

Textile Merchants Facing Institutional Changes in
Stockholm c. 1720-1740

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[Paper for the IEHC 2006 XIV International Economic History
Congress Helsinki, Finland, 21 to 25 August 2006

SESSION 16

Merchant Settlements as Intermediaries for European Influences in
the Baltic North, or Elsewhere 1650-1850. Economic, Social and
Cultural Aspects

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Introduction

Stavenow claims that no country in Europe embraced mercantilism as consistently as Sweden came to do during the 18th century.¹ Even if that may be an overstatement, the Swedish politicians did go far in their efforts to take away the possibilities for making profit for those whose trade was centred around importing manufactured goods. One was the implementation of "produktplakatet", which was about the same as the English Navigation Act of 1651. But it was far from just this prohibitional aspiration that divided the traders in Sweden. Foreign policy issues that came to affect both the trade- and economic policies during the period added to the division. This mainly affected those trading in the Baltic region. As an example of this, tolls and fees on merchandise from the Baltic region increased significantly more than on those from other regions. This resulted in, among other things, a competitive advantage for the traders who purchased their textiles from Amsterdam or London. The traders could not even agree on which Swedes should be sent as consuls to other European trading cities. Among other things, a fight ensued over the appointment of Hindrich Hilcke during the 1720s. In this case the main reason for the argument was that Hilcke had received the position despite being in jail for not being able to make good on his debts.²

The purpose of this paper is to show the political changes in Sweden during the period between 1720 and 1740 and if and how this affects the textile merchants and importers in Stockholm. The questions dealt with are: which political changes occurred? Is there some indication that the new laws and legislations affected the foreign trade, especially regarding the import of textiles? Are there any indications that the textile importers were affected by the changes in laws and regulations?

The focus of this study is the period between 1720 and 1740, when there were great political changes affecting the opportunities of the town's traders.

Background

Even if most Europeans lived and worked in the countryside well into the 19th century, sometimes even longer, the importance of cities increased since the Middle Ages. It was primarily there that craftsmanship and trade were carried out. The more the trade increased in significance to the Crown, the more important the cities and their businesses became.

During the 17th century, most European societies went through great changes. To take part in the new economic activities, most European heads of state used legislation to some extent. Through taxes, fees, industrial regulations and trade wars, attempts were made to influence the crown's income. The political unrest stimulated a development of new production

centres. Some sectors grew significantly and went through a reconstruction, often through political decisions. The production continued mainly in guilds of artisans but more and more was being produced outside the domains of the guilds. To be able to expand or change the production, often the new industries were set up in the countryside. The largest and most diverse manufacturing was of textiles. It was also primarily in this area that traders had great influence. At the beginning of the 18th century a lot of agricultural districts in Europe had grown more important than the industrial cities. The trade links increased and along with this increase followed an increased migration of different professionals, who brought knowledge of manufacturing and other things between countries. Even the regents doing less to develop their own businesses were at least trying to control and tax the foreign trade. Until the mid-18th century the population in Europe's cities grew. As the cities grew larger, the social tolerance for trade with new products grew. Around the turn of the 18th century, the retail trade was starting to be accepted as a complement to markets and traders who had permission to wander around from cottage to cottage.³

The industrial development in Sweden is, to some extent, different than the development in Europe. During the 17th century, the demand for foreign products rose even in Sweden. The desire for domestic manufacturing, like in other countries, resulted in an active business policy.⁴ The setting up of manufacturing facilities required money and a willingness to invest. The first privileges in Sweden were granted during the 1640s. According to Nyström, the idea then was that it should be possible to export the textile products manufactured. As in other countries, the government focused on starting a domestic production of textiles and products of mining and metallurgy. The drive for textiles was, among other things, because these products represented about 90 percent of all manufactured goods imported. Another reason was to satisfy the needs of the army.⁵ In Sweden the king wanted to control the textile manufacturing and therefore they were placed in towns. One of the most important textile areas was Stockholm. In the literature, it is usually said that the "manufakturist"s¹ were not burghers, as they did not have to pay taxes to the city, but like all others they had to pay taxes to the government. The rights of the "manufakturist"s had a certain time limit, and during the 17th century they were only allowed to sell their products in bulk. The rights could vary from one manufacture to another as the rights were individually regulated in the letter of privilege.⁶

While Stockholm certainly was a relatively small town in comparison with other towns in Europe like London, Amsterdam and Paris, at least in regards to population size, the town does, however, fit quite well with Weatherill's description of towns:

¹"Manufakturist" is the old Swedish word for the owner/owners of the privilege for the manufacture of certain goods. This is not interchangeable with "manufacturer".

”Towns were not just collections of buildings grouped together with populations of various sizes in them, providing various services. They were, and were felt to be, different kinds of communities: not only did they look and smell different, but people in them behaved differently and valued different things. They were seen at the time, as they have been since, as representing something distinctive about civilized human behaviour.”⁷

On the other hand, Stockholm was the largest town in Sweden during the period in question and had about 45 000 inhabitants in 1720. The town’s burghers had an obligation to provide the inhabitants as well as other regions in the country, the king and the growing administration with goods like salt and grain from abroad. Since the Middle Ages the inhabitants in the towns had their specific roles to fill in the government’s hierarchical order. The town’s burghers were equally prohibited from intruding on the countryside’s businesses, as farmers were prohibited from intruding on burgher businesses.⁸

It is hard due to the nature of the sources to get a good picture of how the business life in Stockholm looked during the 1670s through 1700. Söderlund estimates that, for example, there were about 1 100 artisans in 1676.⁹ If the artisans kept at about the same levels from the 1660s, this means the town had about 2 000 businesses to the end of the 17th century. Since there were about 500 trade businesses during this period, this means that one quarter of the businesses in the town were trade-oriented.¹⁰

Despite the long war and ravages of the plague during the 1710s, there were no major changes in the town’s business structure. After the war the population in the town grew, mainly due to people moving in. Many of these came from other countries or towns in Sweden, but there was also an influx of people coming from the countryside. The rising population increased the opportunities for more people to run their own businesses. This meant that the competition for the business owners in the town rose. A typical example of this is demonstrated by the pubs. With more and more pubs, there were also more and more complaints made between pub owners, at least judging from the matters going before the Commercial board, (Handelskollegiet²). Another example is in trade, where the number of taxed businesses rose in a ten-year period by more than 100 new businesses.¹¹

From 1719 it is also possible to get a clearer picture of how the town’s business structure looked. The town had about 2 000 businesses, where the artisans were by far the largest group. According to Boëthius, the traders made up about 27 percent of the burghers. If the family members are

²Handelskollegiet in Stockholm was a local non-governmental instance. It was not only an instance for dispute among citizens, or between citizens and the state. It also had other functions such as granting privileges, controlling prices, implementing laws and ordinances and setting fees and tariffs.

included, then, according to Wottle's calculations, the trading households would have made up less than five percent of the town's total population. These percentages did not change much until 1740. The number of trade businesses rose somewhat until 1730, but after that there was a certain decline. Boëthius assumes that this decline had to do with the more restrictive trade laws put in place in the middle of the 1730s. The population increase during the period meant that an increasingly smaller share of the town's households paid taxes to the city, since it was only the burghers who paid taxes. However, my own research has shown that at least the number of traders were underestimated by Boëthius.¹²

Upward mobility in the hierarchy of forms of trading was rare. The retailers that despite this grew and sometimes could become quite large merchants, at least from the perspective of the conditions in Stockholm, usually grew in connection with an inheritance. Their own business was then added to either by the whole or parts of the estate business, alternatively with cash. Another way was to, through marriage or partnership, expand the business' resources. One period in Stockholm when the possibilities for traders to expand was from the 1720s onwards. The many new arrivals and staying refugees who established themselves as traders, helped to increase the opportunities for the others to build alliances and establish a wider network of contacts and information, which most often was a necessity for expanding the business.¹³

Among the trading businesses in Stockholm, there were some general characteristics. One is that trade businesses owned by a man or woman on their own was equally frequent up until 1735, i.e., about 25 - 30 percent. That the share varied had mainly to do with variations in the number of family businesses or companies established during the period. By the end of the 1730s the ratios had changed drastically and the share of the family businesses had risen to over 60 percent. One contributing factor was that it was increasingly hard for the one-person businesses to make it due to the increasing competition. Also, the conditions for trading changed markedly from the mid-1720s. They lacked the ability and flexibility needed to expand or stabilise their resources. From the mid-1720s a large section of the trade businesses needed to rapidly change their business, especially if the business was mainly based on trade with imported goods. The reason for why they needed to rapidly change will be discussed below.¹⁴

The politics of economic and foreign trade and the effects of these politics on the trade, 1720-1740

In Stockholm the formal societies were not present among the traders. Aside from the society of merchants, which was first formed during the 1730s, Wottle claims that there were no other formal societies during the period.¹⁵

Boëthius, on the other hand, claims that informal societies were formed during the 1720s.¹⁶ That there were no formal societies does not necessarily mean one group was weaker and therefore had a harder time excluding others. The traders in Stockholm show that, in many cases, they were a relatively strong group, especially during the 17th century. This came from acting in unison. Among other things, the traders managed to exclude northern Sweden from the foreign trade. The traders in Stockholm managed to keep the so-called Bothnian trade restriction (Botniska handelsvänget) in effect until the end of the 18th century. On the other hand, they never managed to exclude the nobility from the foreign trade.¹⁷ Furthermore, they managed to pass a series of rules limiting the possibilities for foreign traders to trade in Stockholm and in the countryside. During the 17th century they usually had a united front in different political questions involving trade, whether these were protectionistic in nature or otherwise. From the mid-1720s onward, on the other hand, they started to split into several smaller groups.¹⁸ A contributing cause was probably that the traders had the opportunity to affect the Swedish policy, through representatives in government.

All periods are special in some sense and the 1710s and early 1720s featured Swedish economic and trade policies with their own special features. One such feature was that the trade policies in Sweden were, in general, very liberal. The tolls that existed were relatively low and were the same for everyone, irrespective of where the ships arrived from and where they belonged. Early on, though, the political situation changed. There is normally always a certain continuity in a society and changes rarely come suddenly. That means that when new laws are introduced they are rarely completely unexpected. Most often there have been debates going on in society before and some people have, therefore, even before the law takes effect, started to adjust to the new situation. Already in the late 17th century there had been some protectionistic features. These had for the most part disappeared during the war, especially in the latter stages. It is also likely that this attitude was expected to return after the war, which it also did. On the other hand, no one probably expected it to take a new direction. As opposed to the end of the 17th century, protectionism became even more accentuated. Between the years 1720 and 1740 some 2 500 changes affecting the import of goods either directly or indirectly, were instated. Directly, in the form of raised tariffs and tolls as well as actual import prohibitions. Also, certain groups were forbidden to wear certain textiles. Indirectly these prohibitions led to an ever narrowing consumer base and thus a reduced demand for some of the types of wares importers sold. Among other things, the import of textiles came to be significantly impacted.¹⁹

At the beginning of the 1720s, the import of goods was not a major political issue. As manufacturing became an increasingly important issue, however, the resistance to the import of manufactured textiles, and later all

manufactured goods, increased. During the 1720s this resistance would grow harder and harder. The 1730s would see the resistance becoming severe. The political climate hardened against the import side of foreign trade, except when it dealt with trade with items from far off. When the Hat party took power in the 1738/39 riksdag, many prohibitions had already been put in place and tolls had been raised to a high level for a number of foreign goods. Between 1720 and 1740 the politics of business formed that would come to endure until the mid-19th century. As opposed to the politics of business of the 17th century, the politics of 1720 through 1740 were increasingly protectionistic, and the hats' regime would take protectionism to an extreme.²⁰

There was a significant shift of focus in the business- and trade politics practiced in Sweden between 1720 and 1740. As seen from the legal changes being done, the textile importers should have been affected most of all, and negatively. The cost of importing, in the form of tolls, tariffs and fees, rose significantly during the period. Add to this that many goods were forbidden to import. During the period, more and more focus was placed on suppressing and/or restricting the import of manufactured goods and to stimulate domestic production, by, for instance, making the import of raw materials and unfinished products easier. The customs policies were also used as a means to control the Swedish foreign trade in different ways. To a certain extent, this had been going on before 1720, but it became even more accentuated during the period and especially during the 1730s. As opposed to before the manufacturers were even more in focus.²¹

The policies from the mid-1720s on are usually considered protectionistic. The passing of the "produktplakat" meant that ships were only allowed to bring goods from the country or the colonies of the country which it came from. That meant that for instance Baltic ports no longer could be used as transit ports. Hecksher and Åström claims that German businessmen during the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century often acted as middle-men for, among other things, English fabrics. This means that the passing of the "produktplakat" also came to influence those who imported fabrics from, for instance, Lübeck, and not just those who imported salt. For instance, if the importer also didn't have deliveries from other regions and their credits were tied to Baltic ports, it also resulted in them having a cost associated with this change.²²

During the 1720s, the politics of trade were progressively moving back to that being conducted during the end of the 17th century. In the beginning there was, however, a somewhat careful stance. The introduction of the "produktplakat" is usually considered a crossroads, but already the reinstatement of the differentiated tolls meant going back toward the politics from before the liberalization during the great Nordic War. The Swedish-owned ships were to be given benefits, especially large ships. That meant that it was mainly the trading on the North Sea or further off that was

avored, if only indirectly, as it was primarily to those places the larger ships went. Already in 1722 there was some foreign policy introduced into the customs policies. This was accentuated more and more until 1740. Among other things, silk fabrics were, starting in 1730, taxed differently depending on origin. Five years later the fees rose more for those fabrics that came from the Baltic region than from other regions.²³

Until the mid-1720s, however, the political climate can be considered relatively liberal. The tolls were usually low. Despite the reinstatement of the differentiated tolls, the differentiation being slightly different from those in effect before the great Nordic War, the raise was fairly moderate. It can, therefore, not be expected to have been any large-scale restructuring of the importers' foreign trade for this reason. On the other hand, the "produktplakat" seems, as previously mentioned, to have affected both the import and successively the costs of the importers.

At the end of the 1720s, the costs of bringing in goods rose, as most manufactured goods had a five-percent fee imposed on them, on top of the toll and other fees that were already there. From 1730 onwards more and more import bans came into being. In those cases when fabrics or other goods were not yet manufactured in sufficient quantities and were, therefore, considered impossible to ban, they were however charged a higher toll rate. It was, however, primarily in 1735 that the greatest number of fabrics were banned from being imported into Sweden. In conjunction with the so-called "överflödsförordning" (Sumptuary Law³) that was introduced that year, some goods were banned. Others had already been banned or would be banned until 1738 in separate ordinances. When the Hats took power and the 1739 toll rates were released, this also contained a list of the forbidden goods. The list was however mainly the same as the 1735 Sumptuary Law, as well as the add-on ordinances from the 1730s. It was only the German fabrics that had not yet been banned that were added. On the other hand, this ban was not introduced until after 1740.²⁴

Thus, it is the mid-1730s that is primarily to be seen as a new political era. Not until 1735 did the economical and protectionistic policies get a good hold, partly through import bans, partly through tolls and fees. The politics were however different from those before 1720. The import bans and toll increases were no longer aimed at the most expensive products, as it had been in the late 17th century, but mostly towards a mid-range of fabrics as well as the cheapest goods, from the point of view of their toll value.²⁵

³This ordinance is somewhat oddly named, as it did not have anything to do with any abundance, but simply forbade some groups of people from trading with, using and/or wearing certain manufactured goods.

Effects on merchants of the politics of 1720 through 1740

The costs for an importer of fabrics rose considerably during the period. Depending on where their shipments came from and with what category of ships, there was a difference in cost. Those whose shipments were carried aboard Swedish-owned ships, especially those with full freedom, were those who gained most. This group, if there was one with this kind of import, was therefore given a cost advantage over others. Generally speaking, those who only imported and sold fabrics from the Baltic region came to have a larger increased cost from imported goods, than those who traded in comparable goods from outside the Baltic. This was especially the case during the 1730s. Importers who only got deliveries from the Baltic region were those who, after 1735, had to pay the most, especially if the goods were delivered on foreign ships. The difference in cost for bringing in a shipment of one hundred "aln" (c.a. 0.59 m) of cloth costing one (1) silver daler, (Daler silvermynt) dsm, per "aln", when shipped on a ship from, for instance Lübeck, as opposed to if the shipment had been shipped from Amsterdam on a Swedish ship with full freedom, was 30 dsm. This difference in cost seems to have made the textile importers change suppliers or redirect their shipments. At least, this seems to have been the case as there was, during the period, a shift from the Baltic to the North sea as it pertains to the import of fabrics, which is shown in table 1. As to fabrics, there is not doubt that the customs policies in combination with the "produktplakat" was highly effective.

Table 1: The share of fabrics arriving in Stockholm 1720-1738, by region of origin. Measured in shares of quantity, (aln)

Years/From Ports in	1720 %	1727 %	1730 %	1738 %
The Baltic	78	77	53	39
The North sea	22	23	47	61
Total qvantite	100	100	100	100

Sources: Stockholms Stadsarkiv: Stockholms enskilda räkenskaper: Stockholm stads verifikationsbok, inkommande Tolag 1720, dito 1727 och 1730; Stadskamrerarens arkiv: Gib, Tolag över inkommande 1738

Observe that Hamburg is included in ports of the North Sea, as per Swedish law at the time in question.

The toll changes in combination with the "produktplakat" thereby had a significant impact during the period. In 1720, almost four fifths of the textiles were imported from Baltic ports and one fifth via North Sea ports. At the end of the period, it was nearly the other way around. In 1738, barely two fifths came from Baltic ports, while the North sea ports provided more than three fifths. There appears, however not to have been any major

changes in the foreign trade due to the toll changes in during the early 1720s.

The politics, therefore, meant that the economic climate for the importers changed during the period. This specifically for those importers who were more or less specialized on certain goods or kinds of goods, or those whose shipments were only from certain regions. On top of the increased costs of bringing in the goods, additional increases in costs, like shipping costs, pilot's pay and other costs to the town and state.²⁶

Earlier it was shown that despite many import bans the political leadership usually preferred to raise tariffs on fabrics rather than to ban their import. The main reason for the riksdag not to completely ban importing the "most important" fabrics, was that not enough of these fabrics were manufactured locally. On the other hand a large number of bans on importing "kram"⁴ and wooden wares were put in place, which also should have affected the import significantly, if it were adhered to. This, in turn, limited the possibility for those who traded in imported goods to change the focus of their trade.

There can hardly be any doubt that the changes in regulation concerning the trade- and economic politics really made an impact, at least as it concerns the import of textiles and those in Stockholm who imported it. The import through Stockholm decreased as a whole, despite an increase in the rest of the nation. The ordinances for import restrictions, however, contained an opening which gave importers the leeway to keep importing some goods as long as they also funded manufacture or became publishers. To what extent this exception was used is as yet unknown.

An aggregated study of the import into Stockholm also provides some indicators that this happened.⁵ According to the customs records established during the period in Stockholm, both the structure and product content of the import sector of the foreign trade as well as the actions of the importers changed from 1720 to 1738, which, to some extent, is shown in table 2.

Generally speaking, there was a downward trend for the import as a whole. There was however some anomalies. One was that the salt import had a rising trend during the entire period. Another was that the wine, liquor and beer import varied over the years. These products were not affected, to any large extent, by the politics. Both the import of textiles and other wares rose until 1730, after which it took a sharp dive. The decreasing trend can hardly be explained by a decreased demand. The town's population kept growing, whereby also the demand should have increased during

⁴"kram" is an elderly Swedish word for a group of goods including accessories, clothing, and at times even spices.

⁵For a discussion about sources and method see Aldman L-A, 2006, Chapter 2, for customs records see also Dalhede C., 2005, *Tolagsjournaer under tidigmodern tid i Göteborg. Källmaterial och möjligheter. Projektrapporter Göteborg och Europa 1600-1800 nr. 1*, Rapport från ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Handelshögskolan vid Göteborgs universitet, Göteborg

Table 2: The import to Stockholm 1720-1738, broken down into types of goods, measured in total customs value, dsm

	1720	1730	1738
Fabrics	665 355	782 770	550 105
Clothings, accessories etc ¹	88 475	84 184	27 744
Total amount of textiles	753 830	866 954	577 849
Crops	1 450 568	717 079	707 176
Liquors	256 006	190 774	210 177
Salt	58 455	112 247	550 105
Other goods ²	517 687	718 469	284 638
Total ³	3 036 546	2 605 523	2 329 730

Sources: Stockholms Stadsarkiv: Stockholms enskilda räkenskaper: Stockholm stads verifikationsbok, inkommande Tolag 1720, dito 1730; Stadskamrerarens arkiv: GIb, Tolag över inkommande 1738

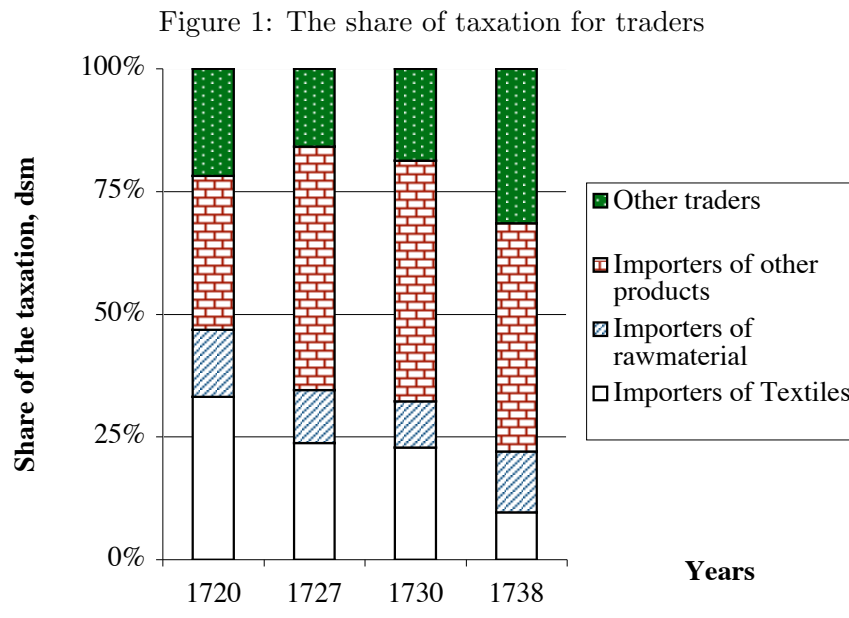
- 1) Shoes are not included in this, as shoes are included in "Other goods".
- 2) "Other goods" includes other forms of food than crops, such as spices, fish, fruits etc. Also shoes and other manufactured goods not mentioned.
- 3) Observe that raw materials are not included in these figures, as the value of raw materials is not always taken down in customs records, as it varies from one customs official to another.

these years, at least as concerns textiles and other basic goods. It was also not all groups of goods that decreased; among the group "other wares" the import of sugar and coffee rose. Tea, on the other hand, decreased significantly after 1730. This decline probably has to do with most of these goods going to Gothenburg, as the Swedish East India Company ships operated out of that port. The company started in the early 1730s. Unlike tea, the decreased import of furniture is hardly explainable by the East India Company. Just as the decreased import of textiles into Stockholm in 1738 is explained by this, except possibly for what concerns certain kinds of fabrics. This, as it was primarily cloths that previously only had been imported from European ports, and had been made in Europe, that drastically declined. It was only cotton fabrics that were uninfluenced and that had actually increased in 1738. These kinds of fabrics were also never affected by import bans and to a lesser degree than other fabrics from the toll increases.²⁷

The decrease in grain import in 1730 and 1738 as is evident in table 2 has no connection to the change in politics during the period. There just happens to have been very good Swedish crops those years. During the famine in Stockholm in 1733 and 1734, the grain import seems to have been at the same level as 1720.²⁸

The import of most goods was, however, not affected by the import

bans, which means that there were opportunities for importers to replace their import of fabrics with other categories of goods.²⁹ There are however signs that this was not the case. An indication was, as described above, that even other groups of goods decreased. Another sign is that the taxability between the different traders in Stockholm changed during the period. The silk- and cloth traders who had had the highest average tax level during the early 1720s sank significantly in relation to other groups of traders. At times, this can be attributed to these traders increasing greatly in number, but even before 1725 and especially after 1735 until 1740 when these traders' numbers dropped by nearly 24 percent, their tax level kept dropping. At the beginning of the 1720s the silk- and cloth traders usually acted as wholesalers as well as exporters, which does not seem to be the case at the end of the period.³⁰



Sources: Aldman L-A. 2006, p. 124, tabell A-6:9;

Observe that group membership is based on the individual's main import during the year.

If you instead study those who were importers from their import and compare them to each other as well as other traders in the town as concerns their taxability, a clearer picture emerges. It shows that the group "other importers" increased their relative taxability compared to those who imported textiles. Figure 1 shows that the textile importers' taxability dropped significantly from 1720 to 1738. But, these importers also seem to have replaced the banned fabrics with equivalent ones or other fabrics. This was because the average price for, for instance, the cloths and linen fabrics that

were imported rose during the period. It was also primarily the cheaper and mid-range fabrics of wool, linen and silk that were affected most by toll increases and import bans. At the end of the 17th century the protectionism had mainly been aimed at "luxury goods", for instance fabrics such as "Gros de Tour".³¹ Insofar as someone who had been completely specialized on fabrics, their business and clientele should have changed during the period. The change in average value indicates that, for instance, the assortment of imported cloth had changed. It will, however, take a more in-depth investigation to determine if this was the case. If that is the case, it means that the politics may have affected other groups in society than just the importers and business owners in Stockholm.

Conclusions

This paper has studied how the Swedish economic and trade policies changed during the period between circa 1720 to 1740. The politics described above were, to some extent, a result of the traders and merchants not having a unified front. At the same time, the town laws in effect until 1736 meant that there was no natural separation between merchants, retailers and shopkeepers. It was, for instance, common in Stockholm for retailers and shopkeepers to import for other traders in the town. The closer to the 1730s you get, the more politically divided the traders in Stockholm became.

That the changes towards protectionism had a significance to the importers in Stockholm who during the period imported textiles is clear. The changes in politics affected both directly and indirectly the textile merchants' abilities to keep running their businesses as they had at the start of the period. Even if tolls and fees at the beginning were relatively liberal, a change starts early on during the 1720s. On the other hand, the 1730s can be considered a water shed. In addition to increases to costs through raised tolls and fees in connection with the import of goods, the additional cost increases made it harder and harder to trade in imported textiles. During the 1730s more and more import bans were placed on a number of textiles. But when there was not enough domestic production, a raising of the tolls was preferred to bans. Furthermore, the sumptuary laws, that prevented groups of consumers from wearing certain fabrics meant that their clientele reasonably should have become all the more narrow.

The politics of trade came to have a foreign political trait. That meant that the trade with goods from certain regions was favored over others. If, as well, the manner of the shipping is taken into account, that is whether the goods were transported using Swedish-owned or foreign ships, the toll cost could vary greatly for a trader. From the mid-1730s the difference in cost could be as much as 30 dsm for a fabric whose only difference was how it was transported and where it was made.

There were also several indicators that the Swedish politics had an effect during the period. One was that the structure and product contents changed. Another was that the import of fabrics came increasingly from North Sea ports. Furthermore, the textile importers' taxability dropped in relation to other traders and importers. It has also been shown that the silk- and cloth traders' taxability dropped significantly and that this is not only explainable through the number of traders in Stockholm increasing during the period. Even the other textile merchants' taxability changed during the period.

In addition to the political changes described in this paper, there were other new laws. These came to either directly or indirectly affect the ability of individuals to run a trading business.

Notes

¹Stavenow L. (1921) *Frihetstiden dess epoker och kulturliv* (tredje upplagan), Wettergren & Breber, Göteborg)

²Stavenow L. (1921); Aldman L-A., 2005, "Kvinnligt företagande i Stockholm cirka 1690-1740" (Women as businessmen in Stockholm about 1690-1740) paper present at Svenska historikermötet (The Swedish Historymeeting) at Uppsala; Stockholms stadsarkiv (SSA): Borgerskapets äldstes arkiv: serie F; Aldman L-A. (2002) "Att välja framtid", (Choosing future) Unpublished paper at Department of Economic History, Uppsala University.; For a deeper discussion about how the foreign politics affect customs and fees, see below and Aldman L-A. (2006) *Protektionismens genombrott: Den svenska handels- och näringspolitikens omställning och dess effekt på Stockholms textila handel och importörer 1720-1738.* (The Breakthrough to Protectionism: The change of the swedish trade- and economic policies and its effect on Stockholms textile trade and importers during 1720-1738) Licentiatuppsats at Department of Economic History, Uppsala University, chapter 4;

³De Vries J. (1976) *Economy of Europe in an age of crisis, 1600-1750* Cambridge U.P, Cambridge, p. 84, 86-87, 94-96, 98,105, 147, 154, 181, 187, 236; Kirby D., 1994, *Östersjöländernas historia. 1492-1777*(original: Northern Europe in the early modern period: the Baltic world 1492-1772) Atlantis, Stockholm, s.180, 261; Cole C.W., 1939, *Colbert and a century of French mercantilism. vol. 1 & 2*, Morningside Heights, New York; Clay C.G.A., 1984, del I, p.191 ff., Clay C.G.A., 1984, part II, p.203 ff

⁴Corin C-F., 1958; Cole C.W., 1939; Cole C.W., 1943, *French mercantilism, 1683-1700*. Columbia university press, New York; Heckscher E., 1953/1955, *Mercantilism* vol. I, London & II; Ogilvie S.C. and Cerman M, 1996, *European proto-industrialization* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

⁵Nyström P., 1955, *Stadsindustrins arbetare före 1800-talet* Tiden, Stockholm p.76-77; Hildebrand K-G., 1987, *Svenskt järn: sexton- och sjuttonhundratals: exportindustri före industrialismen* Jernkontoret, Stockholm; SSA: Hall- och manufakturriättens arkiv, serie EIII, vol. 1, Fabrikörers med flera fabriksidkares privilegier 1620-1753

⁶Nyström P., 1955, p. 91, 96; SSA: Hall- och manufakturriättens arkiv (99), serie EIII, vol. 1, Fabrikörers med flera fabriksidkares privilegier 1620-1753

⁷Weatherill L., 1988, *Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain, 1660-1760* Routledge, London, p. 71

⁸See for instance; Sandström Å., 1990, *Mellan Torneå och Amsterdam : en undersökning av Stockholms roll som förmedlare av varor i regional- och utrikeshandel 1600-1650*, Stockholmsmonografi nr. 102, Stockholm p. 143 ff; Lager-Kromnow B., 1992, *Att vara stockholmare på 1560-talet* Stockholm: Stockholmsmonografier, Stockholm, p. 93 ff.; Eriksson L., 1988, *Borgare och byråkrater. Omvandlingen av Stockholms stadsförvaltning 1599-1637*, Stockholmsmonografi nr. 84, Stockholm, p. 34 ff.

⁹Söderlund E., 1943, *Stockholms hantverkarklass 1720-1772: sociala och ekonomiska förhållanden*, Stockholmsmonografier, Stockholm, p. 44 Söderlunds figures of 1 100 artisan seem relevant when it in 1720, was about 920 artisans in Stockholm.

¹⁰Boëthius B., 1943, *Magistraten och Borgerskapet i Stockholm 1719-1815* P.A. Nordstedt & Söners förlag, Stockholm p. 32; Aldman L-A., 2005; Aldman L-A., 2006, chapter 6

¹¹SSA: Handelskollegiet A1: 79; Protokoll, huvudserien, EVII:2 suppliker och klagomål; The complaining between pub owners were not unique during the 1730th. There were also the same tendency among specific traders. for example hökeri(Hawks). The complaints raised in connection with the great raise of establishing new ones from 1733 and forward.

¹²Marcus M. (1942) p. 32; Boëthius B.(1943) *Magistraten och Borgerskapet i Stockholm 1719-1815* P.A. Nordstedt & Söners förlag, Stockholm, s. 32; Wottle M.(2000) p.68-69.;

¹³Aldman L-A., 2005, Aldman L-A., 2006, chapter 6

¹⁴Aldman L-A., 2005,

¹⁵Wottle M., 2000,see for instance p. 263

¹⁶Boëthius B., 1943, p. 32 ff.

¹⁷Se ex. See for instance Nyström M., 1982, *Norrlands ekonomi i stöpsleven: ekonomisk expansion, stapelvaruproduktion och maritima näringar 1760-1812*, Almqvist & Wiksell international, Stockholm; Englund P., 1989/2002; *Det hotade huset: adliga föreställningar om samhället under stormaktstiden*, Atlantis, Stockholm ;

¹⁸Åström S-E., 1963, *From cloth to iron: the Anglo-Baltic trade in the late seventeenth century, The growth, structure and organization of the trade*, Helsingfors; Sandström Å, 1990, *Mellan Torneå och Amsterdam: en undersökning av Stockholms roll som förmedlare av varor i regional- och utrikeshandel 1600-1650*, Komm. för Stockholmsforskning, Stockholm, p. 325-326; Corin C-F., 1958, *Självstyret och kunglig maktpolitik inom Stockholms stadsförvaltning 1668-1697*, Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala; Boëthius B., 1943

¹⁹ *Sveriges rikets lag gillad och antagen på riksdagen åhr 1734*, faksimiledition after 1736 års original, Malmö; *Kongl. Maj:ts nådige förordning Hwarefter Wisse inkommande wahr/or/utom den wanlige Tullen och umgiälderne/med 5 Pro cent, såsom en allmän Landshielp komma at beläggas, Gifwen Stockholm i RådsCammaren den 4 Jumii 1728*, Kungliga tryckeriet, Joh. Henr. Werner, directeur öfwer alla Tryckerien i Riket. Stockholm; *Kongl. Maj:ts Taxa hwarefter Stora Siö-tullen Uppå alla Inkommande wahr/or bör erläggas och upbåras hwarjemte bifogas en Frteckning uppå alla de wahr/or som förbudne äro at i Riket införas. Gifwen Stockholms i Rådcommaren den 8. juni 1739*. Tryckt hos Directeurer af kongl. Tryckeriet, Pet. Momma; *Taxa inrättad år 1726 hwar efter Tullen och Licenten för utgående och inkommande waror wid Stora Siötullen/Efter en wiß afgift af hundralet/kommer att erläggas/ifrån 15 Maij Anno 1730, Uppå hans Kongl. Maj:ts allernådigste Befallning till deß Commencie Collegium publicerat* Kungliga tryckeriet hos Joh. Henr. Werner, directeur öfwer alla Tryckerien i Riket, Stockholm; Arnberg J. W., 1868, *Anteckningar om frihetens politiska ekonomi del 1. Handel och näringar*, W.Schultz' Förlag, Uppsala; Modée (1742) *Utdrag utur alle ifrån den 7 Decemb. 1718 utkomne publique handlingar, placater, förordningar, Resolutioner och publicationer, som Rikens styrsel samt inwärtens hushållning och Författningar i gemen, jämwäl och Stockholms stad i synnerhet, angå;...*, *Första delen till Åren 1730*, printed Lorentz Ludewig Grefing, Stockholm; Westrin T., 1869/1909, *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia. Andra serien tidehvarfvet 1719-1800, första delen 1719-1723*, P.A. Nordstedt & söner, Stockholm; Westrin T., 1913, *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia. Andra serien tidehvarfvet 1719-1800, andra delen 1726-1727*, P.A. Nordstedt & söner, Stockholm; Westrin T., 1917, *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia. Andra serien tidehvarfvet 1719-1800, tredje delen afd. I 1731-1734*, P.A. Nordstedt & söner, Stockholm; Westrin T., 1922, *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia. Andra serien tidehvarfvet 1719-1800, tredje delen andra afd. 1734*, P.A. Nordstedt & söner, Stockholm; Ekegård E., 1924, *Studier i svensk handelspolitik under den tidigare frihetstiden*, Uppsala; Gerentz S., 1951, *Kommerskollegium och näringslivet : minnesskriftarbetad av Sven Gerentz på uppdrag av Kungl. Kommerskollegium till erinran om kollegii 300-åriga ämbetsförvaltning 1651-1951*, Stockholm; Heckscher E., 1943, "Den svenska handelssjöfartens ekonomiska historia sedan Gustaf Vasa", in Heckscher E., ed., 1943, *Skrifter utgivna av Sjöhistoriska samfundet III*, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, Uppsala; Lindström H., 1923, *Näringsfrihetsfrågans utveckling i Sverige 1809-36*, Göteborg

²⁰Aldman L-A., 2006, p. 55-61

²¹Aldman L-A., 2006, p. 57-63

²²Arnberg J.W., 1868, p. 9, 15, 17; Aldman L-A., 2006, p. 56; Heckscher E., 1949, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa. D. 2, Det moderna Sveriges grundläggning* (del 2:2), Albert Bonniers Förlag, Stockholm, p. 653 Åström S-E. (1963) p. 113, 144

²³For and how see, Aldman L-A., 2006, p. 55-58, 61-63, Appendix chapter 4, Figure A4:1-2 and below

²⁴Aldman L-A., 2006, p. 57-61

²⁵Aldman L-A., 2006, p. 83

²⁶For a summary of other raised cost see Aldman L-A., 2006, chapter 4

²⁷Aldman L-A, 2006, p. 79-80, 82-83, Appendix chapter 5: Tabell A5:4b, A5:6

²⁸Aldman L-A., 2006, p. 79-81; SSA: Stockholms enskilda räkenskaper, Stockholms stads verifikationsbok: Inkommande tolag 1733 and 1734; Handelskollegiets arkiv: A1: 74-75, Protokoll huvudserie

²⁹Aldman L-A., 2006, chapter 4

³⁰Aldman L-A., 2006, p. 113; Söderlund E., 1943, Appendix

³¹Aldman L-A., 2006, p.82-84