, Hamburg, Aalborg, Hull and London. In the material it is also apparent that Amsterdam was a very important export harbour for Gothenburg's import.

1790-1804 (Per Hallén)

Helsingør was the most frequent town from which ships arrived to Gothenburg 1790. Several ships that arrived from Helsingør only carried ballast and hence had the mission to sail to Gothenburg to pick up cargo for other towns.

Stabens which has the top spot in the table for 1804 is because a lot of limestone still was shipped to Gothenburg in connection with the significant building activity in the town.

The effect of the herring industry is clear. St. Übes and Terravecchia were towns high up on the list and were the town's main sources of salt during the end of the 1700s. However the Wollgast, Stralsund and Danzig ports were connected to the export of herring. Every year, large amounts of salted herring went to the Baltic region and the ships returned with grain from northern Germany and with linen and hemp from other parts of the Baltic coast.

⁴¹ Ojala J. (2011) p. 173-178; Bensassi S. (2011).

A strange addition in the shipping traffic from abroad was that a Swedish harbour, Marstrand, was considered among the "foreign towns". It has to do with the fact that the town was a free port, however only for a short time.⁴²

The ships' sizes increased steadily in pace with the increase of traffic to Mediterranean ports and eventually ports on the other side of the Atlantic ocean. The amount of läster for these ships were usually above 70, in some cases near 200. The traffic that arrived from the Baltic region was still relatively small, around 30 to 40 läster. The large amount of ships that sailed to and from Copenhagen were even smaller, only a few läster each.

The end of the 1700s meant a change in trade. Both the Baltic and the Mediterranean became far more important than they had been and it was the rich herring period that was the reason.⁴³

In our study the East-India Trading Company fall outside the boundaries, as they were free from tolls after 1756, but it must not be forgotten that Gothenburg during the 1700s was Sweden's link to China.

During the late 1700s the first regular connections with North America and the Caribbean were established. Of course this included the Swedish colony St. Barts (Saint Barthélemy) which France had given to Sweden 1784 in exchange for a trading depot without fees in Gothenburg.

Hence, the trade via Gothenburg took its first steps in expanding beyond the European scene and expanding the network on a global level.

Homeport frequency

Table 4 The ten highest pro cent of living registred for shipmaster arriving to Gothenburg 1720–1804.

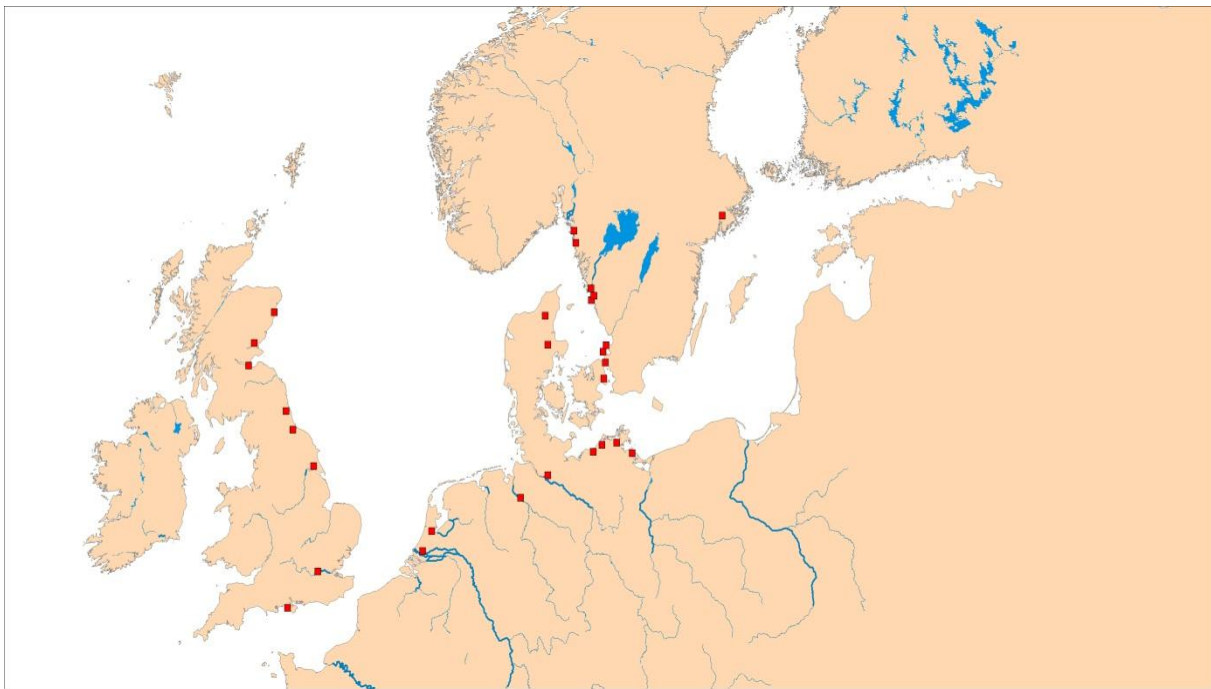
Ort/ region	% 1720	Ort/ region	% 1730	Ort/ region	1760	Ort/ region	Antal 1790	Ort/ region	% 1804
Hull	10,1	Göteborg	16,5	Göteborg	29,5	Helsingør	5,0	Göteborg	25,3
Amsterdam	7,6	Onsala	15,4	Halland	5,0	Köpenhamn	3,1	Strömstad	6,2
Göteborg	7,6	Halland	9,4	Stockholm	4,7	Randers	2,9	Wollgast	6,2
London	4,6	Hull	8,6	Fridrichshall	4,0	Newcastle	2,7	Strahlsund	4,1
Hamburg	3,5	Kongsbacka	5,3	Lieth	4,0	Bremen	2,4	Grebbestör	3,7
Rostock	3,5	London	4,5	Hull	2,5	Ribnitz	2,1	Stockholm	3,7
Stockton	3,5	Lysekil	3,8	Ahlborg	1,9	Dunde	2,0	Kullen	3,5
Onsala	3	Scarbourgh	2,6	Newcastle	1,7	Leith	1,9	Båstad	2,9
Yarmouth	3	Greifswald	2,3	Barth	1,4	London	1,9	Barth	1,9
Ålborg	3	Liverpool, Newcastle, Ramsgathe	1,5	Montross, Vriesland	1,4	Aberden, Lübeck	1,7	Fjellbacka	1,9
Pro cent of total	49,4		72,9		66,0		27,4		59,4

Source: GLA: Drättselkammarens arkiv; SER: utrikes inkommande; 1720, 1730, 1760, 1790, 1804. (Lili-Annè Aldman)

⁴² Marstrand was a porto-franco port between 1775 and 1794. Fröding H. (1922). p 161-165.

⁴³ This was also previously noted by: Grage E-B. (1961) p. 167-174.

Map 1. Map over the home towns of skippers 1720-1804 (the most common places)



Source: GLA: Drättselkammarens arkiv: SER: utrikes inkommande; 1720, 1730, 1760, 1790, 1804. (Per Hallén)

1720-1730 (Lili-Annè Aldman)

Another criteria Scheltjens puts up if a port is to be counted as a gateway, entrepôte or hub, is where the skipper of the ships resided. He shows using the Sound toll records that the skipper's place of residence showed displacements between different ports in Holland. For Gothenburg it would mean a displacement between 1720 and 1730 partially as an effect caused by the produktplakat, partially because of, as has been shown above, a significant change in traffic to Gothenburg over the years. Concerning the ships arriving in Gothenburg 1720 the towns registered as home towns by the skippers were relatively well spread, just as the shipping traffic, but unlike the shipping traffic more than half of the skippers registered home towns within the East Sea. Among the most frequent towns mentioned Hull is the absolutely largest. Amsterdam in this regard was in second place and Gothenburg third.

Ten years later most of the skippers lived along the Swedish west coast, less than a fifth lived in Gothenburg and its archipelago. However, almost a third lived in Halland. From this result Scheltjens' criteria, for different types of harbours, would mean that Gothenburg was either a hub or an entrepôte instead of a gateway. Especially since the Gothenburg region mostly repaired ships and there was no manufacturing of larger vessels at this time. Scheltjens' criteria for a gateway would mean that it was Halland rather than Gothenburg that was Sweden's gateway on the west coast. In reality the towns in Halland were more service harbours and service regions for Gothenburg.⁴⁴

Seen from Gothenburg's perspective and the skippers' home towns it means that Amsterdam possibly fulfilled the demand in order to be classified as a Gateway, but then only together with Gothenburg, Hull and possibly London. Ten years later, however, none of the Dutch towns seem to fulfil the demands. Instead it was Hull and London outside of Gothenburg that was at the top. Furthermore, the Scottish towns in the Edinburgh region would fit better for Scheltjens' criteria on the home towns for the skippers for the classification of a gateway. Edinburgh was certainly never a port where ships from Gothenburg arrived, since the traffic instead went to smaller surrounding ports like North Berwick, Queensferry, Kirkcaldy, Leven and Leith. In other words it is ports near Edinburgh,

⁴⁴ Andersson B. (1996) p. 188–189; Fröding H. (1919).

often on the other side of the estuary, but always in the estuary or inside its outer borders that trafficked Gothenburg. A reasonable explanation would be that they in fact were transit harbours for Edinburgh in the same way that Greenock was a transit harbour for Glasgow.⁴⁵ In total, the ports in the Firth of Forth estuary were home ports for nearly the same number of registered skippers as Hull in 1730 and more skippers than Hull in 1720. This also corresponds to the description Jackson and Rössner have of Scottish international trade. Even Ireland had more skippers than the Dutch 1730, but the Irish skippers seem to have gone through London, which means London may fulfil Scheltjens' criteria. While the Scots traded directly with Scandinavia, the Irish largely fulfilled the demand to go past London.⁴⁶

Contrary to Scheltjens we argue that the skippers' home towns reflect the size of the area that provided service to the most important port in the region. It was a significant area for Gothenburg and it expanded between 1720 and 1730. In other words, Gothenburg's international trade was supplied with the skippers living all along the Swedish west coast and more so in 1730. The powerful rise of skippers from the Swedish west coast can probably be explained by how the Swedish trading policies were shaped. Even if the introduction of the produktplakat probably was a contributing factor it was probably the toll policies that meant that domestic ships paid lower toll than the international, which was the largest cause of the change. It was after all before the East-India Trading Company started conducting their trade in Gothenburg and, hence, could have lured in adventurous people to the region.⁴⁷

Furthermore, at closer scrutiny it is apparent that 11 percent of the ships arriving in 1730 carried only ballast, which meant they lacked goods going to Gothenburg. If this is taken into account then the tonnage from both the British Isles and Holland should be reduced. Seen from this perspective Stralsund had a larger tonnage than both London and Hull. A contributing cause to the ballast carrying ships was probably that London and Hull as well as Amsterdam were more interested in purchasing iron, since a third of the ship carrying only ballast arrived in August when the iron export was at its peak.

Even Scheltjens' criteria concerning hinterland can be questioned, as Gothenburg's hinterland, acre wise, was significantly larger than for ports like Amsterdam and Rotterdam. However, the Dutch ports had a far larger population to supply with goods.

1760 (Magnus Andersson)

As it turns out, in the year 1760 it was skippers from Gothenburg and Halland that conducted the largest amount of import. Skippers from Stockholm were in third place. That many skippers had their residence in Gothenburg was natural, as skippers brought goods out of Gothenburg and then had the capacity to conduct return trade. An explanation to the spread of skippers from foreign towns could be the opposite. An export of goods to Gothenburg with a return trade in the form of import. That way a pattern appears where important towns like Hamburg, Amsterdam, London, Leith etc. conducted trade. In that pattern of significant towns Gothenburg seems to have its given place. Whether Gothenburg according to the gateway theories' different parameters should be considered a gateway becomes a dynamic question.⁴⁸ For certain studied years more criteria may be fulfilled than others, in part because of the flow of goods and shipments that the skippers got. It is a question of supply and demand, free capacity, economic and political conditions.

⁴⁵ Jackson G. (2005) p. 277.

⁴⁶ Jackson G. (2005); Rössner P. R.(2005); According to Powell the Irish international trade had to go via London and these restrictions should be eased only 1779th. Powell M. J (2005) s. 3, 175.

⁴⁷ Subject to the East India Company has not yet started and that the traffic attracted adventure to the town: see ex. Frängsmyr T. (1976).

⁴⁸ Rimmer P J. (1967); Scheltjens W.(2010). The dynamic is in the difficulty to exactly define a gateway.

1790-1804 (Per Hallén)

Among the skippers who arrived with import goods to Gothenburg in 1790 a majority had their residence in Helsingør, followed by Copenhagen and Randers. It breaks the pattern from earlier years when Gothenburg was the most common residence. Further down the list it was towns of Great Britain that dominated. The reason for this change should have been that the Swedish policies went through several changes.

In 1804 skippers with residence in Gothenburg were back in the majority. The town as a base for a large trading fleet could thereby be supported. If you also add the other towns along the west coast the dominance grows even larger.

The long-term change between 1720 and 1804 gives the interesting result that more and more skippers settled in Gothenburg or near the town. This has been confirmed previously in a study of the suburb Majorna near Gothenburg which was dominated primarily by sailors or workers in the shipping support industries.⁴⁹

The model's usefulness for Gothenburg (Per Hallén)

In this paper we do not have the possibility to do the calculations around the Home-market share of supply and Supply vs. demand relation. We can, however, still give some preliminary results when it comes to Port classification.

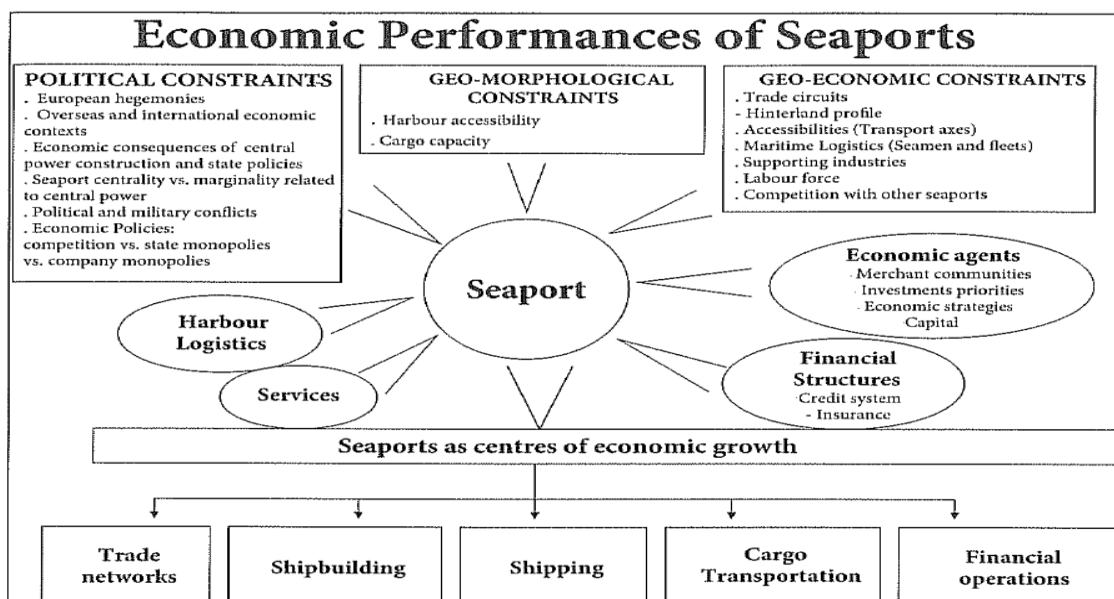
Gothenburg was the residence of a large share of skippers (*Homeport frequency*) for several of the studied years, which therefore should place the town in the highest category - gateway. When it comes to Point frequency it is obvious that some towns dominated. It is, however, necessary to scrutinise what these towns meant in regards to the flow of goods in order to understand the economic effects.

It is possible that this particular model fits better for a spot like the Sound, where there is a large flow of ships from many different nations, than it does for a gateway between the port's surrounding area and world sea. Another possibility is to use this model in combination with others in order to judge a port's economic growth.

The port as a centre for economic growth

The most common way of approaching the problem of what should be classified as a gateway is to make a qualitative estimation from a long row of conditions. The port's contact network with both its foreland and its hinterland is of course important, but also the town's possibility to handle trade and its production of goods.

⁴⁹ Hallén P. (2007) p. 91-97.



Source: Polónia A. (2011).

In the model above, borrowed from Polónia, we find the most important functions of the harbour listed. First of all we start with the flow of goods and trade network.

The flow of goods (Per Hallén & Lili-Annè Aldman)

The import to Gothenburg went through significant changes from 1720 to 1804. There were two factors that changed the trade patterns and the flow of goods during the period, the East-India trade and the herring fishery.

The flow of goods was, for the studied period, linked with where the ships came from and was largely dependent on what shipments the skippers could get. The flow depends on what contact network the commissioning merchants had and what merchandise was most profitable to trade in at the time. Demand from Gothenburg has its significance, just as what possibilities for transit trade there was. In this study certain goods flow and development are especially scrutinised from the period of 1720 to the year 1804.

Table 5 Ports that delivered sugar, tea, coffee and tobacco to Gothenburg 1720–1804.

Habour	1720	1730	1760	1790	1804
Aalborg					Sugar,tobacco
Alicante					Tobacco
Amsterdam	Sugar, the, coffe, tobacco	Sugar, the, coffe, tobacco	Sugar	Sugar, tobacco	
Arth		Sugar			
Bergen					Tobacco
Bordeaux		The			Tobacco
Copenhagen			Sugar	Sugar	Sugar, Tobacco
Boston				Sugar, tobacco	
Dieppe					Tobacco
Dundee	Tobacco	Sugar, tobacco			
Dumfries		Sugar, tobacco			
Dunkerque		Tobacco			
Fallmouth	Sugar	Sugar, Tobacco			
Flensburg			Sugar		
Frankrike		Sugar			
Glasgow				Tobacco	
Greenock	Tobacco	Tobacco			
Guernsey					Sugar
Hamburg	Sugar, Tobacco	Sugar, the, coffe, tobacco		Sugar,tobacco	
Helsingør			Sugar		
Hull		Sugar			
Leith	Tobacco	Tobacco	Sugar, tobacco	Tobacco	Tobacco
Lissabon		Sugar			Sugar
Liverpool		Sugar	Sugar		
London	Tobacco	Sugar, the, tobacco	Sugar, tobacco	Sugar, tobacco	Sugar, tobacco
Lübeck	Sugar, Tobacco	Sugar, tobacco			Sugar, tobacco
Nantes	Tobacco	Tobacco	Socket		
Newcastle	Sugar, Tobacco				
Pettersburg (America)				Sugar	Tobacco
Pettersburg (Russia)		Tobacco			
Savannah (America)					Tobacco
St. Bartholome					Sugar
St. Martin France		Sugar			
St. Martin Westindia				Tobacco	
S:t Übes (Sebutal)		Sugar	Sugar		
Scarborough		Sugar			
Stralsund	Tobacco	The, tobacco			
Terra Vechia					Tobacco

Source: GLA: Drättselkammarens arkiv: SER: utrikes inkommande; 1720, 1730, 1760, 1790, 1804.

Remark: the information on coffee and tea is not available during the period 1756–1804. During 1720–1730 tobacco and sugar includes all kinds of these goods.

Table 6 Ports that delivered salt, coal, fabrics and raw cotton to Gothenburg, 1720-1804.

Habour	1720	1730	1760	1790	1804
Aalborg	Fabrics	Fabrics	Fabrics		
Alicante				Salt	Salt, fabrics
Allora (Scotland)		Coal		Coal	
Alloway			Coal	Coal	
Amsterdam	Fabrics, raw cotton	Salt, fabrics, raw cotton	Salt, Coal, Fabrics, raw cotton	Fabrics, raw cotton	Fabrics, raw cotton
Antwerpen					Salt
Arth		Coal			
Bergen					Fabrics
Bruntisland				Coal	
Cadiz	Salt	Salt	Salt	Salt	
Calgaiare			Salt	Salt	Salt
Carron					Coal
Crosswik	Salt	Salt	Salt		
Danzig	Fabrics	Fabrics	Salt, Fabrics		
Dundee	Fabrics	Coal	Coal	Coal	
Dunkerque		Salt, coal			
Dysart				Coal	
Elbing			Fabrics		
Flensburg	Fabrics	Fabrics	Coal		
Fraserburgh			Coal		
Hamburg	Fabrics, raw cotton,	Salt, fabrics, raw cotton	Raw cotton	Fabrics, raw cotton	
Hull	Fabrics	Coal, fabrics			
Ile Oléron	Salt	Salt			
Iverkeithing					Coal
Kirkcaldy	Salt, coal, fabrics	Salt, coal			
Copenhagen					Fabrics
Leven	Fabrics	Salt	Coal		
Leith	Fabrics	Coal	Coal		
Libau			Fabrics		
Lind	Fabrics		Coal		
Lissabon	Salt	Salt	Salt	Salt	
Liverpool			Coal	Salt	
Livorno					Fabrics
London	Fabrics	Fabrics	Raw cotton	Salt, Fabrics, raw cotton	Salt, fabrics, raw cotton
Lübeck	Fabrics, raw cotton				Fabrics
Marseille			Salt		
Memel			Fabrics		

Nantes	Salt	Salt	Salt		
Narva			Fabrics		
Newcastle	Coal	Coal, Fabrics	Coal	Salt, Coal	Coal
Newry			Fabrics		
Petersburg (Russia)		Fabrics	Fabrics		
Port á Port			Salt		
Polgain			Salt		
Prestonpans				Coal	
Queensferry		Coal			
Riga	Fabrics	Fabrics	Fabrics		
Rochelle		Salt			
Rostock			Fabrics		
Savannah (Amerika)					Fabrics, Raw cotton
St. Davids				Coal	
S:t Malo	Salt	Salt, Fabrics			
S:t Martin, France	Salt	Salt	Salt		
S:t Martin, West-India				Salt	
S:t Übes (Sebutal)	Salt	Salt	Salt	Salt	Salt
Seudre	Salt	Salt	Salt		
Stockton	Fabrics				
Stralsund	Fabrics	Fabrics	Fabrics		
Sunderland			Coal	Coal	
Terra Vechia				Salt	Salt
Wemyss				Coal	Coal
Whitehaven				Coal	
Wissmar	Fabrics	Fabrics			
Wolgast	Fabrics	Fabrics			

Source: GLA: Drätselkammarens arkiv: Stadens enskilda räkenskaper utrikes inkommande; 1720, 1730, 1760, 1790, 1804.

1720-1730 (Lili-Annè Aldman)

Textiles

People needed textiles for clothing, especially all those employed in towns and at works. With an increase in industrial manufacturing and works in the region, the need for textiles should have risen. Additionally, textiles were one of the things that the Swedish parliament tried to reduce early on by raised tolls and gradually introducing import restrictions. For Stockholm this policy was very successful.⁵⁰ Additionally some kinds were excluded as linen and cotton fabrics were raw materials in the emerging linen- and cotton printing industry. A production that was also established in Gothenburg.

In this section, the import of fabric is the focus, but in general the textiles that arrived can most easily be divided into the groups cloth, fabric and sowing articles (clothing applications) and other textiles.⁵¹ The reason for our focus on fabrics was that it was the item that dominated the Swedish imports, at least until 1738. In Stockholm 1730, 70 percent of the toll value from textiles came from fabrics, 10 percent from clothing and sowing articles and 20 from other textiles. For Gothenburg, the numbers are 90 percent fabrics and the others are 10 percent together.⁵²

Textiles, and especially fabrics, were, as has been previously mentioned, a hot political topic in Sweden. The import was considered to be draining money out of the country which was something especially claimed about the fabrics arriving from the region previously referred to as the East Sea in Sweden.

When seen from a Stockholm-based perspective the economic policies can be considered understandable as three quarters of the total quantity came from the East Sea during the 1720s and the trade policies had gotten the import of fabrics from East Sea ports into Stockholm down to 53 percent as early as 1730 and the share was below 40 percent eight years later. However, when seen from a Gothenburg-based perspective, the West Sea seems to already have dominated the import from before the trade policies had been started to be put into place. 1720 the share of the fabrics that came in from the West Sea was over 85 percent and 1730 the share of fabrics that arrived from there was almost 97 percent.⁵³

Fabrics that arrived in Gothenburg 1720 came from 16 different ports, and in 1730 the fabrics arrived from 14 different ports. In 1720, Amsterdam was supplying over 40 percent, Hull over a quarter and Hamburg 13 percent.

Despite the import of fabrics into Gothenburg having increased tenfold ten years later, Amsterdam had lost its previous role. Instead, in 1730, it was Hull that was supplying more than half the volume of fabrics being imported. Hamburg and London had also increased their shares. Amsterdam still belonged to the top four suppliers in 1730, even though their share had dropped to about 7 percent. One explanation for the increased amounts from Hull and London is likely that the export of iron to them had increased. It is also interesting to note that the ports in the Edinburgh region; Leith, Kirkcaldy, etc. whose shares in 1720 had been around 1 percent, in 1730 had almost disappeared as exporters of the Scottish fabrics. When studying the contents of the shipments, it is evident that the ships from Hull and London, which had no Scottish fabrics in 1720, held a relatively large portion of Gothenburg's Scottish fabric import ten years later. It would seem as if the Scots had started to allow the English to handle their export of fabrics.

Out of the Baltic ports, Riga and Lübeck were the ones that had the largest shares of the fabrics import in 1720. A reasonable explanation for the higher share for Riga over Lübeck in 1720 is their export of sail canvas that year. In 1730 as well, the export from Riga to

⁵⁰ See Aldman L-A. (2008) cap. III.

⁵¹ See Aldman L-A. (2008) p. 72. Other fabrics related to pre-cut fabrics and fabrics for residence purposes.

⁵² Aldman L-A (forthcoming)

⁵³ Appendix Table A:1.

Gothenburg was sail canvas, but their share had dropped significantly in 1730. Instead it was Danzig that in 1730 had the largest share among the Baltic ports.

The other ports provided relatively low volumes both years and the rest of the fabrics were relatively evenly distributed among them. It is interesting to note that fabrics also arrived from, from a Swedish perspective, lesser known ports in France, such as Saint Malo and Dunkerque.

All in all, it can be said that the, for Gothenburg, old trade connections with the Dutch decreased between the years 1720 and 1730, when it came to fabrics. Instead, it was the British Isles that, to an increasing extent, took on the role as most important supplier of fabrics for Gothenburg. From having supplied just over a third of the cargoes in 1720, to more than 60 percent. It is interesting to note that Lübeck was completely missing from the ports that ships with fabrics arrived from in 1730. Hamburg's increasing influence on the import between 1720 and 1730 seems to have been an effect of the Swedish trade policies, since most of the fabrics that had previously arrived from the East Sea in 1720, instead came from Hamburg ten years later. The import of Schlesien linen is a clear indication that such a change had actually taken place, since this fabric previously had only arrived from German baltic ports, primarily Lübeck, a decade earlier. When seen from this perspective, the Swedish trade policies did affect the flow of textiles to Gothenburg, if only to a lesser extent than to Stockholm. A contributing cause is also likely to be the development of ironworks in the Gothenburg region, which is indicated by the rise in Gothenburg's textile imports.

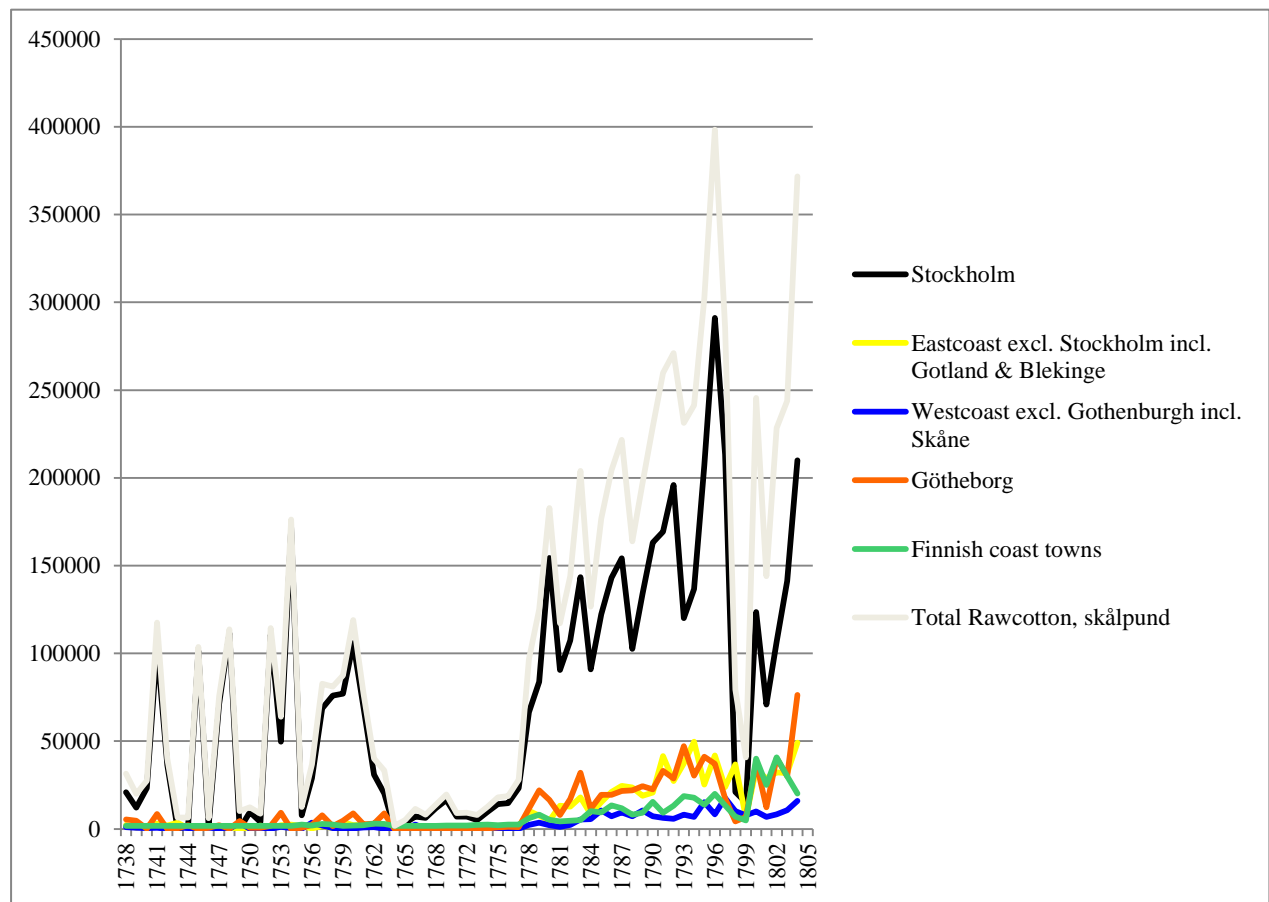
Raw cotton

The importance of Gothenburg as an importer of raw cotton as seen from a Swedish perspective (figure 2) is considered to be relatively marginal, but during the period in this paper the import rose markedly. The change was the strongest during the late 1700s and early 1800s. It was in the early 1800s that the cotton industry in the Gothenburg region started to develop and Swedish cotton production came to be concentrated here during the 1800s.⁵⁴

Gothenburg should therefore be able to be used as a starting point for where the Swedish import of raw cotton came, at least until the Swedish cotton industrialisation got going in the 1800s.

⁵⁴ Hallén P. (2010b) p.102–114; see also: Fritz M. (1996); Schön L.(2000).

Figure 2 Import of raw cotton to Sweden, by town and region, 1738-1764, skålpund.



Source: RA: Kommerskollegium: Kammarkontoret: Generalpersedelsextrakt serie 1 and 2: vol. 1–4
 Remark: Even though most of the raw cotton transport with the Swedish East-India Trading Company's ships to Gothenburg were reexported, the figures for Gothenburg are probably underestimated after 1756, because their import is probably not included.

The amount of raw cotton that arrived in Gothenburg was thus low in 1720, as only 506 skålpund was imported. From what arrived, Hamburg was the main supplier of raw cotton to Gothenburg, as the town provided more than two thirds. Amsterdam supplied just under 30 percent and Lübeck roughly 3. In 1730, the amount of cotton being imported as raw materials into Gothenburg was even lower. In this case Amsterdam dominated as only 11.5 percent came from Hamburg, which was the only port aside from Amsterdam, that delivered raw cotton during that year.⁵⁵

Coal

The amount of coal arriving in Gothenburg in 1720 and 1730 was relatively low, especially when compared to the rest of the 1700s. In 1720, only 133 barrels arrived, while 4003 barrels arrived ten years later. The higher amount of coal that was delivered in 1730 came from more ports than before. Overall, it can however be said that the shipments of coal this year almost exclusively arrived from the British Isles. While England supplied more than half in 1720, it was Scotland that supplied the greatest amount ten years later.

⁵⁵ See Appendix: table A:7

Tabell 7 Ports' percentage of coal arriving to Gothenburg 1720-1730

	1720		1730
Newcastle	54,2	Newcastle	37,5
Kirkcaldy	37,6	Leith	15,8
		Alloa	12,5
		Queensferry via Port Bones	12,2
		Arth via Stralsund	10,6
		Kirkcaldy	5,6
		Dundee	4,8
		Hull	1
Total	100		100

Source: GLA: Drätselkontorets arkiv: SER: Utrikes inkommande tolagsjournal 1720 & 1730.

Some of the coal was what is called "fyркоl" (lighthouse coal), i.e. mainly meant for use for the light in lighthouses. It is however apparent than for more than half of the total amount, the recipients of the "fyркоl" is listed as ironworks.

Newcastle was the port that clearly delivered the most barrels during both years. The town supplied over 50 percent of what arrived in 1720 and ten years on it supplied over 37 percent. But if the shipments from the different locations in the Firth of Forth estuary is added up, the region supplied over 37 percent of the total shipments in 1720 and nearly 46 ten years later.

Somewhat surprisingly, Arth, which is currently located in Schweiz, was the fifth largest supplier in 1730 with roughly 11 percent. The transport that contained coal was stated to have gone via Stralsund and Stockholm. But, it is possible that the transport had gone via the North Sea and picked up the coal from there on its way to the Baltic. In other words, it is not clear where this coal actually came from.

Despite that southern English coal districts surrounding Liverpool, Yorkshire, Bristol as well as those in Wales are well known, and that Liverpool, Hull and Bristol are among the ports that received large quantities of iron from Sweden, it was only Hull that delivered coal. Therefore, it seems that there is no connection between iron imports and coal exports from England these years, except possibly from Hull. On the other hand, the reverse could be said as it comes to the coal shipments from Scotland, especially from the Edinburgh region.⁵⁶

Salt

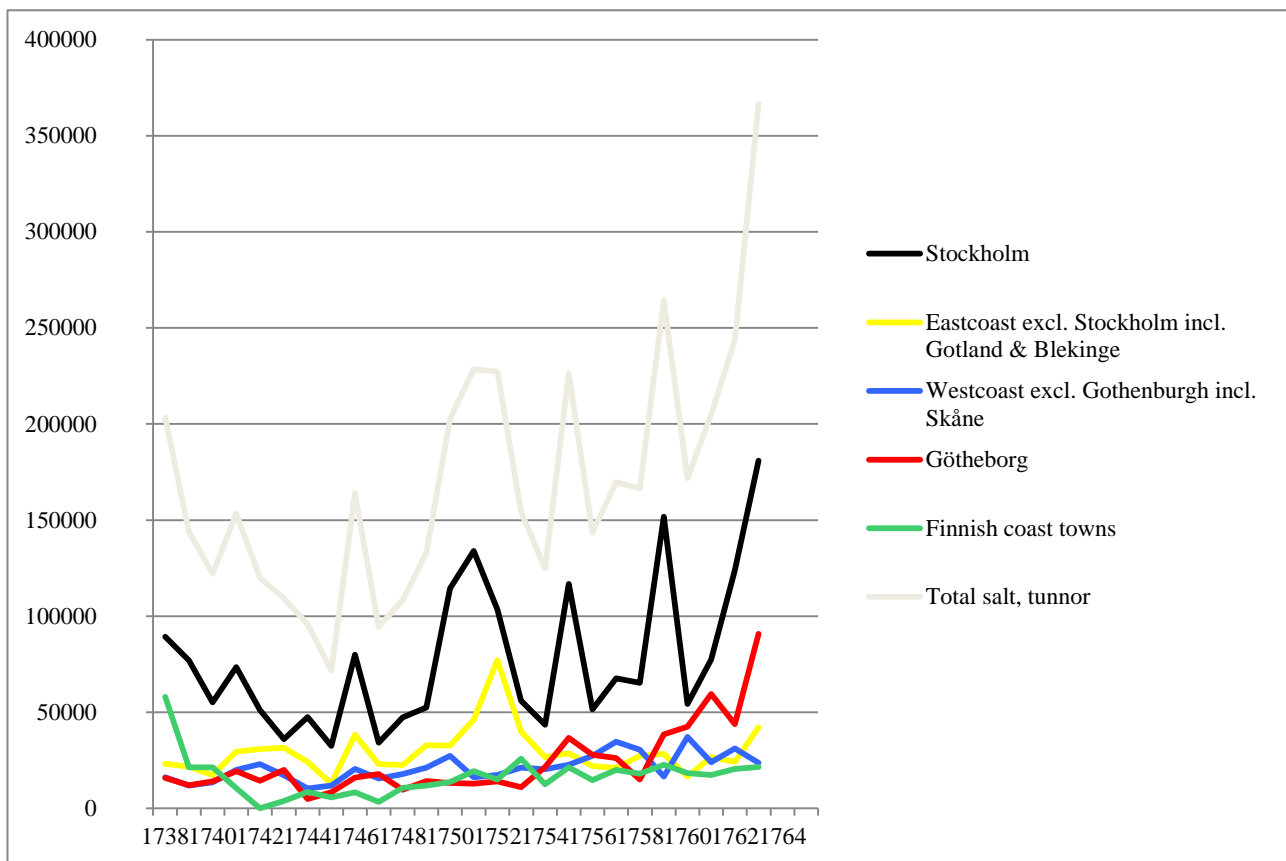
Salt was one of the most important goods imported into Sweden. It was also one of the goods that contributed to the introduction of the produktplakat. The salt imports could vary greatly between years, which is shown in the figure 3. One reason for the variations between years were the so-called depot salt, which meant that of the salt that came into port, toll was only required to be paid for the salt that stayed within the country. The rest were stored in the town's storage and was declared only when it was either sold to someone else within the country or exported to other locations, usually other Baltic ports. But, from the 1750s on, an increasing trend can be seen in the figure, something that is especially obvious for Gothenburg and the west coast region, when an increase coincides with the herring season.

In the 1600s, salt had often arrived to Sweden via middlemen in other ports. This was, however, considered harmful as the costs increased both because of the margins for the agent and for the shipping. By preventing the Salt from passing through other European ports, Sweden could also increase its shipping income.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ See ex: Flin M.W. & Stoker D. (1984), map 1–4.

⁵⁷ Carlén S.(1994); Högberg S (1969).

Figure 3 Import of Salt to Sweden, by town and region, 1738–1764, barrels



Source: RA: Kommerskollegium: Kammarkontoret: Generalpersedelsextrakt serie 1 and 2: vol. 1–2.

Salt was delivered to Gothenburg from fourteen ports in Europe in 1720 and 1730. From earlier research it is known that Portugal was supposed to have been the country that delivered the most salt to Sweden during the 1700s.⁵⁸ In general, however, it can be claimed that France closely followed by Portugal were the large salt suppliers in 1720 and 1730 as far as Gothenburg was concerned.

While the salt from France were divided among several ports, the salt from Portugal only came from two. In Gothenburg's case, nearly half of the salt came from France in 1730, while roughly 43 percent arrived from Portugal. On the other hand, S:t Übes was the single largest supplier as almost 27 percent of all the salt arriving came from there, while Seudres delivered roughly one fifth. Roughly 16 percent came from Lisbon and barely 10 from Nantes. More surprising is that Spain (Cadiz) delivered less than 6 percent of the salt that arrived in Gothenburg during these years. In 1730, Cadiz delivered almost as much as Oléron (Île d'Oléron) and S:t Martin. Other French ports that contributed to the country's high share were S:t Malo, Rochelle and Dunkerque.⁵⁹

Dalhede shows that during the 1600s, salt also arrived to Gothenburg from German and Scottish ports. In 1730, Scottish salt was still arriving from Kirkcaldy, even if the town, as a salt supplier, was only responsible for barely half of a percent. As seen to the number of barrels delivered, it was slightly fewer than what was recorded for the one ship arriving with salt from Amsterdam. On the other hand, the salt that arrived from other British ports is said to have been Scottish.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Andersson B. (1996) p. 194; Heckscher E. (1949).

⁵⁹ Appendix tabel A:2

⁶⁰ See ex. Andersson B (2002) page 45-55.

Hamburg, which provided over one percent of the salt arriving in Gothenburg, exported so-called "Lüneburgsalt". The salt arriving from Amsterdam in 1730 came originally from Spain. This is especially interesting, as it was a Swedish ship that, when it left Gothenburg, had stated that it was going to the Mediterranean. It is therefore possible that the salt originally came from Cadiz. Regardless, it was, according to the produktplakat not strictly allowed, but likely Amsterdam was a through-port. Even if the shipment was to be counted as coming from Cadiz, this would not notably change the outcome of the analysis.

Colonial Goods

In earlier research, Amsterdam is usually described as Sweden's major supplier of colonial goods, such as sugar, coffee, tea but also tobacco. It is also well known that English and Scottish ports have supplied tobacco and sugar to other European ports.⁶¹ Out of all the colonial goods that arrived in Gothenburg, we have chosen to study where the sugar, coffee, tea and tobacco arrived from. Important trade goods from a national perspective such as spices, dyes etc. have had to be left aside, as data for these products are still missing from our data base. Additionally the investigation of these goods will not be based on volume other than during 1720 and 1730, since the volumes for other years are still missing from the data base. The questions therefore become; how many cargo owners imported sugar, coffee, tea or tobacco? And, is there any port that, to a greater extent than others seems to supply the owners in Gothenburg with sugar, coffee, tea and tobacco?

As far as Gothenburg is concerned, Andersson considers the old Dutch heritage from the 1600s to have made its mark long past the mid-1700s.⁶² The fact that Holland dominated the trade in the 1700s when it comes to where the traders of Gothenburg got their tea, coffee or tobacco from is hardly debatable, since more than half of these shipments in 1720 came from Amsterdam. On the other hand, when it comes to sugar, Falmouth was the port that dominated Gothenburg's raw sugar import, while Amsterdam was the largest port for refined sugar. As opposed to coffee and tea, where Amsterdam supplied all of Gothenburg's imports, nearly a third of the tobacco leaves came from the British Isles. Greenock supplied nearly a quarter, while Newcastle's and London's joint shares were barely 7 percent.⁶³

It was not until 1730 that Amsterdam was the largest supplier of raw sugar, whose share was then more than 50 percent. Falmouth was completely missing as a raw sugar supplier that year, instead a large number of new ports appear. Among the largest was Hamburg, which supplied less than 10 percent. Additionally the raw sugar came from another thirteen ports where among others Sit Öbes, Dumfries, Lisbon and Liverpool were the larger suppliers. Other ports had an altogether marginal share of the arriving raw sugar. But, all in all, nearly 16 percent of the raw sugar came from the British Isles, out of which Scotland supplied nearly 3. Scotland's share of the shipments were even higher than the shares from ships arriving from France and Portugal. North German Baltic ports were only marginally supplying the shipments to Gothenburg.

For tea, coffee and tobacco, Hamburg was the main competitor to Amsterdam in 1730. The town had almost the same share of the tea arriving in Gothenburg as Amsterdam and nearly a third of the coffee came from Hamburg. On top of this, even though Amsterdam's share of the tobacco leaves arriving in 1730 was over 50 percent, Hamburg's share was over 40 percent.

For tea and tobacco other ports were also represented, but less than 7 percent of the tea came from the London, Bordeaux and Stralsund. For tobacco, if only marginally, only London also shipped to Gothenburg during 1730.

As seen from each of the respective goods, it turns out that coffee arrived from either Amsterdam or Hamburg, while tea also arrived from Bordeaux, Stralsund and London.

⁶¹ See ex. Müller L. (2004); Andersson B. (2002); Rössner P. H. (2005).

⁶² See ex. Andersson B. (2002); See also Müller L.(2004).

⁶³ Appendix table A:3-A:6

Tobacco arrived from the most number of ports, and even if Amsterdam had the largest share, the other thirteen ports had a combined share of 45 percent. On the other hand, only Hamburg can be considered a competitor to Amsterdam when it comes to colonial goods in 1730.

There were over 60 different importers bringing in the shipments of selected colonial goods. Most of these importers got their goods from Amsterdam. However, for most shipments, largely regardless of where these colonial goods arrived from, had "skipper and crew" as the registered importer. Where sugar is concerned, "skipper and crew" were only responsible for a ninth of all shipments. A somewhat surprising result was that most of Gothenburg's known sugar refinery owners only had one or two shipments during 1720. During 1730 these completely lack import of raw sugar. However, they do import powdered sugar in great quantities that year.

Thus, there was a difference between our chosen colonial goods. The import of coffee and tea can be considered so-called pleasure goods, i.e. the product is meant to be consumed directly. An interesting thing to consider is the marked increase in coffee import to Gothenburg and the west coast from the 1760s on. This was likely connected to the fact that the herring fishing improved the income opportunities for the population of this region. On the other hand, out of the sugar and tobacco imported most went to further processing. Even if refined sugar still was the most common kind of sugar arriving to Gothenburg during both 1720 and 1730, the ports' shares have been measured by the raw sugar arriving. Sugar and tobacco should therefore, like raw cotton, primarily be considered to be raw materials rather than consumer goods.

1760 (Magnus Andersson)

What explanations are there for a change in the flow of goods? The question is central to the understanding of the development of Gothenburg's import. The explanatory factors can be both political and economical as well as practical. Part of the practical is the increased carrying capacity of ship and the expansion of the ports which are examples of structures to increase the development of trade to Gothenburg.

During 1760 coal was imported from amongst others Amsterdam, Dundee and Newcastle. This can be compared to the import during 1730 that came from significantly fewer ports. Gothenburg, thus, shows an increased exchange of trade. The import of coal has since developed further, apace with the increased significance of the herring refining industry. The energy provided by the coal was used for instance in the train oil factories. Until 1790 the study shows a marginal increase in the number of ports from where Gothenburg imported coal. In this study we have not studied the amounts of coal year by year in detail, but realistically speaking, the import has increased along with increased energy needs.

In 1760, the imports of raw cotton to Gothenburg came from Amsterdam, Hamburg, London and ports in the Mediterranean.

The salt import during 1760 came from among other places from Cadiz, Cagliari and Lisbon. That the salt import is important during the studied year has to do with its function as a raw material for refining herring. The herring export had an increasing importance to the traders in Gothenburg from the mid-1750s until the early 1800s. The great herring period is usually dated between 1747 through 1809.⁶⁴

One, out of the two colonial goods being studied here, that the traders in Gothenburg imported during 1760 was tobacco, which was imported from Leith and London. There was no import of coffee or tea during 1760 from other European ports.

Sugar, which during the studied period was very important as import goods, and which came to form the basis for the early industry in Gothenburg was imported from a number of ports during 1760. Among them Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Helsingør and London.

⁶⁴ Hallén P. (2008) s. 14 & 17.; Nilsson L. (1963) s. 281–317.

1790-1804 (Per Hallén)

Coal arrived to Gothenburg from a number of locations, but the area surrounding Edinburgh and Newcastle were the most common ports of origin. The traffic involving these ports were as close to regular service as you can get. The ships would leave Gothenburg loaded with bar iron and wood and return a few days later loaded with coal.

Fabrics arrived from mainly Amsterdam, London and Copenhagen. These were mainly cotton which were then sent to the cotton printing manufacturers in Gothenburg for further processing. In 1804 the imports of cotton as a raw material started to become noticeable in the shipments, as ships started arriving in Gothenburg directly from North America. This traffic was still in its infancy, but would come to increase rapidly a few decades into the 1800s.

The tobacco import was almost completely concentrated to London in 1790. This was going to change during the coming 14 years and Copenhagen became the port where the bulk of the tobacco was purchased, which was then processed by the tobacco manufacturers in town.

The purchase of raw sugar came entirely from Amsterdam and London in 1790, but was moved in the early 1800s to Copenhagen. There were also the occasional delivery from the Americas, amongst others from the Swedish colony of St. Barts in the Caribbean.

Salt could be bought in a variety of ports, most significantly were S:t Übes and Terravecchia, where most of the herring industry's actors bought large amounts of salt.

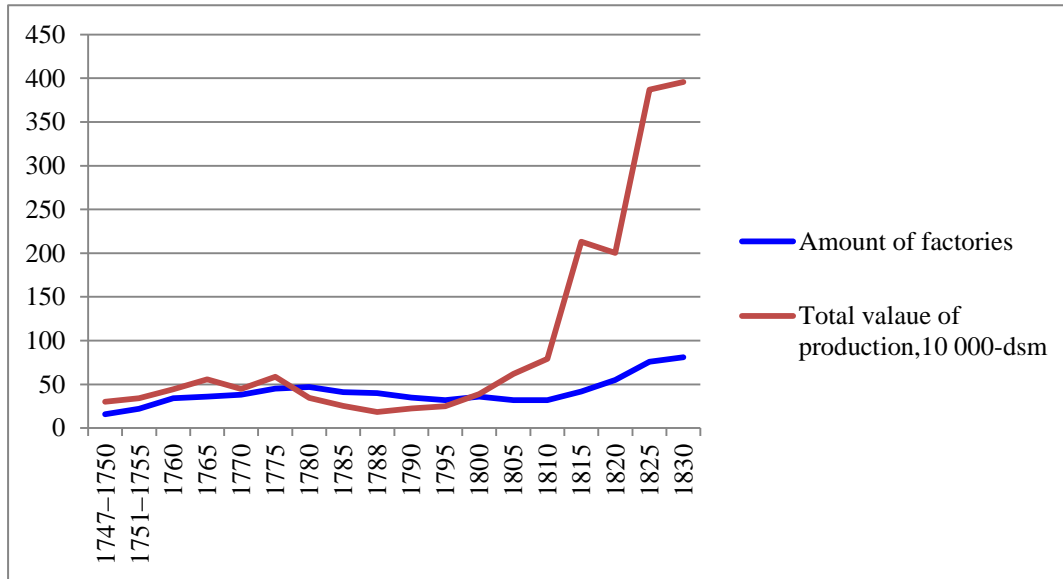
The picture of the Gothenburg import that emerges is an interesting one. From the ports in Amsterdam, London, Hamburg and Copenhagen arrived the large multitude of goods while a large network of other ports supplied Gothenburg with different forms of specialised goods, like coal and salt.

The town's production capacity (Lili-Annè Aldman)

Gothenburg should, during the 1700s, be considered as almost purely a town for trade. On the other hand, outside the city walls, there were some industrial enterprises, which were affected by the changes in trade policy. In parallel, the economic policies were aimed at supporting these and establishing new domestic manufacturing. As is evident from figure 4, it was not until some time into the 1800s that the town's industrialisation started to boom. The economic policies of the 1700s can however be seen as a beginning, as the support to the owners of manufacturing facilities resulted in new production facilities being established. The production also affected, to a lesser extent than for Stockholm, the structure of Gothenburg, as long as it is taken into account that factories established and owned by the town's burghers were placed outside the city walls. The town's space was limited by the military fortifications. The defenses contributed to an increased demand for goods, but the walls and moats also obstructed the opportunities for the town to grow by simply moving the toll fences whenever new land was needed, as Stockholm had done during the 1600s. The supply of water and energy was also limited inside the town. All in all, these factors contributed to the factories being placed along Mölndalsån, which also had plenty of waterfalls.⁶⁵

Figure 4 Amount of factories in the area of Gothenburg and the value of production 1747–1825.

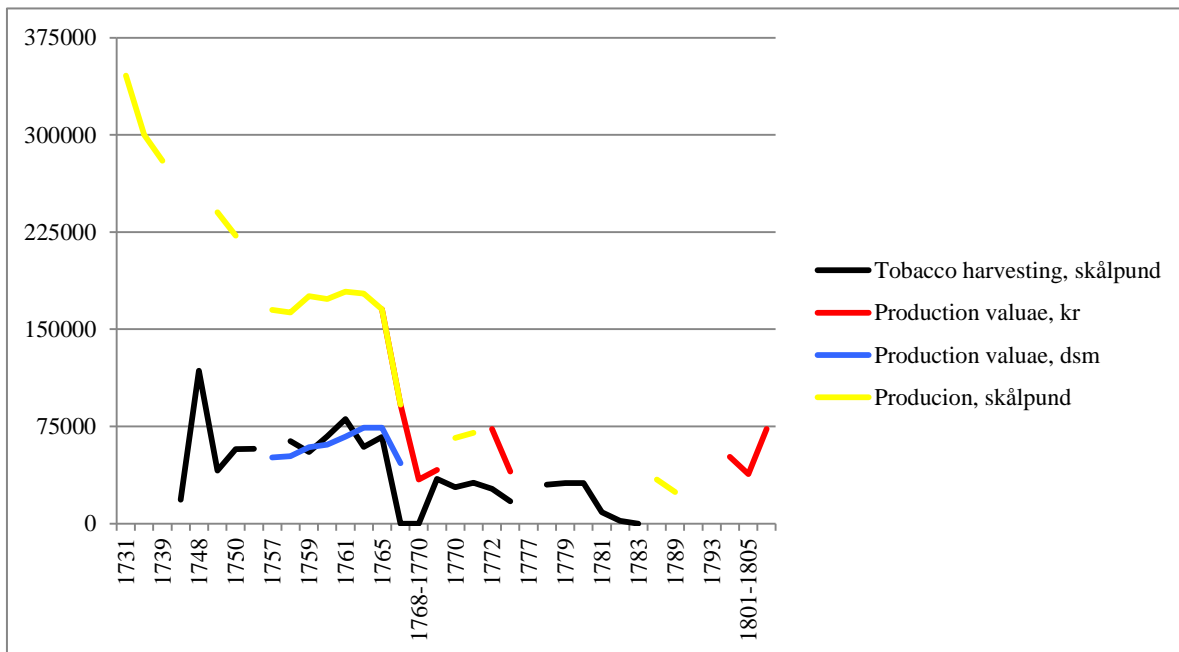
⁶⁵ Bodman G. (1923) p. 13-14, 47-48; Hallén P. s. 58–59, 67–69; Olsson K. P. 70–78; Hallén P. & Olsson K (2010) p. 332–340.



Sources: Bodman G. (1923) table page 64.

At first, it was mainly the old businesses; textiles, sugar and tobacco, that developed. In 1750, sugar made up nearly 74 percent of the production value, textiles just under a quarter, and the other industries combined represented the remaining. While Hans Coopman's clothing and wool factory was successful and the only one in all of Sweden who also exported a large amount of its production, Gothenburg's sugar factories decreased their production during the 1750s. The tobacco manufacturing which had decreased during the 1740s continued to decrease until the 1770s. Meanwhile the tobacco farming just outside Gothenburg's city walls picked up. In 1758 the tobacco leaf crop was 1 000 skålpund per tunmland (roughly 5 000 m²).

Figure 5 Tobacco harvesting and production in Gothenburg 1730–1810, skålpund per kr/dsm.



Source: Bodman G. (1923) s. 181, 211, 214 & 236.

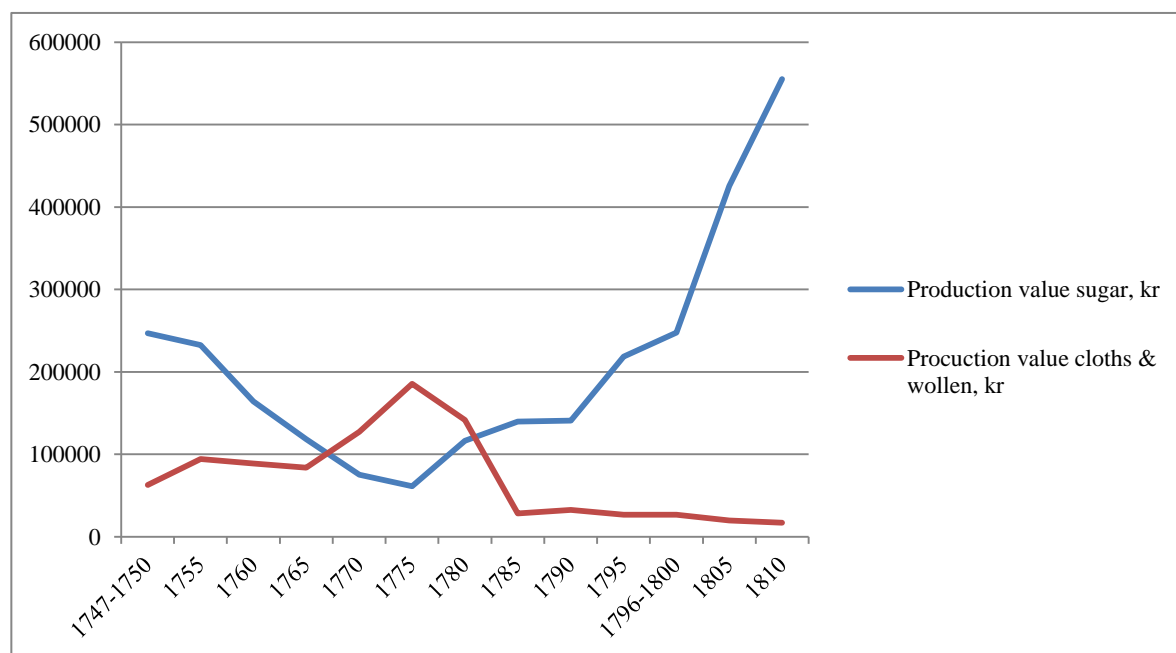
It is apparent that the effect of keeping tobacco plantations in the Gothenburg region was probably greatest until 1740, after which the production drastically declines, which is shown

in the figure 5. The sizes of the crops from the domestic farming should therefore reasonably have affected the imports, i.e. with a large harvest, the need for imports should have decreased and vice versa.⁶⁶

It was primarily the textile, sugar, and tobacco manufacturing, but also the farming of tobacco that developed. In 1788, the tobacco production represented just over 8 percent and the other industries barely one fifth. The sugar manufacturing's share of the production value had then dropped to two fifths of the total production value, while textiles had increased to almost a third. An explanation for the development of the tobacco industry is in the introduction of the law to set aside land for domestic tobacco farming, and that tobacco coming into towns from the countryside was toll free until the 1770s. In 1805 it was, however, the sugar manufacturing that represented more than half of the production value, textiles continued to rise and was at almost 42 percent, while the other manufacturing together represented roughly 6 percent. Out of the latter, the tobacco manufacturing was still the largest.⁶⁷

For the textile production, it was originally woollen and cloth that saw a positive development from the new policies. From the 1730s on, this was added to by the establishment of cotton printing factories. The town's enclosure and position made it hard to start manufacturing inside the town limits. Most manufacturers, however, conducted their business outside the town, such as the glassworks at Rödasten and all the tanneries. In the mid-1700s rope and sail canvas factories were restored. The parkum (barchent) factory that was set up in town came to be a competitor to the manufacture in Alingsås. But it took until a ways into the 1800s before cotton factories had a breakthrough in Gothenburg and the surrounding areas. There were also some smaller factories run by craftsmen.⁶⁸

Figure 6 The production value for sugar, cloth and woollen 1747–1810.



Source: Bodman G. (1923) s. 152 & 311.

At the end of the 1780s, a new wave of financial aid for, among others, the textile industry arrived. From figure 6, it is clear that this aid never had any effect on the manufacturing in the

⁶⁶ Bodman G (1923) p. 181–236.

⁶⁷ See ex. Bodman G. (1923) p. 50.

⁶⁸ Bodman G (1923) p. 19–26; 39–44.

wool and cloth industry. The financial aid was changed at the beginning of the 1800s. By the same methods employed by the parliament from the 1730s onward, the establishment of new kinds of businesses were supported, among others the cotton industry.

For the sugar industry, the production value decreased until 1775, after which it had a rising trend for the rest of the period. At the turn of the century, 1800, the value was almost as high as it had been during 1747-1750. The decreased production from 1747 was most likely due to at least two factors, in part the effects of the investment in the early 1740s had declined, in part the threat of another competitor had disappeared. In the late 1730s Mrs. Anna-Maria Schütz filed an application with the Board of Trade to set up another sugar refinery in Gothenburg. The matter was only addressed in the early 1740s when she had become a widow. After the old sugar refinery owners stated that they were doing reconstructions and promised to increase the production, the decision was to deny Schütz' application. The condition was, however, that the production actually rose to a level that made sugar no longer be in short supply in western Sweden. The threat from Mrs. Schütz indirectly disappeared when she opted to invest in a new sugar refinery in Stockholm in the mid-1740s. Attributing, as Rönnbäck does, the increase in imported raw sugar from the 1730s on to the institutional changes, is therefore questionable. This, since the increase started in part after new investments for expansion was made, and new sugar products had been introduced, in part because new competitors start up in both Stockholm and Gothenburg. While he does mention that many new sugar refineries are established from the mid-1700s, this new establishment is started as early as the 1730s. Furthermore, he only measures a specific kind of raw sugar, while there in fact were a number of different kinds of raw sugar imported, because there were different kinds of production at the different sugar refineries. To only discuss the Swedish import of mascowade, therefore, hardly shows the entire picture. Additionally there was once again a production increase after the international crisis during the mid-1760s. This increase came as a result of a number of ownership changes among the sugar refineries in both Stockholm and Gothenburg. During the changes in ownership, there were once again investments, as well as the introduction of new products, whereby the sugar refineries came to more or less narrow their product ranges into different niches.⁶⁹

New businesses emerged from the 1730s on, out of which some survived the new, tighter, economic policies of the 1760s while others more or less disappeared when the financial aid was started to be reduced during the 1760s. The international crisis of the 1760s meant that parts of the old financial aid was reintroduced. Among the businesses that were established then, there were porcelain, mirror and glass manufacturing, rope and soap factories, pot foundries and also a silk manufacturer. At the pot foundries, stove tops and cannon balls were also being manufactured.⁷⁰

There was also the well-known Allingsås manufacture established by Jonas Alströmer by special government privilege. The manufacturing plant had good water connections through Sävån to Gothenburg. It produced a wide assortment of textiles, but also tobacco and some woodworking articles. Cloth, wool cotton and silks were produced, and cotton was printed. Additionally, there were several spinning mills for, for instance, cotton. This manufacture was almost entirely reliant on the government subsidies and had severe economic hardships when the subsidies decreased, and they had to start paying off the government loans they had been given at the end of the 1720s. The manufacture's economic problems can be seen as early as the 1750s, when they were forced to auction off their inventory. The auction meant a large amount of textiles were introduced to the Gothenburg market, which was not kindly looked upon, as it was the equivalent of a third of Gothenburg's annual production. Despite this, the total number of employees kept significantly increasing.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Rönnbäck K. (2009) p. 125-126; Bodman G. (1923) p 243-325; SSA: Handelskollegiums arkiv: Serie A:1: Protokoll volym: 1730-1747; RA: Kommerskollegiums arkiv: Kammarkontoret: Fabriksberättelser; dito: Årsberättelser fabriker serie 1: volym: 1740-1790.

⁷⁰ Se ex. Bodman G. (1923) s. 32-38.

⁷¹ Bodman G. (1923) p. 36; Ståle G. H. (1884).

Aside from these businesses, some new ironworks were also established along the west coast, and the old silver- and ironworks increased their production. A number of these ironworks came to be owned by traders living and working in Gothenburg or their relatives in Uddevalla, two of which were the Vitlanda and Öxnäs ironworks. Most of these mainly processed pig iron from Värmland, which were turned into bar iron for exporting purposes. From the 1720s on iron mines were also established in the region. Also, the ironworks began to use the bog ore available in the region, and there was a development for the manufacture of wrought iron, for among other things sheet metal, nails and saw blades. Additionally, paper mills were established in the region.⁷²

Despite the industrial development during the period, Gothenburg as a town should still be considered to have been a nearly pure trading town during the period. The town was the key to supplying the needs of large parts of Sweden, at least as far as Jämtland, regardless of whether it was the populace or the businesses that needed a supply of raw materials or energy, or distribution of products to the international market for its survival. The East-India Trading Company did certainly contribute a small part to the town's foreign trade, but contributed further to the town's and west coast's business life and the wellbeing of the population and their employment opportunities. International up- and downturns and the political turmoil meant that the town's actors in the foreign trade should have had the opportunity to adapt their trade to the changes. For this, the actors had to have well developed international connections, and the ability to find new connections when necessary. Also, the town's port had to be able to receive the increase in shipping needed for the continued development of the region and its businesses.

During the good fishing years from the 1760s onward, a number of train oil factories and other processing facilities were established where the herring was processed. The international decline, therefore, affected the town and its hinterland's welfare development to a lesser degree. Due to Napoleon's ravages in Europe and his trade blockade, the town saw another boom.⁷³

A breaking point in the earlier development was when the large-scale herring fishing began at the end of the 1740s. The initial years, as the herring were along the coast, there was no organisation to handle the fish, it took a while to build one. Only after several years of good fishing, did the traders of Gothenburg dare to engage in building facilities for salting herring and for making train oil. The whole town was filled with facilities for gutting and salting herring.

Around these facilities additional side businesses were created, anything from glassworks to casting facilities equipped with the latest British technologies.

The harbour, the shipyards and other support operations (Magnus Andersson)

When the ships from different destinations came into Gothenburg harbour with their cargo there had to be an infrastructure and working logistics in order to accept the goods. There were a great difference in the ships' sizes, hence, different solutions were needed. Gothenburg harbour had no capacity to take in large vessels all the way to the great harbour channel. The smaller vessels, however, could bring their cargo to quays inside Gothenburg and directly into different storages.⁷⁴

For the large vessels the deep harbour by Klippan was used and there the cargo was brought to smaller ships that could ship to Gothenburg. Some ships could anchor in the harbour entrance for reload and from there use barges or rowboats to bring the cargo ashore.

⁷² Edestam A. (1977); Karlsson K-A (ed.) (2004) p. 52–53; Ilhage B. (2002) Westrin, Th. (ed.) (1906) p. 1133-1134; Hofberg H./ Velander J. (1896) p. 239.

⁷³ Andersson B. (2002).

⁷⁴ Andersson B. (1996) p. 189-208. H Fröding (1922) p. 19-45.

For midrange vessels there were other possibilities to dock at the quay such as at Masthamnen by Masthugget.⁷⁵

That midrange and large vessels had to use ports other than Gothenburg probably meant a higher transport cost, due to reloading and continued distribution to the town. It could possibly be compensated by the ability to transport more goods and the total cost would be lower. A deeper assessment of the cost effectiveness is not within the boundaries of this study.

Gothenburg as a gateway had in other words several possibilities in accepting large and small vessels and functioned as a link in a system of ports with a regular exchange of goods.

Gothenburg harbour had improved the effectiveness of their infrastructure and logistics in different ways and therefore fit in Amelia Polónia's model and her description of "Harbour logistic".⁷⁶

Gothenburg as a gateway - a summary (Per Hallén & Lili-Annè Aldman)

Can Gothenburg be considered a gateway? Several factors that have been put forth in this paper point to Gothenburg as an important distributor of goods and as a base for the increase in shipping during the 1700s. It has not been our task here to study previous and later centuries, so those are left out.

During the 1700s new policies came into effect in order to favour Swedish trade (the produktplakat), the East-India Trading Company was established and a new herring period began. All of this together caused Gothenburg to be the fastest growing town in the region during the century. The town and its surroundings was the residence of skippers, first mates and sailors. When it came to the capacity to build new ships, however, the town wharfs were terribly insufficient. It was perfectly possible to repair ships, but actually building them only occurred on a small scale. Other production also went mainly to the town or its surrounding's needs. Trade with other countries was therefore important for satisfying the producers' raw material needs.

The great exception from this rule was the herring industry which was an important part in the town's development towards a town which produced for a larger international market, and not just distributed goods.

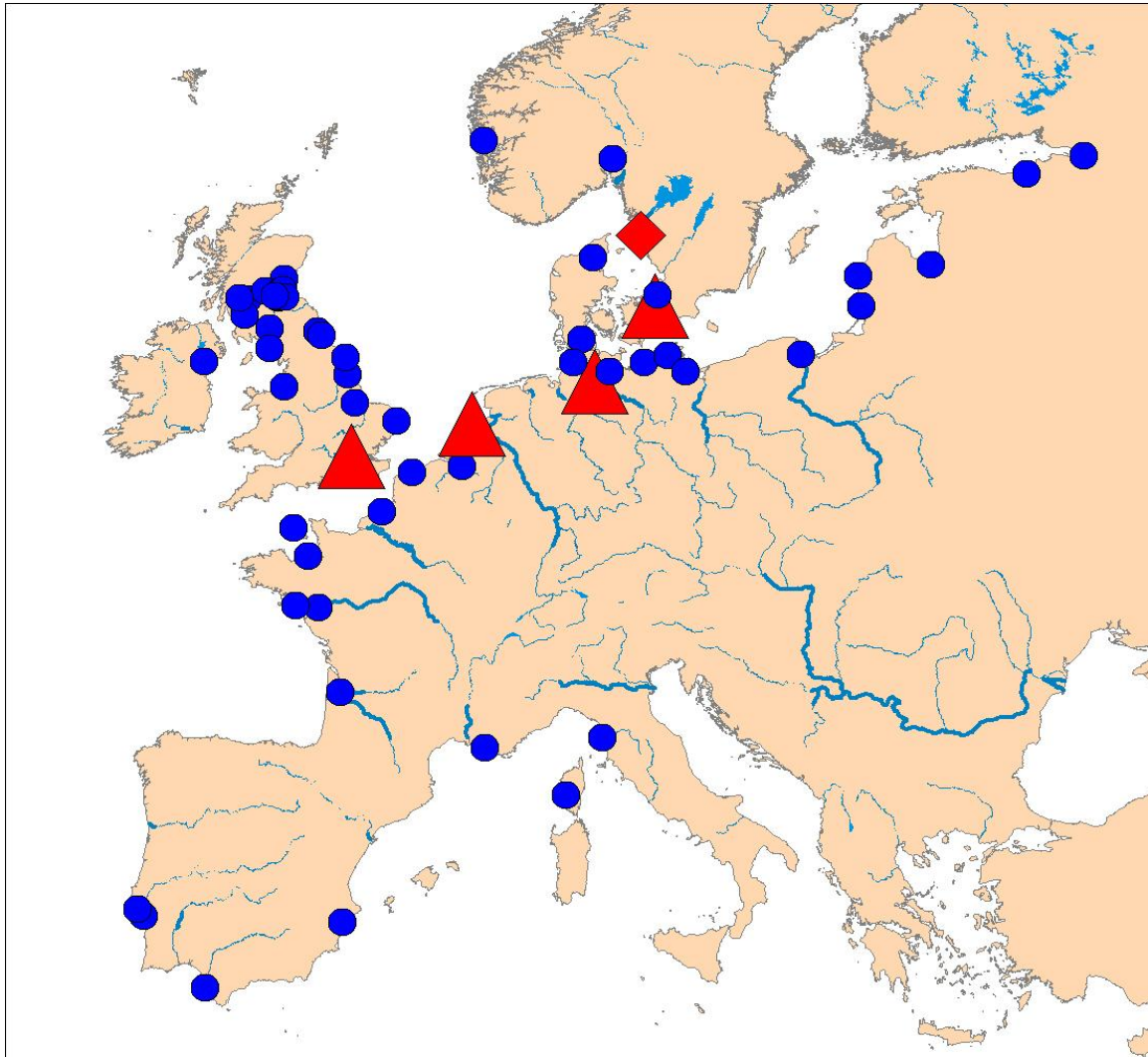
It would be tempting to try and create a model in order to measure what, for example, a gateway is. At the same time, however, you would face significant difficulties as the differences in material between different countries are great, which can be seen when comparing Amsterdam's position within Gothenburg's international trade at the start of the period. Furthermore, there were different degrees of state or regional ruling of the trade towns' conduct, something which is clear during the 1700s in Sweden. A typical example is the toll policies' effect on the international trade with fabrics from Lübeck which disappeared when the toll costs for importing them from there rose more than for the fabrics arriving from the West Sea.

Numbers and data concerning the trade give a lot of information and a detailed look into the flow of goods of the time period. To understand and see it all as a whole, however, you have to refine these data to a manageable number of factors. A possible way to see Gothenburg's position in a larger gateway system is to study where the imported goods came from. It is then important to make a division between the export harbours who had a multitude of goods and those specialised in certain ones. The map above shows the result of that study for the period of 1720 to 1804.

⁷⁵ Anderson B.(1996), p. 208-209. Arne Munthe (1958) p. 156-157.

⁷⁶ Polónia A. (2011) p. 377.

Map 2 European towns who exported goods to Gothenburg 1720-1804



Source: GLA: Drättselkammarrens arkiv: SER: utrikes inkommande 1720; 1730, 1760, 1790, 1804. (Per Hallén)

Note 1: A few of the towns in the source material have not been possible to identify and have, hence, been excluded from the map.

Note 2: In addition comes the East-India trade as well as trade with ports in North America and the Caribbean.

Explanation: Circles represent ports that exported very few types of goods while triangles represent ports with a multitude of goods.

The import to Gothenburg came through a long row of ports that specialised in certain goods, for example coal from Scotland and salt from ports in the Mediterranean and Portugal. Four ports, however, stand out as more important than the rest, especially after the 1750s. These are Amsterdam, London, Hamburg and Copenhagen. From these all possible types of goods were shipped. Furthermore, these harbours were important to Gothenburg's trade through supplying the towns with credits and insurance.

A collected assessment of Gothenburg as a gateway during the 18th century can, for example, be as follows:

- + A growing merchant fleet in the town.
- + A large group of skippers resident in Gothenburg or its close proximity.

- + There were reparation wharfs, insurances and smithies to support the needs of the shipping.
- + A strong growth in hinterland, both concerning the iron production and change in farming.
- + The herring period gave new opportunities to expand the trade network.
- The harbour was simple in its design and often demanded a reloading of goods.
- The town had a very small production of its own (excluding the herring industry).
- No possibilities to sign insurance in the town. The formal credit system was still rather underdeveloped.

Hence, Gothenburg was in a period of strong growth and change during the 1700's. The first permanent trade routes with other continents established during this time, but first and foremost Gothenburg was a "regional" gateway for a large part of west Sweden, as well as parts of the bergslags area and the souther parts of Norrland.

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Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga Förordning af den 26 junii 1766, i then del theraf, som angår Förbud emot Caffebönens införande och nyttjande, tils vidare kommer at hwila. Stockholm af Kungl. Slotts-Cancelliet then 27 Novemb. 1769, Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1769.

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Kongl. Maj:ts Och Riksens Kammar-Collegii Kungörelse, Dels angående Wisza Utrikes waror, hwilka til införsel i Riket för thetta warit förbudne, men nu, til underdånigst följe af Hans Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Bref under then 14 i thenna Månad, til införande hädanefter Blifwa låfgifne; dels ock sådane waror the uti 1771 års Siö-Tulls-Taxa utsatte afgifter, i wisza delar härmedelst blifwa ändrade. Gifwen Stockholm then 24 September 1776.

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Appendix Tables for the flow of goods

Table A:1 Ports percent of aln fabrics arriving to Gothenburgh 1720–1730.

Ports	1720	Ports	1730
Amsterdam	42,2	Hull	50,2
Hull	28,7	Hamburg	27,4
Hamburg	12,9	London	10,6
London	6,3	Amsterdam	7,4
Riga	4,6	Danzig	2,4
Lübeck	2,2	Stralsund	1,2
Leith	1,1	Riga	0,4
Kirkcaldy	0,8	Wolgast	0,2
Danzig	0,4	6 Ports together	0,2
Stockton	0,3		100
Flensburg	0,2		
Lind	0,1		
4 Ports together	0,2		
Sum	100	Sum	100

Table A:2 Ports/regions percent of barrells salt arriving to Gothenburgh 1730–1804.

Ports /regions	1720	Ports/regions	1730
Frankrike ospec. port	19,5	S:t Übes (Sebutal)	26,9
S:t Martin, France	16,1	Seudre	21,3
Crosswick	12,2	Lissabon	15,8
Lissabon	9,4	Nantes	9,9
Nantes	7,6	Isle of Oleron	6,2
Portugal ospec. port	7,1	S:t Martin, France	5,8
Kirkcaldy via Evika	6,4	Cadiz	5,6
St. Übes (Sebutal)	5,1	S:t Malo	4,7
Hamburg	5,0	Hamburg	1,2
S:t Malo	3,0	Rochelle	1,1
Ten ports between 0,2–1,8 together	8,6	Six ports between 0,2–0,8 together	1,5
Sum	100		100

Table A:3 Ports percent of skålpund raw sugar arriving to Gothenburgh 1720–1730.

Ports	1720	Ports	1730
Fallnouth	90,9	Amsterdam	55,0
Amsterdam	9,1	Hamburg	23,8
		London	9,3
		S:t Übes (Sebutal)	2,0
		Dumfries	1,3
		Lissabon	1,3
		Liverpool	1,3
		9 harbours had each	0,7
Sum	100	Sum	100

Table A:4 Ports percent of skålpund coffe arriving to Gothenburg 1720–1730.

Port	1720	Ports	1730
Amsterdam	100	Amsterdam	62,2
		Hamburg	33,8
Sum	100	Sum	100

Table A:5 Ports percent of skålpund the arriving to Gothenburg 1720-1730.

Port	1720	Ports	1730
Amsterdam	100	Amsterdam	47
		Hamburg	46,3
		London	4,3
		Bordeaux	1,2
		Stralsund	1,2
Sum	100	Sum	100

Table A:6 Ports percent of all skålpund tobacco arriving to Gothenburgh 1720–1730.

Port	1720	Port	1730
Amsterdam	69,9	Amsterdam	56,9
Greenock	24,2	Hamburg	42,3
Newcastle	4,2	London	0,8
London	1,7		
Sum	100	Sum	100

Table A:7 Ports percent of skålpund raw cotton arriving to Gothenburgh 1720–1730.

Port	1720	Port	1730
Hamburg	67,2	Amsterdam	88,5
Amsterdam	29,6	Hamburg	11,5
Lübeck	3,2		
Sum	100	Sum	100

Sources A:1-A:7: GLA: Drätselkammarens kontor: SER: Utrikes inkommande tolagsjournal 1720–1730.