



DEPARTMENT  
OF HISTORY  
AND  
CIVILIZATION

## Smuggling in the North

Globalisation and the Consolidation of Economic  
Borders in Sweden, 1766-1806

Anna Knutsson

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to  
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization  
of the European University Institute

Florence, 13 December 2019



European University Institute  
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### **Examining Board**

Dr Luca Molà (Supervisor, EUI & University of Warwick)

Dr Stéphane van Damme (Second Reader, EUI)

Dr Hanna Hodacs (External Advisor, Dalarnas Högskola)

Professor Margaret Hunt (Uppsala University)

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## Summary

This thesis considers the phenomenon of smuggling in late eighteenth-century Sweden, a hitherto understudied topic in Swedish historiography. It explores smuggling over a stretch of forty years, from 1766 to 1806, a time period when both Sweden and Europe underwent significant changes, not least as a result of the increasing global flows of wares. The thesis approaches smuggling from five angles. It studies perceptions of smuggling in the national economic debates, it examines its implications for state territoriality, it explores the social attitudes towards the contraband retailers, it investigates contraband and its effects, and it probes international perceptions of smuggling in Sweden. The combination of these perspectives extends our understanding of the multifaceted and changing role of smuggling in early modern Sweden. In doing so, the thesis shows how smuggling was deeply connected with three key historical processes that shaped the late eighteenth-century: globalisation, state formation, and consumption. The intensification of globalisation in the eighteenth-century prompted increased rates of protectionism in Sweden, as the state attempted to enforce economic control over its territory and unify it under homogenised economic legislation. This was a crucial step towards consolidating state power and standardising Swedish territory and legislation. However, a demand for foreign goods persisted which meant that smuggling flourished despite the bans, and this illicit trade and consumption of smuggled wares came to shape Swedish society and culture. This multi-layered history of smuggling in Sweden in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries thus establishes that smuggling, rather than being a fringe phenomenon at the edge of society, permeated Swedish politics, culture, economics and society.





# Contents

<i>Summary</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Contents</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>List of Graphs &amp; Tables</i>	<i>xv</i>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Global Flows and Frictions	2
The Swedish Situation	5
State Objectives and Citizens' Rights: Conceptions of smuggling	6
Territoriality: Limits of State Control and the Underground Economy	11
Retailing in Contraband: a Social Enterprise	22
Contraband: Transformative Materiality	25
Inter-state Commercial Competition: Smuggling as a Gambit	32
Summary	36
Shape and Scope	37
Sources	39
Terminology and Currency	43
<b>Defining and Interpreting Smuggling: A Question of Rights</b>	<b>51</b>
Patriotic Protectionism & Natural Rights	56
Smuggling in Early Economic Literature	56
Economic Crisis and Protectionism	62
Perceptions of Market Regulation in the Newspapers	66
Punishments for Smuggling in Legislation and Newspapers	71
The Triumph of Patriotic Protectionism	75
An Old Right – <i>Hemfrid</i> and House-visitation	78
In the Newspapers	81
The National Costume as an Alternative to House-Visitations	83
Freedom Infringed – the House-Visitation Returns	86
Freedom Withdrawn – the Re-establishment of Universal House-Visitations	87
A New Right – Consumer Choice and Patriotic Consumption	89
In the Newspapers	91
Swimming Against the Tide – The Final Swedish Sumptuary Decree	93
Free Choice for the Masses – A Point of Contention	95
The Smuggler as an Argument for 'Free' Trade? – The Case of E. E. Bodell.	97
The Translations - Introducing Adam Smith's Ideas of Free Trade to a Swedish Audience	99
The 1805 Account - Free Trade as a Solution for the Swedish Situation	102
<b>Porous Borders: Controlling and Transgressing Swedish Space</b>	<b>109</b>
Stockholm Archipelago – A Sea Studded with Islands	117
The Captain – Assigning Responsibility	121
The Crew – Sundry Smugglers	127
Boreal Borderlands	134
Maritime Borders	134
Land Borders	145
Smuggling within the Swedish Dominions	162
Regulating and Surveying the Countryside	162
The Town, a Controlled Space?	170
Gothenburg	170
Poverty as a Redeeming Feature?	176

<b>Retailers and Restrictions</b>	<b>183</b>
The Wandering Pedlar - A Mobile Merchant in the Countryside	188
Westgothian Pedlars	189
‘Trading Russians’	193
The Mercers – Shop-owners Under Surveillance	198
The Visitation	199
Sundbeck, Bruse, and Linderoth - Three Retailers Setting the Scene	200
A Crackdown on Retailers	206
The Jewish Trader – a New Nemesis	220
Accusations of Smuggling from Outside of the Jewish Community	224
Accusations of Smuggling from Inside the Jewish Community	227
Entanglements and Contrabands	228
The Elite Smuggler – the Case of Marcelin Robert	232
Early Connections and Establishment as an Indispensable Valet Retailer	232
Robert the Contrabandier	233
Conflict with the Burghers	235
<b>Consuming Contraband: Worsteds &amp; Coffee</b>	<b>241</b>
Skilled Manufactured Goods - Norwich Worsted	248
A Threat to the Domestic Industry – The Ban on Worsted	248
Worsted Smuggling to Sweden	252
The Government Responds to the Contraband	257
Consumer Adoption and Adaption of Worsted	259
An Acceptable Luxury?	270
Concluding Remarks on Worsted	273
Exotica – Coffee	275
A Threat to the National Finances – the Ban on Coffee	276
Coffee Smuggling to Sweden	282
The Government Responds to the Contraband	286
Consumer Adoption and Adaption of Coffee	288
Concluding Remarks on Coffee	301
<b>Smuggling and the Perpetual Trade War</b>	<b>305</b>
Friends, Foes, and Trading Partners	311
The British Perspective – Pursuing the Fickle Trade Balance	311
The French Perspective – A Patriotic Endeavour	317
The Swedish Perspective – Pragmatic Advancement	322
The Consuls – A Dubious State Agent	327
Thomas Erskine	329
Return to Tea Smuggling	332
Jean Antoine and Casimir Fournier	334
Competition in the North	337
An ‘entreprise patriotique’	339
<b>Conclusion: Globalisation, State Formation, and Consumption Revisited</b>	<b>343</b>
Globalisation	343
State Formation	345
Consumption	346
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>349</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	<b>393</b>

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We shall not cease from exploration  
And the end of all our exploring  
Will be to arrive where we started  
And know the place for the first time

T. S. Eliot, *Four Quartets*, 1941.

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## List of Figures

- Figure 3.1. G. Biurman, 66, Svea och Göta riken med Finland och Norland afritade i Stockholm år 1747, *Generaltullarrendesocietetens svenska tullatlas*, KoB H. Vol. 5, Kungliga Biblioteket. 113
- Figure 3.2. Östersjön, Öresund och Bälten. Karta öfver Stockholms Skärgård. (1809), *Sveriges Topografiska kartor 1580-1990*, 23:30, Krigsarkivet. 118
- Figure 3.3. Façade mot Skeppsbron, 1783, Kart och ritningsarkivet, *Gamla Samlingen*, Pack- och Tullhuset, 23:5, Stockholm Stadsarkiv. 120
- Figure 3.4. Öfversta Wåningen, 1783, Kart och ritningsarkivet, *Gamla Samlingen*, Pack- och Tullhuset, 23:5, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. 120
- Figure 3.5. Göteborgs och Bohus län detaljkartor, Trakten emellan Bohus och Göteborg, sat söder om staden med Skärgården, *Sveriges Topografiska kartor*, 15B:4, Krigsarkivet. 138
- Figure 3.6. Author's own photograph of house used for the storage of contraband in Edenryd, Skåne, 2017, © A. M. C. Knutsson. 140
- Figure 3.7. C.P. Hagström, Wäg-Karta öfver norra delen af Sverige samt Norrige, 1806, *Utländska kartor*, 405, Norge, B:2, Krigsarkivet. 147
- Figure 3.8. Wäg-karta öfver Finland, 1806, *Utländska kartor*, 403, Finland, 42:3, Krigsarkivet. 148
- Figure 3.9. Karta över Jämtland, Härjedalen och Ångermanland vid gränsen mot Norge, undated, 151, *Generaltullarrendesocieteternas svenska tullatlas*, KoB H. Vol. 5, Kungliga Biblioteket. 150
- Figure 3.10. Underlagskarta för Sveriges indelning i landskap, 1810, *Sveriges topografiska kartor*, 1A:19b, Krigsarkivet. 151
- Figure 3.11. Dufwöö [Duved] Gräntze Tull, 21, undated, *Generaltullarrendesocieteternas svenska tullatlas*, KoB H. Vol. 5, Kungliga Biblioteket. 154
- Figure 3.12. Grundritning öfwer Cajana Stadh, 11, undated, *Generaltullarrendesocieteternas svenska tullatlas*, KoB H. Vol. 5, Kungliga Biblioteket. 158
- Figure 3.13. G. Biurman, Wäge Charta öfver Swea och Götha Riken, 1742, *Vägvisare uti Svea- och Göta Riken samt Stor-Förstendömet Finland*, Stockholm, 1742. 163
- Figure 3.14. Delineation af Giötheborgs stad, 27, 1760s, Göteborg, *Generaltullarrendesocietetens svenska tullatlas*, KoB H. Vol. 5, Kungliga Biblioteket. 170
- Figure 3.15. Unknown artist, Karlsporten från stadssidan. 1787. Akvarell på konturetsning efter teckning av Elias Martin. GhmB:3245, Göteborgs Stadsmuseum. 172

- Figure 5.1. Bodices from Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg's survey of bodices in Dala-Floda alongside textile samples from Ives & Baseley textile sample book. Private photographs © Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg. 254
- Figure 5.2. C. J. Carlson, Charta som utwisar situationen omkring Strömstad til land och sjös, 96, 1756, Generaltullarrendesocietetens svenska tullatlas, KoB H. Vol. 5, Kungliga Biblioteket. 256
- Figure 5.3. Taboratt bodice from Getinge parish, Halland. Cloth identified as produced in Norwich by Berit Eldvik. Textile dates from 1770-1790 and bodice created 1790-1810, NM.0001957, Nordiska Museet.
- <https://digitalmuseum.se/011023079751/livstycke> 260
- Figure 5.4. Worsted damask waistcoat, textile probably of Norwich origin from Getinge parish, dating from 1770-1790, Halland located 5 km from Slöinge, NM.0001999, Nordiska Museet. © Fanny Oldenburg / Nordiska Museet.
- <https://digitalmuseum.se/011023079798/vast> 263
- Figure 5.5. Worsted damask skirt, textile probably of Norwich origin from Efra parish, Halland located c.3 km from Slöinge, dated c. 1770-1800, NM.0001958, Nordiska Museet. © Bertil Wreting / Nordiska Museet.
- <https://digitalmuseum.se/011023079752/kjol> 263
- Figure 5.6. Women from Blekinge in traditional dress. Preparatory illustration by C.W.Svedman for the book *Costume of Sweden*, London, 1823. Original held at, KoB H. Konstn. Svedman, C. W. A. 13, Kungliga Biblioteket. 264
- Figure 5.7. Pehr Hilleström, Karelska Dräkten, 1782-1810, 144. Hallwylska Museet. 268

## List of Graphs & Tables

Graph 1.1. Contraband seized in Stockholm, June – December 1769	42
Graph 1.2. Contraband seized in Stockholm, June – December 1800	42
Table 1.1. Import Prohibitions 1747-1799	46
Table 5.1. Return of the manufacturing house Messrs Ives, Basely & Robberds in the year 1791	253
Table 5.2. Legal coffee importation to Sweden in pounds	283





Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.

Ovid

(We are ever striving after what is forbidden, and coveting what is denied us.)



# Chapter 1

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## Introduction

Late in the evening of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1805 two peasants in sleighs, Erik Jönsson and Olof Persson, were stopped by customs officers, somewhere in the middle of the forest north of Charlottenberg, on the border between Sweden and Norway. Jönsson and Persson had hoped to pass undetected, but a tip-off had put two officers on their trail. After several days and nights of patrolling the forest, the customs officers were finally able to locate them and seize their undeclared cargo. The sleigh was found to contain two barrels of salted Norwegian herring; various packing cases stocked with West Indian sugar; bottles of Southeast Asian arrack; red wines presumably from France; English felt; a basket of porcelain; and a dozen Mediterranean lemons. While the customs officers recognised that the peasants were involved in an illegal venture, they nevertheless released them without charge, along with their horses, and sleighs. Their acquittal came after Jönsson and Nilsson explained that they had only been hired to transport the goods across the border by someone they referred to as Patron Ek. The cargo was confiscated, save for the herrings which belonged to the peasants, who agreed to pay import duty on the preserved fish. Instead the customs officers' attention turned to Patron Ek, who was already known to the customs officers and had long been suspected of being involved in *smuggling*.<sup>1</sup>

The manifold provenance of the goods seized from the two smuggling peasants in wintery Värmland reflects the variety and reach of global trade. It also reflects a Swedish taste for a diversity of foreign goods, manufactured European wares as well as exotic products from far away. In response to the arrival of such goods, the Swedish state issued protectionist legislation intended to shut them out of its market. The individuals tasked by the state with enforcing this legislation on the ground were the customs officers. As such, they played a crucial role in the consolidation and economic homogenisation of the early modern state. Yet, as this example indicates, global goods were, despite the state's attempts to enforce uniform economic policy

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<sup>1</sup> 'Berättelse, Wärmelands Gräntsen Norraby, 25 Dec 1805, Hallenborg' (1806), Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, m. fl., kansliet, Resefiskaler, E9, vol.5.

still entering the Swedish territory clandestinely spurred on by continued consumer demand. This thesis, covering the forty-year time period 1766-1806, aims to investigate both how smuggling functioned in practice and how it was perceived, using smuggling as a prism to explore how global processes influenced Sweden in the late eighteenth century.

## Global Flows and Frictions

In an influential study from 2014, Michael Kwass identified the cause of smuggling in the eighteenth century as a convergence of three historical processes: globalisation, state formation, and the consumer revolution.<sup>2</sup> These three processes are discussed in the overview below, before the Swedish situation is brought into focus.

The first process to be considered is globalisation. Most scholars agree that the eighteenth century saw an increase in the flow of consumer goods all around the globe, a process that had a significant impact on the consumer markets in Europe.<sup>3</sup> This global trade stemmed, at least in part, from the intensifying commercial competition between European states.<sup>4</sup> Recent research on smuggling has revealed that global wares also came to spread through illegal channels, and into states previously thought of as ‘immune’ to the impact, shielded behind national walls of protectionist legislation.<sup>5</sup> How these illegal channels of globalisation worked depended on the

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<sup>2</sup> Michael Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014).p.6

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion on the development of the global market space and the global circulation of consumer goods see for example: Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World That Trade Created. Society, Culture, and the World Economy 1400 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (Armonk, New York; London, England: M.E Sharpe, 2006); Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *A History of Global Consumption 1500-1800* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2015); Maxine Berg, Hanna Hodacs, and Chris Nierstrasz, eds., *Goods from the East, 1600-1800 Trading Eurasia* (Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, eds., *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World* (Routledge, 2015). For studies about the spread of specific goods see: Sidney Wilfred Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York; London: Penguin Books, 1986).Macy Norton, ‘Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics,’ *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 2006.;Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2010).Beverly Lemire, *Fashion’s Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800* (Oxford University Press, 1991).;Beverly Lemire, *Cotton* (Berg Publishers, 2011).; Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> David Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires. England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).; Global historians have challenged this approach arguing that it is much too simplistic and that it is necessary to understand globalisation as a process informed by developments both in Europe and in other regions of the world, see: Jan Nederveen Pieterse, ‘Oriental Globalization’, *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, no. 2–3 (May 2006).p.412

<sup>5</sup> Michael Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), p.358; Felicia Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760* (Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York:

state in question, its legal, geographical, social, and cultural conditions, as well as to some extent its relation with other states. Trade regulations and smuggling were consequently matters of international interest. The character and impact of globalisation was far from uniform, and as Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik have argued the process of globalisation should be understood as a dynamic interaction between the global and the local levels.<sup>6</sup> This was equally if not more true for illegal transfers of global wares.

The interaction between the global and the local are at the centre of recent approaches to transnational history, which turn the historian's perspective towards the study of connections, circulations, entanglements, interactions, and transfers across borders.<sup>7</sup> Some scholars have pointed out that transnational histories benefit from 'playing with scales', *jeux d'échelles*, moving between the micro-, meso-, and macro- levels in order to explore transnational actors and the various local and global conditions that affected them.<sup>8</sup> The study of smuggling through the lens of *jeux d'échelles* could thus include a consideration of transgressive actors, local social conditions, state regulations, and global trade flows. Pierre-Yves Saunier has pointed out that by focusing on the mechanics of circulations and connections it is possible to observe the unevenness of transnational phenomena and the various levels – local, national, international – conditioning them. According to Saunier this offers historians a way to historicise globalisation.<sup>9</sup> The study of smuggling, a by definition transnational, border-crossing activity, is therefore a particularly suitable way to investigate historical processes of globalisation.

Adopting a transnational perspective does not necessarily mean moving away from the state as a unit of analysis, but rather to admit the existence of other influences, forces, and movements. A number of historians have thus argued that a history of transnational forces should be used as an accompaniment to national narratives, not as alternatives.<sup>10</sup> It could be argued that due to its strong connection to the concept of nation, the category of transnational history is unsuited

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Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p.170; Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).p.291

<sup>6</sup> Pomeranz and Topik, *The World That Trade Created. Society, Culture, and the World Economy 1400 to the Present*. p.xii

<sup>7</sup> For a good introduction see: Pierre-Yves Saunier, 'Circulations, Connexions et Espaces Transnationaux', *Genèses* 57, no. 4 (2004).

<sup>8</sup> Bernhard Struck, Kate Ferris, and Jacques Revel, 'Introduction: Space and Scale in Transnational History', *The Interbational History Review* 33, no. 4 (2011).pp.574 & 576

<sup>9</sup> Saunier, 'Circulations, Connexions et Espaces Transnationaux'.p.111

<sup>10</sup> Struck, Ferris, and Revel, 'Introduction: Space and Scale in Transnational History'.p.576; Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).pp.9-11; Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (November 2005).p. 432

to the period before the emergence of the nation state. However, some historians have pointed to the insights that can be gained by adopting a transnational perspective on pre-modern 'nations' or states.<sup>11</sup> Studying smuggling, a transnational and border-crossing activity par excellence, allows for a study of the struggles of the developing state in an inter-national context. As the state tried to consolidate its power and control its territory, the regulation of smuggling became an increasing concern; an examination of responses to smuggling thus permits a study of the state's attempts to consolidate control over its territory.<sup>12</sup> Smuggling is therefore not merely a transnational story of circulations, but also, as Kwass has highlighted, a national story about the consolidation of the state and the enforcement of state authority by blocking the circulation of goods.<sup>13</sup>

The final historical process highlighted by Kwass, the consumer revolution, has been problematised since the term was coined in the seminal work *The Birth of a Consumer Society* in 1982.<sup>14</sup> Following its publication, there has been a race to locate this 'birth' in various corners of Europe and in various time periods.<sup>15</sup> Many researchers locate it in the eighteenth century, although some historians have recently questioned whether there actually was an increase in consumption in this period.<sup>16</sup> Both the terms consumer revolution and consumer society are potentially problematic in their presupposition that consumption was undergoing change, and in particular that consumption was increasing due to an expansion of disposable income. While growing consumption may have increased the impetus for smuggling, the main precondition was a *continuing* rather than an *expanding* demand for foreign goods that persisted even despite prohibitions. The study of smuggling thus allows for an exploration of the social meaning and significance of contraband consumption by looking at the interplay between consumer culture,

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<sup>11</sup> Bartollomé Yun Casalilla, 'Transnational History. What Lies behind the Label? Some Reflections from the Early Modernist's Point of View.', *Culture & History Digital Journal* 3, no. 2 (December 2014).

<sup>12</sup> Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 2005), p.460

<sup>13</sup> Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*, p.6

<sup>14</sup> Neil McKendrick, J. H. Plumb, & John Brewer, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England*, (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982)

<sup>15</sup> See for example: Renaissance Italy Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy: 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Seventeenth Century Dutch Republic: Jan de Vries, 'Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in Theory and Practice', in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). For a longer discussion see: Wouter Ryckbosch, 'Early Modern Consumption History. Current Challenges and Future Perspectives', *Low Countries Historical Review* 130, no. 1 (2015), pp.65-71

<sup>16</sup> Ryckbosch, 'Early Modern Consumption History. Current Challenges and Future Perspectives'. For scholars who have questioned the consumer revolution see: 'John Brewer: Was the First Consumer Society Born in 18th Century Britain?', *The Independent*, 30 September 2003; Gregory Clark, 'The Consumer Revolution: Turning Point in Human History, or Statistical Artifact?', (Munich Personal RePEc Archive, 2010).

consumers, and contraband. Such an investigation can reveal how global wares were received, appropriated and put to use. As explored in the historical literature on cultural transfers, objects moving across national and, more importantly, cultural borders came to be reinterpreted – re-semanticised – by new agents in new contexts.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Swedish Situation*

Globalisation and the impact of ‘the global’ on Sweden in the eighteenth century has so far only received limited attention. However, the work that has been done has suggested that Sweden was part of the global fabric, influencing and being influenced by global processes that also affected large parts of Europe in the eighteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, in a recent book, Leos Müller has argued that the eighteenth century was Sweden’s first global century.<sup>19</sup> Such an understanding stands in stark contrast to research which has argued that Sweden in the eighteenth century became an inward-gazing, protectionist, and isolationist state that withdrew from the international stage as it struggled to regain control of the country following the end of the Age of Greatness (1611-1718).<sup>20</sup> A general conclusion in this thesis is that these two approaches to the Swedish eighteenth century are not contradictory, but rather that they are different consequences of the same phenomenon: globalisation. Indeed, the progress of globalisation had a range of effects, some of which contradicted one another, on state formation and consumption, as will be discussed at further length below. Recent research on smuggling sheds light on these processes as it takes a broad approach to the phenomenon by combining various perspectives. This new scholarship stands in sharp contrast to previous studies, which according to Renaud Morieux can be considered as being divided into three largely separate strands: the economy of smuggling, smuggling as a social crime, and smuggling as a cultural

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<sup>17</sup> Anna Veronika Wendland, ‘Cultural Transfer’, in *Travelling Concepts for the Study of Culture*, ed. Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning (Walter de Gruyter, 2012), p.51

<sup>18</sup> Stefan Eklöf Amirell, ‘Den Världshistoriska Vändningen. Möjligheter Och Problem i Relation till Svensk Historisk Forskning’, *Historisk Tidskrift* 128, no. 4 (2008); Leos Müller, Göran Rydén, and Holger Weiss, ‘Global Historia - Något För Nordiska Historiker?’, in *Global Historia Från Periferin. Norden 1600-1850*, ed. Leos Müller, Göran Rydén, and Holger Weiss (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2009); Arne Jarrick and Janken Myrdal, ‘Globalhistoria Och Forkning Om Långa Förlopp’, *Historisk Tidskrift* 130, no. 4 (2010); Leos Müller, Holger Weiss, and Göran Rydén, eds., *Global Historia Från Periferin: Norden 1600-1850* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2010); Göran Rydén, ed., *Sweden in the Eighteenth-Century World: Provincial Cosmopolitans* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

<sup>19</sup> Leos Müller, *Sveriges Första Globala Århundrade. En 1700-Talshistoria* (Stockholm: Dialogos, 2018).

<sup>20</sup> Eli Filip Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa: Det moderna sveriges grundläggning, 1720-1815*, vol. 2:2 (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1949), pp.649-652; Lars Magnusson, ‘Mercantilism and “Reform” Mercantilism: The Rise of Economic Discourse in Sweden during the Eighteenth Century’, *History of Political Economy* 19, no. 3 (1987).

occurrence.<sup>21</sup> In Sweden there has been a dearth of academic scholarship that engages with this new approach to smuggling - to date only one chapter has been published, covering both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>22</sup>

Addressing a largely overlooked area of Swedish history, the aim of this thesis is to investigate what the smuggling perspective can add to our understanding of three key processes in late eighteenth-century Sweden, namely globalisation, state formation, and consumption. The thesis draws on a wide range of research, combining scholarship concerned with early modern Swedish state formation and consumption with recent research into smuggling and border control. Combining these strands, five different ways to approach smuggling have been identified. Below I will discuss these five approaches and how they have shaped the thesis' points of departure, before I return to the research questions. In turn, the five approaches, which correspond to the study's chapters two to six, address views on economy and citizenship; the extent of a state's authority over its territory; what smuggling meant for the culprits; attitudes towards contraband retailers, contraband and its effects on society; and international perceptions of smuggling and inter-state competition. While each individual approach listed above cannot cover all three of these processes of globalisation, state formation, and consumption, they can, taken together, offer insights into all of them. At the end of the study, in chapter seven, I will therefore revisit the three processes.

### *State Objectives and Citizens' Rights: Conceptions of smuggling*

Smuggling as a crime was defined by the state's economic legislation. The state's intentions and regulations thus make a good starting point for a study of smuggling. The eighteenth century, or more specifically the period 1650-1780, has sometimes in the historiography of

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<sup>21</sup> Recent research takes a much broader approach to smuggling than previous scholarship which, according to Renaud Morieux, can be considered to be divided into three largely separate strands: the economy of smuggling, smuggling as a social crime, and smuggling as a cultural occurrence. Renaud Morieux, *The Channel: England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), p.250. For examples of economy of smuggling see: W. A. Cole, 'Trends in Eighteenth-Century Smuggling', *The Economic History Review* 10, no. 3 (1958); Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, 'Trends in Eighteenth-Century Smuggling Reconsidered', *The Economic History Review* 28 (1975).; Smuggling as a social crime: Cal Winslow, 'Sussex Smugglers', in *Albion's Fatal Tree. Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England*, First American Edition (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975).

<sup>22</sup> Pia Lundqvist, 'Förbjudna Tyger – Textilsmuggling till Sverige under 1700- Och 1800-Talen', in *Dolda Innovationer. Textila Produkter Och Ny Teknik under 1800-Talet*, ed. Klas Nyberg and Pia Lundqvist (Stockholm: Kulturhistoriska Bokförlaget, 2013).



early modern Europe been referred to as ‘The Age of Mercantilism’.<sup>23</sup> Mercantilism was a financial policy intended to regulate and improve the trade balance of a state with the help of artificial interference, for example through prohibitions and high import duties. While the definition of mercantilism as a coherent ideology has been criticised repeatedly during the last fifty years, recent scholarship has suggested that, rather than discarding mercantilism completely, it should be ‘reimagined’, and opened up for new interpretations.<sup>24</sup> Mercantilism has consequently been reconsidered as part of a wider political, scientific and societal context, and the notion itself has been deconstructed and considered in its constituent parts.<sup>25</sup> As the aim of this thesis is not to consider mercantilism as a system, or to contest the accuracy of the term, but rather to consider the protectionist tendencies that sometimes are collected under the umbrella term of mercantilism, the term ‘protectionism’ will instead be employed here, covering a range of actions aimed at controlling import. Protectionism also came to influence the definition and treatment of smuggling, the biggest threat to trade barriers.

In the early modern period, and particularly during the eighteenth century, economic control measures such as prohibitions and high import duties were used all over Europe in attempts to stave off, or regulate, the ever-expanding flows of global goods.<sup>26</sup> Three main arguments against the importation of foreign wares circulated during the eighteenth century: foreign imports drained money from the kingdom; they caused the decay of traditional domestic manufactures; and they resulted in underemployment and even starvation among the domestic workers.<sup>27</sup> Both William Farrell and Felicia Gottmann have stressed that the protection of domestic industry was a fundamental reason why various goods came to be prohibited in Britain and France, two of the most significant economies of eighteenth century Europe.<sup>28</sup> Protectionist legislations,

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<sup>23</sup> Roland Findlay & Kevin H. O’Rourke, *Power and Plenty, Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p.227; In the Swedish context Henric Häggqvist has suggested that this mercantilist period lasted until 1815 - see: Henric Häggqvist, ‘On the Ocean of Protectionism. The Structure of Swedish Tariffs and Trade 1780-1830’ (PhD thesis, Uppsala University, 2015).p.47

<sup>24</sup> For critics of ‘mercantilism’ as a useful label see: Coleman, ‘Eli Heckscher and the Idea of Mercantilism,’ in Coleman, ed., *Revisions in Mercantilism* (London: Methuen, 1969), p.117; Joyce Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987);

<sup>25</sup> Philip J. Stern och Carl Wennerlind, ‘Introduction’, in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2013)

<sup>26</sup> See for example: Farrell, ‘Silk and Globalisation in Eighteenth-Century London: Commodities, People and Connections c.1720-1800’ p. 54,

<sup>27</sup> Farrell, ‘Silk and Globalisation in Eighteenth-Century London: Commodities, People and Connections c.1720-1800’, pp.111-115; .Anne Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2017).p.178

<sup>28</sup> William Farrell, ‘Smuggling Silks into Eighteenth-Century Britain: Geography, Perpetrators, and Consumers’, *Journal of British Studies* 55, no. 2 (2016), p.269; Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*.p.54

either in the form of prohibitions, monopolies, or high import duties, were intended to tackle changing economic conditions by allowing state control mechanisms to influence, stop or condition trade into the state's economic space. The issuing of economic legislation was thus a way for the state to claim control over its territory and its economic integrity. This legislation reflects the state's objectives, and can thus be used to study state interests. One such state objective could be, for example, to help the domestic manufactories by eliminating foreign competition, which ultimately served the state interest in restoring economic vitality. While it was more or less commonly accepted that the state had interests, the question of the means and methods that should be used to realise them was an area of contention. Both the legislation itself and the discussions generated by new legislation give insight into diverging intellectual approaches and key debates on how an economy worked and on the proper relationship between state and citizen. This relationship became important as both the protectionist legislation and criminal law strove to define acceptable behaviour within the state, processes which in turn came to test the limits of citizen loyalty.

Conditions were by no means static; changing political and economic circumstances challenged and redefined the state, its objectives and its laws, resulting in shifting approaches to smuggling. Drawing on the Old Bailey records, Annie Tock Morrisette shows how the understanding of smuggling changed dramatically in Britain during the eighteenth century. Early on in the century the smuggler was described as a traitor in the Old Bailey records and smuggling as a crime against the nation. Later on the emphasis changed, as smuggling came to be considered mainly as a violent crime against enforcement officers. Morrisette posits that the reason was the American Revolutionary War and Britain's increasingly problematic relationship with its colonies, where withheld tax and duty payments came to represent a rejection of British authority. She suggests that the state was keen to depoliticise smuggling as a form of protest and a weapon against the state in order "to dampen smuggling's revolutionary potential".<sup>29</sup> In other words, the state consciously redefined smuggling as a violent crime in order to handle the new challenges. Morrisette notes a concomitant development in the trial records where individual rights were given more weight, as the smuggler started to describe the contraband in terms of private property that ought to be protected.<sup>30</sup> This suggests that towards the end of the eighteenth century new ideas of rights came to enter into the British smuggling discourse.

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<sup>29</sup> Annie Tock Morrisette, 'They Would Have a Law of Their Own': The Discourse on Smuggling at the Old Bailey, 1736-1814' (MA thesis, East Carolina University, 2013).p.118

<sup>30</sup> Morrisette. p. 25 and generally Chapter 4

The definition of smuggling was also challenged in late eighteenth-century France. Kwass and Gottmann have both noted that smuggling became contested when the protectionist legislation ran into conflict with enlightenment ideas about natural rights and ‘economic liberalism’.<sup>31</sup> Kwass has particularly highlighted the significance of the introduction of ideas about “consumer sovereignty” and criminal law reform.<sup>32</sup> It would, however, be an error to consider this merely as an intellectual or ideological change. Indeed, as numerous scholars working on smuggling in France have established, the general dislike of the Tax Farm – the customs authorities charged with collecting taxes and duties – coloured popular attitudes towards this arm of state control.<sup>33</sup> In line with Morrisette’s approach, Michael Kwass argues that the French Revolution evolved out of a common hatred of the Farm and the draconian suppression of the population that it represented.<sup>34</sup> This suggests that it is necessary to consider the debates about smuggling not simply as a theoretical exercise, but as part and parcel of the experiences and attitudes developed through interactions with protectionism, customs officers, and contraband.

Studying smuggling in a Swedish context, it is necessary to consider that the second half of the eighteenth century saw a variety of successive forms of government. At the start of the investigation period of this thesis there was still a rudimentary form of parliamentarianism, applied during what in Sweden is traditionally known as the Age of Liberty (1718-1772) which followed the fall of the Sweden’s Baltic Empire and the end of the so-called Age of Greatness (1611-1718). During the era of rudimentary parliamentarianism there were repeated clashes between two opposing political parties, commonly referred to as the Hats and the Caps. This period came to a close in 1772, when King Gustav III performed a state coup and restored significant power to the monarch at the expense of the riksdag. He installed himself as an enlightened absolutist king, revoking the final powers from the riksdag in 1789. This system lasted until the king’s murder in 1792. From that year onwards a regency government ruled on behalf of Gustav III’s son, who was eventually crowned in 1800 as Gustav IV Adolph. His period as an absolutist monarch ended with the revolution in 1809, when he was forced into

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<sup>31</sup> Kwass, See Chapter 11 ‘Smuggling in the Enlightenment’; Felicia Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760* (Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). See Chapter 5 ‘Enlightenment Campaigning’

<sup>32</sup> Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*.pp. 293, 304-310

<sup>33</sup> Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*.p.63

<sup>34</sup> Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*. See Chapter 12 ‘Revolution’, and in particular pp. 319, 322, 325.

exile. Each of these changes of governance led to new legislation, reflecting the state's changing political objectives, which reconditioned the public sphere.

Research has shown that the notion of citizenship (*medborgarskap*), and the relationship between state and citizen, were redefined during the eighteenth century, and that both a changing state structure and the introduction of new enlightenment ideas influenced these processes.<sup>35</sup> Jonathan Israel has shown that in the Swedish context, the emergence and spread of enlightenment ideas were conditioned by the establishment of an absolutist regime in the 1770s and restrictions to the Press Freedom Act in 1774. Within this context of censorship, enlightenment ideas had to be considerably toned down to an appropriate format before they appeared in print.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, the circulation of new ideas was conditioned by the government in charge, ultimately deciding what could be published and in what form. Jakob Christensson has argued that during the late eighteenth century, the definition of citizenship was expanded to include members of all levels of society rather than being reserved for one estate alone.<sup>37</sup> This development followed in the wake of the murder of Gustav III, when the political opposition regained a voice and enlightenment ideas could be expressed more freely.<sup>38</sup> The relationship between the state and the citizens was thus changing, both in practical and conceptual terms, as a result of shifting governmental structure.

### Moving Forwards

In the light of global developments and drawing on research on how discussions about smuggling came to carry important discussions about citizenship and the limits of state power in France and Britain particularly, this thesis seeks to explore Swedish debates on smuggling and the development of anti-smuggling legislation in the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was a period of shifting political and state authority, encompassing both proto-parliamentarianism and absolutism. Moreover, it was a period during which the notion of citizenship changed radically. Such developments raise the

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<sup>35</sup> Jakob Christensson, *Lyckoriket: Studier i Svensk Upplýsning* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1996), see pp.128-158; Karin Sennefelt, *Politikens Hjärta. Medborgarskap, manlighet och plats i frihetstidens Stockholm*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Stockholmia Förlag, 2015), pp.281-282; Erik Bodsten, *Politikens Drivfjäder: Frihetstidens Partiberättelser Och Den Moralpolitiska Logiken* (Lund: Historiska Institutionen, 2016).pp. 96-97

<sup>36</sup> Jonathan Israel, 'Northern Varieties: Contrasting the Dano-Norwegian and the Swedish-Finnish Enlightenment', in *Eighteenth-Century Periodicals As Agents of Change. Perspectives on Northern Enlightenment*, ed. Ellen Krefting, Aina Nøding, and Mona Ringvej (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015).p.43

<sup>37</sup> Christensson, *Lyckoriket: Studier i Svensk Upplýsning*.see for example, pp.128 & 144

<sup>38</sup> Christensson.p.139

question of how the discourse and laws of smuggling changed over time and under the influence of various forms of government and changing ideological patterns.

### *Territoriality: Limits of State Control and the Underground Economy*

The economic historian Istvan Hont has argued that the eighteenth century saw a general move towards what he labels a ‘commercial nation-state’, i.e. strong cohesive national economic units that could be internationally competitive.<sup>39</sup> This development included several distinct phases with the creation of the conglomerate state as the first step, followed by the creation of an absolutist state, which in time led to the consolidation of the nation-state. Each of these steps also spelled increased homogenisation and a stronger preference for a unified model of governance with a strong centre, together with a rejection of earlier ideas of mixed governance of “dependent but co-equal states”.<sup>40</sup> According to Hont, the standardisation, and the eradication of diverse political interests, made the resulting state into a manageable block which could act more decisively on a scene characterised by European inter-state competition.<sup>41</sup> Creating and managing such a homogenous space was, however, far from a straightforward process, and despite protectionist legislation, smuggling came to pose an important challenge to the creation of this early modern commercial nation-state.

Recent research has highlighted that the early modern state had a limited ability to efficiently enforce economic regulations and prevent smuggling. The limits of state authority and the discrepancy between regulation and lived reality have been explored in two different but interlinked ways: the limits of territorial control and the limits of control over inhabitants and other actors moving in and out of the country.<sup>42</sup> In his book *Human Territoriality* David Sack brings these two control aspects together, defining territoriality as: “*the attempt by an*

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<sup>39</sup> Hont, *Jealousy of Trade*.p.460

<sup>40</sup> Hont.p.459

<sup>41</sup> Hont.pp.460-461

<sup>42</sup> Scholars who discuss the limits of state power: Lars Magnusson, ‘Merkantilismens Teori Och Praktik: Utrikeshandel: Och Manufakturpolitik I Sitt Idéhistoriska Sammanhang’, in *Till Salu. Stockholms Textila Handel Och Manufaktur 1722-1846*, ed. Klas Nyberg (Stockholm: Stads- och Kommunhistoriska Institutet, 2010).p.28; Michael Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014),p.87; William Farrell, ‘Smuggling Silks into Eighteenth-Century Britain: Geography, Perpetrators, and Consumers’, *Journal of British Studies* 55, no. 2 (2016), p.274; Felicia Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760* (Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).pp.55-59

*individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area.*<sup>43</sup>

When considering territoriality and smuggling, the logical place to start is the border, which, at least in theory, separated one economic space from another. However, a border is not only an economic boundary; it is also a political line distinguishing territorial possessions. As Joshua H. Smith has noted, this means that smuggling should not merely be seen as an economic act, but should also be considered as a way of contesting the legitimacy of the border itself. He argues that “smuggling almost always involved the illicit crossing of political boundaries and as such can reveal popular attitudes toward the creation of national borders.”<sup>44</sup> Smith concludes that the border he is discussing, that between the American Republic and the British colonies in Canada, which was relatively new, dating back to 1783 and the Treaty of Paris, was contested because it went straight through established family ties and customary relationships.<sup>45</sup> The study highlights the need to consider which traditional, social, and cultural ties existed in a region and how these affected trade patterns and popular attitudes to the border, something also stressed by Eugene Richard Henry Tesdahl in his study of Native American smuggling between New York and New France, and Montenach in her study of the French Alps.<sup>46</sup>

It is not only the creation of a new border that forces border conditions to alter, but also the renegotiation of an old border, as legislation, politics and the practicalities of enforcement change over time. A current example is the border between Ireland and Northern Ireland which has become an area of contention in the Brexit negotiations. A study of this border between 1922 and 1945 has pointed to the important role that customs played in its creation, as the customs regulations and the practicalities of enforcing them helped to uphold the border.<sup>47</sup> Since its establishment in 1922 the Irish border has remained largely stagnant, but its meaning and impact on the border regions has changed dramatically. The United Kingdom’s entry into the

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<sup>43</sup> Robert David Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).p.19 (Sack’s italics)

<sup>44</sup> Joshua M. Smith, *Borderland Smuggling: Patriots, Loyalists, and Illicit Trade in the Northeast, 1783-1820* (University Press of Florida, 2006).p. xiii

<sup>45</sup> Smith.p.119

<sup>46</sup> Eugene Richard Henry Tesdahl, ‘The Price of Empire: Smuggling between New York and New France, 1700-1754’ (PhD thesis, University of Colorado, 2012). See Chapter 1, particularly, pp.20-29; Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*. See Chapter 1 ‘Sel de la mer et hautes terres, les enjeux d’un économie montagnarde’, particularly pp.25-31

<sup>47</sup> For an interesting study of the role of customs regulation and customs officers in creating a border see: Catherine Nash, Lorraine Dennis, and Brian Graham, ‘Putting the Border in Place: Customs Regulation in the Making of the Irish Border, 1921-1945’, *Journal of Historical Geography* 36 (2010).

European Economic Community in 1973 led to an increased integration between the Northern Irish and Irish markets, and when the European single market was introduced in 1993 the customs offices along the border were shut down. Some military border checks remained in place until the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, enacted in 2005, which in turn made the border virtually ‘invisible’. This led to completely changed political conditions in the border areas as both sides of the border became increasingly integrated through trade, work, and family ties.<sup>48</sup> While the future of this border remains uncertain, some have feared that creating a ‘hard border’ post-Brexit, with customs checks and passport controls, will lead to the re-emergence of violence and smuggling.<sup>49</sup> As the case of the Irish border illustrates, it is important not to consider old borders as set but instead as dynamic entities affected by changes in politics, economics, and enforcement.

The creation and practical maintenance of borders and the various challenges involved in the physical enforcement of economic policy has so far received some, although not enough, attention among researchers interested in smuggling and state authority. Positioned along borders and travel routes, the customs chambers are an excellent place to study state territoriality as they epitomise the combination of control over space and the movements of people. While Smith focuses on smuggling as a challenge, he pays less attention to the measures of maintaining and ensuring a border, such as the work of customs officers and customs chambers. What does emerge from his examples, however, is that the work of enforcing a border was politically charged and depended largely upon the customs officers responsible and whether or not they performed their duties.<sup>50</sup>

In her study of smuggling in the French Alps, Montenach has identified attempts to enforce new control mechanisms in the border areas as part of “a larger strategy for the extension of state authority – usually through the consolidation of ‘national’ territory and the installation of frontiers”.<sup>51</sup> While she, like Smith, sees these efforts to control the border as expressions of state authority and attempts to consolidate and enforce a uniform economic space, she also highlights

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<sup>48</sup> Katy Hayward, ‘The Origins of the Irish Border’, 16 January 2017, <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/explainers/the-origins-of-the-irish-border/>.

<sup>49</sup> Cathal McCall, ‘Smuggling in the Irish Borderlands - and Why It Could Get Worse after Brexit’, The Conversation, 11 February 2019, <https://theconversation.com/smuggling-in-the-irish-borderlands-and-why-it-could-get-worse-after-brexit-111153>.

<sup>50</sup> See for example, Smith, *Borderland Smuggling*. pp. 40-41, 74 & 94

<sup>51</sup> Anne Montenach, ‘Conflict, Territory and the Frontier Economy: Smuggling in the Alps of Dauphiné During the 18th Century’, *Journal of Alpine Research | Revue de Géographie Alpine* 104, no. 1 (2016), URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/rga/3197>. p. 4 section 6

the importance of considering the physical dimensions of maintaining a border and has pointed to the need to focus on the geography and physical layout of the border regions.<sup>52</sup> This aspect is also picked up by Tesdahl, who pays particular attention to the geographical layout of his region of study, which he argues influenced the regional smuggling activities.<sup>53</sup> Geography affected the possibilities for economic policy enforcement, but it also conditioned the border areas in a broader sense, affecting movements, agriculture, language, family ties, and traditional trade circumstances that all shaped the development of smuggling.

The Swedish space and its borders had undergone significant territorial developments prior to the mid-eighteenth century. During the period often referred to as the Age of Greatness (1611-1718), Sweden had experienced both territorial losses and gains. The period had seen new territories being added to the realm, such as the Norwegian regions Jämtland and Härjedalen which were incorporated into Sweden in the Second Treaty of Brömsebro in 1645, as well as the island of Gotland and the county of Halland. Eighteen years later, in the 1658 Treaty of Roskilde, further territory was added to Sweden as Denmark conceded the provinces of Skåne and Blekinge. This redrew the border towards the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway. The eastern border between the Grand Duchy of Finland and Russia also underwent revisions. It came to be redrawn in the Treaty of Åbo in 1743, when Sweden conceded the southern part of the province of Karelia following their defeat in the Russian Wars of 1741-43. This meant that Sweden in 1766 was demarcated both by old and new borders, few of which were rigorously controlled. Traditional movements across the borders to old trading centres, churches, and family had thus been allowed to subsist. Such cross-border movements can be observed in the introductory example; Jönsson and Persson were border-dwelling peasants who were returning from a journey to Norway. The border in question was not new, but trade flows, routes and traditions shared with neighbouring Norway endured due to the proximity of large trading centres on that side of the border.

The eighteenth century also saw a development of a common law for what was not yet a very fixed Swedish territory. While Sweden already in the seventeenth century had adopted some universal laws, particularly in terms of trade, including the 1667 Maritime Law, the eighteenth

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<sup>52</sup> Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*. See Chapter 1 'Sel de la mer et hautes terres, les enjeux d'un économie montagnarde', particularly pp.25-31

<sup>53</sup> Tesdahl, 'The Price of Empire: Smuggling between New York and New France, 1700-1754'. See Chapter 1, particularly, pp.14-20



century saw an escalation of the attempts to regulate and homogenise Sweden.<sup>54</sup> Most notable is the first uniform Swedish *Code Civil* passed in 1734. The creation of a common legal code was part of the consolidation of the Swedish core lands, present-day Sweden and Finland. Its fifth code, the Commercial Code, also helped to define it as a uniform economic space. Not all of the Swedish realm was part of this legislative space, however, with some areas, such as Wismar and Pomerania, retaining their own laws and economic regulations.

This Swedish core territory was not just newly reconfigured in a legal sense, it was also immense, sparsely populated, and had a challenging geography and climate. To control such an area and mould it into a unified economic space was no small task. The chore of managing Sweden's 780 000 km<sup>2</sup> and 3 million inhabitants fell to the customs office and their officials. Customs chambers were set up along the land borders and all thirty-five of the Swedish staple towns also housed their own customs chambers.<sup>55</sup> Maria Ågren has insisted that state servants played a crucial part in Swedish state formation as they enforced state authority on the ground and worked to create a unified space. Ågren has particularly highlighted the role of customs officials in this process and stressed that smuggling was a threat to the emerging state.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, Ågren has also stressed the need to consider the limits of state control in Sweden in the early modern period, and she is not alone in doing so.<sup>57</sup> The issues involved in imposing state authority were practical; there were considerable difficulties and delays in managing remote territories from a central office in Stockholm. As Smith has rightly pointed out, attempts to enforce governmental authority, with the help of customs offices, was particularly difficult in remote areas where governmental authority was at its weakest.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, it is necessary to take into account the interests and intentions of the state actors themselves. This topic is explored by Maria Cavallin in her study of Swedish state servants, including customs officials, where she argues that it is vital to consider the officials' diverging loyalties and misuses of authority; the officials enforced the state, but they could also undermine it by prioritising self-

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<sup>54</sup> Göran Inger, *Svensk rättshistoria*, 5th ed, (Malmö: Liber, 2011), pp.132-135 &162-165

<sup>55</sup> A staple town was a town where overseas trade was allowed to be conducted. This meant that all import should pass through such towns. There existed 33 staple towns at the outset of 1766 and two more were instigated during the period. The Maritime Customs Courts were located in all the thirty-three staple towns in Sweden: Umeå in 1781 and Kaskö in 1785.

<sup>56</sup> Maria Ågren, *The State as Master: Gender, State Formation and Commercialisation in Urban Sweden, 1650-1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).pp. 139-140, for her discussion about the customs office see pp. 17-20

<sup>57</sup> Ågren.p.4; Magnusson, 'Till Salu'.p.28

<sup>58</sup> Smith, *Borderland Smuggling*.p.12

interest above duty.<sup>59</sup> As revealed in the introductory example, once the smugglers were seized the officers possessed a significant level of power. This example suggests that officers in the field, far removed from any authority, could act relatively freely, and in this specific case they released Jönsson and Persson without charge, preferring to pursue a greater villain. How they used their freedom of manoeuvre varied considerably, but it meant that they *could* extract bribes and release smugglers. Geography mattered much in this respect, as the customs officers' power to act freely was enhanced by the remoteness that defined most of the border areas.

Due to the difficulties involved in managing both land and maritime borders, it is also important to consider what was on the other side of the border and which other economic legislative spaces were connected to Sweden through the movements of sailors, pedlars, and border dwellers, to mention but a few of the various groups. Geographically Sweden was located close to several strong maritime states that thrived on global trade and which, during the eighteenth century, liberalised their trade. One of Sweden's closest neighbours, the kingdom of Denmark-Norway, was during the last decade of the eighteenth century experiencing a boom in its global trading activities, and from 1797 onward Denmark was lifting many of its trade restrictions.<sup>60</sup> Likewise, Sweden's most prominent trading partner, Great Britain, was one of the leading countries in the scramble for global trade, and responsible for the import of large quantities of global wares, in addition to being a great manufacturing nation in its own right. Meanwhile, Sweden's territorial losses in the Great Northern War (1700-1721), which marked the end of the Age of Greatness, enabled Russia to expand its export and import trade. As Sweden lost control over its territories along the southeast coast of the Baltic Sea, the Swedish barrier between Russia and the Baltic was broken, enabling Russia to establish harbours, including St Petersburg, in the Baltic and to strengthen its trade with Europe, all at the same time as it was expanding its trade with Asia.<sup>61</sup>

### Moving Forwards

Many European countries experienced a general move towards a 'commercial nation-state' in the eighteenth century. However, research on smuggling has highlighted that the consolidation

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<sup>59</sup> Maria Cavallin, 'I Kungen Och Folkets Tjänst. Synen På Den Svenske Ämbetsmannen 1750-1780' (PhD thesis, Göteborgs Universitet, 2003). See particularly her discussion about customs officers, pp. 222-226.

<sup>60</sup> Knud J.V. Jespersen, *A History of Denmark*, trans. Ivan Hill and Christopher Wade, 3rd ed. (Macmillan, 2019), p.153

<sup>61</sup> Artur Attman, 'The Russian Market in World Trade, 1500-1860'. *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 29, no. 3 (1981), p.184; See also Arcadius Kahan, and Richard Hellie. *The Plow, the Hammer, and the Knout: An Economic History of Eighteenth-Century Russia*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p.16

of space was not an easy process and that continued border-crossing activities across old and new borders challenged both the boundaries and the integrity of the economic space, and ultimately the authority of the state itself. From 1766 to 1806 Swedish territory was relatively stable, delineated by both newer and older borders. In dealing with this period, this thesis will thus consider a variety of different borders, including maritime and land borders, mountain and forest borders, new and old, and how these were guarded and transgressed. The diversity of borders, and the relative vastness of the Swedish territory, highlight the various geographic challenges affecting the management of the Swedish economic space. Furthermore, the state actors tasked with managing the space were influenced by conflicting interests which frustrated the state's control over its territory. The limits to state authority, related to a challenging Swedish geography and disobedient state servants, along with continued cross-border movements, prompt the question of how these factors affected the state's ability to create a uniform economic unit.

### Underground Economy

The challenges involved in controlling borders during the early modern period left many of them porous, allowing goods and people to enter and circulate, something that also necessitated controls inside the state. The inability to stop contraband led to the creation of what Michael Kwass has called the “underground economy”. It existed in parallel with the legal economy and both served to supply the market with consumer goods, albeit in different manners.<sup>62</sup> William Farrell has observed that such an underground economy in Britain maintained the supply of illegal French and Asian silks.<sup>63</sup> Meanwhile, Felicia Gottmann has illustrated how the continued importation of prohibited Asian calico had significant effects on the development of the French consumer market, both in supplying illegal textiles and in motivating new manufactures.<sup>64</sup> By pushing certain trades underground, these trades also came to be managed by actors other than those engaged in state supported trades and the legal transport of wares. For example, it meant that basically anyone, male or female, who needed or desired an extra source of revenue could involve themselves in the transport or running of contraband.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*.pp.57-69

<sup>63</sup> Farrell, ‘Smuggling Silks into Eighteenth-Century Britain: Geography, Perpetrators, and Consumers’.

<sup>64</sup> Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*.

<sup>65</sup> Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*., p.87; Anne Montenach, ‘Gender and Luxury in Eighteenth Century Grenoble: From Legal Exchanges to Shadow Economy’, in *Luxury and Gender in European Towns, 1700-1914*, ed. Deborah Simonton, Marjo Kaartinen, and Anne Montenach (New York: Routledge, 2015).p.51; Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe*

Due to widespread popular involvement in smuggling, particularly the transport of contraband, it has often also been associated with ideas about the right to earn a living; when the state failed to supply such opportunities it could become morally acceptable to engage in illicit activities like smuggling. Many historians have filed such arguments under the label ‘moral economy’. Exactly what this moral economy entailed, however, depended on regional and ‘national’ circumstances.<sup>66</sup> Kwass in his study of France and Jesse Cromwell in his research on Venezuela both take E. P. Thompson’s notion of the moral economy of the crowd and their shared sense of economic justice as their starting point. They argue that the notion of moral economy can be used, in part, to understand the popular support for and protection of smuggling and smugglers. Similarly, Nikolas Frykman, in his work on Caribbean pirates and British smugglers, has suggested that the state’s bullying of what he terms the ‘disposable poor’ led individuals to turn to piracy and smuggling for income.<sup>67</sup> According to Frykman this meant that turning to illicit trade was considered morally justified and met with popular approval. Joshua Smith also invokes Thompson in his analysis of the situation in North America, although he posits that smuggling cannot be interpreted as a “proletarian struggle against the standing order” as the smugglers, whom he refers to as ‘free traders’, often co-operated across social lines, particularly with the middle classes.<sup>68</sup> Morrisette also notes that smuggling defies class analysis because of the mixture of individuals involved.<sup>69</sup> While smuggling in some sense can be interpreted as an attempt to increase income among the poorer sorts, or as a tool for protest, the range of individuals involved in the smuggling chain also reveals that smuggling cannot be explained through one such single rationalization.

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*Siècle.*, see pp. 129-163 ; Dhyana Robert, ‘La Contrebande à Montréal, 1729-1752: Passages, Pratiques et Protagonistes’ (MA thesis, University of Sherbrooke, 2016). pp.12-21, this thesis is also noticeable as it contains a full transcription of a diary belonging to a widow of a translator who reported and commented on the smuggling that was on going around her and that was communicated to her by Native Americans.

<sup>66</sup> Some of the authors that write about moral economy are. Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*; Felicia Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism : Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Jesse Cromwell, ‘Illicit Ideologies: Moral Economies of Venezuelan Smuggling and Autonomy in the Rebellion of Juan Francisco de Leon, 1749–1751’, *THE AMERICAS* 74, no. 3 (July 2017)., pp. 267-297

<sup>67</sup> Niklas Frykman, ‘Pirates and Smugglers: Political Economy in the Red Atlantic’, in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, ed. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).pp.230-234

<sup>68</sup> Smith, *Borderland Smuggling*.p.2

<sup>69</sup> Morrisette, “‘They Would Have a Law of Their Own’: The Discourse on Smuggling at the Old Bailey, 1736-1814’. pp.120-121

In order to distinguish between two groups of smugglers – the common people looking to bolster their income and the bourgeoisie orchestrating smuggling to extend their trade – this thesis will employ the terms *popular illegalism* and *business illegalism*.<sup>70</sup> The two terms are borrowed from Michel Foucault's *The Punitive Society*, which distinguishes between these two complicit yet unequal illegalisms; they fittingly describe the relationship between the various agents along the smuggling line. These two types of smugglers were, in different ways, motivated by financial objectives. The peasants Jönsson and Nilsson serve as prime examples of popular illegalism: they engaged in smuggling to extend their incomes and represent links in the contraband chain rather than the main perpetrators. Their commissioner Patron Ek, on the other hand, is a good representative of business illegalism. He made use of other parties to divert the attention of the law away from himself while still being the main organiser and beneficiary of the crime. Foucault's division can thus help to explain how these types of smugglers could co-operate while remaining divided not only in their roles but also in regard to the rights and protection they received, and could bestow.

To understand why individuals engaged in popular illegalism, it is crucial to explore the social and economic circumstances that conditioned their opportunities to provide for themselves. In eighteenth-century Sweden these circumstances varied between regions and altered over time. The late eighteenth-century saw the beginnings of what has been called the Agricultural Revolution, or agricultural transformation, which led to increased production and a commercialization of Swedish agriculture.<sup>71</sup> Farms became larger and reliant on waged labour, which was available in the form of a growing group of proletarian agricultural workers. These people, crofters (*torpare*), cottagers (*backstugusittare*), and lodgers (*inhysesjon*) did not own any or enough land for their subsistence and were reliant on day wages, particularly during the 'off seasons', when there was no agricultural work. Due to the short growing season these off seasons were quite long in Sweden, something which according to Carl-Johan Gadd resulted in the early development of a Swedish cottage industry.<sup>72</sup> Lennart Schön has argued that the cottage industry was reinforced by the commercialisation of agriculture, which forced

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<sup>70</sup> These are terms borrowed from: Michel Foucault, *The Punitive Society. Lectures at the College de France 1972-1973*, ed. Bernard E. Harcourt, trans. Graham Burchell (Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). pp.140 &146

<sup>71</sup> Lennart Schön, *Sweden's Road to Modernity: An Economic History*, trans. Ken Schubert (Stockholm: S N S Forlag, 2010), p. 76; Carl-Johan Gadd, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Sweden', in *The Agrarian History of Sweden 4000 BC to AD 2000* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011). p.141

<sup>72</sup> Gadd, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Sweden'.p.131

increasing numbers of people to rely on waged labour.<sup>73</sup> Gadd and Schön have also stressed that the commercialisation of agriculture and the increase in cottage industry were connected to increased market integration. As Gadd has pointed out, inter-regional trade had been common in Sweden since the beginning of the eighteenth century, and during the latter part of the eighteenth century was bolstered by technological improvements such as new and better roads and canals.<sup>74</sup>

Swedish economic development was not evenly distributed, however: various regions saw different developments, in terms of *industriousness*, GDP, and wealth distribution. These regional variations in growth were related to cultural, political, and geographical factors.<sup>75</sup> Such factors could include, for example, local conservatism, distance to trading centres, and the quality and quantity of arable land. As stressed by Kathryn Gary, wealth distribution and access to work was not only regionally but also seasonally conditioned, precisely like agricultural work. In her study of the Swedish construction trade she has observed that the period of available work stretched from May to September.<sup>76</sup> The importance of seasonal changes has also been stressed in studies of the fishing industry, which was dependent on seasonal fish migration. The shoaling and schooling of fish, in particular the ever so important herring, also changed over time, leading to an irregular boom and bust cycle for coastal dwellers.<sup>77</sup> These fluctuations were connected to climatic and ecological changes.<sup>78</sup> Climatic shifts also affected the situation above the surface, and as Michael E. Mann has pointed out colder temperatures and weather changes were probably responsible for many of the crop failures which occurred

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<sup>73</sup> Schön, *Sweden's Road to Modernity: An Economic History*.p.73

<sup>74</sup> Gadd, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Sweden'.pp.139-140

<sup>75</sup> Lennart Schön, *Sweden's Road to Modernity: An Economic History*, trans. Ken Schubert (Stockholm: S N S Forlag, 2010), p. 53 ; Carl-Johan Gadd, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Sweden', in *The Agrarian History of Sweden 4000 BC to AD 2000* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011)., p.128, Martin Dribe and Bart Van De Putte, 'Marriage Seasonality and the Industrious Revolution: Southern Sweden, 1690–1895', *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 3 (1 August 2012); Kerstin Enflo and Anna Missiaia, 'Between Malthus and the Industrial Take-off: Regional Inequality in Sweden, 1571-1850', *Lund Papers in Economic History* 168 (2017), p.19 ; Erik Bengtsson and Patrick Svensson, 'The Wealth of the Swedish Peasant Farmer Class 1750-1900', *Lund Papers in Economic History* 177 (2018).

<sup>76</sup> Kathryn E. Gary, 'The Distinct Seasonality of Early Modern Casual Labour and the Short Durations of Individual Working Years: Sweden 1500-1800', *Lund Papers in Economic History* 189 (2019).pp.16 & 20

<sup>77</sup> Hans Höglund, *Om Sillen i Bohuslän under Den Stora Sillfiskeperioden På 1700-Talet* (Göteborg: Svenska västkustfiskarnas centralförbund, 1977).

<sup>78</sup> Brian R. MacKenzie et al., 'Ecological Hypotheses for a Historical Reconstruction of Upper Trophic Level Biomass in the Baltic Sea and Skagerrak', *Canadian Journal of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences* 59, no. 1 (2002). For a general discussion on the economic effects of fish migration see: Lars Nilsson and Erik Lönnroth, 'Det Stora Sillfisket 1752-1808', in *Bohusläns Historia* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells A.B., 1963).

in northern Europe during the late eighteenth century.<sup>79</sup> In relation to Scandinavia, Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist has suggested that the low temperatures during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were connected to the higher frequency of easterly winds. These winds led to “cold winters, late springs and hot summers” which made the agricultural season short, and exposed to drought.<sup>80</sup> Crop failures not only resulted in a reduction in income, they also caused disease and starvation. Sven Lilja has concluded that while crop failure continued throughout the eighteenth century, the Swedish government became better at managing the situation, leading to fewer related deaths.<sup>81</sup> That being said, crop failure as well as the absence of fish undoubtedly had a negative effect on regional communities, and while starvation might have been reduced it still caused a dearth of income. The income of the population and their changing need to complement it was thus affected by geography, season, climatic changes and weather conditions. It will not be possible to systematically consider all of these influences, yet it is important to bear them in mind as access to income conditioned who, when, and why people might engage in smuggling.

#### Moving Forwards

To sum up, many scholars have observed that the prohibition or high taxation of goods resulted in the trade in these wares being pushed underground. As a result, at the same time as the state lost control over this trade, it was opened up for more actors to participate in and benefit from. In addition, researchers have noted that participation in this underground economy was often conceived as a type of moral economy, or popular illegalism, a justifiable way of supporting oneself when other types of employment were unavailable. This thesis will explore whether or not smuggling was also thought of in this way in the Swedish context. In doing so, it acknowledges that Sweden was a country that experienced uneven social and economic development during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, development which varied across seasons and was affected by climate and weather conditions. These factors provide vital context for understanding and interpreting popular illegalism, as well as for investigating

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<sup>79</sup> Michael E Mann, ‘Little Ice Age’, in *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change*, ed. Michael C MacCracken and John S Perry, vol. 1. The Earth System: physical and chemical dimensions of global environmental change (Chichester, West Sussex, Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, 2002).

<sup>80</sup> Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, *Global Nedkylning: Klimatet Och Människan under 10 000 År* (Stockholm: Nordstedts, 2009). p.239

<sup>81</sup> Sven Lilja, ‘Klimat Och Skördar ca 1530-1820’, in *Fiske, Jordbruk Och Klimat i Östersjöregionen under Förmodern Tid*, ed. Sven Lilja (Stockholm: Södertörns högskola, 2012).p.88

common perceptions of smuggling, sometimes judged to be a legitimate source of revenue in times of need.

### *Retailing in Contraband: a Social Enterprise*

Scholars of eighteenth-century retailing have stressed the need to consider the plurality of retailing channels that co-existed during this period. They included old forms of vending, like fairs, markets, and peddling, but also new ones like shops.<sup>82</sup> The multiplicity of retailing outlets, both older and newer, has also been observed in studies of smuggling. By focusing on the retailer, scholars have shown that a range of different vendors traded in contraband, often in addition to legal goods.<sup>83</sup> What Kwass defined as parallel economies of legal and illegal wares were thus brought together in the mercer's shop and the pedlar's sack. However, while contraband could be acquired from several different outlets, some traders found it harder to engage in illicit trading than others. In France, official retailers were often heavily regulated and monitored, which made it harder for them to evade the rules. They were therefore less likely to trade in contraband. As a result of this, the contraband trade often moved into 'privileged spaces' endowed with royal or religious protection.<sup>84</sup> However, regular shop retailers could adopt various techniques to negotiate and hide their trading activities, enabling them to partake in the contraband trade despite the strict regulation and surveillance.<sup>85</sup> While some used the contraband to boost their regular trade, others such as the poor female vendors identified by Montenach engaged in contraband trade because trade regulations were biased against them, thus forcing them to find new ways for their business to survive.<sup>86</sup> In this way, smuggling became a particularly important tool for groups discriminated against by the official legislation. The people who traded in contraband thus represented a multifarious group; they were not

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<sup>82</sup> Bruno Blondé et al., 'Introduction,' in *Buyers & Sellers : Retail Circuits and Practices in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe* (Brepols, 2006).pp.8-9

<sup>83</sup> Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*, pp. 84-89; Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*.pp.227- 244, see particularly p.243

<sup>84</sup> Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*.p.86

<sup>85</sup> Anne Montenach, 'Une Économie Du Secret. Le Commerce Clandestin de Viande En Carême', *Rives Méditerranéennes* 17 (2004); Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*. pp.227-243, particularly p.243

<sup>86</sup> Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*, pp. 84-89; Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*.pp.227- 244, see particularly p.243



simply fences, but included regular, and even licensed retailers.<sup>87</sup> At the same time the fact that an involvement in the contraband trade could boost business is a proof in itself of the demand that existed for these goods and that a general acceptance of smuggling existed among the consumers.

The desirability of contraband shaped popular attitudes towards the retailers who dealt in smuggled goods. These attitudes could help to protect the retailers from the reach of the law.<sup>88</sup> Contraband retailers persecuted by the state could be aided and protected by networks of supporters, by nobles or local neighbourhoods, which provided hiding places for the contraband or shielded the retailers from law officials.<sup>89</sup> The relationship between the retailers and the consumers was thus crucial in enabling retailers to continue dealing in illicit goods. Stressing the heroic status of the contraband retailer, Montenach observes that “one can imagine that the respectability and the legitimacy of these merchants are actually reinforced by the risks that they take.”<sup>90</sup>

The existence of a multitude of retailing outlets emphasised in research on French smuggling has also been observed in the Swedish research context.<sup>91</sup> Within these retailing outlets there appears to have been a blurry line between legal and illegal trade activities. In her exploration of Swedish pedlars, Pia Lundqvist observes no separation between the legal and illegal wares in their satchels.<sup>92</sup> However, as Lundqvist points out, the legislators were also attuned to the pedlars’ illegal activities, and it led to a growing number of regulations being issued against this group of retailers over time.<sup>93</sup> As previously noted, the enforcement of legislation was not the easiest of tasks in the vast Swedish countryside. Pia Lundqvist and Anna Brismark have stressed the need to include the countryside into any account of Swedish retailing, arguing that

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<sup>87</sup> Fences – unlicensed retailers dealing in illegal goods.

<sup>88</sup> Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*.p.89

<sup>89</sup> Gottmann.p.89 ; Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*.p.270

<sup>90</sup> Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*.p.272

<sup>91</sup> See for example: Christer Ahlberger and Pia Lundqvist, eds., *Varans Vägar Och Världar. Handel Och Konsumtion i Skandinavien ca 1600-1800* (Göteborg: Historiska Institutionen i Göteborg, 2007); Pia Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg. Den Västgöta Gårdfarihandeln 1790-1864* (Göteborg: Göteborg Universitet, 2008); Christina Nordin, *Oordning. Torghandel i Stockholm 1540-1918* (Stockholm: Sekel Bokförlag, 2009); Göran Ulväng, Sofia Murham, and Kristina Lilja, *Den Glömda Konsumtionen : Auktionshandel i Sverige under 1700- Och 1800-Talen* (Mörklinta: Gidlunds Förlag, 2013).

<sup>92</sup> Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg. Den Västgöta Gårdfarihandeln 1790-1864*.p. 228 Lundqvist, ‘Förbudna Tyger – Textilsmuggling till Sverige under 1700- Och 1800-Talen’ .p.204; Hanna Hodacs, ‘Keeping It in the Family – the Swedish East India Company and the Irvine-Rose Family, 1733 to 1770’, (forthcoming).

<sup>93</sup> Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg. Den Västgöta Gårdfarihandeln 1790-1864*.p.43

the countryside experienced a vitalization during the end of the eighteenth century in contrast to the towns which saw a stagnation.<sup>94</sup> While Lundqvist has argued that it is important not to create a false dichotomy between city and countryside, but rather to consider the interaction between them, the realities of enforcement meant that these were two very distinct spaces in which to conduct trade. This was particularly true in regards to contraband retailing. In contrast to the city, the countryside was far more difficult to control, which affected how contraband trade could be conducted. Moreover, Lundqvist has suggested that the countryside was dependent on the staple towns for the import of foreign goods.<sup>95</sup> This, on the other hand, seems to be much less relevant for the study of contraband: it could be introduced across any border and could readily circulate in the countryside while it was actually harder to introduce into towns. Just as the case of “Patron Ek” mentioned in the introductory example suggests, retailers in towns were generally known to customs officers, which affected how they could trade in contraband. In order to get the full picture, it is thus necessary to consider retailing both in the countryside and in towns, along with the various individuals who traded in and between these spaces. However, it is also important to remember that in regard to practical law enforcement, towns and the countryside were quite distinct spaces, particularly before 1846, when the freedom to conduct business was finally introduced. Until then, guilds and societies had dominated trade in towns. It was a distinctly different thing to control the activities of an unknown individual in an unknown location in the Swedish countryside, than to control a known, licensed retailer in a shop in Stockholm.

While little research has been conducted on consumer demand among the general public in Sweden, research on the aristocratic elite has revealed that there existed not only a general tolerance for contraband but a pursuit of it in the late eighteenth century. Both Johanna Ilmakunnas and Charlotta Wolff have noted that the Swedish elite actively tried to acquire prohibited foreign wares.<sup>96</sup> Ilmakunnas in particular has suggested that the ability to access the

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<sup>94</sup> Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg. Den Västgöta Gårdfarihandeln 1790-1864*, p. 18; For a discussion on the stagnation of cities see: Johan Söderberg, Ulf Jonsson, and Christer Persson, *A Stagnating Metropolis. The Economy and Demography of Stockholm, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). See also: Gudrun Andersson and Klas Nyberg, eds., *Kommers. Historiska Handelsformer i Norden under 1700- Och 1800-Talen* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2001); Ahlberger and Lundqvist, *Varans Vägar Och Världar. Handel Och Konsumtion i Skandinavien ca 1600-1800*.

<sup>95</sup> Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg. Den Västgöta Gårdfarihandeln 1790-1864*.p.18

<sup>96</sup> Charlotta Wolff, *Vänskap och makt. Den svenska politiska eliten och upplysningstidens Frankrike*. (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2005).pp.302-303; Johanna Ilmakunnas, ‘The Luxury Shopping Experience of the Swedish Aristocracy in Eighteenth-Century Paris’, in *Luxury and Gender in European Towns, 1700-1914*, ed. Deborah Simonton, Marjo Kaartinen, and Anne Montenach (Routledge, 2014).p.123

newest French fashions was an integral part of aristocratic self-image.<sup>97</sup> This demand for contraband naturally also affected the retailers dealing in these wares.

### Moving Forwards

Eighteenth-century retailing exemplified the meeting between the old and the new, and a battalion of different retailers existed to provide for the needs of various types of consumers, from modern shops to stalls at ancient fairs. These retailers were labouring under different regulations and legislations that conditioned how they were able to conduct trade. At the same time, global flows of wares fashioned a demand for foreign goods among the consumers. Retailers frequently meddled in the contraband trade as they tried to cater for the rising demand for foreign prohibited wares. Such activities were dependent on the co-operation of their consumers, who had to help to shield the retailers from the state. In order to understand how the commerce in contraband worked, it is necessary to consider the relationship between the retailers and their clients. Although Swedish retailing was tightly regulated until the mid-nineteenth century, difficulties involved in the enforcement of the legislation meant that the countryside was a largely uncontrollable territory, while the towns were strictly regulated. It meant that the conditions for conducting trade in various environments differed considerably, not only in terms of regulations but also in regards to the possibilities for the enforcement of those regulations. Meanwhile, just like their international counterparts, Swedish retailers and consumers appear to have been co-dependent for their mutual advancement, which was possibly all the more important in relation to the contraband trade. This thesis will thus look at how Swedish retailers responded to the prohibitions against and the continued demand for illegal wares, which should be understood not simply in terms of the relationship between demand and supply, but also in terms of inter-personal relationships and networks.

### *Contraband: Transformative Materiality*

To understand contraband, why it was prohibited, why it was desired, and the effects it had on culture, politics, and society, it is inevitably also necessary to look closer at the things being smuggled. It is essential to look at each ware separately, because smuggled items, just like legal items, were conditioned by their materiality. As early as 1986, Arjun Appadurai stressed that

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<sup>97</sup> Ilmakunnas, 'The Luxury Shopping Experience of the Swedish Aristocracy in Eighteenth-Century Paris'. P.123

things are not static, but are instead reinterpreted and redefined throughout their ‘lives’.<sup>98</sup> More recently, scholars like Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello have used this idea to explore the ‘lives’ or trajectories of global objects during the early modern period.<sup>99</sup> As objects journeyed from one end of the world to the other, their interpretations, associations, and meanings changed as they passed through various contexts. The materiality of the thing was often the only feature that remained reasonably fixed, although as Gerritsen and Riello have pointed out, the materiality of objects could change throughout their lives as they were marked by age, usage, and incidents.<sup>100</sup> The fixity of the materiality meant that in new contexts it often played an important role in defining the object. Frank Trentmann has stressed the importance of considering the materiality of objects which were not merely ‘bundles of meaning’ but actually *did* things.<sup>101</sup> Coffee was enlivening, gin intoxicating, silk cooling and shimmering, while cotton was washable and printable. The entry of new global wares to Sweden also benefits from being discussed alongside European products. This is especially true for British manufacturing, which underwent significant developments during the eighteenth century that included both increased specialisation and a spread of manufactured goods to new, domestic and foreign markets.<sup>102</sup> Maxine Berg has even described the changes in production during this period as a “Manufacturing Revolution” inspired partly by global influences and the introduction of new techniques.<sup>103</sup> Just like the global goods, these manufactures were also distinguished by their materiality and, as Berg observes, “[t]he making of these goods was also their consumption.”<sup>104</sup> Steven Topik and Kenneth Pomeranz have pointed out that global objects did not simply enter into vacuums: instead, their reception was shaped by local conditions and concerns.<sup>105</sup> This was also true for manufactured goods.

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<sup>98</sup> Arjun Appadurai, ‘Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value’, in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, First published 1986 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>99</sup> Gerritsen and Riello, *The Global Lives of Things*.p.14

<sup>100</sup> Gerritsen and Riello.p.14

<sup>101</sup> Frank Trentmann, ‘Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics’, *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 2 (April 2009).pp.288-289

<sup>102</sup> On the importance of manufactured goods in intra-European shipping see for example: Maxine Berg, ‘In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century’, *Past & Present* 182, no. 1 (1 February 2004); François Crouzet, ‘Britain’s Exports and Their Markets, 1701-1913’, in *A Deus Ex Machina Revisited: Atlantic Colonial Trade and European Economic Development*, ed. P.C. Emmer, O. Pétré-Grenouilleau, and Jessica V. Roitman (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006).

<sup>103</sup> Maxine Berg, ‘In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century’, *Past & Present* 182, no. 1 (1 February 2004), p.90

<sup>104</sup> Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.16

<sup>105</sup> Pomeranz and Topik, *The World That Trade Created. Society, Culture, and the World Economy 1400 to the Present*.pp.xii-xiii

These ‘local’ contexts were cultural and social, but also economic and political, which was particularly true in protectionist states, where political economy became an important factor in forming the reception of various goods. Trentmann has stressed the importance of studying material culture and political economy together, an idea that becomes particularly pressing when considering contraband.<sup>106</sup> The acceptance or rejection of foreign wares was, in general, based on the nature of the goods in question and whether the state deemed a specific item to be a threat. An item could be conceived as a threat because it was a product that had to be imported, if it could not be grown or produced in the country, which could be detrimental to the trade balance. It could also be banned because it was deemed superior to anything that could be produced within the country and therefore represented a threat to the domestic manufacturers. In some instances, goods were also banned because they were believed to be damaging to public health, but while this may be a more common reason for prohibiting imports today, in the eighteenth century it was rarely invoked.<sup>107</sup> Instead, the main motive behind prohibitions was to allow the state to gain, or retain, economic strength.

As discussed previously, the introduction of a ban did not necessarily lead to a deflation in demand, and a continued demand for prohibited goods can be observed in the reactions inspired by new bans, but also in their relative inefficiency.<sup>108</sup> The nature of the goods was crucial not only in defining why they were a threat but also why they remained in demand. Anne Montenach has, for example, stressed that the appeal of Asian calico lay in its durability and the fact that it was easy to wash.<sup>109</sup> Similarly, William Farrell has noted that the demand for silk in Britain was connected to the desirability of its “material qualities”.<sup>110</sup> Certainly, many of

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<sup>106</sup> Trentmann, ‘Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics’.p.299

<sup>107</sup> Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*.p.178 ; William Farrell, ‘Smuggling Silks into Eighteenth-Century Britain: Geography, Perpetrators, and Consumers’, *Journal of British Studies* 55, no. 2 (2016), p.269; Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*.p.54

<sup>108</sup> On the failure of the Gin Act of 1736 see: Jessica Warner and Frank Ivis, ‘Damn You, “Damn You, You Informing Bitch.” Vox Populi and the Unmaking of the Gin Act of 1736’, *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 2 (Winter 1999). On the inefficiency of the calico ban in Britain see Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) pp. 121-123; On continued access to prohibited goods see for example: Michael Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*: (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), see particularly chapter 4 ‘The Shadow Economy’; Farrell, ‘Smuggling Silks into Eighteenth-Century Britain: Geography, Perpetrators, and Consumers.’; Felicia Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism : Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). See particularly chapter 2 ‘Smuggling Textiles into France’; Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*. See particularly chapter 6 ‘Les indiennes dans la ville: fraude, genre et espace urbain’

<sup>109</sup> Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*. P.260

<sup>110</sup> Farrell, ‘Smuggling Silks into Eighteenth-Century Britain: Geography, Perpetrators, and Consumers’.p.286

these objects also became fashionable, but the fashionable aspect was often interconnected with the materiality of the wares.

A multitude of wares were smuggled across the world, and global flows and local demands and prohibitions determined their movement. The variety of contraband was great, ranging from tea, coffee, salt, liquor, and pelts to foreign manufactured textiles. In order to handle this variety of material and trajectories, historians have tended to focus their studies on one type of contraband, in one general geographic area; alternatively they have divided their analysis by separating various contrabands from one another in their studies.<sup>111</sup> Scholars have not only been interested in the distribution of contraband, but close studies of trajectories have also enabled them to ask more pointed questions about what role contraband played in culture, politics, and the economy. As Igor Kopytoffs has observed, “what is significant about the adoption of alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way that they are culturally redefined and put to use.”<sup>112</sup> This is equally if not more true for the study of illegal objects, as their circulation undermined the state in which they were used. Similarly, according to Trentmann, “[t]he question is no longer whether people in different historical contexts have more or fewer goods ... but how they use goods in changing patterns.”<sup>113</sup> Changing patterns did not have to be culturally or socially produced but they could also be evoked by the issuing of bans. Both Kopytoffs and Trentmann take a step away from the study of escalating consumption and instead encourage a focus on the adoption of wares and their use. This type of approach is particularly useful for instances in which the objects under study cannot be quantified, which is the case with contraband, as it provides another way of exploring their effects on society, politics, and culture.

What consumption in eighteenth century Sweden looked like has been a matter for debate. Research on Swedish consumption has been ongoing since the 1990s, and particular attention has been given to establishing whether the eighteenth century saw a consumer revolution or not.<sup>114</sup> Among scholars who have focused primarily on the development of manufacturing there

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<sup>111</sup>For studies focused on tea see studies by: H.-C. Mui and Lorna H. Mui; Leos Müller; Derek Charles Janes, and Hanna Hodacs, For silk see: Farrell., For calico see Gottmann, and for a selection of contrabands see Kwass (tobacco, salt, and calico) and Montenach, (salt and calico).

<sup>112</sup> Igor Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things’, in *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).p.67

<sup>113</sup> Trentmann, ‘Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics’ p.298

<sup>114</sup> Olle Krantz and Lennart Schön, *Om Den Svenska Konsumtionen under 1800- Och 1900-Talen* (Lund, 1984); Christer Ahlberger and Magnus Mörner, ‘Betydelsen Av Några Latinamerikanska Produkter För Sverige Före

has been a particular resistance to the idea that consumption increased, or significantly altered, prior to the nineteenth century.<sup>115</sup> By contrast, Christer Ahlberger, Klas Rönnbeck, and Leos Müller have observed an increase in the importation of certain goods, including coffee, during the last three decades of the eighteenth century, despite intermittent prohibitions. The increased imports of exotic goods like coffee, they argue, point to a growing presence of global consumer goods in Sweden during the second half of the eighteenth century, and thus also a more diverse consumer market.<sup>116</sup> Still, Rönnbeck urges caution, and concludes that it might not be appropriate to refer to a consumer revolution in eighteenth century Sweden.<sup>117</sup> Meanwhile, Rodney Edvinsson and Christoffer Tarek Gad have suggested that the increase in the importation of wares like coffee and sugar was not high enough to suggest that the eighteenth century saw a significant development in consumer behaviour.<sup>118</sup>

Quantitative studies such as these can be useful, as they point to trends, but as most of the foreign consumer goods were prohibited from being imported, these wares would never appear in the official trade statistics. As Eli Hecksher pointed out in his seminal work on economic history, smuggling probably played an important role in Sweden, a factor which puts the trade statistics data in doubt.<sup>119</sup> Trade statistics alone, therefore, are not enough to establish whether or not consumption trends changed within a protectionist market. In Hanna Hodacs' study of the import of Asian silks into the Nordic markets, she notes that the legal importation of Asian silks to Sweden declined around the middle of the eighteenth century in anticipation of the 1754 ban against the domestic use and import of Chinese silk.<sup>120</sup> This official import stagnation in reaction to a prohibition is expected, but one cannot conclude that the product itself disappeared

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1810', *Historisk Tidskrift*, no. 1 (1993); Lars Magnusson and Klas Nyberg, *Konsumtion Och Industrialisering i Sverige 1820–1914*. Uppsala 1995, A Research Project (Uppsala, 1995); Christer Ahlberger, *Konsumtionsrevolutionen 1 Om Det Moderna Konsumtionssamhällets Framväxt 1750-1900* (Göteborg: Humanistiska fakulteten, Univ., 1996).

<sup>115</sup> See for example: Krantz and Schön, *Om Den Svenska Konsumtionen under 1800- Och 1900-Talen*; Lars Magnusson, *An Economic History of Sweden* (London: Routledge, 2000). Chapter 2 'Early Industrialisation', Schön, *Sweden's Road to Modernity: An Economic History*. pp.94-101

<sup>116</sup> Ahlberger and Mörner, 'Betydelsen Av Några Latinamerikanska Produkter För Sverige Före 1810'. Leos Müller, 'Kolonialprodukter i Sveriges Handel Och Konsumtionskultur, 1700–1800', *Historisk Tidskrift* 124, no. 2 (2004).; Klas Rönnbeck, 'Balancing the Baltic Trade: Colonial Commodities in the Trade on the Baltic, 1773-1856', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 58, no. 3 (November 2010).

<sup>117</sup> Klas Rönnbeck, 'An Early Modern Consumer Revolution in the Baltic?', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 35, no. 2 (2010).p.187

<sup>118</sup> Rodney Edvinsson and Christoffer Tarek Gad, 'Assessing Trade in the Mercantilist Era: Evidence from a New Database on Foreign Trade of Sweden-Finland, 1738-1805', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 2018.p.17

<sup>119</sup> Hecksher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa*.p.643

<sup>120</sup> Hanna Hodacs, *Silk and Tea in the North: Scandinavian Trade and the Market for Asian Goods in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).pp.114 & 119

completely from the market. While the official Swedish imports of Asian silks declined, Danish importation increased, but it is uncertain whether they all remained in Denmark.

Meanwhile, the effects of the protectionist policies on the Swedish manufactories have also been debated. Lili-Annè Aldman has for example argued that the protectionist policies introduced in the first half of the eighteenth century had their desired effect in reducing foreign imports, particularly textiles. The prohibitions also led to an expansion of domestic manufacturing.<sup>121</sup> However, as both Aldman and Klas Nyberg have observed, it was not always possible for all the branches of the infant industry to fill the void left by the halted import of certain textiles.<sup>122</sup> While Nyberg opens up for the possibility that smuggling might have played a part in helping to support some manufacturers, Aldman argues that she has found no evidence for smuggling during her period of study from 1720 to 1740.<sup>123</sup> On these grounds she challenges the notion proposed by Eli Heckscher that smuggling was rife in Sweden.<sup>124</sup> While this is an interesting idea it is somewhat diminished by the fact that she omits one of the main sources for studying smuggling, namely the Maritime Court Records – which for Stockholm holds eight volumes of records for the years 1730-1740.<sup>125</sup> Her observation about the absence of any trials of burghers involved in smuggling 1720-1740 could in part be explained by this omission.

An exclusive focus on import and production and how they can be measured might distract from other ways to approach consumption, which might give more insight into consumption and the interaction between goods, consumers, society, and culture. As John Brewer has pointed out, looking for the birth of the consumer society or the consumer revolution might be the wrong way to approach consumption. Instead, attention should be paid to the various forces that affected and changed consumption, including the interaction between law, regulatory bodies,

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<sup>121</sup> Lili-Annè Aldman, 'En Merkantilistisk Början Stockholms Textila Import 1720-1738' (PhD thesis, Uppsala University, 2008). See for ex pp.277-279

<sup>122</sup> Klas Nyberg, 'Köpes: Ull, Säljes: Kläde Yllemanufakturernas Företagsformer i 1780-Talets Stockholm' (PhD thesis, Uppsala University, 1992).p.375; Aldman, 'En Merkantilistisk Början Stockholms Textila Import 1720-1738', p.285

<sup>123</sup> Nyberg, 'Köpes: Ull, Säljes: Kläde Yllemanufakturernas Företagsformer i 1780-Talets Stockholm', pp. 194 & 342; Aldman, 'En Merkantilistisk Början Stockholms Textila Import 1720-1738'. P.164

<sup>124</sup> Eli F. Heckscher, *Sveriges Ekonomiska Historia Från Gustav Vasa*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 1949). See for ex pp. 587 & 679

<sup>125</sup> 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' (1730 - 1740), Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.1-8, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.



and consumers.<sup>126</sup> Consumption is not just about quantity but also about cause, meaning, and consequence.

Another way of approaching historical consumption is through probate inventories, which have proved useful in gaining knowledge about consumer patterns and developments.<sup>127</sup> The study of probate inventories has for example recorded a notable presence of manufactured and foreign cloth among rural and city-dwelling consumers in both Sweden and Finland, despite underdeveloped manufacturing industries and restricted textile importation.<sup>128</sup> Several inventory studies have highlighted the presence of prohibited goods, with Marie Ulväng in particular concluding that the peasants in her study cared little about the prohibition against foreign textiles.<sup>129</sup> While such inventory studies confirm that people possessed at least some types of contraband, they can however rarely on their own supply information about how the objects were acquired, how they were used and what their owners thought of them.

#### Moving Forwards

While the period under investigation in this thesis saw increased and diversifying wares circulate around the world, both through intensifying global trade and with the rise of the manufacturing revolution, historians have stressed the importance of considering each type of product separately in relation to its materiality, manufacture, and specific consumer context. The study of contraband can particularly benefit from this approach, since it was banned and

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<sup>126</sup> 'John Brewer: Was the First Consumer Society Born in 18th Century Britain?', *The Independent*, 30 Sep 2003

<sup>127</sup> For international precursors see for example: Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'ancien Régime'*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (Psychology Press, 1996); John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

<sup>128</sup> Lennart Björkquist, *Jämtlands Folkliga Kvinnodräkter. Studier i Den Jämtska Allmogens Dräktskick under 1700-Talet Och 1800-Talets Förre Hälft*, Skrifter Utgifna Af Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien För Folklivsforskning 7 (Uppsala: Appelbergs, 1941). pp.220-223; Sigfrid Svensson, *Bygd Och Yttervärld. Studier Över Förhållandet Mellan Nyheter Och Tradition*, Nordiska Museets Handlingar 15 (Stockholm, 1942), p.80.; Marie Ulväng, *Klädekonomi Och Klädkultur. Böndernas Kläder i Härjedalen under 1800-Talet* (Mörklinta: Gidlunds Förlag, 2012).p.184;Seija Johnson, *I Den Folkliga Modedräkstens Fotspar. Bondekvinnors Välstånd, Ställning Och Modemedvetenhet i Gamlakarleby Socken 1740-1800* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopiston kirjasto, 2018).p.151. See also: Johanna Ilmakunnas, 'Ståndsmässig Konsumtion: Högadelns Penningbruk Och Konsumtionsvanor i Sverige under Senare Delen Av 1700-Talet', *Historisk Tidskrift För Finland* 86, no. 2 (2001).; Annika Windahl Pontén, 'Sorgdräkt Och Engelska Kläder. Två Av Familjen von Linnés Kvitton', in *Svenska Linnésällskapets Årsbok*, 2012.

<sup>129</sup> Marie Tengroth Ulväng, 'Kattunspår i Härjedalen 1750 till 1850', in *Dolda Innovationer. Textila Produkter Och Ny Teknik under 1800-Talet*, ed. Klas Nyberg and Pia Lundqvist (Stockholm: Kulturhistoriska Bokförlaget, 2013). pp.233-234

desired for specific reasons. Research on consumption in Sweden has given extensive attention to quantifying consumption – both through looking at imports and manufacturing output, an approach that makes contraband virtually invisible. Meanwhile, object history and inventory studies have highlighted that consumption cannot simply be judged on official statistics, indicating that more research is needed about these rogue objects. Through giving primacy to the wares themselves, it is possible to approach consumption in a new way and to gain a more nuanced understanding of how illegal objects could affect consumers, society, culture, and politics. It makes it possible to consider what effect various types of contraband had on the development of Swedish (consumer) culture.

### *Inter-state Commercial Competition: Smuggling as a Gambit*

Scholars have stressed the prevalence of inter-state commercial competition in the early modern period.<sup>130</sup> How this rivalry should be conceived of has been debated, with some arguing that the prevalence of protectionist policy caused economic tension between nations, which in turn led to war.<sup>131</sup> However, more recently John Shovlin has argued that the competition for commerce should not be seen as a reason for war but rather that commerce in itself was perceived to be another type of war, a bloodless war which was a realisation of international competition.<sup>132</sup> Coleman appears to be on a similar track when he notes:

Thus did this particular pattern of trading relationships conduce to enmity - not between the traders themselves but between those who were eager to add commercial to other grievances or aggressions in the conduct of international relations.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>130</sup>David Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires. England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770*. pp. 307-309 & 337; John Shovlin, 'War and Peace: Trade, International Competition, and Political Economy', in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, ed. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford University Press, 2013) ; Sophus A. Reinert, 'Rivalry: Greatness in Early Modern Political Economy', in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, ed. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>131</sup> Edmond Silberner, *La guerre dans la pensée économique du XVIIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1939), pp. 117–18.; and more recently Ronald Findlay and Kevin H. O'Rourke, *Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 238–62; François Crouzet, *La guerre économique franco-anglaise au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2008), pp. 1–2

<sup>132</sup> Shovlin, 'War and Peace: Trade, International Competition, and Political Economy'.

<sup>133</sup> D.C. Coleman, 'Politics and Economics in the Age of Anne: The Case of the Anglo-French Trade Treaty of 1713', in *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England. Essays Presented to F.J. Fisher*, ed. D.C. Coleman and A.H. John (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1976), p.205

These commercial wars were primarily a competition between European states, acted out on a global playing field.

Inter-state competition also had an effect on the illegal circulation of goods, which prompts the question of the role of smuggling in international trade competition. Smuggling as a form of inter-state competition has received particular attention from scholars looking at the contraband trade during wartime. Back in 1918, in his study of the Napoleonic continental system, Hecksher argued that smuggling played an important role in negating the effects of trade blockades.<sup>134</sup> Smuggling was used strategically as a tool to undermine other states during the Napoleonic wars and its ensuing *blocus continental*.<sup>135</sup> Smuggling was thus encouraged by states to undermine trade barriers during wartime and to attack enemies. Such trade barriers, however, also existed during peacetime, in the shape of protectionist legislation intended to position the country against its trade competitors. Still, the relationship between state and smuggling in peacetime has received considerably less attention.<sup>136</sup> This seems an omission if we accept that trade during the eighteenth century was a perpetual bloodless war.<sup>137</sup>

While smuggling was a feature of inter-state competition it was also intrinsically dependent on the activities of transnational actors, not just for the distribution of contraband but also for information. A crucial transnational state actor was the consul, who in recent years has received

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<sup>134</sup> Eli Filip Heckscher, *Kontinentalsystemet, Den Stora Handelsafspärrningen För Hundra År Sedan* (Stockholm: Handelshögskolan, 1918). An English version was published in 1922 and those page references will here be used: Eli Filip Heckscher, *The Continental System*, trans. Harald Westergaard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922). See for example p.51

<sup>135</sup> See for example: Silvia Marzagalli, *Boulevards de La Fraude: Le Negoce Maritime Et Le Blocus Continental, 1806-1813: Bordeaux, Hambourg, Livourne* (Presses Univ. Septentrion, 1999).; Gavin Daly, 'Napoleon and the 'City of Smugglers', 1810-1814,' *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 2 (2007).; Gavin Daly, 'English Smugglers, the Channel, and the Napoleonic Wars, 1800-1814', *Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007).

<sup>136</sup> For some studies dealing with this issue see for example: Ernst Pijning, 'Passive Resistance: Portuguese Diplomacy of Contraband Trade during King John V's Reign (1706-1750)', *Arquipélago História* 2, no. II (1997). G.V. Scammell, 'British Smuggling in the Iberian Americas circa 1500-1750', *Itinerario* 24, no. 3/4 (2000).

<sup>137</sup> Edmond Silberner, *La guerre dans la pensée économique du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1939), pp. 117–18.; and more recently Ronald Findlay and Kevin H. O'Rourke, *Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 238–62; François Crouzet, *La guerre économique franco-anglaise au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2008), pp. 1–2; John Shovlin, 'War and Peace: Trade, International Competition, and Political Economy,' in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, ed. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford University Press, 2013);; Sophus A. Reinert, 'Rivalry: Greatness in Early Modern Political Economy', in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, ed. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford University Press, 2013), Something similar had already been suggested by Coleman, 'Politics and Economics in the Age of Anne: The Case of the Anglo-French Trade Treaty of 1713'.p.205

increasing scholarly attention.<sup>138</sup> Studies have highlighted that consuls played an important diplomatic role: tasked with overseeing and reporting on smuggling, as well as acting on behalf of the state. However, this research has also pointed to the importance of considering these state actors as individual agents, in a call that is reminiscent of Maria Cavallin's caution that state actors were also influenced by personal or group self-interest.<sup>139</sup>

It is not only necessary to consider transnational state actors themselves, however, but also the communities and networks they belonged to, because transnational networks such as the ones of which the consuls were part also played a role in facilitating smuggling. The importance of transnational ties based on tight, sometimes closed communities for specific histories of smuggling has also been highlighted by research on Jacobites, Free Masons, Protestants and Jewish diasporas.<sup>140</sup> What tied these groups together were religious or political convictions, which created and maintained social ties over long periods of time, across generations, and extensive distances. Many transnational actors, including consuls, were also connected to and influenced by such networks. When considering state representatives and their relation to the contraband trade it is important not simply to consider them as state actors but also as individuals and group members.

A problem with much of the literature on early modern state competition, as highlighted by recent scholarship, has been its tendency to focus on the great powers. In the recent edited volume *Small and Medium Powers in Global History* the editors argue that “a preoccupation

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<sup>138</sup> See for example: Samuel Fettah, ‘Frontières et Fraudes. Les Consuls de France et La Contrebande Dans Leport Franc De Livourne à l'époque Du Risorgimento’, *Revue d'histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 2, no. 48 (2001).; M. Aglietti, M. Herrero Sánchez, F. Zamora Rodríguez (eds), *Los cónsules de extranjeros en la Edad Moderna y a principios de la Edad Contemporanea*, Ediciones Doce Calles, Madrid 2013; S. Marzagalli (ed), *Les consuls en Méditerranée, agents d'information*, Garnier, Paris 2015; Oliver Le Gouic, ‘Le Consulat de France à Cadix Face Aux Réformes Carolines (1765-1788)’, in *De l'utilité Commerciale Des Consuls. L'institution Consulaire et Les Marchands Dans Le Monde Méditerranéen (XVIIe-XXe Siècle)*, ed. Arnaud Bartolomei and et al., Collection de l'École Française de Rome (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2017).; For Sweden see Leos Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce. The Swedish Consular Service and Long-Distance Shipping, 1720-1815*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 213 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2004); Aryo Makko and Leos Müller, eds., *I Främmande Hamn. Den Svenska Och Svensk-Norska Konsultjänsten 1700-1985* (Malmö: Universus Academic Press, 2015).

<sup>139</sup> Cavallin, ‘I Kungen Och Folkets Tjänst. Synen På Den Svenske Ämbetsmannen 1750-1780’, 2003. See particularly her discussion about customs officers, pp. 222-226

<sup>140</sup> Paul Monod, ‘Dangerous Merchandise: Smuggling, Jacobitism, and Commercial Culture in Southeast England, 1690-1760’, *Journal of British Studies* 30, no. 2 (2016).; On Jacobitism: Janes, ‘Fine Gottenburgh Teas: The Import and Distribution of Smuggled Tea in Scotland and the North of England c. 1750-1780’.; On Free Masonry see coming PhD chapter 8.; Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*, p.106; Nuala Zahedieh, ‘Defying Mercantilism: Illicit Trade, Trust, and the Jamaican Sephardim, 1660-1730’, *The Historical Journal* 61, no. 1 (2018): 77–102. pp. 101-102

with the study of great powers can distort our view of the nuanced dimensions of conflict and trade”.<sup>141</sup> In the same volume Peter Hedberg and Henric Häggqvist argue that the Swedish state played an important role in this inter-state competition as a neutral trader during war.<sup>142</sup> This is not a new idea: Leos Müller has previously shown that neutral trade played an important role in establishing Sweden as a prominent shipping nation in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>143</sup> This neutrality, however, was not absolute and while Sweden was already engaged in neutral shipping prior to its entry into the League of Armed Neutrality in 1780, its alliance with France had left it exposed to attacks, in particular by the British.<sup>144</sup> Neutral shipping thrived on war and conflict and consequently led neutral powers to have vested interests in conflicts during wartime, but was also protected by the established international order during peacetime.<sup>145</sup> Sweden adopted a neutral stance in relation to western European powers from the Seven Years’ War onwards, and took part in inter-state commercial competition intermittently as a neutral trader, but its participation in international trade was also affected by prior alliances and trade relationships.<sup>146</sup>

#### Moving Forwards

To sum up, the eighteenth century saw a rise in commercial inter-state competition, supported by the emergence of national commercial states. Research has shown that smuggling was one facet of this competition, which could serve to overcome other states’ commercial barriers, to level the trade balance, and to undermine competitors. This trade was, however, not merely an inter-state affair but was also managed by transnational state actors with their own concerns and interests. While this inter-state competition has traditionally been viewed as mainly being

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<sup>141</sup> Jari Eloranta et al., ‘Introduction’, in *Small and Medium Powers in Global History: Trade, Conflicts, and Neutrality from the 18th to the 20th Centuries* (Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2019), p.1

<sup>142</sup> Peter Hedberg and Henric Häggqvist, ‘Wartime Trade and Tariffs in Sweden from the Napoleonic Wars to World War I’, in *Small and Medium Powers in Global History: Trade, Conflicts, and Neutrality from the 18th to the 20th Centuries*, ed. Jari Eloranta et al. (Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2019)

<sup>143</sup> Leos Müller, ‘Sweden’s Neutral Trade under Gustav III: The Ideal of Commercial Independence under the Predicament of Political Isolation’, in *Trade and War: The Neutrality of Commerce in the Inter-State System*, ed. Koen Stapelbroek (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2011); Leos Müller, ‘Peace: Sweden’s Neutrality and the Eighteenth-Century Inter-State System’, in *Sweden in the Eighteenth-Century World: Provincial Cosmopolitans*, ed. Göran Rydén (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Leos Müller, ‘Swedish Merchant Shipping in Troubled Times: The French Revolutionary Wars and Sweden’s Neutrality 1793–1801’, *The International Journal of Maritime History* 28, no. 1 (2016).

<sup>144</sup> Müller, ‘Sweden’s Neutral Trade under Gustav III: The Ideal of Commercial Independence under the Predicament of Political Isolation’. p.150

<sup>145</sup> Leos Müller, ‘Svensk Sjöfart, Neutralitet Och Det väpnade Neutralitetsförbundet’, *Sjuttonhundratalet*, 2012, pp.39-41

<sup>146</sup> For Sweden’s neutrality during the Seven Years’ War see: Müller, pp.39-40

driven by a few great European states, recent scholarship has suggested that smaller states also played a significant role in this competition. Sweden was precisely one such small state which was also a noteworthy trading power, propelled by its extensive neutral trade during times of war. Due to its position as a small, but nevertheless active trading power of goods in high demand, it is relevant to consider how smuggling in and out of Sweden was perceived during war and peace. Was it relevant from an international perspective, and how does it fit into the inter-state commercial narrative? It is also crucial to consider the transnational state actors that provided the information about these trades and the personal factors that might have influenced their reports.

### *Summary*

Five main lines of inquiry have been teased out from the previous research on smuggling which will have a bearing on the design of this study and its research questions. The first aspect is the importance of studying the ideological conception of smuggling, and its relationship to state formation. How the activity of smuggling and the figure of the smuggler were perceived influenced the creation of legislation, which in turn reveals not only state aims and objectives but also views on the relationship between state and citizen. The concept of the smuggler was not stagnant, however, but changed over time in convergence with new political situations and emerging ideas. Looking at how smuggling was defined and processed judicially not only gives insight into state ambitions, but also highlights changes and developments in the relationship between the state and its inhabitants. The second aspect that emerges out of the research on smuggling is the need to consider the spatiality of both state formation and smuggling. Such a study benefits from starting at the border, considering the practicalities of enforcing an economic legislative space, constantly challenged by smuggling. However, a spatial analysis needs to take into account the people who occupied it. It is thus necessary to also consider those trying to regulate the space as well as those transgressing regulations within it. It is important to home in on what this underground economy meant for those engaged in smuggling and the social, cultural, and economic reasons why they chose to do so. As the state attempted to create a cohesive economic unit, both crossing the border and partaking in the underground economy became politicised actions that undermined the state. Smuggling can thus be perceived not merely as an economic, but also a political act. The third line of inquiry relates to the retailers and their interpersonal relationships, which enables a study of the diffusion of contraband to consumers as well as of the social connotations of smuggling. The fourth, and maybe most

obvious aspect that comes out of the research is the need to consider the contraband itself. In particular it is important to consider the variety of contraband that existed and study each product separately, as each product's materiality shaped why it was banned, why it was still in demand, and how it affected the consumer market. The final aspect, which often is considered apart from the other areas of investigation, is smuggling as a feature of inter-state trade relationships. Such a separation is misleading, however, as it creates an artificial divide between the domestic protectionist goals and the competitive globalism from which these goals emerged.

## Shape and Scope

Drawing on the discussions above, this thesis explores smuggling in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Sweden from five approaches. They will each be examined in a separate chapter, and ultimately revisited in the conclusion, which discusses what they reveal about the three interlinked processes of globalisation, state formation, and consumption. Along the way, this thesis will seek to answer the following questions:

- 1) How did the discourse and laws of smuggling change over time and under the influence of various forms of government and changing conceptual patterns?
- 2) How did the continuing border-crossing movements of goods and Sweden's spatial character influence the state's ability to create a uniform economic unit?
  - a. How was smuggling perceived by the perpetrators and was it considered an alternative source of revenue in periods of need?
- 3) How did prohibitions against desirable foreign wares influence various types of retailers, their trade and their social relationships over time?
- 4) What effects did contraband have on the Swedish market and the development of Swedish consumer culture?
- 5) How was smuggling in and out of Sweden perceived, was it relevant from an international perspective, and who were the transnational state actors who provided information about it?

The timeframe chosen for this study, 1766-1806, is based both on external and internal events which affected the Swedish relationship to global trade. The investigation starts after the end of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), and thus covers a period Sophus Reinert has identified

as an era of intensifying international trade competition for many European states.<sup>147</sup> In Sweden the late 1760s was also a period marked by economic crisis. The starting date of the investigation coincides with the publication of a new anti-smuggling and sumptuary decree. The forty-year research period ends just before the introduction of the continental blockade in 1806, an event which critically changed how smuggling was conducted in Sweden.<sup>148</sup> This period also saw a range of different changes, political, cultural, and conceptual, both on the European level and in Sweden.

The thesis is structured by the approaches outlined above, each receiving a separate chapter.

Chapter Two looks at how smuggling was conceived as a crime in Sweden and the subsequent development of anti-smuggling legislation. It studies how the conception and treatment of the smuggler was challenged over time, particularly in the newspapers. The discussions illustrate that smuggling and its management were contested and that the debate became a battleground between diverging notions about rights and loyalties. These clashes were linked to changing legislation but also to the emergence of new ideas of rights and a strengthening of ‘citizens’ rights’.

Chapter Three explores how the legislation was enforced in practice and investigates some of the challenges involved in the enactment of Sweden as an economic space. The chapter pays particular attention to the ongoing fact of smuggling, its actors, the influence of the landscapes and spaces of smuggling, and the practices of smuggling.

Chapter Four delves into the issue of the retailer and explores how contraband was distributed to Swedish consumers through the retailers of smuggling. Particular attention is given to the retailers and their relationships, to each other and to their clients, and what can be learned from these about the social aspects of smuggling.

Chapter Five explores why certain wares were banned and why prohibitions were unable to hamper the demand for these wares. In order to make such assessments it is necessary to study single wares and specific consumer groups. This chapter thus focuses on two specific types of contraband: one skilled manufactured product (worsted), and one exotic raw material

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<sup>147</sup> Sophus A. Reinert and Jani Marjanen, ‘Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism, and Political Economy in the Accademia Dei Pugni in Austrian Lombardy, 1760-1780’, in *The Rise of Economic Societies in the Eighteenth Century: Patriotic Reform in Europe and North America*, ed. Koen Stapelbroek and Jani Marjanen (Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.137-139

<sup>148</sup> Some studies that deal with this (if only briefly) include: Marzagalli, *Boulevards de La Fraude*, pp. 164-170, but no extensive investigation of smuggling in Gothenburg during the continental blockade has yet been conducted. For changing trade relations with Britain see also Häggqvist, ‘On the Ocean of Protectionism. The Structure of Swedish Tariffs and Trade 1780-1830’.pp.155 & 157



(coffee). The investigation considers why consumption of smuggled wares occurred and what social and cultural impact these goods had on the consumer market, an impact that could even be strengthened through their illegal status.

Chapter Six shifts the focus away from the domestic perspective on smuggling to consider how Sweden's trading partners viewed smuggling in and out of the country. Two trading partners in particular are discussed, Britain and France, both of which played a crucial role in the competitive globalism of the eighteenth century and remained in conflict, either armed or commercial, for the majority of that time. The chapter gives a particular focus to the transnational state actors tasked with reporting on trade and smuggling, allowing a closer study of the personal and professional aspects that influenced their work as state actors.

### *Sources*

Despite the numerous insights that can be gained from studying smuggling, it is also a topic which is notoriously difficult to research. This reputation is in part related to smuggling's clandestine nature, but more specifically it is linked to the issues involved in quantifying smuggling and thus also in comparing it to official trade statistics. Smuggling research is therefore, as already noted, often unsuited for numerical studies of trade, and increases and decreases in consumption. Despite its reputation, there are many other ways to approach smuggling, and a creative foray into the archives reveals a host of sources that can throw light on this 'elusive' phenomenon. A crucial feature of smuggling research is, however, that the material available to scholars is almost exclusively derived from failed smuggling attempts; in a way, this thesis is therefore a history of recorded failures, which naturally conditions this research field.

Although the different sources that will be used for each chapter will be discussed throughout, there are two types of sources that deserve more in-depth attention at the outset, namely legislation and the customs court records. Legislation, in particular the anti-smuggling decrees, provides a spine to this thesis. Three key decrees were effective during the period 1769-1806 to control smuggling. The first was published under Adolph Friedrich in 1757 and provided the bare bones for the later decrees. In the decree it was argued that manufactured goods were produced in the kingdom to such a "complete greatness and beauty" that they must be protected from the dangers brought on by smuggling.<sup>149</sup> It further stipulated that the first time a person

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<sup>149</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Ytterligare Nådige Förordning, Angående Lurendrägeriers Uptäckande Och Hämmande' (1757).

was caught smuggling, he or she would lose the goods and be fined half the value of their value, with all subsequent violations resulting in a fine equal to the total value of the goods. The confiscator would in turn receive 60 percent of the fine and the rest would fall to the state.<sup>150</sup> By 1770, the rules were tightened, and a smuggling verdict resulted in the loss of the goods and a fine equal to value of the goods, with all later sentences doubling the fine, although for illegal imports of legal goods the fine was settled at a quarter of the price.<sup>151</sup> Under Gustav IV Adolph, (1792-1800 [regency], 1800-1809) the regulations were yet again made more severe. In comparison to his grandfather Adolph Friedrich, the young king justified his measures by referring to the responsibilities of loyal subjects towards their fatherland, defining the *contrabandier* as a traitor to the country. The idea was not new, but rather emerged from longstanding discourses, as will be discussed further on. However, it appears to be the first time that this idea was spelled out in the legal framework. The 1799 decree instructed that the offender would lose the goods and pay a minimum fine of 50 Rdr – which was the equivalent of about a year's salary for a peasant – while for contraband worth more than 50 Rdr, the fine would mirror its full value. For second-time offenders the minimum fine would be 100 Rdr.<sup>152</sup> These were the key components, although the decrees were continuously developed and debated during the period, as will be discussed in the forthcoming chapter. Further components of the decrees, and addendums to them, will also be discussed in connection to the various court cases that will be presented in the thesis. The anti-smuggling decrees should be considered together with the Import Regulations and the Sumptuary Laws, which were often referring to the anti-smuggling decrees. In the second half of the eighteenth century Import Regulations were issued in 1757, 1771, 1776, 1782, 1794, and 1799, and Sumptuary Laws appeared in 1766, 1770, and 1794. Sumptuary decrees for coffee specifically were also released in 1756, 1766, 1794, and 1799. A level of convergence can be seen between these various protectionist measures.

In addition, it should be noted that the two Swedish Navigation Acts, from 1724 and 1774, were also influencing the control of contraband.<sup>153</sup> These acts stipulated the captain's tasks and responsibilities, and outlined when and where ships could stop and unload their

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<sup>150</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Ytterligare Nådige Förordning, Angående Lurendrägeriers Uptäckande Och Hämmande' (1757).

<sup>151</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Förordning Emot Lurendrägerier Eller Förbudne Utrikes Warors Införsel I Riket' (1770).

<sup>152</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Förekommade Af Lurendrägeri Och Tullförsnilling Gifwen Haga Slott Den 6 April 1799' (1799).

<sup>153</sup> 'Kongl. Seglations-Ordningen Af D. 28 Julii 1724' (1724); 'Kongl. Maj:ts Förnyade Nådiga Seglations-Ordning 15 Juni 1774' (1774).

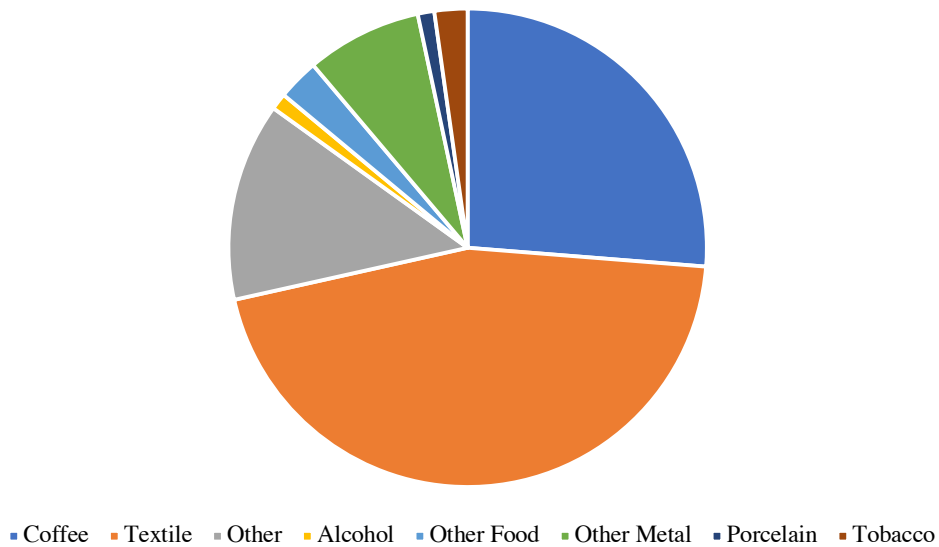
cargoes. For the duration of the period in question they were only allowed to load and unload international cargoes in staple towns.

The second main body of sources derives from the Customs Court (*Tullrätten*), an institution tasked with prosecuting smuggling crimes, which had both a maritime and an inland branch.<sup>154</sup> The Maritime Customs Courts (*Sjö tullsrätten*) were located in all the thirty-three staple towns in Sweden (two new towns were added in the 1780s: Umeå in 1781 and Kaskö in 1785), and they were responsible for resolving disputes regarding shipments and all cases involving the handling of illicit foreign goods. In addition to the maritime courts, there were Land customs offices located along the borders to Norway and Russia, which appears to have housed stand-alone courts. The survival of sources from these courts are however patchy, and they are spread out in regional archives, although backup copies of some court records have been submitted to the National Board of Trade, the archive of which is housed at the National Archives (*Riksarkivet*) in Stockholm. A corresponding collection from the Finnish provinces is also kept at the Finnish National Archives (*Kansallisarkisto/Riksarkivet*) in Helsinki. These circumstances make it difficult to gain a precise idea about the extent to which Customs Court records have survived, and this thesis does not offer a systematic review of the material. Instead I have selected material from specific locations and time periods that I have deemed particularly interesting. These records offer an insight into both the kind of wares which were being illegally imported, the actors who were caught smuggling and how they defended their actions, and what sort of punishments they received. Discussions relating to all of these aspects will reoccur throughout the thesis, although more detailed presentations of how the courts functioned and the appeal process worked will be offered in chapter three.

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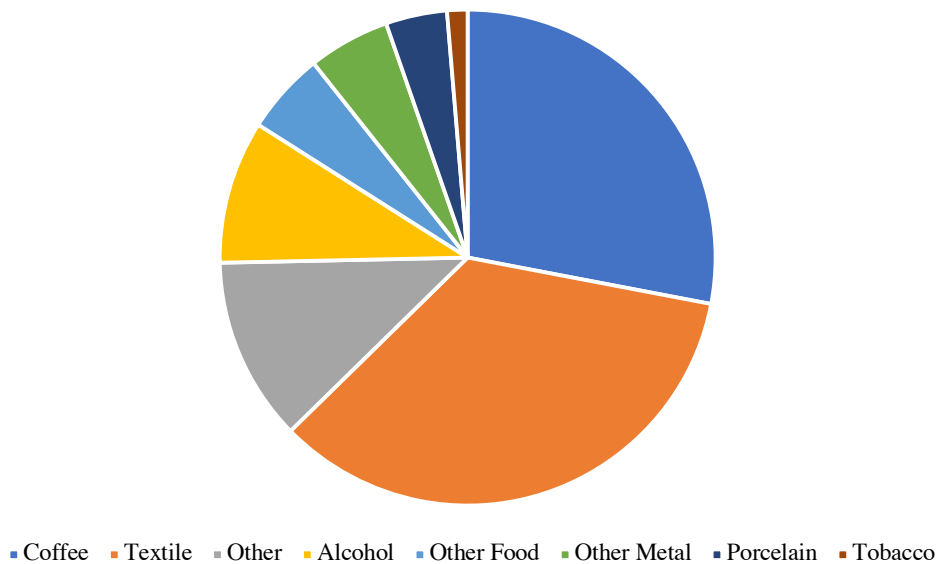
<sup>154</sup> An introduction to the customs archives can be gained from works like: Karin Wikberg, *Alla Dessa Tullar - En Arkivguide. En Vägledning till Tullarkiv Och Tullhandlingar i Riksarkivet* (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 2006) which only deals with the collections at Riksarkivet in Stockholm; Åsa Strandberg, “650 Stycken Citroner, 120 Stycken Påmerantzer, 200 Stycken Apellisiner. Vägledning till Tullarkiven På Landsarkivet i Uppsala” (Uppsala University, 2011), which gives a similar review of the customs records in the Regional Archives in Uppsala.

1.1.  
 Contraband seized June - December 1769 as recorded  
 in the Stockholm Maritime Court Records



Source: Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok, 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

1.2.  
 Contraband seized June - December 1800 as recorded  
 in the Stockholm Maritime Court Records



Source: Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok, 1800, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.23, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

The Customs Court Records are also, in general, unsuitable for quantitative studies due both to the uneven recording of crimes (see discussion in Chapter Three), and due to discrepancies in the methods of recording contraband. A short survey of the seized contraband recorded in Stockholm Maritime Custom Court between June and December in 1769 and 1800 respectively will serve as an example of the limited use of a quantitative method in relation to smuggling. The earlier contraband list from 1769 reveals a concentration on textiles, coffee, and various manufactured metal wares, such as shaving knives and buttons. In the later one these goods are still present but there are also more food stuffs and a heavier presence of alcohol. However, the tables presented here only record the contraband goods as they occur *per mention* in the Court Records. As they do not record the value of each of the wares in a consistent manner they can only give a rough idea of the make-up of contraband seizures.<sup>155</sup> Due to inconsistencies and discrepancies in the recordings of contraband more specific calculations based on price or quantity are difficult to make. However, as quantitative studies of contraband seizures can at best be indicative of trends, extensive studies of this price and quantity data can never be conclusive. The figures that will be discussed in this thesis should be approached with caution and quantitative discussions will play a subordinate role.

### *Terminology and Currency*

One of the more difficult things to translate for this thesis were the names of the various institutions involved in the management of smuggling. Whereas some, like *Kommerskollegium*, The National Board of Trade, have their own translations as state institutions still in use, this is not the case with some of the institutions long ago rendered superfluous or reformed, such as *Generaltullarrendesocieteten*, the name of the general customs office during the periods of tax farming, 1777-82 and 1803-13. Because the structure and development of the Customs Institution is not a specific focus of this thesis some liberties have been taken. *Generaltullarrendesocieteten*, its state counterpart *Generaltulldirektionen* and its subservient arm *Överdirektören för Sjötullen* (also known as *Generalsjötullskontoret*) will for example simply be referred to as the Customs Office or the Maritime Customs Office.

Furthermore, the contemporary Swedish names of towns and cities are given, but with a modernised and standardised spelling. This is to avoid confusion over the many varied spellings

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<sup>155</sup> Although in some instances quantities can be extracted: see for example Chapter 5 for coffee. This was due to more consistent measuring techniques and consistent descriptions compared to for example textiles.

which occurred at the time. The Swedish town Varberg is thus rendered as 'Varberg' rather than Warberg, and the Finnish town Kajaani is rendered 'Kajana' rather than the old Swedish spelling 'Cajana'. In some instances, particularly in the Finnish provinces, the Finnish names are also included, as some of the Swedish names are very uncommon apart from in the sources. Finally, quotes in French and English are rendered in their original without alteration, but all Swedish quotes translated into English have been modernised.

One feature that is bound to create some confusion in the present study is the parallel use of different currencies. Four various currencies are referred to in this thesis (there were also additional currencies which will not be discussed here). From 1766 to 1776 two fiat currencies were primarily used in the court records: daler copper coins (*daler koppar mynt*), which in the text appear as D kmt, and daler silver coins (*daler silver mynt*) referred to as D smt. 3 D kmt equated to 1 D smt. While riksdaler, abbreviated Rdr, were also in use during this period, they rarely appear in the customs records before the coin reform of 1776, when numerous types of currency disappeared. At the time of the reform 1 Rdr equated to 6 D smt or 18 D kmt. The coin reform led to the withdrawal of several types of old silver coins and riksdaler became the primary coin type, with a silver standard replacing the fiat currencies. The two types of currency that appear most readily after this period are *riksdaler (specie)*, in the text referred to as Rdr, and *riksdaler banco*, Rdr bco. The exchange rate between them was constant throughout the period: 1 Rdr = 1 Rdr bco. In 1789 fiat currency was used due to silver shortage, although paper money had also been in use prior to this period. Along with the re-introduction of fiat currency there was also a new currency, *riksdaler riksgälds*, Rdr rgs. While the exchange rates between these various currencies varied over time, in 1795 it was 1 Rdr (specie) = 1 Rdr bco = 1 ½ Rdr rgs. This conversion rate can be seen as a rough guide to the relationship between these various currencies. The fiat currency system was put on hold during the period 1803-1808, when silver coins again were introduced. The exchange rates remained stable, however. Due to the confusion such a mixture of currencies and exchange rates fluctuating over time can cause, I have occasionally included conversions between the currencies. For example, 100 D kmt in 1767 is equal to 5.5 Rdr in 1777. In order to avoid confusion, the amounts recorded in riksdaler riksgäld have been converted into Rdr Specie, as this is the predominant currency registered.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Lars O. Lagerqvist, *Vad Kostade Det? Priser Och Löner Från Medeltid till Våra Dagar* (Lund: Historisk Media, 2015), pp. 129-134; For a very extensive discussion see also Rodney Edvinsson et al., 'The Multiple Currencies of Sweden-Finland 1534-1803', in *Exchange Rates, Prices, and Wages, 1277-2008* (Stockholm: Ekerlids Förlag, 2010), pp.179-188; All conversions in this study have been conducted through Rodney Edvinsson, 'Prisomräknare Från Medeltiden till 2100', 01 2018, <http://www.historicalstatistics.org/Jamforelsepris.htm>.

## Denominations

### Daler

1 D kmt = 32 öre kmt

1 D smt = 32 öre smt

### Riksdaler

1 Rdr = 48 shillings (skillingar, sk)

1 sk = 12 runstycken

## Exchange values

1 D smt = 3 D kmt (1760) - constant

1 Rdr = 3 D smt (1770)

1 Rdr = 6 D smt = 18 D kmt (1777)

## Nominal daily earnings for unskilled labourers in Sweden

1766 – 112 öre (or 3.5 D kmt)

1776 – 112 öre (or 3.5 D kmt)

1786 – 9.33 sk specie (roughly 0.19 Rdr specie)

1796 – 10.67 sk rgs (roughly 0.22 Rdr specie)

1806 – 16 sk rgs<sup>157</sup> (roughly 0.33 Rdr specie)

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<sup>157</sup> The statistics are collected from Johan Söderberg, 'Long-Term Trends in Real Wages of Labourers', in *Exchange Rates, Prices, and Wages, 1277-2008*, ed. Rodney Edvinsson, Tor Jacobson, and Daniel Waldenström (Stockholm: Ekerlids Förlag, 2010), table A9.1, p.474

Table 1.1.  
Import Prohibitions

- Free to import
- Prohibited to import
- Prohibited to import from anywhere else than the East Indies.

mc – monochrome textiles only

	1747	1754	1756	1757	1761	1771	1776	1782	1794	1799
<b>Silk</b>										
<i>Unpatterned and monochrome</i>		<span style="color: red;">●</span>				<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid green; color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>
<i>Patterned</i>		<span style="color: red;">●</span>				<span style="color: red;">●</span>			<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>
<i>Damask</i>		<span style="color: red;">●</span>				<span style="color: red;">●</span>		<span style="color: green;">●</span> (mc)	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>
<i>Taffeta</i>						<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span> (mc)	<span style="border: 1px solid green; color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>
<i>Lace</i>						<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>
<i>Neckerchieves</i>								<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>
<i>Silk gauze</i>						<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>
<i>Crepe</i>						<span style="color: red;">●</span>			<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>
<b>Cotton - undyed</b>										
<i>Cotton, plain, fine</i>				<span style="color: green;">●</span>		<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>
<i>Muslin, plain</i>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>			<span style="color: green;">●</span>				<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>
<i>Muslin, striped and checked</i>				<span style="color: green;">●</span>					<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>
<i>Guineas cloth from East India (without print for the manufactories)</i>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>					<span style="color: green;">●</span>				
<b>Cotton - dyed</b>										
<i>East Indian nankin or kitaj</i>						<span style="color: red;">●</span>		<span style="color: red;">●</span>		<span style="color: red;">●</span>
<b>Wool &amp; Worsted</b>										
<b>Half-wool</b>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: red;">●</span>
<b>Linen and hemp</b>										
<i>Cambric, plain, less than 6 quarters wide (anything wider prohibited)</i>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>		<span style="color: red;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>
<i>Linen/Hemp (lärft), undyed, plain.</i>				<span style="color: green;">●</span>		<span style="color: green;">●</span>		<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>	<span style="color: green;">●</span>



	1747	1754	1756	1757	1761	1771	1776	1782	1794	1799
<b>Groceries</b>										
<i>Coffee beans</i>	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
<i>Cocoa beans</i>	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
<i>Tea</i>			●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
<i>Arrack</i>			●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
<i>White sugar (powder)</i>	●		●	●		●	●	●	●	●
<i>Sugar candy</i>						●	●	●	●	●
<i>Sugarloaf</i>						●	●	●	●	●
<i>Brown (mascovado, Barbados, or brown raw sugar)</i>	●			●		●	●	●	●	●
<b>Other</b>										
<i>Porcelain</i>			●			●	●	●	●	● <sup>i</sup>
<i>Tobacco leaves</i>				●		● <sup>ii</sup>		● <sup>iii</sup>	●	●
<i>Shaving knives</i>				●	●	● <sup>iv</sup>		●		●
<i>Trinkets (Nipper)</i>			●			●		●		●
<i>Pins</i>			●	● <sup>v</sup>		●		●		●
<i>Dyes</i>										
<i>Cochineal</i>						●		●		●
<i>Indigo</i>	●			●		●		●		●

Sources: *Taxa, hwarefter, Ifrån then 1 September 1747, the på thenne Förteckning upförde Utrikes ifrån Inkommande Waror, komma at betala Afgift Til Manufactur Fonden* (30 Jun 1747), *Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Kundgörelse, Angående Förbud emot Ost-Indiske Sidentygens införsel och försäljande här i Riket, ifrån 1755. års början.* (19 Feb 1754), *Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, Angående Wiße öfwerflöds Wahrors förbiudande til införsel i Riket* (4 Nov 1756), *Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, Angående Wiße Utrikes Warors så wäl lösgifwande ifrån Förbud til införsel, som beläggande med mindre Manufactur-Fonds och andre afgifter* (21 Sep 1761), *Kongl. Maj:ts Taxa, hwarefter Stora Siö-Tullen uppå alla inkommande Waror bör erläggas och upbäras* (15 Feb 1771), *Kongl. Maj:ts Och Riksens Kammar-Collegii Kungörelse, Dels angående Wisza Utrikes waror, hwilka til införsel i Riket för theta 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.* (24 Sep 1776), *Kongl. Maj:ts Taxa, Hwarefter Stora Siö-Tullen Uppå Alla Inkommande waror Beräknas och Erlägges* (6 Jun 1782), *Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Dels Förbud emot Införsel af wiße Utländske Waror, dels ock högre Tull-Afgifter derå* (1 Jan 1794), *Kongl. Maj:ts Taxa, Hwarefter Stora Sjö-Tullen Uppå alla Inkommande Waror Beräknas och Erläggas* (17 Apr 1799).

<sup>i</sup> Including unpainted 'Stone porcelain' also called 'English porcelain'.

<sup>ii</sup> Import from the German lands and Holland prohibited.

<sup>iii</sup> Import allowed from the West Indies and Holland.

<sup>iv</sup> All other knives prohibited.

<sup>v</sup> All pins allowed for import apart from brass pins.

The table builds on nine different import taxes and import prohibitions, issued 1747-1799. Some merely point out new prohibitions or the removal of prohibitions rather than providing a complete list of what was allowed or disallowed. Therefore there is not data for all years and goods. An empty box indicates that no information is available. In these instances it is possible that the wares previous legal status was unchanged, however, as this is not a complete list of *all* import regulations, it is possible that the legal status had changed in the interim. Furthermore, this list is simplified as there are many qualities that have been left out - the import lists usually ran over several hundred pages. For textiles the general rule was that undyed, unprinted textiles could be imported while any processed cloths were prohibited. Finally, this list is only meant to give an idea of the evolving nature of the prohibitions and does not give a comprehensive view of the legislation as companies and individuals could also be awarded exemptions to import certain 'illegal' wares. This is particularly the case with the Swedish East India Company, which could import certain prohibited wares from Asia. Some of these exemptions are registered in the table above. It is therefore very difficult to establish a comprehensive view of what could legally be imported into Sweden in the eighteenth century and the list above should be considered indicative rather than exhaustive. In addition, it should also be noted that even if a good could legally be imported it did not follow that it could be consumed by everyone, but sumptuary legislations (such as those from 1766, 1770, and 1794) stipulated who could consume what. For example, the sumptuary decree of 1766 specified that silk could only be consumed by the middling and higher sorts, apart from silk caps which could be used by female servants but no unemployed women. Women of the lower sorts were also prohibited from using foreign linen, cambric, and muslin. Meanwhile, all men were prohibited from using silk velvet and silk clothing apart from for various adornments including, but not limited to, silk stockings, pocket watch bands, karpus hats, scarves, trousers, and winter hats. East Indian porcelain was prohibited for use, apart from tea sets. While, tobacco could only be legally consumed by people over the age of 21.<sup>158</sup> The 1770 decree was very similar, although it did liberate the use of East India porcelain.<sup>159</sup> By contrast the 1794 did not make a direct hierarchical division of consumption, as silk clothing was to be banned for everyone, however, there were some exceptions for court and gala dress, and for the national costume. Just like in the earlier decrees silk could still be used

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<sup>158</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, emot Yppighet och Öfwerflöd, Gifwen Stockholm i Råd-Cammaren then 26 Junii 1766' (1766)

<sup>159</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:Ts Förnyade Förordning Emot Yppighet Och Öfwerflöd. 15 Martii 1770' (1770).

for certain accoutrements which in effect meant that the ban was not universal.<sup>160</sup> All this complementary and overlapping legislation means that it can be quite difficult to establish what was legal and what was not, not just for historians today but also for those who had to interact with the legislation in the eighteenth century.

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<sup>160</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til hämmande af Yppighet och Öfwerflöd. Gifwen Stockholms Slott den 1 Januarii 1794' (1794).



## Chapter 2

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### Defining and Interpreting Smuggling: A Question of Rights

During the eighteenth century, smuggling was becoming a politically charged issue all across Europe. This was partly related to the threat it posed to the protectionist state and partly due to the introduction of new ideas about the rights and liberties of citizens. At the same time Sweden was undergoing several changes which affected discussions about smuggling and the legislation around it. Between the 1760s and the early nineteenth century Sweden's governmental structure was changing from a form of proto-parliamentarianism, to enlightenment absolutism, to regency government; shifts which resulted in alternating state objectives. Ideas of citizenship were meanwhile developing in new directions.<sup>161</sup> The purpose of this chapter is to outline the various ideas and interpretations of smuggling that existed in a range of arenas; ideas that clashed, altered, and merged and set the scene for the practical consequences of smuggling discussed in later chapters of this thesis. As the chapter looks at ideas that developed over time the structure will be both thematic and chronological, highlighting both continuity and change. In order to understand how the discourse and laws of smuggling developed over time and under the influence of various systems of government and changing ideological debates it is first necessary to consider the conceptual frameworks present in Sweden at the time.

Global trade, the rise of manufacturing nations, and inter-state commercial competition were gradually becoming prevalent features of the European order in the eighteenth century. Many countries, Sweden included, reacted by developing a type of commercial protectionism intended to strengthen control over their territories and reduce foreign influence. Carl Wennerlind has suggested that the desire to withdraw from the international stage was intensified by a crisis of confidence in Sweden's competitive ability following the fall of its empire in 1718.<sup>162</sup> From this point of view, smuggling, which undermined state authority and its 'closed market', became a politically charged act, and the smuggler an enemy of the state.

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<sup>161</sup> For a longer discussion see Chapter 1.

<sup>162</sup> Carl Wennerlind, 'Atlantis Restored: The Concept of Oeconomy in the Swedish Discourse of Improvement 1650-1750'. *Work in Progress*, (forthcoming)

In order to appreciate the perceived threat of smuggling it is necessary to start with Swedish protectionism, how it was conceived and what it aimed to achieve. Most writers who have written about Sweden's economy in the eighteenth century have agreed that Sweden was a fundamentally protectionist country for the duration of the century. The exact effects of protectionism have, however, been an area of contention.<sup>163</sup> Lars Magnusson and more recently Wennerlind have highlighted that survival and self-sufficiency became guiding lights for protectionism in the early eighteenth century, as the country strove to minimise its dependency on other nations.<sup>164</sup> This, it was hoped, would make Sweden independent and not subservient to other states for its needs, and protect it against the disorder brought on by unregulated international trade, a disorder that would undermine the state and threaten safety and order.<sup>165</sup>

An important step in becoming self-sufficient was the development of domestic manufacturing. Manufacturing quickly became a central concern in the protectionist discourse, with a flourishing domestic industry as a central protectionist goal.<sup>166</sup> The amount of people employed in Swedish manufactories during the eighteenth century was still trifling, but Sven-Eric Liedman has argued that the manufacture zealots saw this sector as a motor for the entire economy.<sup>167</sup> According to Monica Edgren one consequence of the shift in attention toward domestic affairs was that the obligations of the state, and consequently the loyalties of the citizens, became focal points in Swedish economic discourse.<sup>168</sup> She argues that the population, in particular the manufactory workers, increasingly came to be seen as a resource in need of both public and popular care and attention. Edgren argues that this led the state to encourage the augmentation of patriotic feeling in the country to ensure a greater support for the manufactories.<sup>169</sup> Jonas Nordin has reached a similar conclusion, positing that Swedish eighteenth-century patriotism was driven by pragmatic concerns for society, particularly in

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<sup>163</sup> For a selection see: Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa.*; Lars Magnusson, *Merkantilism: Ett Ekonomiskt Tänkande Formuleras* (Stockholm: S N S Forlag, 1999); Lars Magnusson, 'Den Ekonomiska Diskussionen under Frihetstiden – Ett Framlängesperspektiv', in *Riksdag, Kaffehus Och Predikstol. Frihetstidens Politiska Kultur 1766-1772*, ed. Marie-Christine Skuncke and Henrietta Tandefelt (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2003); Magnusson, 'Till Salu'; Häggqvist, 'On the Ocean of Protectionism. The Structure of Swedish Tariffs and Trade 1780-1830'.

<sup>164</sup> Magnusson, 'Den Ekonomiska Diskussionen under Frihetstiden – Ett Framlängesperspektiv'. pp. 25 & 30; Carl Wennerlind, 'Atlantis Restored: The Concept of Oeconomy in the Swedish Discourse of Improvement 1650-1750'. *Work in Progress*, (forthcoming)

<sup>165</sup> Magnusson.p.35-36

<sup>166</sup> Magnusson.p.32

<sup>167</sup> Sven-Eric Liedman, *Den Synliga Handen: Anders Berch Och Ekonomiämnena Vid 1700-Talets Svenska Universitet* (Göteborg & Stockholm: Arbetarkultur, 1986). p.200

<sup>168</sup> Monika Edgren, *Från Rike till Nation Arbetskraftspolitik, Befolkningspolitik Och Nationell Gemenskapsformering i Sverige under 1700-Talet* (Lund: Historisk Media, 2001).p. 33

<sup>169</sup> Edgren.p. 33

regards to agriculture, economy and science.<sup>170</sup> He suggests that patriotism was at the core of the development of “the Swedish consensus-oriented societal thinking”.<sup>171</sup> In order to underline the relationship between patriotic rhetoric and national economic welfare in the eighteenth century, Jani Marjanen has coined the term ‘economic patriotism’. In short, economic patriotism meant prioritising the good of the country over private gain.<sup>172</sup> Drawing on Marjanen’s terminology, but adjusting it to fit with one of the main focal points in this study, how to support and legitimise economic borders, I will use the term ‘patriotic protectionism’, thus stressing the centrality of protectionism.

Not everyone agreed with the protectionist interpretations, however, and Lars Magnusson has stressed that some economic thinkers rejected the idea that people needed to give up part of their freedom and natural rights to be a member of a society in the 1750s and 1760s. These economic thinkers instead favoured a ‘natural’ system approach, where trade as well as society itself were conceived as naturally self-regulating, with no need for neither state regulation nor sacrifices by the citizens. Instead, self-interest and the right to engage freely in trade were seen as important for the development of trade, and a means towards safeguarding individual rights.<sup>173</sup> The mid-eighteenth century Swedish debate thus constituted an example of an early free trade discourse. Magnusson has argued that the ‘natural’ system approach was influenced by Scottish enlightenment thinkers, and their propagation of civil rights and moral philosophy.<sup>174</sup> This focus on natural rights stood in sharp contrast to patriotic protectionism, and entailed a very different relationship between state and population, based on the state’s obligation towards its citizens rather than the subjects’ duties towards the state. Two very different interpretations of the Swedish economic situation thus co-existed throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century.

The ideas that circulated and came to gain prominence also depended on the governmental structure in force, and its objectives. Jacob Christensson has, for example, stressed that the citizen was continually being reinterpreted during the eighteenth century in such a way that it

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<sup>170</sup> Nordin, p.338

<sup>171</sup> Nordin, p. 336.

<sup>172</sup> Jani Marjanen, ‘Den Ekonomiska Patriotismens Uppgång Och Fall. Finska Hushållningssällskapet i Europeisk, Svensk Och Finsk Kontext 1720-1840’ (PhD thesis, Helsingfors universitet, 2013).p.269; Jani Marjanen, ‘Moral Economy and Civil Society in Eighteenth Century Europe: The Case of Economic Societies and Business of Improvement’, *Journal of Global Ethics* 11, no. 2 (2015).p.209

<sup>173</sup> Magnusson, ‘Den Ekonomiska Diskussionen under Frihetstiden – Ett Framlängesperspektiv’, p.34; Lars Magnusson, *The Tradition of Free Trade* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004).pp.129 &134-135

<sup>174</sup> Magnusson, *The Tradition of Free Trade*. P.135

reflected changes in the governmental structure.<sup>175</sup> Similarly, Jonathan Israel has pointed out that the spread of enlightenment ideas in Sweden was conditioned by the reintroduction of absolutist monarchy.<sup>176</sup> The public sphere was particularly affected by changes in government as it was often accompanied by interchanging press freedom legislation. While the newspaper press became an important arena for debate in Sweden after 1766 with the Freedom of the Press Act introduced during Cap Party rule, this was hampered by the installation of Gustav III as an absolutist monarch and his restriction of press freedom in 1774.<sup>177</sup> This freedom was restored during the regency government in 1792, and restricted again in 1796 when the future king Gustav Adolph reshuffled his regency government.<sup>178</sup> The freedom of the press presents an example of how debates were affected by shifting forms of government in practical terms, but these shifts also affected the official governmental stance, as seen for example in the development of new legislation, such as that prohibiting smuggling.

Earlier research thus shows that several ideological currents co-existed in Sweden during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and that the country also underwent significant political changes during this time. How did these shifts affect the discourse and laws of smuggling developed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century?

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In order to explore how perceptions of smuggling were affected by ideological shifts and changing systems of government this chapter looks at four main bodies of primary sources: economic literature, committee proceedings, newspapers and pamphlets. Economic literature allows a study of the basic ideas in circulation at the outset of the period, including those formulated by authors such as Anders Berch, Johan Fredrik Kryger, Anders Nordencrantz and Anders Chydenius. An analysis of this theoretical literature is supplemented by a discussion of reports to, and protocols from, committees set up by the National Board of Trade to investigate

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<sup>175</sup> Christensson, *Lyckoriket: Studier i Svensk Upplysning*.p.139

<sup>176</sup> Jonathan Israel, 'Northern Varieties: Contrasting the Dano-Norwegian and the Swedish-Finnish Enlightenments', in *Eighteenth-Century Periodicals As Agents of Change. Perspectives on Northern Enlightenment*, ed. Ellen Krefting, Aina Nøding, and Mona Ringvej (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015).p.43

<sup>177</sup> Jonathan Israel, 'Northern Varieties: Contrasting the Dano-Norwegian and the Swedish-Finnish Enlightenments', in *Eighteenth-Century Periodicals As Agents of Change. Perspectives on Northern Enlightenment*, ed. Ellen Krefting, Aina Nøding, and Mona Ringvej (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015).p.43

<sup>178</sup> Ingemar Oscarsson, 'Med Tryckfrihet Som Tidig Tradition', in *Den Svenska Pressens Historia: I Begynnelsen (Tiden Före 1830)*, ed. Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén (Stockholm: Ekerlids Förlag, 2000).pp. 191 & 196



the need for new legislation, and the subsequent anti-smuggling decrees. In particular, attention will be given to the 1769/70 Trade, Manufacture and Customs Committee which shaped the 1770 anti-smuggling decree, and the unnamed 1798/99 committee tasked with the creation of the 1799 anti-smuggling decree. This procedural material will illuminate how ideas and theoretical frameworks came to be transformed into regulation. In order to study the reception of the new legislation a survey has been conducted of a collection of 122 newspaper articles published between 1770 and 1806. The articles in question come primarily from the newspapers *Dagligt Allehanda*, *Inrikes Tidningar*, *Stockholms Posten*, and *Göteborgs Allehanda*. Articles about smuggling were located with the help of the Swedish Royal Library's digital newspaper archive.<sup>1</sup> A similar search was also conducted in the digitalised newspaper archives at the Finnish National Library, which resulted in the location of one lone article from *Åbo Allehanda*. Finally, as a case study the chapter will zoom in on the translator and writer Eric Erland Bodell, who was active in the final years of this study. Bodell was a customs officer who translated some of Adam Smith's works into Swedish and produced his own works on free trade, inspired both by Smith and by his experiences at the customs office. He thus embodies the connection between the economic debates and the practical realities of managing the customs. This chapter thus builds on both printed material and unprinted sources, derived from the work of producing new legislation. The inclusion of both of these types of sources is intended to highlight the interaction between ideas in the public sphere and the development of practical measures such as legislation. It also allows for an exploration of ideas and perceptions of smuggling and rights in various arenas, an approach that helps to underline how certain ideas were established and challenged.

The structure of the chapter is partly chronological and partly thematic, shifting attention to various themes across time, and reflecting the development of legislation. The first part of the chapter considers what role smuggling played in the discussions about patriotic protectionism and natural rights in the early economic literature, in the development of legislation, and in the newspaper debates from the 1770s onwards. The second part of the chapter explores how the management of smuggling, and in particular house searches, came into conflict with old established rights that sought to guarantee the subjects' liberty and freedom from oppression, a topic that was in focus in the second half of the 1770s. The third part looks at the emergence of new individual rights, based on the discourse of natural rights, and how these came to feature in the debates about consumer choice and the right to make independent choices, issues that came to the forefront in the 1790s. The newspaper discussions on smuggling disappear around

1800 but this was not the end of smuggling in the economic discourse. In the fourth and final part of this chapter the attention turns to the writer Eric Erland Bodell who strove to combine his personal experience as a customs officer with new enlightenment ideas in order to promote free trade in Sweden.

## **Patriotic Protectionism & Natural Rights**

### *Smuggling in Early Economic Literature*

There were two main interpretations of smuggling in the economic literature around the middle of the eighteenth century. The first was based on the discourse of protectionism with proponents such as Anders Berch (1711-1774), Sweden's first professor in oeconomy, and the economic writer and public official Johan Fredrich Kryger (1707-1777). Although Kryger later partly abandoned his protectionist thinking in favour of a more 'liberal' philosophy about natural rights, according to Lars Magnusson, he never fully abandoned his idea about the need for state regulation.<sup>179</sup> The second interpretation of smuggling was based on the discourses of natural rights and deregulated trade. The main proponents of this approach in Sweden were the economic writer Anders Nordencrantz (1697-1772), a member of the riksdag and head of Division at the National Board of Trade, and the Finnish economic writer and member of the riksdag Anders Chydenius (1729-1803). This initial section explores how each of these writers conceived and described smuggling in relation to the protectionist policy in practice at the time.

The first significant economic writer to deal with the issue of smuggling in the eighteenth century was Anders Berch. While he did not award the topic considerable attention, he did establish that it was the most severe of crimes as it undermined the vital legitimate trade and injured all members of society. In his description of the threat posed by smuggling, he pointed to two particular features: the import of permitted wares without paying duty, which injured the honest merchant who had to contend with higher import costs, *and* the import of prohibited wares which injured the manufacturers. As previously noted, a focus on the wellbeing of the manufacturers was a crucial part of protectionist thinking and many protectionist legislations had been introduced to protect the Swedish industry from competition. However, smuggling enabled these regulations to be circumvented and introduced illegal manufactures into the market. Berch argued that as long as people had access to illegally imported foreign

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<sup>179</sup> Lars Magnusson, *Äran, Korruptionen Och Den Borgerliga Ordningen, Essäer Från Svensk Ekonomihistoria* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2001).p.44

manufactures it meant that these would be consumed instead of the domestically produced manufactures, thus undermining Swedish industry.<sup>180</sup> With fewer resources being fuelled back into the domestic industry, Swedish workers would end up in a precarious situation. The notion of the suffering, or even starving, Swedish workers came to be a frequently used rhetorical device in the smuggling discussions of the eighteenth century, as it efficiently aligned the consumption of contraband with the suffering of a fellow citizen.<sup>181</sup> As Monica Edgren observes, Berch was one of the first writers to suggest that the citizens of a society should be considered as an economic resource which needed to be cared for, thus introducing the centrality of the wellbeing of the worker into the debate about the nurture of the domestic industries.<sup>182</sup> What is also clear is that the damage caused by smuggling to the conditions of the Swedish workers could be understood in two ways: either as damaging for the workforce at large and thus Sweden's ability to manufacture, or as an abuse of fellow subjects. Against this background smuggling appeared as a crime against the crown, defrauding revenue, but also against the population itself.

In order to deal with these threats Berch argued that the regulation of trade and increased prohibition were necessary so as to minimise the damage of the destructive contraband traffic.<sup>183</sup> He refuted the idea that taxes and prohibitions were useless or led to temptations to run contraband. Berch, however, was not an isolationist, and he also stressed the importance of continued international trade. The competition with foreign merchants, he argued, was vital to avoid the development of monopolies within Swedish trade, which would also be damaging.<sup>184</sup> His ideas would have a great influence on Swedish academic economic thought throughout the eighteenth century and beyond.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Anders Berch, *Inledning Til Almänna Hushålningen, Innefattande Grunden Til Politie, Oeconomie Och Cameral Wetenskaperna. Til Deras Tiänst, Som Biwista de Almänne Föreläsningar Inrättad.* (Stockholm, 1747). p. 314, 315

<sup>181</sup> This is something which occurs both sides of the political spectrum, both in the work of Johan Fredrik Kryger, *Tankar Wid Lediga Stunder* (Stockholm: Tryckt på Direct. Lars Salvii förlag, 1761), pp.301-302; and Anders Nordencrantz, *Bekymmerlösa Stunders Menlösa Och Owälduga Tankar.*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: 1767-70).p.35

<sup>182</sup> Edgren, *Från Rike till Nation Arbetskraftspolitik, Befolkningspolitik Och Nationell Gemenskapsformering i Sverige under 1700-Talet.*p.33

<sup>183</sup> Berch, *Inledning Til Almänna Hushålningen, Innefattande Grunden Til Politie, Oeconomie Och Cameral Wetenskaperna. Til Deras Tiänst, Som Biwista de Almänne Föreläsningar Inrättad.* P. 314

<sup>184</sup> Berch. P.315

<sup>185</sup> His textbook remained standard at universities until 1829 when it was replaced by Lars Georg Rabenius' new *Lärobok i Nationalekonomien*; see Magnusson, *The Tradition of Free Trade.*p.141

While patriotism was included in Berch's treatment of smuggling, it played a subservient role to regulation. By contrast, patriotism came to be featured prominently in the work of Johan Fredrich Kryger. In *Tankar vid Lediga Stunder* (1761), Kryger dedicated a whole chapter to the issue of smuggling, as he saw himself as having a double responsibility to spread awareness about the dangers of smuggling, both as a member of society and as a public official.<sup>186</sup> Lars Magnusson has underlined that Kryger saw the social contract and a limitation of certain natural freedoms as crucial features of a successful state.<sup>187</sup> In *Tankar* Kryger explained that a functioning state not only demanded a contract between state and citizens, but that certain virtues were also essential among the citizens, such as reverence for religion, love of the fatherland, law-abidingness, and common agreement among the citizens.<sup>188</sup> In his book Kryger attacked what he perceived as the general laxity or leniency towards smuggling. Just like Berch, Kryger also placed domestic manufacturing at the core of his argument. The continued survival of the Swedish manufacturing industry was crucial; without it, Sweden's whole future would be jeopardised.

Smuggling alone can eventually ruin not only the factories, but also all other businesses; so that Sweden, in a short while, must find itself in the same condition as it did shortly after the[biblical] great flood.<sup>189</sup>

In order to avoid such a catastrophe, Kryger highlighted the importance of high import duties and prohibitions, which would protect the domestic industry against unsolicited competition.<sup>190</sup> This was not enough, however, as the continued access to competitive manufactures through the contraband trade allowed consumers to continue to undermine the industry. In his attacks on smuggling, Kryger appealed to people's patriotism, arguing that the consumption of contraband was incompatible with patriotism.

... such a mischievous people [the smugglers] must apparently be divorced from those, whose love for the fatherland and reverence for the Laws make

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<sup>186</sup> Johan Fredrik Kryger, *Tankar Wid Lediga Stunder* (Stockholm: Tryckt på Direct. Lars Salvii förlag, 1761), p.288

<sup>187</sup> Magnusson, *Åran, Korruptionen Och Den Borgerliga Ordningen*.p.46

<sup>188</sup> Kryger, *Tankar Wid Lediga Stunder*, 1761.p.199; this has also been observed by Magnusson, *Åran, Korruptionen och Den Borgerliga Ordningen*.p.48 ;

<sup>189</sup> Johan Fredrik Kryger, *Tankar Wid Lediga Stunder* (Stockholm: Tryckt på Direct. Lars Salvii förlag, 1761), pp.317-318

<sup>190</sup> Kryger, p. 292

them abhor these misfits, or those who err from ignorance: thus, I must undress the Smuggler his fig leaf, and show him in his nude horrendous form.<sup>191</sup>

In treating smuggling Kryger was careful to note that leniency towards it might not just be due to a wickedness of character, but also to ignorance and a lack of information. He therefore saw it as his task to inform his readers of why smuggling was problematic.<sup>192</sup> First, Kryger pointed to the religious motivations for obeying authority.<sup>193</sup> Thereafter, he addressed the various apologies for smuggling that he had encountered.

In response to the idea that Swedish industry was less developed and produced poorer products than that of other countries, Kryger replied that patience was needed as the industry was still at an early stage and that love for the fatherland should enable people to support the industry despite its temporary shortcomings.<sup>194</sup> He then addressed the question of why high exchange rates affected domestic productions and foreign imports differently; why foreign goods were cheaper. Kryger explained that as salaries in Sweden were higher due to a lack of workers the retail prices for the goods were also higher. He argued that despite this, patriotic feeling should lead consumers to want to feed Swedish, rather than foreign, workers.<sup>195</sup> Another argument was that everything not produced in Sweden must be acquired from abroad. In response, Kryger maintained that the range of Swedish produce was limited due to both a lack of workers and smuggling itself. These factors prevented the sale of domestic productions and limited their turnover, leading to lower profits which hindered the expansion of the manufacturing industry. Discussing the production of textiles, Kryger pointed out that it took time to produce new designs and that the desire for everything that was new and foreign was a childish notion which made it impossible for the Swedish manufacturers to be competitive.<sup>196</sup> Finally he challenged the idea that Sweden was ill-suited for the manufacturing industry due to its small and deficient population and cold climate. This was a particularly objectionable idea to Kryger, who insisted that while there were obstacles to the development of industry, they were political and economic

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<sup>191</sup> Kryger, p.295

<sup>192</sup> Kryger.p.293

<sup>193</sup> Kryger.p.289

<sup>194</sup> Kryger.pp.296-300

<sup>195</sup> Kryger.pp.301-302

<sup>196</sup> Kryger. Pp.303-307, Kryger also addressed the slightly stranger argument that fishing cost just as much as the import of foreign cloth. This he said was both correct and incorrect see, p.308

rather than climatic or related to the population's physical inability to engage in manufacturing.<sup>197</sup>

Kryger recognised that the survival of the manufactories depended not only on the correct protectionist legislation but also on the behaviour of the country's inhabitants. For Kryger this meant that the issues posed by smuggling could not be overcome through focusing solely on protectionism; rather, it was necessary to also gain the co-operation of the public. Consumption, he argued, should be a patriotic act: "[F]oreign dress bears witness of the fact that the heart which lives within, must be foreign, rather than Swedish".<sup>198</sup> No true patriot, Kryger argued, could ever engage with contraband.<sup>199</sup>

In both Berch and Kryger's economic writings there is a focus on manufacturing as the most important aspect of Swedish economic development. In this context, smuggling was depicted as a looming threat to the survival of Swedish industry, and to the welfare of the entire nation. While Berch argued that regulation was the main tool with which to eradicate the threat posed by smuggling, Kryger stressed that the successful enforcement of regulation also required the co-operation of the population. For Kryger, mobilising the population's patriotic sense of duty was thus a necessary step in the successful implementation of protectionist policy. This patriotic protectionist approach to smuggling was prevalent in the middle of the eighteenth century. It did not go unchallenged, however, and a new interpretation was gaining ground in the 1760s and 1770s.

Moving away from the belief in the supremacy of regulation, economic writers like Anders Nordencrantz and Anders Chydenius instead argued for the centrality of self-interest and natural law. As historian Lars Magnusson has highlighted, these writers believed that the market thrived on freedom rather than control.<sup>200</sup> Such a divergent world view also resulted in a very different approach to smuggling.

Anders Nordencrantz was one of the main proponents of a new interpretation of smuggling. In the 1720s he had travelled widely in the British Isles, where he became fascinated by English

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<sup>197</sup> Kryger, pp. 311-313

<sup>198</sup> Kryger, p. 316

<sup>199</sup> Kryger, p. 288, 314, 315

<sup>200</sup> Magnusson, *The Tradition of Free Trade*, pp. 129 & 134

mercantilism and particularly Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*.<sup>201</sup> Magnusson has shown that Nordencrantz, upon his return to Sweden, drew heavily on natural law in his criticism of protectionism, and argued that selfishness (in the vein of Mandeville) was an important component of sustaining and developing trade, but also that trade was governed by certain independent and uncontrollable forces.<sup>202</sup> While Nordencrantz agreed with Berch and Kryger that "[smugglers] are the bread thieves of the kingdom, of the poor, yes, of the whole nation", he insisted on the importance of considering the *cause* of smuggling.<sup>203</sup> Instead of simply writing it off as unpatriotic or ignorant behaviour, he maintained that it was important to understand its foundations. In particular, Nordencrantz argued that the natural desire for sumptuousness played a crucial part in motivating and sustaining the contraband trade. Foreign manufactures were cheaper, and thus more desirable, than their domestic counterparts. "But", Nordencrantz argued, "the reason for [the high price of domestic goods] is undoubtedly the monopolies, the guild- and stamp-decrees and that all Industry is restricted to certain locations and societies, in addition to the population scarcity and the expensive food stuffs."<sup>204</sup> It should be noted that the high price of domestic products might have been a notion rather than a reality.<sup>205</sup> In contrast to Berch and Kryger, Nordencrantz suggested that the causes for the contraband trade must be addressed not simply with patriotically motivated consumer choices but with changes to the domestic manufacturing structure as a whole. Freedom and competition, he argued, motivated the development of production and design, whereas rigorously controlled guild systems and trade controls suffocated invention, which in turn led to smuggling.

The Finnish economic writer Anders Chydenius took a similar approach. Following Nordencrantz's ideas about the importance of self-interest and the uncontrollable nature of trade, Chydenius argued that dismantling trade regulation was necessary in order to make the country prosperous.<sup>206</sup> In order to reduce smuggling he suggested that more staple towns should be established and the trade restrictions lifted.<sup>207</sup> In the writings of both Nordencrantz and Chydenius it is thus possible to discern ideas that later became associated with Adam Smith, such as the invisible hand, as well as Mandeville's link between private vice and public virtue.

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<sup>201</sup> Hertlitz, Lars. 'Anders Nordencrantz', <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/8203>, *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Accessed 17 February 2018.

<sup>202</sup> Magnusson, *The Tradition of Free Trade*. pp. 129 & 134

<sup>203</sup> Nordencrantz, *Bekymmerlösa Stunders Menlösa Och Owälduga Tankar*. p.35

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*, p.34

<sup>205</sup> Lundqvist, 'Förbjudna Tyger – Textilsmuggling till Sverige under 1700- Och 1800-Talen'. p.203

<sup>206</sup> Magnusson, 'Den Ekonomiska Diskussionen under Frihetstiden – Ett Framlängesperspektiv'. p.28

<sup>207</sup> See 'Vederläggning af de skäl, hvarmed man söker bestrida Öster- och Vesterbottniska samt Vesternorrländska städerna fri seglation', in Anders Chydenius, *Politiska Skrifter* (Helsinki, 1880). p. 87

The two authors belonged to what can be considered the first wave of deregulated trade proponents in Sweden. Contrary to the earlier writers, Nordencrantz and Chydenius saw the protectionist mercantile policies as the root of smuggling. Rather than placing the blame on the people, they meant that the problem was the restrictive economic system itself.

Although the Swedish patriotic protectionist and the natural right interpretations of smuggling were primarily developed in this early economic literature (mostly prior to the time period considered in this thesis), they nonetheless lay the foundations for the subsequent debates about smuggling. Both interpretations proved tenacious but patriotic protectionism soon gained the upper hand.

### *Economic Crisis and Protectionism*

Kryger, Nordencrantz and Chydenius were not just engaged in writing on economic issues, they were also politically active during the proto-parliamentary period leading up to 1772. Two main parties, the Hats and the Caps, were during this period fighting for control over the Swedish government and came to dominate the political agenda. Kryger was for a long time a supporter of the Hat Party, although he eventually lost faith in them.<sup>208</sup> Nordencrantz and Chydenius, by contrast, were backers of the Cap party. In his early days Chydenius was part of the more ‘fanatical’ wing of the Cap party, and during the Riksdag of 1765/66 he managed to gain free export rights for the Osterbottnian harbours.<sup>209</sup> Chydenius’ success in liberating the trade in Osterbottnia was to be short-lived, however. By the late 1760s the link between the struggling manufactories and smuggling appears to have been firmly re-established in economic as well as political debates, and the political discussions came to be increasingly dominated by protectionism. The goal was to make Sweden independent of international trade and release it from the need to rely on other states. The perceived need to refocus inwards as a way to safeguard manufacturing had become increasingly pressing in the 1760s due to growing challenges to the economy. Sweden had been supported by French subsidies throughout the Hat Party reign, and during the Seven Years’ War (1757-1762) they were pressured into sending troops to Prussia to aid their French benefactors. This constituted a considerable setback for the Swedish finances, which were still struggling to recover from the wars conducted earlier in the

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<sup>208</sup> Frängsmyr, Tore. ‘Johan Fredrik Kryger’, In <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/11836>, *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Accessed 26 February 2018.

<sup>209</sup> Heckscher, Eli P., ‘Anders Chydenius’, In <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/14849>, *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Accessed 26 February 2018.



century. The Swedish state bank started printing more paper money to deal with the situation, leading to inflation and a reduction in the international value of the Swedish currency.<sup>210</sup> In 1765/66 the Cap Party replaced the Hats in government, following a long period of Hat control. The new governing party introduced disinflation and saving measures which led to new problems in the shape of capital shortage and price hikes.<sup>211</sup> Chydenius became disenchanted with the Cap Party following these measures, and instead started backing King Gustav III's coup d'état in 1772, which put an end to parliamentary dominance.<sup>212</sup> As the financial crisis escalated so did the attempts to protect the factories, which also meant that smuggling started to receive increasing attention.

### Anti-Smuggling Decrees

Issuing decrees against smuggling was not a new measure: they had been in use at least since the reign of Charles XI (1660-1697). During the eighteenth century four main decrees came to be issued: 1739, 1757, 1770 and 1799, along with several additions and amendments. The 1739 decree had been particularly strict, and was intended to safeguard the Swedish infant manufactories in a protectionist spirit. It allowed house searches for contraband (known as house-visitations), and prescribed severe punishments.<sup>213</sup> This strict anti-smuggling decree was replaced in 1757 by another, much more lenient decree. Many of the old regulations were lifted and the punishments were made more humane. Five years later a ban was also issued against visitations.<sup>214</sup> Such moderate measures were, however, no longer deemed tenable in the increasingly challenging economic climate after 1765. In 1766 the ban on visitations was lifted, and soon afterwards a new anti-smuggling decree was released which made visitations even easier to conduct.<sup>215</sup> During the riksdag of 1769/70 the economic crisis was at the top of the agenda, and a Committee was appointed to look into the issue of smuggling and the need for a new anti-smuggling decree to safeguard the manufacturers.

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<sup>210</sup> Patrik Winton, 'Sweden and the Seven Years War, 1757-1762: War, Debt and Politics', *War in History*, 19, (2012), pp.21-23

<sup>211</sup> Patrik Winton, 'Parliamentary Control, Public Discussion and Royal Autonomy: Sweden, 1750-1780', *Histoire & Mesure* XXX, no. 2 (2015).p. 66

<sup>212</sup> Magnusson, 'Den Ekonomiska Diskussionen under Frihetstiden – Ett Framlängesperspektiv'.p.26

<sup>213</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:Ts Ytterligare Nådige Förordning, til Hämmande af Lurendrägerier och inpracticeringar af Utrikes Waror, Gifwen Stockholm i Råd=Cammaren den 21. Maji 1739'

<sup>214</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:Ts Ytterligare Nådige Förordning, Angående Lurendrägeriers Uptäckande Och Hämmande' (1757).; Kongl. Maj:ts nådige Resolution och Förklaring, uppå de allmänna beswär, som...Städerna i Sverige och Finland... andragit. 1762, 31§

<sup>215</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådige Förordning, Til Lurendrägeriers Hämmande.' (1766); 'Kongl. Maj:Ts Ytterligare Nådiga Förordning, till Lurendrägeriers Hämmande. Gifwen i Råd=Cammaren Then 18 April 1768' (1768).

The first action of the Trade, Manufacture and Customs Committee was to establish how serious the smuggling threat was to the manufacturers. In order to answer this question, it was first deemed necessary to assess the current state of Swedish manufacturing. An investigation into the development of the industry between 1764 and 1768 was therefore conducted, and the subsequent report argued that smuggling was one of the main threats to the subsistence of the industry. Pointing to the effects of the 1762 prohibition against house-visitations, the investigation argued that only three months after its introduction the silk manufacturers were feeling the effects. The industry, which had been experiencing its highest growth yet, had suddenly found itself struggling to find buyers for its wares.<sup>216</sup> It was argued that Swedish-made products were particularly at risk due to their poor quality and high price. The high price was believed to originate in part from the expensiveness of food in Sweden, which led to hikes in workers' salaries. If these issues could be addressed the committee hoped that Swedish-made goods would be easier to sell on the domestic market and that the consumers would prefer these to illegal alternatives. According to the report, these improvements could possibly even make Swedish goods competitive on an international market. The report concluded that the difficulties encountered by Swedish manufacturers, particularly in competition with foreign wares, could be alleviated through support and regulation.<sup>217</sup>

In January 1770 the member of the riksdag Jonas Björnsson presented a memorandum to the Trade and Manufacture and Customs Committee. In it Björnsson outlined twelve points he believed would improve the system to deal with smuggling. Apart from the suggestions to increase the speed of the criminal proceedings and expand surveillance, the most significant of these were the re-introduction of universal house-searches, the call to burn all contraband seized and *not* to release it for sale abroad, along with the publication of the names of all convicted smugglers in the newspapers.<sup>218</sup> While the Committee was not convinced of the necessity of all of Björnsson's suggested measures they did agree that something had to be done in order to bring the situation under control. A new anti-smuggling decree was thus released, the core of which was comprised of previously-issued decrees. By consolidating and renewing previous

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<sup>216</sup> *Riksens Höglofl. Ständers Handels- Och Manufactur-Deputations Berättelse, Angående De Swenske Manufacturers Tilstånd Och Beskaffenhet Ifrån 1764 Til 1768 Års Slut.* (Stockholm: Kongl. Finska Boktryckeriet, 1769). pp.4-5

<sup>217</sup> '21 Sep 1769', Handels- & Manuf & Tull Deputs Betänkande För Åren 1769-1770,' 1769, Borgareståndets arkiv, R1402, 1769-1770, vol. 6, Riksarkivet.

<sup>218</sup> Jonas Björnsson, *Riksdagsmannens Jonas Björnssons Märkvärdiga Memorial* (Stockholm, 1770).

regulations it was hoped that it would become easier to apply and to enforce the regulations.<sup>219</sup> The explicit purpose of the decree being to limit the consumption of illegal foreign goods which were still smuggled in, the attack was launched on two fronts and the anti-smuggling decree was accompanied by a new sumptuary decree. It was hoped that these two decrees would allow the state to control both smugglers and consumers.<sup>220</sup> Taken together, the 1770 anti-smuggling decree, the sumptuary decree, and a tariff from 1771 that prohibited a total of 871 different wares, show how a unified protectionist front was constructed in the face of the threat of foreign wares under the duress of economic crisis.<sup>221</sup> Through the increasingly strict legislation and expanded regulation, protectionism came to be strengthened in the 1770s. However, these attempts to protect the Swedish market from foreign influence were not received with enthusiasm in all quarters.

Reports of Sweden's attempts at self-sufficiency were greeted with bemusement by its trading partners. In 1775 Lord Suffolk wrote to the British Ambassador in Sweden, Lewis de Visme:

The Ideas entertained by the Swedish Government of turning one Part of the People into Mechanics [sic] & the other into Merchents [sic], by great creative Operations, suddenly conceived, & as suddenly inforced [sic], is, if any Inference may be drawn from the History of Mankind, a very delusive Speculation, which in the End, will produce nothing more than Expence, [sic] Disgust, & Disappointment: It would be so indeed in a Country more favourable [sic] circumstanced; but in Sweden it is also necessary to struggle with every Disadvantage in the Articles of Population, Climate, Natural Productions, & Agriculture....<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> All previous anti-smuggling legislation would be included save for the one issued on the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1766, which concerned the surveillance of people conducting illicit trade: see 'Riksens ständer handels och manufactur samt tull deputationens betänkande angående en förnyas förordning emot Lurendrägerier och Tullförsnillning given wid Riksdagen i Stockholm den 19 Januarii 1770', Handels- & Manuf & Tull Deputs Betänkande För Åren 1769-1770,' 1769, Borgareståndets arkiv, R1402, 1769-1770, vol. 6, Riksarkivet

<sup>220</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:Ts Förnyade Förordning Emot Yppighet Och Öfwerflöd. 15 Martii 1770' (1770). The goods that were prohibited included arrack, French liquors, rum and various wines, 'desserts' apart from those made with Swedish fruits, and the use of silk among commoners.

<sup>221</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:Ts Taxa, Hwarefter Stora Sjö=Tullen Uppå Alla Inommande Waror Bör Erläggas Och Upbåras, 15 Feb 1771' (1771).

<sup>222</sup> 'Letter No 22 to De Visme, from Lord Suffolk, St James', 19th Dec 1775' (1775), SP 95, vol.125, British National Archives.

Criticism of this new project and the increasingly draconian legal frameworks which followed was not limited to foreign observers. From the 1770s and onwards critical debates became a recurring feature in the Swedish press. The arguments developed by the early economic writers – i.e. patriotic protectionism and the defence of natural rights – thus came to be mobilised in the public sphere.

### *Perceptions of Market Regulation in the Newspapers*

There are few mentions of smuggling in the daily press prior to the 1770s, but from 1771 onward the discussion about smuggling gained pace.<sup>223</sup> The first aspect to be discussed in these debates was the effect of protectionist regulation on the market. The discussion can be divided up into two interlinked parts: how smuggling should be understood in terms of the Swedish (and international) economy, and how violations of the regulations ought to be treated. These debates came to be shaped by two opposing interest groups: the manufacturers and the trading burghers.

As already established, there were two main approaches to smuggling. The first, here referred to as patriotic protectionist, was the most prevalent and it had a significant political impact in the years leading up to the newspaper debates on smuggling. The patriotic protectionist arguments, which by now ought to be familiar, focused on the elimination of smuggling and the support of Swedish manufacturers, and through them, the Swedish workers. These were arguments that gained traction and political impact in the economically challenging years of the late 1760s and early 1770s.

Patriotic protectionist tendencies can also be observed in the newspapers where the smuggler was denounced as a “blood sucker”, “traitor” and “drainer” of the country who threatened the survival of the Swedish manufacturers.<sup>224</sup> Just as Kryger had done, only a few years previously, these commentators focused on the need to reinforce the manufactories, made increasingly pressing by the ongoing financial crisis. A certain Arimaspus (potentially the Hat protectionist

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<sup>223</sup> A quick search in the digital newspaper records for *lurendrögare* will show that the decade 1750-59 registers 14 articles mentioning ‘smuggler’, while 1760-1769 has 7. By contrast the period 1770-1779 records 52 articles mentioning the former word. Just like in the periodicals of the earlier periods many of the articles dealing with smuggling were published in the shape of letters and many of these letters interacted, propagating the debate., Svenska dagstidningar, <http://tidningar.kb.se/>, accessed 2 Feb 2019

<sup>224</sup> ‘Swar På Frågan i Dagligt Allehanda N:O 28 Om Lurendrögerie Generals=Hus’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 12 March 1772, 60 edition.; Arimaspus, ‘Herr Walerius Publicola’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 29 December 1774, 298 edition; ‘-’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 3 March 1775, No 52 edition.

Abraham Magni Sahlstedt, 1716-1776) went as far as to draw up a finance plan for the kingdom which would alleviate the current money shortage.<sup>225</sup> At its core lay the improvement of the domestic manufacturing industry, something that according to Arimaspus demanded increased regulation and prohibition. It also demanded patriotic fervour and co-operation from the population as making Swedish manufactories competitive meant refraining from the consumption of foreign luxuries, choosing instead to pump capital into the domestic industry. Such actions would lead not only to a self-sufficient Sweden, but with time would also allow the country to produce enough for export. To achieve this goal, and to reduce unpatriotic temptation, smuggling needed to be stamped out. Arimaspus thus suggested that a part of the manufacturing support fund's (*manufakturfonden*) budget ought to be earmarked for projects that aimed to root out smuggling.<sup>226</sup> While there was strong support for market controls in the newspapers there also existed those who, like Arimaspus, wanted the state to take their patriotic protectionism a step further and to put more resources towards the elimination of smuggling.

Not everyone agreed that the manufacturers needed protection and unequivocal support, however. Some suggested that it put the Swedish manufacturers in an unfairly advantageous position which might negatively impact the consumers.<sup>227</sup> One anonymous writer argued that the lack of competition enabled the manufacturers to keep their prices high and production costs low, which resulted in significant profit for the manufacturers and poor and expensive goods for the consumers. Smuggling occurred, the author argued, because foreign goods were better and cheaper than the domestic productions. “[I]s it strange”, he asked, “if I strive to get the best that can be had for the cheapest price, particularly if I am poor.”<sup>228</sup> He argued that patriotic protectionism, instead of helping the country, simply concealed individual vice. In the public sphere protectionism was not univocally seen as a solution to Sweden's economic issues, and some commentators maintained that it was problematic as it prioritised the manufacturers and the manufactory workers above the rest of the population, something which could in turn actually lead to more smuggling.

In 1776 a fierce debate about the abolition of the customs office erupted that sheds more light on attitudes towards market control and smuggling. It started with the publication of the article

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<sup>225</sup> Arimaspus, ‘Herr Walerius Publicola’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, December 29, 1774, 298 edition

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> ‘-’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 13 December 1775, 286 edition.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

“Suggestion about the abolition of the Land and Maritime Customs” in *Dagligt Allehanda*. The author argued that the abolition of the customs would advance the natural rights of the citizens, which would be profitable both for them and for the state at large. Arguing for the importance of laws that combined the interests of the subject and society, the article strongly opposed exclusive privileges, instead suggesting that laws should be designed to protect the subjects, particularly in their natural right to conduct the trade or business of their choice. The author argued that the removal of the customs duties was one of the means of ensuring this freedom, and of avoiding the dangers of exclusive privilege and monopoly. Furthermore, regulations and prohibitions squeezed the life out of Swedish manufacturing through reducing competition and robbing it of its momentum. “Prohibitions against the importation of foreign manufactures, are in themselves nothing other than a Privilege for native workers: to be as lazy, as superfluous as they want, but still be justified to take a high payment”.<sup>229</sup> There was no reason, the author claimed, that Swedish workers could not produce products equally as good as their foreign counterparts. In order to improve Swedish manufacturing increased competition was needed. This, the article argued, would motivate the workers to raise their game. Competition would thus lead to an improvement in quality and a decrease in price, which would eradicate the motivation for smuggling. Regulation and prohibition must therefore be removed, and the surest way to do that, the author argued, was to abolish the customs.<sup>230</sup> Reviving ideas found in Nordencrantz’ and Chydenius’ writings the author of the article posited that smuggling was a natural symptom of a protectionist regime, symptoms which could only be eradicated through lifting the controls.

Such a controversial proposal did not go unchallenged, however, and a month later a reply appeared in print. This response argued that the author who had suggested the dissolution of the customs had an erroneous idea of the role of exclusive privilege and lacked insight into the conditions of Swedish manufacturing. Instead of being damaging for Sweden’s trade, privileges and monopolies on certain trades protected manufacturers from unfair competition which would otherwise force them to compete with cheaper (foreign) copies. The article suggested that Swedish manufacturers could not compete in price and quality with foreign manufacturers as Swedish workers had to be paid higher wages than foreign workers due to their need for more and better food than in warmer countries. Was this need reason enough to “exterminate” the

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<sup>229</sup> ‘Förslag om Landt= och Sjö=Tullarnes uphäfvande’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 21 May 1776, 114 edition.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

Swedish workers?<sup>231</sup> The author concluded that no patriot could see the benefits of removing the customs, a move which according to the article would compromise the manufacturing process as it would make it unprofitable to produce good quality products. This in turn would lead to the destruction of the citizens and the country itself. Pointing to the decline in Christian ideals and what the author saw as individual rather than community priorities, he concluded that “our Freethinkers have forgotten the Catechism”.<sup>232</sup>

Within these debates about market control, two economic viewpoints emerge starkly: the protectionist support of regulation, and the natural law and free trade appreciation of open trade. They represent two radically different interpretations of smuggling: a betrayal of the country or a natural occurrence that counteracted distortions brought about through over-regulation. Which side of the debate the commentators were on seems to have corresponded to their opinions on the role of Swedish manufactories: whether they provided a service for the country; or were at the service of the country.

To an extent this discussion can also be considered as a debate between different factions within the burghership. Manufacturers argued for protectionism and vendors for a liberalised market.<sup>233</sup> The support of the manufactories was framed in terms of the welfare of the workers, and attacks on protectionism a direct attack on the Swedish workers.<sup>234</sup> This juxtaposition is particularly evident in a 1771 article titled ‘A word to the Smuggler’, which appeared in *Dagligt Allehanda*, a Stockholm-based burgher newspaper with a high circulation. The article addressed the smuggler directly, starting:

Forgive me d[ear] neighbour.... I am as entitled as you to defend my Property  
and business as you yours, but the difference is that I do it personally and

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<sup>231</sup> ‘Anmärkning wid det i Dagbladet N:o 114 ugifne förslag om Landt= och Sjö=Tullarnes uphäfwande’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 13 June 1776, 133 edition.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid

<sup>233</sup> For two very evident, albeit slightly later, examples of the manufacturers’ support of protectionism in the newspapers see: ‘Norrköpings Manufactur-Idkares Underdånigst Ingifne Skrift Til Hans Kongl. Maj:T, i Anledning Af Des Nådiga Förordning Til Lurendrägeriers Hämmande, Dat. Den 6 April 1799’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 25 June 1799, 73 edition; ‘Fabrikören Jacob Reinhold Bremers Från Åbo Underdånigste Tal Til Hans Kongl. Maj:T, Wid Nådigst Lewnadt Företräde På Drottningholms Slott Den 4 i Nästl. Månad, i Anledning Af Kongl. Förordningen Til Lurendrägeriers Hämmande, Dat. Den 6 Apr 1799’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 7 August 1799, 92 edition.

<sup>234</sup> See for example: ‘Anmärkning wid det i Dagbladet N:o 114 ugifne förslag om Landt= och Sjö=Tullarnes uphäfwande’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 13 June 1776, 133 edition; ‘Strödda Tankar öfwer Swaret på Anmärkningarne emot Förslaget om Landt= och Sjötullarnes uphäfwande’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 23 August 1776, 192 edition.

clearly, and you through others and secretly...[y]ou are thus a thief, who steals the Bread from many thousands of your honest and skilled Countrymen, and makes their eyes water, when they cannot earn their bread. You are an unworthy Citizen, who profanely transgresses the Law, and thus neither fears God, nor honours the King.<sup>235</sup>

The manufacturers thus located themselves on the side of their workers in opposition to self-serving interests, underlining that they benefitted the development of the country at large and the common good. This can be compared to the vantage point of the merchants who argued that they had to stock wares that they could actually sell in order to sustain their living. When wares were requested that were not produced in the country, or when there was a shortage, they were caught in a vice between the demands of the consumers and the lack of sufficiently attractive domestic products.<sup>236</sup> One anonymous author particularly highlighted the significance of the “Nation’s taste” as a major factor in trade.<sup>237</sup> Once the common taste had established the superiority of foreign goods over domestic ones the former would be in demand. “What happens then? Well, the merchant has to supply both or he will stand idle in his shop”.<sup>238</sup> If the regular merchants did not supply the public there were many unlicensed traders who were happy to oblige. Furthermore, the author argued, it lay within human nature to choose cheaper and better goods, whenever available.

In essence the two vantage points, protectionism vs. liberal trade, came to be adopted by two different burgher professions. The first was the manufacturers, who saw themselves as the heartbeat of the country, in need of protection as they worked to secure Sweden’s financial stability. The second was the vendors, who felt the need to adapt to the citizens and their demands. The question thus boiled down to rights and loyalties: did the consumers have the right to consume as they desired, particularly to choose less expensive and better-quality goods? Or should this right be trumped by the consumers’ loyalties to the state? The blame for the contraband trade was thus shifted back and forth, from being an issue of lacking loyalty and patriotism, to being an issue of deficient goods. While these discussions were clearly linked to

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<sup>235</sup> ‘Et Ord Til Lurendrägaren’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 7 November 1771.

<sup>236</sup> ‘Fortsättning, från Gårdags=Bladet, af en Fabriqueurs Bref’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 10 March 1773, 58 edition; ‘Frågas Herrar Säckbruks=Idkare i Göteborg’, *Göteborgs Allehanda*, 17 March 1775, 22 edition,

<sup>237</sup> Til Herr Arimaspus i Anledning Af Dagbladerne N:Ris 73 Och 74 För Innewarande År’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 23 April 1776, 92 edition.

<sup>238</sup> ‘Til Herr Arimaspus i Anledning Af Dagbladerne N:Ris 73 Och 74 För Innewarande År’.



ideas about protectionism and natural rights, they were also connected to the more mundane conflicts between various business interests, foremost that between manufacturers and vendors. The manufacturers strove to secure the best possible conditions for themselves and to ensure a continued demand for their wares while the vendors were more interested in being able to supply wares to a changing and competitive market. The debates about legislation and protectionism were conducted against the background of strict protectionist legislation and the discussions were shaped by lived concerns and business interests, but also informed by economic theory.

### *Punishments for Smuggling in Legislation and Newspapers*

Ideas about how smuggling offences should be punished were linked to perceptions of smuggling as a crime, and it became the object of debate in the newspapers, particularly engaging the defenders of patriotic protectionism. In order to understand the discussions about punishments it is necessary to consider them in the context of the general developments in Swedish criminal law in the eighteenth century. Retributivism and deterrence had been common features of punishments in Europe for a long time. While they originated in the Church Law and were based on interpretations of the Bible they later came to be transferred into regional and state law.<sup>239</sup> According to the legal scholar Erik Anners the presence of retributivism and deterrence resulted in particularly severe punishments in early modern legislation. However, Anners also argues that Swedish punishments in general were less severe than in other European countries like France and England, which reflected the fact that subjects, and in particular peasants, had a stronger social standing in Sweden than in many other countries.<sup>240</sup> As previously noted, the peasant estate was both represented in the riksdag and partook in the creation of legislation.<sup>241</sup>

Another particularly noteworthy feature of the Swedish legal tradition was the relatively early introduction of the idea of improvement. In contrast to deterrence, the idea of improvement stipulated that the offender might be ‘rehabilitated’ and turned into a healthy member of society. This idea was already present in Olaus Petri’s rules for judges (*Domarregler*), developed

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<sup>239</sup> Erik Anners, ‘Straffteorierna i Svensk Rättshistoria’, *Svensk Juristtidning*, 1964. pp. 241-242

<sup>240</sup> Anners, pp. 242-243

<sup>241</sup> Nordin, *Ett fattigt men fritt folk*. p. 256

around the 1540s.<sup>242</sup> The idea of improvement was also present among the proponents of natural law, such as Samuel von Pufendorf, whose writings came to be highly influential in Sweden.<sup>243</sup> Likewise, the professor of law at Lund University, David Nehrman Ehrenstråle (1695-1769), the great authority on Swedish Law in the first half of the eighteenth century, maintained that improvement was one of the main functions of punishment.<sup>244</sup> Nevertheless, the Civil Code of 1734 – the first nationwide collection of laws in Sweden – was still to a significant extent focused on deterrence and retributivism.<sup>245</sup>

Meanwhile, growing attention was paid to foreign enlightenment legal theorists like Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794), whose focus lay on discounting retributivism in favour of more efficient deterrence punishments. These deterrence punishments focused particularly on presenting the offender as a warning example; within this context punishments such as the death sentence or deportation were seen as less suitable.<sup>246</sup> As Beccaria observed in his 1764 *Dei delitti e delle pene*, translated to Swedish in 1770 as *Afhandling om brott och straff*, however, deterrence and infamy must be used tactically.<sup>247</sup> He argued:

Smuggling is a real offence against the sovereign and the nation; but the punishment should not brand the offender with infamy, because this crime is not infamous in the public opinion. By inflicting infamous punishments, for crimes that are not reputed so, we destroy that idea where it may be useful.<sup>248</sup>

Furthermore, he noted that the most suitable punishment would be for the offenders to labour in the public works in order to repay to the crown of what they had tried to defraud it.<sup>249</sup> This

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<sup>242</sup> Erik Erl. Bodell, 'Letter to P. A. Wallmark, vol 3' (30 maj 1811), Peter Adam Wallmark, KBI/Ep.V 4), Kungliga Biblioteket.p.243; Westin, Gunnar T. 'Olavus Petri', <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/7688>, Accessed 20 October 2018.

<sup>243</sup> Anners.p.243

<sup>244</sup> Anners.p.244; the idea of improvement and moral education would not come into focus in a European context until Gaetano Filangieri (1752-1788) published his *La Scienza della legislazione* in 1780, a work that would not be translated into Swedish until 1814. See Anners p. 245 and Gaetano Filangieri, *Lagstiftningens Vetenskap*.(Stängnäs: Carl Er. Ekmarck, 1814).

<sup>245</sup> Anners, 'Straffteorierna i Svensk Rättshistoria'. p.243; David Nehrman Ehrenstråle also came to criticize the Civil Code of 1734 for this focus.

<sup>246</sup> Anners.p.245

<sup>247</sup> Cesare Beccaria, *Afhandling Om Brott Och Straff* (Stockholm: Wennberg och Nordström, 1770).

<sup>248</sup> These quotations are taken from the English translation of *Dei delitti e delle pane* which just like the Swedish was translated from the French: Cesare Beccaria, *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments, Translated from the Italian; with a Commentary Attributed to Mons. de Voltaire, Translated from the French*. (London, 1767).p.139

<sup>249</sup> Beccaria.p.142

idea, that the punishment should aim to repair the damage done by the offence, emerged strongly in Swedish anti-smuggling legislation.

Anti-smuggling legislation in the second half of the eighteenth century was lenient. The 1757 legislation merely stipulated that sentenced smugglers were required to give up their contraband and were fined half the value of the contraband. If the person was unable to pay, the punishment would be converted to a month's prison sentence on water and bread. While, by 1770, the fine had increased to the full value of the contraband, it must still be considered mild when compared to the punishments issued in other countries.<sup>250</sup> In France, for example, the punishments ranged from reprimands and fines to exiling, execution, condemnation to the galleys and – reserved for the most dangerous smugglers – drawing and quartering.<sup>251</sup> The leniency of the Swedish legislation was probably related to an unwillingness to introduce draconian and oppressive legislation, which would be difficult to enforce and would fail to gain support among a general population used to fairly lenient legislation.

The lenient anti-smuggling punishments were not welcomed in all quarters. Supporters of patriotic protectionism were particularly concerned with the need to make the punishments more severe and to follow in the footsteps of countries like France. The proponents of more draconian legislation saw the smuggler as an enemy of the state. This was reflected in their suggested punishments, often based on a traditionalist *lex talionis*, a retributivist praxis against the offender intended to reset the imbalance caused by the crime – an eye for an eye. This approach fed off patriotic protectionist ideas about patriotism and loyalty and the smuggler as a traitor.

One prevalent idea repeatedly voiced in the press was that the smuggler had forfeited the right to citizenship, and that he or she should be punished with the loss of civic standing (*förlust av medborgerligt förtroende*) or even exile for life.<sup>252</sup> Loss of civic standing meant that the person in question was deemed unfit to hold any official post in society, or to run for elections. It was a punishment applied to crimes which were understood to compromise the culprit's judgement

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<sup>250</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Ytterligare Nådige Förordning, angående Lurendrägeriers upptäckande och hämmande' (1757); 'Kongl. Maj:Ts Förordning Emot Lurendrägerier Eller Förbudne Utrikes Warors Införsel i Riket' (1770).

<sup>251</sup> Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*. see for example pp.218-219, & 232; Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*.p.78

<sup>252</sup> '-.', *Dagligt Allehanda*, November 20, 1771, 261 edition, p.1; Arimaspus, 'Herr Walerius Publicola.', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 29 Dec 1774, no 298.

and honour. Exile for life was a considerably harsher punishment in the same vein. Proponents of this severe punishment justified it by referring to the smuggler as a traitor beyond salvation.

In the case of a thief it is possible to hope for improvement; but there is no hope for a Smuggler; he smuggles as long as he lives. What damage is there in losing such a dangerous Member of the Country (*Riks-kroppen*), a thief without return, a Traitor, a murderer, who takes the food out of the mouth of the native worker, and with their contemptible trade cause a lack of work (*näringslöshet*), suffering and poverty, so that innocent children die of hunger.<sup>253</sup>

Other commentators were not even content with exile for life, instead seeking inspiration from France and Britain, where smugglers were convicted to the pillory, if not the gallows or the galleys.<sup>254</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the patriotic protectionists were much more vocal on the issue of punishment than those according to whom smuggling was a consequence of a bad system in need of reform. Nevertheless, more moderate views on punishments were also voiced in newspaper debates. In 1773, in response to a letter published in *Dagligt Allehanda* the previous year asking why smugglers were not hanged just like they were in England, the author ‘Carolin’ argued for humanism and understanding rather than condemnation.

They are human, the smugglers I mean, and like others want to feed themselves by the quickest means. Since they are good for nothing else, have not learned from youth to provide for themselves honestly, nor had the love of the homemade implanted in them, they fall on this means of livelihood, to which they are encouraged both by the high and the low, yes even the guardians [against smuggling] themselves.... Therefore it is not strange that

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<sup>253</sup> ‘-’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 3 March 1775, 52 edition.

<sup>254</sup> ‘Pro Memoria för dem som skrifwa i Finance’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 17 February 1775, 40 edition; ‘-’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 21 February 1775, 43 edition; For a discussion on the French use of galleys as prisons for smugglers see Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*.p.234

many are tempted to smuggle. As many are smugglers, who then has the heart to execute such a harsh conviction?<sup>255</sup>

While this type of statement was rare, it was not unique and appears to have tapped into an alternative view of the offender not as a rotten limb but as a human who can err. In certain cases this led some to make use of the Swedish tradition of improvement and to conclude that, “[a]lthough [the smuggler] has committed an error, it does not follow, that he cannot improve and yet again become a useful Member of Society.”<sup>256</sup>

While Swedish anti-smuggling legislation remained fairly lenient, there were voices in the public sphere calling for tougher punishments. There were also commentators who defended the smuggler as a human being, but they only rarely made their voices heard in discussions on punishments, which were dominated by those calling for more serious measures against smugglers. From the point of view of the patriotic protectionist, the loyalty of the subject or citizen was a central component in realising the protectionist state. This also meant that a crime such as smuggling could be perceived as particularly damaging, as it undermined not only the manufacturing industry, but the state project itself, consequences of such severity that they required a tougher approach to offenders. This raises the question of whether the anti-smuggling legislation became more severe with time, and if the punitive approach changed.

### *The Triumph of Patriotic Protectionism*

In 1799 a new, expanded anti-smuggling decree was issued. The instigator was Gustav IV Adolph; concerned with the state of the Swedish manufactories, he tasked the National Board of Trade with exploring how they could be improved and what support they needed.<sup>257</sup> Just as in the 1760s, the Board reported that the Swedish manufactories were lagging behind. This did not, however, mean that the Swedish manufacturing project had failed. According to the Board, the state of the manufactories was a consequence of falling exchange rates and, of course, a failure to suppress smuggling. While the Board admitted that duty reductions and the lifting of prohibition could reduce the illegal introduction of foreign goods, this was only the correct

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<sup>255</sup> Carolin, ‘Swar På Dagligt Allehanda No 84, Den 11 April 1772’, *Göteborgska Nyheter*, 30 January 1773, 5 edition.

<sup>256</sup> ‘Til Herr Arimaspus’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 7 February 1775, 31 edition.

<sup>257</sup> ‘Letter 16 April 1798’. (1798), Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl Maj:t, skrivelser från Kommerskollegiet, 9, vol. 269, Riksarkivet, pp.2-3

action *if* smuggling surveillance was as good and extensive as it ought to be, and this, it was argued, was not the case in Sweden.<sup>258</sup> A new push was needed; the report prompted Gustav IV Adolph to launch the most extensive anti-smuggling decree to date. While the 1770 legislation took up 12 pages, the 1799 decree stretched to over 36.

The precise design of the decree was left to a committee with members from the National Board of Trade, both from the Trade and Manufacture and the Justice Divisions. A first draft was developed, but it was marred by disagreement as the committee members struggled to agree on two issues in particular: the house-visitations and the appropriate punishments for smugglers. The assistant judge Samuel Johan Chierlin (1742-1828) was one of the first to comment on the proposed legislation. He agreed that the country needed to find a solution to the issue of smuggling but maintained that the suggested punishments were too severe. He particularly criticised the suggested punishment for third time offenders: being tied with a metal collar to a pillory. Instead Chierlin maintained that the focus should be on monetary punishments, as this targeted the smuggler's main motivation, profit. Chierlin argued that this was not just the best way to get through to the smugglers but also: "Laws should always aim for the correction and improvement of people..."<sup>259</sup> Condemning people to the pillory, he believed, might do more harm than good, suggesting that others would interpret the smuggler as a victim, a conclusion which would undermine order. Chierlin's arguments thus both pick up on Beccaria's idea that smugglers should not be treated with infamy, and fall back on ideas of improvement. One of the heads of the Justice Division, Count Lars Rosenborg (1728-1807), and the assistant judge Leonard Pahl (1733-1804) agreed that the punishments needed to be eased.<sup>260</sup> Another head of the Justice Division, Count Carl David Gyllenborg (1734-1811) had several reservations about the new legislation and argued that experience had shown that neither severe nor light punishments affected the incidence of smuggling.<sup>261</sup> He argued that pillory punishments should be reserved for convicts with sentences for life; for lesser crimes, pillories risked convicts being severely stigmatised, turning them into useless and harmful members of society after their punishment. Gyllenborg thus saw proportional monetary punishment as a better solution.<sup>262</sup> Assistant judge Johan Israel Osangius (1741-1810) was not equally convinced of the harm of

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<sup>258</sup> 'Letter 16 April 1798' (1798), Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl Maj:t, skrivelser från Kommerskollegium, 9, vol. 269, Riksarkivet., p.5

<sup>259</sup> 'Lurendrägeri Förordningen' (1799), Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Handels- och manufakturdivisionens protokoll, A I fa, vol.42, 1799., Riksarkivet., p.246

<sup>260</sup> 'Lurendrägeri Förordningen' (1799), p.260

<sup>261</sup> 'Lurendrägeri Förordningen' (1799), pp.263-264

<sup>262</sup> 'Lurendrägeri Förordningen' (1799), pp.265-266

the pillory, but suggested that the name of the smuggler instead ought to be announced in the newspapers, which would allow his misdeeds to be known in the entire kingdom rather than just in the city.<sup>263</sup> The committee eventually managed to reach a compromise and the resulting legislation was published on 6 April 1799.

The new anti-smuggling decree set out to ‘cure’ smuggling – the “wasting disease in the national body”.<sup>264</sup> Punishments became more severe than they had been in both the 1757 and 1770 decrees through the introduction of a minimum fine of 50 rdr for any instance of smuggling. Osangius’ idea about naming smugglers in the newspapers was adopted along with the notion that they should be stripped of civic trust (*förlust av medborgerligt förtroende*), an idea previously circulated in the newspapers. Whereas the names of all smugglers should be exposed in the newspapers, the loss of civic trust was a punishment reserved for those caught smuggling goods worth more than 50 rdr, and all second-time offenders who had burgher rights to conduct trade. This punishment was thus intended to target individuals who partook in regular and large scale smuggling – those who actively worked to undermine the protectionist policy rather than small scale one-time offenders. One physical punishment was also introduced, for third-time offenders, who would be taken to a pole in a public square and put on display for a period of two hours.<sup>265</sup> While the decree of 1799 clearly represented an escalation of the measures to regulate smuggling, including increasingly severe punishments, it was still far removed from what was called for in newspapers. It reflects the legislators’ attempts to find a middle way between patriotic protectionism and the lenient laws, which were a distinctive feature of the Swedish legal tradition.

Sweden’s increasingly severe anti-smuggling legislation around the turn of the century was related both to the emergence of a new absolutist monarch, Gustav IV Adolph, and to the ascendancy of patriotic protectionism in the final years of the eighteenth century – two occurrences that were closely interlinked. In 1796 Gustav IV Adolph issued strict new press regulations and during the subsequent years, which the historian Ingemar Oscarsson has referred to as the “iron years”, the debate about smuggling appears to have been replaced by a uniform celebration of patriotic protectionism.<sup>266</sup> In April 1799 the new anti-smuggling decree

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<sup>263</sup> ‘Lurendrägeri Förordningen’ (1799), p.289

<sup>264</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nädiga Förordning, Til Förekommande Af Lurendrägeri Och Tullförsnillning Gifwen Haga Slott Den 6 April 1799’ (1799).

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Oscarsson, ‘Med Tryckfrihet Som Tidig Tradition’.p. 196

was published in *Inrikes Tidningar*.<sup>267</sup> While the earlier newspaper debates on smuggling had been multifaceted, the 1799 press response was exclusively celebratory and the authors mainly manufacturers.<sup>268</sup> It was even announced that the Society of Manufacturers had made a commemorative coin for this happy occasion. This coin would depict Gustav IV Adolf on one side and on the other a young hero in roman dress giving his hand to Pallas, surrounded by the attributes of manufacturing and embossed with the words: Domestic Handicraft Protected 6 April 1799.<sup>269</sup>

Having outlined the general development and features of the smuggling debates and the legislation that followed, it is now time to turn to two specific debates generated by the clash between regulation and various freedoms: house peace versus house right, and patriotic consumption versus freedom to choose.

### **An Old Right – *Hemfrid* and House-visitation**

Sweden had, as Jonas Nordin has pointed out, a long tradition of freedom, which became an important part of Swedish self-perception. This was a common, rather than individual freedom, and was not handed out unconditionally but tied up with expectations of certain behaviours – based on concerns for godliness and the common good.<sup>270</sup> It included the right to be involved in the creation of laws and regulations but at the same time the duty to be obedient to these laws. As Nordin notes: “[t]o offend against the authorities thus became the same as to offend against the common good – or even against the freedom itself!”<sup>271</sup> Sweden thus had an established discourse on rights and freedoms which dictated that its inhabitants were not just subservient to the state but had certain privileges.

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<sup>267</sup> ‘-’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 23 April 1799, 46 edition; ‘-’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 24 April 1799, 47 edition.

<sup>268</sup> ‘Norrköpings Manufactur-Idkares underdånigst ingifne Skrift til Hans Kongl. Maj:t, i anledning af Des Nådiga Förordning til Lurendrägeriers hämmande, dat. Den 6 April 1799’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 25 June 1799, 73 edition; ‘Fabrikören Jacob Reinhold Bremers från Åbo underdånigste Tal til Hans Kongl. Maj:t, wid Nådigst lewnadt företräde på Drottningholms Slott den 4 i nästl. Månad, i anledning af Kongl. Förordningen til Lurendrägeriers hämmande, dat. Den 6 Apr 1799’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 7 August 1799, 92 edition.

<sup>269</sup> ‘-’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 6 November 1799, 131 edition.

<sup>270</sup> Nordin, *Ett fattigt men fritt folk*. P.256

<sup>271</sup> Nordin.p. 257



One facet of this freedom, the freedom from oppression, did, however, come under increased pressure in the eighteenth century with the rise of the house-visitation. The house-visitation or house-search was a crucial tool in the persecution of smugglers, and has a prominent role in the Swedish eighteenth-century anti-smuggling legislation. It was also, however, a highly controversial tool as it was seen, by defenders and opponents alike, to infringe upon the old Swedish right of house- or home-peace (*hus- or hemfrid*). The origins of the *hemfrid* laws – or as it is translated in a 1757 dictionary, ‘the King’s peace’ – can be found in mediaeval legislation. They originate in the mediaeval peace-laws: the Anglo-Saxon laws (7<sup>th</sup> century), the God’s Peace of Saxony (1084), and Barbarossa’s Landfrieden (1152) all contain examples of such peace-laws.<sup>272</sup> These laws were all intended to reduce blood feuding and violence and thus ensure peace. The same is also true for the Swedish *edsöreslagarna*. These peace laws can be traced back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century but were first ratified by Birger Jarl (c.1210-1266); they included: *hemfrid*, church peace (*kyrkofrid*), assembly peace (*tingsfrid*), and peace for women (*kvinnofrid*), and were first written down in the 1290s, in the provincial law of Eastern Gothia.<sup>273</sup> While freedom from violent assault was the basis of these peace laws they came to change over time.

In 1335 the idea of protection of property was added to the notion of *hemfrid* “for each and everyone owns freely their properties and money”.<sup>274</sup> During the eighteenth century the *hemfrid* concept increasingly began to be merged with ideas of property protection, but the idea of property also evolved. John Locke’s *The Second Treatise of Government* (1690) was formative in the development of property rights and ideas around privacy. Along with explaining how private property is created out of a common world, Locke also discussed how people unite in political structures in order to protect themselves, their liberty and their property.<sup>275</sup> This work was translated into Swedish in 1726, only a few years after the fall of Sweden’s empire and after the introduction of proto-parliamentary rule.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Lisi Oliver’s, *The Beginnings of English Laws*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2002);

Heikki Pihlaimäki, *Conquest and the Law in Swedish Livonia*, (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 67ff; Warren C. Brown, *Violence in Medieval Europe* (Routledge, 2014). pp.223-224

<sup>273</sup> Heikki Pihlaimäki, *Conquest and the Law in Swedish Livonia*, (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 67

<sup>274</sup> ‘SDHK-Nr: 4197’, 1335. Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbrev, Skänninge, 30 Nov 1335. Riksarkivet.

<sup>275</sup> John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*, (1690), section 123

<sup>276</sup> John Locke, *Johan Lockes Oförgräpelige Tankar Om Werldslig Regerings Rätta Ursprung, Gräntsor Och Ändamål* (Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1726).

Swedish legislation retained the connection between house peace and protection of property. In 1734 the Civil Code replaced the National Law of Christopher dating back to 1442. The section concerning *hemfrid* (Missgärningsbalken, cap. XX) in this new national legislation also included protection against robbery (*rån*), which despite its name refers to burglary. By this point the protection of house peace was clearly linked both to the individual within the property but also the property itself. While the sanctity of the home in itself was not problematic, a freedom *from* also meant that there could be a freedom *to*; as Patricia Meyer Spacks has observed, “[p]rivacy can constitute a form of enablement.”<sup>277</sup>

During the second half of the eighteenth century the tension between the protection of *hemfrid* and the potential misuses it could inspire came to the fore. The house-visitation was not new; the practice of searching the houses of Swedish subjects for contraband had already been introduced in 1739.<sup>278</sup> In 1762 it was revoked when King Adolph Friedrich prohibited the use of visitations for the protection and safety of his subjects.<sup>279</sup> A mere four years later, following much complaint from the industry, he reinstated the visitation, but only in properties where illegal business was known to occur, particularly in the rooms of lackeys and valets.<sup>280</sup> This was followed in 1768 by an addendum which sought to encourage more visitations. It stipulated that, if the search were unsuccessful, the fine for pain and suffering normally given to the visitors and fiscals would be reduced. Furthermore, the earlier requirements that the visitors had to announce the name of the person they were intending to search and the reasons for the search were abandoned. Instead a justification for the search would only be required after a failed visitation, and if the court deemed the grounds to be sufficient the visiting official would be released of all responsibility and freed from the payment of the fine. At the same time the responsibility for judging the appropriateness of the visitations moved from the Common Court to the Customs Court.<sup>281</sup>

During the riksdag of 1769/70, Jonas Biörnsson, a member of the riksdag, brought forth a memorandum on how to combat smuggling. As previously noted, he particularly focused on

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<sup>277</sup> Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003). P. 14

<sup>278</sup> Dan Norberg, *Kongl. Commerce Collegii Underdånige Relation Om Manufacturerne Ingifwen Wid Riksdagen År 1769 Stockholm*, (Gävle: Ernst Sundqvist, 1770).p.9

<sup>279</sup> Kongl. Maj:ts nådige Resolution och Förklaring, uppå de allmänna besvär, som...Städerne i Sverige och Finland... andragit. 1762, 31§

<sup>280</sup> Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, Til Lurendrägeriers Hämmande. (1766).

<sup>281</sup> Kongl. Maj:ts Ytterligare Nådiga Förordning, till Lurendrägeriers hämmande. Gifwen i Råd-Cammaren then 18 April 1768.

the house-visitation, arguing that free, but responsible house-visitation in all open shops as well as storages and hidden rooms were necessary in order to tackle smuggling.<sup>282</sup> Others agreed; a memorandum put forward by the National Board of Trade to the riksdag argued: “House-visitations have been seen as the most powerful means to impede Smuggling and the salvation of the Manufacturer from a threatening destruction.”<sup>283</sup> In the subsequent 1770 anti-smuggling decree the house-visitation featured prominently, although it was no longer to be allowed in the houses of non-traders.<sup>284</sup> Not everyone was enthusiastic about the continued prominence of the house-visitation, however. In 1772, the Silk and Cloth Trader Society sent a letter to the National Board of Trade. They argued that while the house-visitation was often described as a ‘suitable cure’ for smuggling, the constant focus on it was distracting from the *real* reason why smuggling endured. Indeed, they argued, the desire for gain was natural in all men and the house-visitation could not eliminate this natural pursuit for profit. Instead the visitation impeded the common freedom and security while leaving the real problem, which was the dearness and poor quality of the Swedish manufactures, unresolved.<sup>285</sup> Just like in the debates about patriotic protectionism and natural rights, the discussion about the house-visitation came to focus on the tension between rights and obligations. Whereas protectionism remained in place for the duration of the period studied here, this was not true for the house-visitation, which on numerous occasions was successfully contested, leading to legislative change.

### *In the Newspapers*

The house-visitation and its changing legal status also attracted comments in the press. Early on the house-visitation was described as a possible solution to prevent the ‘flood’ of contraband wares entering Sweden, but this positive approach became frequently challenged during the last decades of the century.<sup>286</sup> In 1773, rumours were flying around Stockholm that universal house-searches were to be prohibited, inciting a fierce debate in the newspapers. The debate appears to have been started by the commentator ‘*Lover of the Country’s Wellbeing*’ (*Älskare af Rikets Wältröfnad*) who urged those alarmed by the house-visitation to think of the benefits to the

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<sup>282</sup> Biörnsson, *Riksdagsmannens Jonas Biörnssons Märkwärdiga Memorial*.p.5

<sup>283</sup> Norberg, *Kongl. Commerce Collegii Underdånige Relation Om Manufacturerne Ingifwen Wid Riksdagen År 1769 Stockholm*,. P.10

<sup>284</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:ts Förordning emot Lurendrägerier eller förbudne Utrikes Warors införsel i Riket.’ (1770)

<sup>285</sup> ‘Til Commerce Collegium - Om Husvisitationer Och Fiscaliska Besök i de Handelandes Gatubodar’, 1772. Skråarkiv, Siden- och kramhandelssocietetens, Siden- och kramhandelssocietetens handlingar 1770-1787, F1, vol.2. Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>286</sup> Lurendrägaren (Fictional), ‘Swar Til Fäderneslandets=älskare’, *Posten*, 12 April 1769.; ‘Project, Til Hämmande Af Lurendrägerier’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 19 June 1770., *Dagligt Allehanda*, 19 Jun 1770.

manufactories.<sup>287</sup> In a reply the signature ‘Danaus’ argued that while he cared deeply for the manufactories he was not willing to sacrifice common safety and security for their sake. If the visitation only affected the smugglers, ‘Danaus’ explained, then there would be no problem. ‘Danaus’ doubted, however, that the officers searching homes would be discerning and mistakes were inevitable. Wrongful searches would inflict fear and infamy on the affected family, whether they were guilty or not.<sup>288</sup> ‘Lover of the Country’s Wellbeing’ dismissed this concern, maintaining that no honest member of society had anything to fear from such a measure.

Do you think, my dear Danaus, that it is right and highly thought-through to defend such a freedom, whereby such horrible Men have, and keep, the opportunity to expose the funds of the Kingdom and exterminate many thousands of working and nurturing members of Society...<sup>289</sup>

The dangers and benefits of the house-visitation were central aspects in the debates throughout the period. While most commentators could see both sides of the argument, they disagreed on which took precedence: the protection of the economic state or the protection of the subjects’ freedom.

Who exactly would suffer or benefit from the house-visitation was also up for debate. Some commentators maintained that the universal house-visitation was necessary since while “[s]mall thieves are hanged, the great go free,” a notion based on the perception that great people’s homes were protected as private spaces, allowing domestic servants to freely deal in contraband while only the unprotected retailers were punished for their crimes.<sup>290</sup> Other commentators did not see this as a solution. ‘Hater of the Use of Smuggling Goods’ (*Hatare til Bruk af Lurendrögare=Gods*), for example, maintained that even with house-visitations, small-time criminals would still be convicted and the larger go free, since the ‘true’ owner would store their illegal goods with others.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> ‘Swar På Frågan i Dagligt Allehanda N:O 28 Om Lurendrögare Generals=Hus’.

<sup>288</sup> ‘Til Herr Ålskare af Rikets Wältrefnad’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 16 June 1773, 133 edition.

<sup>289</sup> ‘Til Herr Danaus i Dagligt Allehanda 133’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 1 July 1773, 145 edition.

<sup>290</sup> ‘Swar På Frågan i Dagligt Allehanda N:O 28 Om Lurendrögare Generals=Hus’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 12 March 1772, 60 edition.

<sup>291</sup> ‘-’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 8 July 1773, 151 edition

In this way the newspaper debates came to touch upon the usefulness of the visitation as a tool to prevent smuggling, the effects of control and its potential benefits and dangers for the population at large. It was, however, clear to many commentators that the house-visitations were not only difficult to manage but also posed a threat to the common safety and freedom. Voices were thus raised in support of a new approach, which instead focused on reducing the demand for smuggled goods. One such suggestion was the introduction of a mandatory ‘Swedish costume’ made from Swedish produced cloth, which would eliminate the need and demand for foreign manufactures.<sup>292</sup>

### *The National Costume as an Alternative to House-Visitations*

The idea of a national costume, made exclusively from Swedish textiles, was by no means restricted to the realm of the press; in the 1770s under the direction of the new King Gustav III it became perceived as a viable solution to the smuggling problem. Gustav III had ascended to the throne in 1771 and the following year he performed a *coup d'état* to take back power from the riksdag. While the king was criticised for his despotism by the Estates, he framed it as a victory for the ‘right’ or ‘true’ liberty of the people.<sup>293</sup> In particular, Gustav III stressed that he was restoring old Swedish freedoms and liberating the commoners from the grip of the aristocracy. Patriotism, and returning to the Swedish ‘roots’, became a particular goal, and it can be seen expressed in his various ‘nationalisation projects’.<sup>294</sup> Meanwhile, Gustav III also strove to find a solution to the smuggling problem which combined common freedom and patriotism.

Gustav III prohibited the use of house-visitations on 16<sup>th</sup> July 1776 with the motivation that while visitations might have prevented the trade in contraband to some extent, this was not enough reason for disturbing the domestic peace of his lawful subjects. Indeed, the king maintained that the house-visitations were contrary to his new regime, based on common peace and security. He therefore argued that it was necessary to issue a blanket ban on visitations in the entire kingdom, a ban which should be accompanied by a rise in the border patrols and an

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<sup>292</sup> ‘-’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 8 July 1773, 151 edition; ‘Tankar om en wiß stadgad Svensk Kläde=drägt’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 6 December 1773, 279 edition.

<sup>293</sup> Henrika Tandefelt, ‘The Image of Kingship in Sweden, 1772-1809’, in *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolution. Nordic Political Cultures, 1740-1820*, ed. Pasi Ihalainen et al. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011). P.43

<sup>294</sup> Bo Lindberg, ‘Introduktion: Nationalism Och Nationell Identitet i 1700-Talets Sverige’, in *Nationalism Och Nationell Identitet i 1700-Talets Sverige*, ed. Åsa Karlsson and Bo Lindberg (Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2002). pp.11-12

initiative to improve domestic manufactures.<sup>295</sup> Furthermore, the king approached his newly installed cabinet asking them to investigate new ways to control smuggling in co-operation with the National Board of Trade.<sup>296</sup> It was not the first time that less oppressive techniques to control smuggling had been sought: in 1773 it had already been up for debate without any resolution being found.<sup>297</sup> However, Gustav III identified a new potential solution in his own nationalisation projects. The idea of a national costume was presented in 1773, in the form of an essay competition instigated by the King and launched by the Royal Patriotic Society. Its purpose was to explore the benefits and disadvantages of such a costume.<sup>298</sup> One of the explicit objectives of the essay competition was to explore whether a national costume might root out smuggling.<sup>299</sup> Competition entries identified many benefits, including its usefulness in preventing vanity and extravagance, and how it could help to sustain sartorial hierarchy. It was also hoped that it would inspire nationalism and unify the population while helping to support Swedish industry and preventing the importation of foreign goods.<sup>300</sup> Despite this early start, the costume itself was not launched until 28<sup>th</sup> April 1778. The costume was designed by the King himself, inspired by the Burgundian costumes of the seventeenth century, and made entirely with Swedish textiles. In conjunction with the release of the costume, Gustav III published his thoughts about it, pointing explicitly to the impossibility of controlling smuggling as one of the main motivations behind its introduction.

The experience of the past and the present state of affairs are enough to demonstrate, and with a glance at the geographical situation of the kingdom, we can see that our coasts are too extensive to defend against bold and

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<sup>295</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förbud Emot Hus=Visitationer, Gifwit Ekolsund Then 16 Julii 1776' (1776).

<sup>296</sup> '-', 1776. Handels- och finansexpeditionen med finanskontoret (äldre), Råds och konseljprotokoll i renskrift, AI, vol.3. Riksarkivet, pp.410-412

<sup>297</sup> Åke Essén, *Johan Liljencrantz Som Handelspolitiker: Studier i Sveriges Yttre Handelspolitik 1773-1786* (Lund: Gleerup, 1928).p. 124 ; (Konseljprot. I handels- och fin. Ärenden, d. 1/12 1773)

<sup>298</sup> Lena Rangström, 'Gustaf III's Svenska Dräktprojekt- En Nationell Reform I Tiden', in *Nationalism Och Nationell Identitet i 1700-Talets Sverige*, ed. Åsa Karlsson and Bo Lindberg (Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2002). p.133

<sup>299</sup> The essay question was: If, to avoid the quick changing of fashions, and to hamper smuggling, it might be beneficial to adopt a National Costume in Sweden, suited to the Swedish climate and different from other Nations? (Om, til undvikande af tata ombyten I Moder, samt hämmande af Lurendrägerier, förmånligt kunde blifva, at I Sverige antaga en Nationel Kläde-Dräkt, lämpad efter Svenska Climatet, och skiljaktig från andra Nationers?). For further information about the smuggling dimension in the essay competition see: Eva Bergman, *Nationella Dräkten: En Studie Kring Gustaf III:S Dräktreform 1778* (Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag, 1938)., pp. 41-48, Thank you to Sara Ekström for this reference.

<sup>300</sup> Mikael Alm, 'Making a Difference: Sartorial Practices and Social Order in Eighteenth-Century Sweden', *Costume* 50, no. 1 (2016). p.45

enterprising smugglers, encouraged by potential gain. We must cut the evil at its root, and make it impossible for us to be copies...<sup>301</sup>

For the King, the best method for controlling the consumption of contraband was evident. The new consumer practices would be controlled through national normative control, which, he mused, would lead to the salvation of the Swedish manufactures.

... it is believed that the expected change will be detrimental to the factories; but, I dare say, nothing is more wrong than this objection. Our factories, constantly forced to compete against foreign designs, which they merely imitate after the fashion for them has faded, now confined to producing fabrics of a solid colour, will soon be able to perfect them and even match the foreign manufactures in beauty. Hence, contraband will cease, and the ease and cheapness of the domestic stuffs will soon outdo those that according to the interests of the state and the laws are prohibited.<sup>302</sup>

The combination of common freedom and patriotism thus came to be epitomised in the national costume, which enabled Gustav III to cancel the house-visitation and to re-establish house peace while simultaneously ensuring continued support for the Swedish manufactories and a rejection of foreign wares. However, the solution did not appeal to everyone and in November 1778 a newspaper article argued that a complete ban on foreign goods and the re-installation of house-visitations were the only means of controlling the contraband trade.<sup>303</sup> Other commentators, who supported the prohibition against visitations, also showed little enthusiasm for the proposed 'solution', which was seen as oppressive in its own way. 'Backenbergen dweller and People' (*Bakebergenbo och folk*), for example, noted that forcing people to refrain from foreign goods and forcing them to wear a national uniform simply was not good enough for a "free people".<sup>304</sup> Indeed, he argued, smuggling could never be eradicated completely "for Man will be Man".<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Gustavus III, *Réflexions*. (Liege, 1780). p.13

<sup>302</sup> Gustavus III. p.30-32

<sup>303</sup> 'Til Herr Owäldig', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 2 November 1778, 250 edition.

<sup>304</sup> 'Anmärkning wid hwad i Stockholmske Dagbladet N:o 250 blifwit infördt, rörande Banco=lån och Handels=Balance', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 12 December 1778, 285 edition ; for a longer discussion about the Swedish self-perception of being a free people see Nordin, *Ett fattigt men fritt folk*.

<sup>305</sup> 'Anmärkning wid hwad i Stockholmske Dagbladet N:o 250 blifwit infördt, rörande Banco=lån och Handels=Balance', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 12 December 1778, 285 edition.

### *Freedom Infringed – the House-Visitation Returns*

Eventually the king also came to this conclusion and in 1785 he was obliged to file a revocation of the 1776 decree with the justification that the freedoms he had awarded to his subjects had been abused. The new 1785 decree only allowed visitations in shops and storage houses belonging to those with the right to sell domestic and foreign goods, however, which meant that the majority of the population would still be spared the tribulations of a visitation. Such shop and storage visitations would, according to the decree, not be detrimental to the *hemfrid* or public security.<sup>306</sup>

The re-introduction of the house-visitacion passed by without comment in the press and the discussion would not start up again until after the assassination of Gustav III and the introduction of a new Freedom of the Press Act in 1792. When the discussion re-emerged in 1793 it was on the initiative of the Society of Manufacturers (*Fabriks Societeten*), which published a letter written by the National Board of Trade to the King. It concerned the state of the Swedish industry, which, according to them, had stagnated. For some time, they claimed, the desire for foreign goods had overridden all patriotic feeling, which had led to a considerable increase in the introduction of foreign contraband. This ‘acute’ situation prompted the Society of Manufacturers to complain to the National Board of Trade and request that universal house-visitations should be reintroduced.<sup>307</sup> The National Board of Trade agreed and maintained that the 1785 decree, which allowed the visitation of shops and storages, was insufficient as it omitted many spaces where goods could be stored and trade conducted. Universal visitations, the National Board of Trade argued, were a necessary precondition, enabling the smuggling decrees to fulfil their purpose.<sup>308</sup>

Only a couple of days earlier, an unknown writer had published a statement in celebration of the domestic peace gained in 1776: “May this legal freedom and security, never be missing

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<sup>306</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Förordning Til Hämmande Af Lurendrägerier, Gifwen Stockholms Slott Then 14 Martii 1785’ (1785). ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Förordning Til Hämmande Af Lurendrägerier, Gifwen Stockholms Slott Then 14 Martii 1785’ (1785).

<sup>307</sup> They particularly wished for the house-visitations to return to how they had been in the 1770 anti-smuggling decree.

<sup>308</sup> ‘Kongl. Commerce Collegii underdåniga Betänkande angående Fabrikernes tilstånd, och om nödwändigheten af Visitationer efter Lurendrägade Waror. På Fabriks Societeternes anhållan utlemnadt til tryckning’, *Stockholms Posten*, 15 February 1793, no 39.



from Swedish huts and may all those interferences ... be suffocated by the great Protector of public security.”<sup>309</sup> The letter by the National Board of Trade provoked anger, with one writer lamenting: “It is infallible that house and home peace, is one of the first rights a Citizen should enjoy in a free Kingdom”.<sup>310</sup> Gustav III’s cancellation of the house-visitation, one commentator argued, had been motivated by a desire to avoid confusing the innocent and the guilty, which previously had caused plenty of distrust and ill-will among the population, insisting instead that the improvement of the factories was the only sound way to combat smuggling.<sup>311</sup>

### *Freedom Withdrawn – the Re-establishment of Universal House-Visitations*

Despite some public concerns over the National Board of Trade’s letter, the idea that new measures were required to control smuggling found a supporter in the soon-to-be king Gustav IV Adolph. As previously noted, he ordered an investigation into the creation of a new smuggling decree in 1798/99. The house-visitations came to be one of the main issues under discussion in the subsequent committee deliberations. One member of the committee, Count Gyllenborg, argued that while a new anti-smuggling decree was important in order to safeguard both the citizens’ rights and safety as well as the manufactories, it was very difficult, perhaps impossible to combine these two objectives. Furthermore, he maintained that all searches of domestic residences should be avoided as the price was too high – too many innocents were affected, including women and children, and even if nothing was ever found a good name and reputation would be irrevocably tainted.<sup>312</sup> However, Gyllenborg was as good as alone on the committee in arguing for the cancellation of the domestic house-visitation. Indeed, while assistant judge Chierlin recognised that the home peace was sacred in Sweden, he also maintained that those who risked the common welfare did not deserve the right to *hemfrid*.<sup>313</sup> J. I. Osangius agreed, arguing that the common good should be prioritised over individual freedom.<sup>314</sup> Meanwhile, the assistant judge Brohmmmer had no reservations about the use of the visitation at all, noting that “[s]muggled goods should according to my mind not be protected in any place in *Svea Rike*...”<sup>315</sup> According to Brohmmmer the visitation was the most

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<sup>309</sup> ‘Något om Hus= och Hem=frid’, *Extra Posten*, 13 February 1793, no 37.

<sup>310</sup> ‘Svar på Stockholms Posten no 39 15 feb 1793’, *Extra Posten*, 25 February 1793, no. 47.

<sup>311</sup> ‘forsättning’, *Extra Posten*, 26 February 1793, 48 edition.

<sup>312</sup> ‘Protokoll’. Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Handels- och manufakturdivisionens protokoll, A I fa, vol.42, 1799. Riksarkivet. pp.262-263 & 270

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid*, p.249

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid*, p.296

<sup>315</sup> ‘Protokoll’. Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Handels- och manufakturdivisionens protokoll, A I fa, vol.42, 1799. Riksarkivet, p.341

important tool for suppressing the “cancerous” spread of smuggling.<sup>316</sup> In other words, while the loss of *hemfrid* was seen as problematic by the majority of the legislators it was still considered a necessary evil in the fight against smuggling.

The resulting anti-smuggling decree in 1799 proved to be the most extensive to date and featured the re-introduction of a universal house-visitation.<sup>317</sup> It by no means put an end to the controversy surrounding house-visitations, however. In the year after its publication the riksdag convened and the new changes were debated. Representatives of the burgher estate argued that they were suffering at the hands of unscrupulous law enforcers and asked that the visitations should be restricted to places where they would be less taxing, such as in border regions and in specific customs spaces. Furthermore, they asked that houses, roads and inns should be exempted from the visitation in order to protect the *hemfrid*.<sup>318</sup>

The concept of *hemfrid* belonged to the old rights that constituted a core in the Swedish self-image of a free people, and there existed a more or less common agreement that this right was important.<sup>319</sup> It guaranteed that subjects should be free from oppression and safe in their own homes, with their property. *Hemfrid* was intended to reinforce peace and harmony in society, but as it allowed people protected by the privacy of their homes to clandestinely act against the interests of the state, it was also highly problematic. While the house-peace right was supposed to ensure common wellbeing, infringements against it could also undermine the right itself because it no longer protected the common good. This can potentially help to explain why the visitation legislation underwent considerable changes during the period under investigation, a period which not only saw a shift in the political power balance but also the developments of new political incentives and interests. In particular, the visitation was affected by the influence of the National Board of Trade, the extent of which varied over time and under different systems of government. Throughout the period, the Board maintained its position as one of the fiercest defenders of protectionism and the use of the house-visitation. As it was central in the creation of new anti-smuggling decrees, it influenced the policies on smuggling throughout the eighteenth century. However, King Adolph Fredrick as well as his son Gustav III had different

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<sup>316</sup> 'Protokoll'. Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Handels- och manufakturdivisionens protokoll, A I fa, vol.42, 1799. Riksarkivet, p. 345

<sup>317</sup> Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Förekommande af Lurendrägeri och Tullförsnilling Gifwen Haga Slott den 6 April 1799.

<sup>318</sup> Wälloflige Borgare-Ståndets Protocoller wid Riksdagen i Norrköping år 1800, (Stockholm: C.F. Marquard, 1800), p.638

<sup>319</sup> Nordin, *Ett Fattigt men Fritt Folk*. pp.256-257

priorities and ideas about how the issue should be treated. Whereas Adolph Fredrick's cancellation of house searches in 1762 lasted only four years before it was overturned by the National Board of Trade, Gustav III, who through his *coup d'état* had regained some of the power lost by the crown during the preceding proto-parliamentarian period, managed to maintain his 1776 cancellation for nine years before he agreed to re-introduce limited house searches. By contrast Gustav IV Adolph gave free rein to the National Board of Trade, which led to an increased focus on control and less attention to rights and freedoms.

While the universal house-visitation was reintroduced towards the end of the period, there was never a satisfactory solution to the issue of *hemfrid*. Indeed, following the Revolution of 1809, which overthrew Gustav IV Adolph, the riksdag would readdress the issue of the visitation and the damage it caused to society.<sup>320</sup> Old established rights such as *hemfrid* clashed with the measures to control smuggling, but new ideas about rights were also starting to emerge, challenging the patriotic protectionist definition of smuggling as a betrayal of the nation and its inhabitants in a new way.

## **A New Right – Consumer Choice and Patriotic Consumption**

The discourse of patriotic consumption and the right to consume freely came to prominence particularly in the final decade of the eighteenth century. Consumer choice and patriotic consumption emerged in the debates because while the creation of a protectionist state and the safeguarding of the manufactories could in theory be achieved through legislation, prohibition, and duty hikes, the existence of smuggling and smugglers meant that banned goods were still available to Swedish consumers. The consumers thus had the power to either strengthen or undermine the country's protectionist ambitions through their consumer choices. Choosing to consume Swedish products was seen to bolster the Swedish economy while consuming foreign, or even illegal foreign, wares not only undermined state authority but damaged the Swedish manufactories.

Consumption in Sweden had long been regulated through legislation, and the propagation of patriotic consumption had been an ingrained feature of the sumptuary decrees at least since the

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<sup>320</sup> *Register till Riksdagens Protokoll Med Bihang*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Central Tryckeriet, 1892).p. 1046

emergence of the first nationwide decree in 1664.<sup>321</sup> Historian Eva Andersson has stressed that an important aim of the sumptuary laws was to define the Swedes, through dress, in contrast to other groups of people. How people consumed, and particularly what they wore, was seen as deeply ingrained with who they were. The purpose of the sumptuary decrees was thus to reject foreign influences and to re-establish a ‘Swedish’ mode of dressing and subsequently, ‘natural’ Swedish inhabitants unspoiled by foreign influences.<sup>322</sup> During the period under consideration in this study, three general sumptuary decrees were issued: 1766, 1770, and 1794. They were intended to reduce foreign influences but also to re-establish a visual hierarchical order, with unique dress codes for each estate. In addition to the sumptuary decrees there were also other attempts to control consumption and ensure patriotic consumption through the introduction of new norms, the most notable being Gustav III’s national costume, which also enforced the visual hierarchy through issuing separate uniforms for various estates and professions. Such regulatory measures were intended to standardise consumer behaviour by prescribing how various Swedish consumers ought to consume. They also show that free consumer choice was considered a disorderly and destructive force. This is supported by previous research on eighteenth century consumption, which has shown that there existed a contemporary concern with excessive consumer choice, particularly for women, which could lead to a neglect of duty.<sup>323</sup> These ideas are related to those of the patriotic protectionists, and relied on a belief that people were in need of regulation to hinder their destructive tendencies. According to Swedish historian Erik Bodsten this was based on a Christian view of man as flawed, in need of superior control to maintain the “normative moral societal order”.<sup>324</sup>

Patriotic consumption was not simply something imposed on an unwilling population; it also became fashionable in itself as it was perceived to signal a devotion to duty, the fatherland and the common good. Historians Johanna Ilmakunnas and Leif Runefelt have both observed that

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<sup>321</sup> Eva I. Andersson, ‘Foreign Seductions: Sumptuary Laws, Consumption and National Identity in Early Modern Sweden’, in *Fashionable Encounters. Perspectives and Trends in Textile and Dress in the Early Modern Nordic World*, ed. Tove Engelhardt Mathiassen et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014).pp.16-17

<sup>322</sup> Andersson.p. 26 & 28; Jon Johansson, ‘Min Ringa Kalminks Väst’ (MA thesis, Stockholm University, 2015).p.24

<sup>323</sup> Rickard Karlsson, *Svensk-Franska Förhandlingar. Bland Sprätthökar och Franska Flugor i Svenskt 1700-tal* (Linköping: LiU Tryck, 2007); Agneta Helmius, ‘Mode Och Moral. Begär Och Hushållning i Svenska 1700-Talspublikationer,’ *Tidskrift För Genusvetenskap* 1 (2011); Leif Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången. Anspråk, Flyktighet, Föreställning i Debatten Om Konsumtion I Sverige 1730-1830* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2015).pp.99-141; Agneta Helmius, ‘Sprätthöken : En Manlig Livsstil i Svensk Debatt under 1700-Talet,’ in *À La Mode : Mode Mellan Konst, Kultur Och Kommers*, vol. S. 128-145 (Göteborg: Makadam i samarbete med Centrum för Öresundsstudier vid Lunds universitet, 2016).

<sup>324</sup> Bodsten, *Politikens Drivfjäder: Frihetstidens Partiberättelser Och Den Moralpolitiska Logiken*.p.96

patriotic consumption became popular among (elite) citizens who saw strengthening the nation through their consumer choices as an integral part of their social role.<sup>325</sup>

At the same time, two parallel and partially interconnected shifts were underway. The definition of citizenship expanded to include more groups in society, including peasants and workers, while the right to consume freely gained increasing support.<sup>326</sup> Historian Jakob Christensson has also stressed that equality between citizens came to play an important role after 1792, after the murder of Gustav III.<sup>327</sup> The changing definition of citizenship coincided with a re-evaluation of the state, and both Martin Melkersson and Jonas Nordin have argued that the eighteenth century saw a shift in the perception of the state, as it went from being conceived as a single organism to being considered as constituting of a multitude of individuals – with certain rights.<sup>328</sup> These individual rights derived from the discourse on natural rights, and it strengthened the individual in relation to the state and highlighted that citizens should enjoy certain rights.<sup>329</sup> In this way the relationship between citizen and state was being reconfigured in the late eighteenth century, and it came to have an impact on the discussions about consumer choice and what obligations individual citizens had in preventing smuggling.

### *In the Newspapers*

Why some people chose to consume contraband was being discussed in the press as early as the 1770s. In a letter published in *Göteborgska Nyheter* in 1773, the commentator ‘Carolín’ outlined the different motivations for choosing to consume contraband: “The high want to shine with all kinds of decoration, the more foreign, the grander. The low want to make a good purchase and are not content to pay for others’ splendid living with their poverty...”<sup>330</sup> This latter idea – that the choice to consume contraband was motivated by the desire to purchase good quality wares cheaply – is a recurring idea expressed in newspapers throughout the 1770s.

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<sup>325</sup> Johanna Ilmakunnas, ‘Ståndsmässig Konsumtion: Högedelns Penningbruk Och Konsumtionsvanor i Sverige under Senare Delen Av 1700-Talet,’ *Historisk Tidskrift För Finland* 86, no. 2 (2001), p.394; Leif Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången. Anspråk, Flyktighet, Föreställning i Debatten Om Konsumtion I Sverige 1730-1830* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2015).p.277

<sup>326</sup> Christensson, *Lyckoriket: Studier i Svensk Upplysning*.pp. 128-158

<sup>327</sup> Christensson.p.139

<sup>328</sup> Martin Melkersson, “Staten, Ordningen Och Friheten. En Studie Av Den Styrande Elitens Syn På Statens Roll Mellan Stormaktstiden Och 1800-Talet” (Uppsala University, 1997)pp. 78-79; Jonas Nordin, *Ett fattigt men fritt folk*.p.334

<sup>329</sup> Nordin, *Ett Fattigt men Fritt Folk*.p. 334

<sup>330</sup> Carolín. ‘Swar På Dagligt Allehanda No 84, Den 11 April 1772’. *Göteborgska Nyheter*. 30 January 1773, 5 edition.

Not all commentators found this to be an acceptable excuse for the consumption of contraband, however. In 1775 ‘Honest Swede’ (*Ärlig Svensk* – the name is taken from the *Hat* journal by the same name) remarked that there was no opposition between the interests of the individual and the interests of the state, arguing that, “[i]f we only had the right and sensible Ambition ... we would hold it for an honour to wear Swedish products on Swedish bodies”.<sup>331</sup> Unfortunately, ‘Honest Swede’ observed, the population found obeying laws difficult.<sup>332</sup> The eternal discussions of smuggling and the propagation of patriotic protectionism and consumption eventually caused the proponents of these ideas to be ridiculed. The public was getting weary of them, and one commentator noted that people like ‘Honest Swede’ “can speak of Swedish products on Swedish bodies, and think that this is all that matters, after draining the waged worker and the public, through higher prices according to will.”<sup>333</sup> Having to consume expensive domestic products, the anonymous author argued, might be favourable for the Swedish manufacturing workers but it impoverished all other inhabitants. Was it strange, the author asked, if a poor person thus preferred to buy goods that were cheaper and of better quality?

Despite such defences of the right to choose freely, the majority agreed with the commentator ‘Well-meaning out of love for the Fatherland’ (*Wälment af kärlek för Fäderneslandet*) who in March 1785 argued:

This damaging evil would never be easier to prevent and for the more part stopped, if Citizens from the highest to the lowest, out of patriotism for the Fatherland, with regard for the law and Decrees as well as out of love for their co-subjects, in the greatest possible way discarded and ridiculed the use of foreign wares... and assigned more value to that which could be made in the Kingdom, and showed disgust and anger towards all those, who are so foolish as to use foreign.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> ‘-’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 5 December 1775, 279 edition.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid.

<sup>333</sup> ‘-’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 13 December 1775, 286 edition.

<sup>334</sup> Wälment, ‘Wälment Af Kärlek För Fäderneslandet’, *Stockholms Posten*, 3 August 1785, 55 edition.

Indeed, the purchase of foreign wares and in particular those smuggled into the country, one observer noted, “discredits the patriotism of our time”.<sup>335</sup> This raised the question of how far patriotism could be stretched and what it, realistically, could defend against.

### *Swimming Against the Tide – The Final Swedish Sumptuary Decree*

In 1793 the Duke Regent Charles, who governed on behalf of his underage nephew Gustav IV Adolph, issued a request to all parishes to discuss the potential introduction of a new sumptuary decree as a way to improve the state of Swedish finances and reduce the consumption of foreign goods. Each parish was asked which wares and practices they were willing to give up for this patriotic cause.<sup>336</sup> The committee charged with assessing the potential for a new decree argued that for a long time foreign wares had been brought into the country both legally and illegally. The wares had then been consumed by citizens who had been seduced by these foreign goods and imagined them to be superior in quality and better in price. The continued access to illegal wares on the Swedish market “put the [citizens’] Patriotism to such a test, which demanded the sacrifice of one’s own supposed profits, which [their Patriotism] rarely or ever survived.”<sup>337</sup> Thus, it was argued, patriotism as such could not trump other consumer concerns, whether imagined or real, and for this reason it was necessary to regulate consumer choice through sumptuary law – as it had been in earlier times.

Shortly thereafter, in August of 1793, a memorandum handed in to a parish meeting in Örebro earlier in the summer was published in *Stockholms Posten*. The text, authored by Johan Er. Bergström maintained that the common people targeted in the parish discussions were also members of society, and as such also had the right to certain freedoms. He suggested that those who laboured the most should enjoy the possibility of reaping the benefits of their hard work.

I am therefore of the impossible thought, that the sumptuousness in dress, which has established itself among the working classes has been possibly more beneficial than damaging, and that this Class’s so called luxury in dress

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<sup>335</sup> ‘-’, *Stockholms Posten*, 8 June 1788, 104 edition.

<sup>336</sup> Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C: 25-29, Riksarkivet; the protocols from the discussions are extensive, dealing with everything from the local dress and wedding practices to ideas about what they were willing to give up and the nature of a harmful good. This rich source material will be returned to in chapter five in relation to the consumption of contraband.

<sup>337</sup> ‘Kommitté Ang Förordning Mot Yppighet Och Överflöd, 1793’, 1793, ÄK 817, vol. 1, Riksarkivet.

should be easier to allow than the extravagancies of the better sorts. ... It is not the common people's fault if they use smuggled goods, for the Common people do not search out the Smuggler, but he seeks out the Common people; and it is not their business to distinguish the foreign from the domestic.<sup>338</sup>

Importantly, Bergström pointed out that it was not the (poor) consumer's responsibility to ensure the goods they bought were legal nor should they be tasked with salvaging the state finances. Instead, he suggested that they deserved the right to make their consumer choices freely. Bergström insisted that the root of the problem was to be found with the middle and upper ranks of society – those who dictated fashions. Their behaviour, he argued, was much more influential than any laws or regulations.<sup>339</sup> Bergström's views stand in stark contrast to those of the higher classes, who according to historian Leif Runefelt, feared egalitarian consumer practices. Runefelt has argued that this concern became gradually more pressing towards the end of the century, exactly because consumption increased and consumer choice expanded, thus challenging the visual hierarchy.<sup>340</sup> While fears of egalitarian consumption may have existed, particularly within certain circles of society, the sumptuary decree was on its last legs.

Nevertheless, the new regime made one last attempt to introduce a sumptuary decree. When the new sumptuary decree was published in 1794, its proclaimed objective was to address the poor situation of the Swedish finances and to “conquer the prejudice which unfortunately within the Nation has maintained a regrettable desire for foreign goods”.<sup>341</sup> In contrast to the earlier decrees, this one stipulated that the regulations were the same for all members of society, in the towns as well as in the countryside. The decree prohibited men “of all estates” to use silk, apart from for trousers, scarves, knee and shoe roses, and various other adornments. Meanwhile, women were instructed not to wear silk, or make dresses, sweaters, or skirts from cambric, linon, or moll muslin, which were all thin cotton fabrics. They would, however, still be allowed to wear aprons in the same textiles.<sup>342</sup> While sumptuary legislation for a long time had been

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<sup>338</sup> ‘Ödmjuk Memorial’, *Stockholms Posten*, 6 August 1793, 176 edition.

<sup>339</sup> ‘Ödmjuk Memorial’, *Stockholms Posten*, 6 August 1793, 176 edition.

<sup>340</sup> Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*, pp.259-268

<sup>341</sup> ‘Protokoll’, 1794, Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Handels- och manufaktur divisionens protokoll, A I fa, vol. 37a. Riksarkivet, p.134

<sup>342</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nädiga Förordning, Til Hämmande Af Yppighet Och Öfwerflöd. Gifwen Stockholms Slott Den 1 Januarii 1794’ (1794). §1-3. However, some caveats were made for gala dress and for the national costume, which still allowed for some limited use of silk.



used to stabilise social order and hierarchy, as well as to enforce patriotic feeling and unity, it was finally falling out of fashion.<sup>343</sup> According to Runefelt, the disappearance of the sumptuary decree was related to the emergence of a new type of self-regulation which distinguished the elite from the lower ranks, through the development of a polite (*bon ton*) urban culture.<sup>344</sup> He suggests that the role of the active consumer, who was able to make patriotic consumer choices, was the reserve of these polite social circles.<sup>345</sup>

While the sumptuary decree was fading from relevance, consumption was also expanding to incorporate more groups, including workers and peasants. This coincides with a period that historian Jakob Christensson has argued saw a widening of the definition of citizen, expanding to refer to all useful members in society including peasants and workers, who were instilled with rights.<sup>346</sup> An opening-up of the definitions of citizen and consumer is reflected in both the final sumptuary decree and in the newspaper debate alike. In the smuggling debate the state was usually not divided up by estates but considered as one consuming unit, particularly during the 1790s. Even though the sumptuary decree was an outdated method of consumer control by the late eighteenth century, the last decree issued in 1794 did feature new ideas of equal consumer rights. It legislated that everyone should engage in patriotic consumption and that they should do so on equal terms.

### *Free Choice for the Masses – A Point of Contention*

It was, however, not certain that the new consumers wanted to engage in patriotic consumption. One commentator with the signature ‘M ===== S=====’ argued that the search for comfort and distinction was natural for human beings and as such, the sumptuary decrees along with the import prohibitions aimed to achieve something impossible, to recast man in a new shape. The fault, the author argued, lay in the laws and not in the consumers; pointing to the situation in France, he maintained that the suppression of people’s desires and choices could have dangerous consequences.<sup>347</sup> In a reply ‘---s----m’ answered that the former clearly did not

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<sup>343</sup> Alexander Maxwell, *Patriots against Fashion: Clothing and Nationalism in Europe’s Age of Revolutions*, Palgrave Connect (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), <http://ezproxy.eui.eu/login?url=http://www.palgraveconnect.com/doi/10.1057/9781137277145>. pp. 47 & 57

<sup>344</sup> Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*.pp.212-214

<sup>345</sup> Runefelt. p.277

<sup>346</sup> Christensson, *Lyckoriket: Studier i Svensk Upplýsning*.p.144

<sup>347</sup> ‘Til ---s----m N:o 41 d. 19 Febr.’, *Stockholms Posten*, 5 March 1794, 53 edition.

understand the ‘population’ at all. The problem was not restricting consumption per se, but in the consumption of foreign goods. According to this commentator the higher ranked consumers could abuse the lower estates and consume as they saw fit as long they consumed Swedish goods. Their loyalty to the nation could thus be measured through their choice to consume Swedish wares. It was the consumption of foreign goods which was the true betrayal of the Swedish workers. Echoing many commentators before him, he concluded, every ell of smuggled cloth prevented Swedish citizens from being useful, reducing them instead to poverty.<sup>348</sup> A clear disconnect can be observed between these writers, the first recognising that the commoners were also consumers who desired choice and the latter confining the commoners to the role of producers in need of wages.

While consumption motivated by a single desire – to preserve and support Swedish industry – was promoted in the patriotic consumer discourse, consumers themselves had different concerns and priorities. Their behaviour did not fit into a uniform mould. The sanctimoniousness that was frequently expressed by the supporters of patriotic consumption prompted one commentator to observe that such notions were obsolete:

You are repeating the eternal cry against smuggling; but what does your conscience say? Have you never purchased a for import prohibited manufactured ware from someone, when you have found it better and to a cheaper price, than those of domestic production. The cry is preposterous, as long as you and every Individual do not own the public virtue, to never buy smuggled goods; and for such a virtue a large portion is needed of the, several 1000 years ago living, Roman spirit.<sup>349</sup>

Just like the discussions about protectionism, and the house-visitations, the debate about the right to choose also came to centre on the ambiguous relationship between the state and its citizens, and which rights took precedence. Increasing attention was given to the individual right to choose freely based on personal needs, particularly in the 1790s. In contrast to the right to house-peace, the common right to choose freely was still in its infancy. Rather than being based on thoughts of the common good, it was founded on ideas about the natural rights of

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<sup>348</sup> ‘The Herr M.---S--- i Stockholms Posten N:o 53 d 5 Martii’, *Stockholms Posten*, 28 April 1794, 95 edition.

<sup>349</sup> ‘Anmärkningar öfwer det, som rörande Swenske Fabrikerne’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 29 August 1797, 101 edition.

individuals to make decisions that benefited themselves and not only the state. As consumption was not only an individual act but also had an effect on the state at large, it could be used either to support the domestic manufactories or to undermine the country's economic integrity. Consequently, the right to make free consumer choices remained a highly contested phenomenon. However, the newspaper discussions do not answer the question of whether commoner consumers themselves were only interested in chasing fashions and a cheaper price, or whether they too were concerned with patriotic consumption. I will return to these questions in Chapter 5.

### **The Smuggler as an Argument for 'Free' Trade? – The Case of E. E. Bodell.**

The debate about smuggling in the newspapers went stagnant in the late 1790s after severe infringements on the Freedom of the Press Act in 1796. While the discussion in the newspaper fizzled out and protectionist policies strengthened their hold of the legislation, the promotion of more liberal ideas did not disappear completely. These ideas instead came to be promoted in a new forum – the economic enlightenment literature which was becoming popular around the same time. Historian Jakob Christensson has studied the development of enlightenment thought in Sweden and has argued that this new wave of economic enlightenment literature was intended for the free and egalitarian citizen who emerged in the discourse at the end of the 1790s. The function of the literature was to educate the citizens in practical economic improvements which could help to develop their lives as well as that of the nation. It fused enlightenment ideas, in particular those of Scottish enlightenment thinkers such as David Hume and Adam Smith, with practical measures in order to find solutions to state concerns.<sup>350</sup>

In contrast to Hume, whose writings had already appeared in Swedish in 1767, Smith had remained largely unknown outside of academic circles.<sup>351</sup> Smith first came to be introduced to the Swedish reading public through short extracts published in the economic enlightenment literature of the 1790s. The physiocrats Johan Henric Kellgren (1751-1795) and Nils von Rosenstein (1752-1824) were some of Smith's early promoters. They had already in 1787

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<sup>350</sup> Christensson, *Lyckoriket: Studier i Svensk Upplysning*.pp.158-159

<sup>351</sup> For Hume's work in Swedish see for example: David Hume, *Herr David Humes Politiske Afhandlingar Om Handel Och Yppighet* (Stockholm: Johan Georg Lange, 1767); David Hume, *Smärre Afhandlingar i Allmänna Hushållningen*, trans. P.J. Hjem (Stockholm: Johan A. Carlbom, 1791). For the absence of Adam Smith see Torbjörn Vallinder, 'Adam Smiths Genombrott i Sverige', *Ekonomisk Debatt* 3 (1987).

encouraged the population to educate themselves in morals as well as state finance with the help of Smith's work, but at this time no Swedish translation of his work existed.<sup>352</sup>

The first published material on Smith in Swedish appears to have been a short review of Adam Smith's life, published in a literary journal in 1795 by G. A. Silfverstolpe.<sup>353</sup> However, it was not until four years later that some of Smith's work was finally translated into Swedish. Georg Adlersparre, a keen supporter of liberalism, published eight brief translations of Smith's work in his journal 'Readings on various Topics' (*Läsning i Blandade Ämnen*).<sup>354</sup> This was a journal that Jakob Christensson has categorised as a prominent example of economic enlightenment literature.<sup>355</sup> The Smith extracts published in 'Readings' focused primarily on his work on agriculture, although one extract on 'Trade Balance' which was also published stated that "the Trade, which is conducted without force and restrictions, naturally and without interruption, between two locations will always be beneficial..."<sup>356</sup> As a journal critical of the government, 'Readings' experienced ample pressure from the state and was nicknamed 'Readings on flammable topics' (*Läsning i Brännbara Ämnen*), before it was finally discontinued in 1801.<sup>357</sup> The intention of 'Readings' was, in the words of Swedish historian Kerstin Anér, "...to smuggle in liberal and challenging ideas in as innocent a form as possible".<sup>358</sup> Silfverstolpe and Adlersparre might have been the first to draw Smith to the attention of a wider range of the Swedish public, but their ideas were met with anxiety and struggled to gain ground, particularly in government circles. Only a year after the publication of Adlersparre's first Smith translation another translation was published. It took the Swedish economic enlightenment literature to a new level by merging enlightenment ideas with personal practical experience, and this time the area for exploration was the Customs Office and the practical workings of protectionism.

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<sup>352</sup> 'Anmärkningar om Upfostran, Framstälde af Sällskapet *pro Sensu communi*', Stockholms Posten, No 61, 14 March 1787

<sup>353</sup> 'Adam Smith', *Litteratur Tidning För År 1795* 1 (1795). pp.124-5

<sup>354</sup> Adam Smith 'Various', ed. Georg Adlersparre, trans. Georg Adlersparre, *Läsning I Blandade Ämnen* 23 & 24, 25 & 26, 27 & 28, 29,30, & 31, 36, 37 & 38 (1799 - 1800).

<sup>355</sup> Christensson, *Lyckoriket: Studier i Svensk Uppllysning*.p.159

<sup>356</sup> Smith, 'Handelsbalancen'. p. 93

<sup>357</sup> A Brusewitz, 'Georg Adlersparre', In <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/5563>. *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Accessed 17 August 2017: Nationalencyklopedin, 'Läsning i Blandade Ämnen'. In <http://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lång/läsning-i-blandade-ämnen>, Accessed 17 August 2017. *Nationalencyklopedin, Läsning i blandade ämnen*. <http://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lång/läsning-i-blandade-ämnen> (hämtad 2017-08-17)

<sup>358</sup> Kerstin Anér, *Läsning i Blandade Ämnen. Studier i 1790-Talets Svenska Press- Och Litteraturhistoria* (Göteborg: Rundqvists, 1948). p.14

## *The Translations - Introducing Adam Smith's Ideas of Free Trade to a Swedish Audience*

The translator was Eric Erland Bodell (1774-1848), the oldest son of the Customs Collector at Uddevalla, Leonard Bodell (1727-1811). After receiving his education at Lund Academy, Bodell had passed into the service of the Customs Office. After working for a few years in Uddevalla he was in 1800 promoted to Customs Controller at the Royal Customs Warehouse in Stockholm. This was also where Bodell published his first part-translation of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, starting with Book V, Chapter 2, *Of the Sources of the General or Public Revenue of the Society*.<sup>359</sup> In this chapter Smith discusses the effects of import bans and tax barriers and concludes that the only effect they have is to push trade underground rather than to make it disappear.<sup>360</sup> In the text Smith notes that the only way the temptation to smuggle can be reduced is by easing the tax barriers, and the only way to deter smugglers is to get a surveillance system suited to the task.<sup>361</sup> In response to this suggestion Bodell comments:

Experience has shown to which extent older and newer, stricter, anti-smuggling decrees have increased the difficulty of smuggling. However, it is an indisputable truth that whatever decrees are adopted to reduce smuggling, all will be futile unless the Maritime Customs Over and Under Officers both *can* and *want* to enact them, and make others follow them. Most of them *are* not capable of this, neither in a moral nor a physical sense.<sup>362</sup>

For this reason Bodell argued that protectionist regulation alone was not enough; in order to make sure that the regulations were enacted, the Customs Office needed to be reformed. Despite his suggestions for reform, Bodell still doubted that protectionism was the best way forwards.

Towards the end of the Bodell's translated extract, Smith makes a vital definition of smuggling:

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<sup>359</sup> 'Erik Erland Bodell', 1804, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, E 1 Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter avgivna av sjö- och gränstullkamrarna, 1804, Riksarkivet. pp. 128-129

<sup>360</sup> Adam Smith, *Undersökning Om Kongl. Stora Sjö- Och Gränse- Tullar, Samt Acciser Och Små-Tullar, Med Flera Consumtions- Afgifter*, trans. Bodell, Erik Erl. (Stockholm, 1800). pp.31-35

<sup>361</sup> Ibid. p.37

<sup>362</sup> Ibid, p.38

... the smuggler; a person who, though no doubt highly blameable for *violating the laws of his country*, is frequently *incapable of violating those of natural justice*, and would have been, in every respect, an excellent citizen had not the laws of his country made that a crime which nature never meant to be so.<sup>363</sup>

While the discrepancy between protectionist state law and natural law was a common feature from the beginning of the Swedish smuggling debates, Smith's portrayal stands out for its clear exoneration of the smuggler. The smuggler was, according to Smith, a victim of unnatural policy. This is a monumental leap from the idea that the smuggler was an 'evil' or morally dubious person as depicted by Kryger, but also by Nordencrantz. Furthermore, Smith argues that if the smuggler is to be condemned so must the consumers be, as they were equally culpable for encouraging smuggling.<sup>364</sup> Bodell clearly agreed with Smith's observations: in his translator's notes he proposed that 'free trade' (*handelsfrihet*) might be the only feasible solution for the untenable protectionist situation in Sweden.<sup>365</sup>

This was the first of Bodell's contributions to the free trade debate, and what set it apart from many others was his combination of free trade arguments with personal insights into the failings of the Customs Office and the corruption that went on behind the scenes, something which he focused more on in later publications. His support of free trade can be traced back to his belief that it was impossible to impose protectionist policy through a corrupt system. The publication of this translation was greeted with enthusiasm in G. A. Silfverstolpe's new publication *Journal för Svensk Litteratur*. "What [Smith] has to say about smuggling and contraband trade, the Reviewer wishes would win the Public's attention, as very few of us yet realise the causes and how to prevent it."<sup>366</sup>

The years following the publication of his translation came to be formative in Bodell's life. Around 1803 Bodell was moved to Gothenburg to oversee the Customs Warehouses, and appointed Chairman of the Maritime Customs Court in the same city. This move was followed

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<sup>363</sup> Adam Smith, *Undersökning Om Kongl. Stora Sjö- Och Gränse-Tullar, Samt Acciser Och Små-Tullar, Med Flera Consumtions- Afgifter*, trans. Bodell, Erik Erl. (Stockholm, 1800)., p.71 (Italics my own)

<sup>364</sup> Ibid p.72

<sup>365</sup> Ibid p.77

<sup>366</sup> Anonymous, 'Review - STOCKHOLM: Undersökning Om Kongl. Stora Sjö- Och Gränse-Tullar, Samt Acciser Och Små-Tullar, Med Flera Consumtion', ed. G.A. Silfverstolpe, *Journal För Svensk Litteratur* 4 (1800). pp. 409-410

by yet another translation, in 1804, from *The Wealth of Nations*, this time Book IV, Chap 2, *Of Restraints upon the Importation from Foreign Countries of such Goods as can be Produced at Home*. The title page of the translation outlined Bodell's motivations for undertaking a new translation. He dedicated the work to the king and wished for it to be "useful to his fatherland".<sup>367</sup> In particular he highlighted that he had translated, "what seems to me most suitable and useful for Sweden, after fourteen years' service in a branch of the State finances".<sup>368</sup>

In Book IV, Chapter 2, Smith deals with the question of how domestic production can be reconciled with open trade. He points out that the trade barriers gives a false sense of protection and that the monopolies actually mean that the domestic economy loses out and is stuck with less choice, worse goods and more work.<sup>369</sup> Just like in his earlier translation, Bodell suggested that trade regulation ought to be dismantled. He particularly pointed to Denmark as an example of how trade regulations could be dismantled with the least possible disruption.<sup>370</sup> Bodell again stressed that the customs officers could not be relied upon to enforce regulation as long as they were underpaid. He argued that the officers were constantly in desperate need of money and every day confronted with the opportunity to boost their income through less than legal means.<sup>371</sup> The low salaries at the customs were part of a long tradition which saw these public service posts as honorary positions. During the eighteenth century, however, attempts were made to increase the salaries for these posts; one of the main motivators was the desire to eradicate corruption.<sup>372</sup>

Following the publication of this new translation Bodell was moved again, this time to Marstrand, the former *porto franco* north of Gothenburg. In his own correspondence he describes this as a punishment following the publication of a lampoon by one of his seniors in Gothenburg, which had stated that Bodell was guilty of severe crimes and not managing his duties. Bodell reflected grimly on his punishment, "[I was] kept on a Rock for 6 years, in a

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<sup>367</sup> Adam Smith, *Politisk Undersökning Om Lagar, Som Hindra Och Tvinga Införseln Af Sådana Utländska Varor, Som Kunna Alstras Eller Tillverkas Inom Landet*, trans. Erik Erl. Bodell (Göteborg: S. Norberg, 1804).

<sup>368</sup> Adam Smith, *Politisk Undersökning Om Lagar, Som Hindra Och Tvinga Införseln Af Sådana Utländska Varor, Som Kunna Alstras Eller Tillverkas Inom Landet*, trans. Erik Erl. Bodell (Göteborg: S. Norberg, 1804).

<sup>369</sup> Ibid

<sup>370</sup> Ibid, pp.39-40

<sup>371</sup> Ibid, pp.48-51

<sup>372</sup> Maria Cavallin, 'I Kungen Och Folkets Tjänst. Synen På Den Svenske Ämbetsmannen 1750-1780' (Göteborgs Universitet, 2003). pp. 229-334

small and impoverished town”.<sup>373</sup> Drawing on Smith's ideas, Bodell started to author his own work based on his observations of this same ‘Rock’. To a friend he wrote that the book was written in order to allow him to earn some money legally as his new position paid him a pittance. His ambition was to show how oppressive the Swedish protectionist laws and regulations were. “As innocent and legal” as the account was, it nevertheless resulted in Bodell’s suspension.<sup>374</sup> Bodell’s irritation at this treatment is reflected in his letters; the poverty he suffered as a consequence only worked to further his claim about the atrocious conditions within the Customs Office.<sup>375</sup>

### *The 1805 Account – Free Trade as a Solution for the Swedish Situation*

The extensive title of Bodell’s book sets out the task at hand, *Account for the Year 1805...about Trade: Factories and Manufactories: the reason for decrease or increase in the Maritime Customs Revenue: how the Maritime Customs revenue decrease might be overcome: about Smuggling: and measures for a better Maritime Customs Surveillance*. The first point Bodell made was that foreign trade was vital for the continued life and prosperity of places like Marstrand. He insisted that in order for trade to flourish it must be let loose from its current constraints. By eliminating the regulations people would be encouraged to develop both trade and production.<sup>376</sup> Bodell was also fiercely critical of Produktplakatet (the Commodity Act) of 1724 as he insisted that it would always be more profitable to buy goods freely unhindered by unfair favouritism.<sup>377</sup> Furthermore, Bodell argued that free trade of a sort already existed in Sweden. He suggested that the Swedish neutral trade conducted during times of war was a type of free trade as it enabled more countries to conduct trade with Sweden on freer and more equal terms. “The trade which is considered profitable for Sweden in times of war, cannot be disadvantageous in peacetime.”<sup>378</sup> However, this neutral trade mainly focused on shipping rather than an opening-up of the internal Swedish market, a discrepancy Bodell does not address.

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<sup>373</sup> ‘Erik Erl. Bodell letter to the King - 18 March 1818’, Ämnessamlingar, Personarkiv, Biographica, vol. B32b, Riksarkivet.

<sup>374</sup> Erik Erl. Bodell, ‘Letter to P. A. Wallmark, Vol 3’, 30 May 1811. Peter Adam Wallmark, KB1/Ep.V 4). Kungliga Biblioteket.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid

<sup>376</sup> Erik Erl. Bodell, *Berättelse För År 1805, Afgifven till Höglof. Gener. Tull-Arrende-Direktionen, Ifrån Marstrands Kongl. Stora Sjötulls-Kammare: Om Handeln: Fabriker Och Manufaktur: Orsaken till Minskning Eller Förhöjning i Sjötulls-Inkomsterna: Huru Tillfällen till Sjötulls-Uppbördens Minskning Måga Förekommas: Om Lurendrägeri: Och Medel till En Bättre Sjötulls-Bevakning*. (Göteborg: Norberg, 1806). pp.3-4

<sup>377</sup> Ibid, p. 5

<sup>378</sup> Ibid, p. 6



Bodell also suggested that staple rights should be expanded to all cities, as this would be profitable for people in the whole kingdom.<sup>379</sup>

We watch and complain, that the trade is decreasing, that the manufacturing is stagnating, that poverty is increasing and that Residents are leaving, and cannot understand that the cause of it are our many prohibitions, high customs taxes... Most nations are following the enlightenment of the age, they are led by more liberal tenets in their public economy [*statshushållning*], and enjoy all the more profitable consequences. - I love my King and my Fatherland too much, to make this comparison with indifference...the Nation's devotion and confidence in their Regent and his officers would increase considerably, if they got laws which agreed with their own desires.<sup>380</sup>

Echoing Smith, Bodell posited that “Smuggling would naturally never exist, if instead of prohibitions against the importation of the goods...they were accompanied by a moderate fee”.<sup>381</sup> He suggested that most *contrabandiers* would be willing to pay a fee of 15% of the value of the good to avoid the trouble and expense of smuggling it. This would also allow the state to increase its customs revenue.<sup>382</sup> Just like Bodell’s previous translations, the 1805 *Account* was intended to undermine the reigning protectionist policies from within, while launching a new alternative for Sweden in the shape of ‘free trade’.

Throughout his career Bodell kept arguing for the transformation of the customs office and the introduction of more liberalised trade regulations.<sup>383</sup> Leaning on Adam Smith, Bodell maintained that while protectionist regulation pushed trade underground, the realities of enforcement and the failures of the Customs Office led to an untenable situation that bred smuggling. However, Bodell’s ideas about smuggling and corruption within the Customs

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<sup>379</sup> Erik Erl. Bodell, *Berättelse För År 1805, Afgifven till Höglof. Gener. Tull-Arrende-Direktionen, Ifrån Marstrands Kongl. Stora Sjötulls-Kammare: Om Handeln: Fabriker Och Manufaktur: Orsaken till Minskning Eller Förhöjning i Sjötulls-Inkomsterna: Huru Tillfällen till Sjötulls-Uppbördens Minskning Måga Förekommas: Om Lurendrägeri: Och Medel till En Bättre Sjötulls-Bevakning.* (Göteborg: Norberg, 1806), p. 8

<sup>380</sup> Ibid, pp. 10-11

<sup>381</sup> Ibid, pp.19-20

<sup>382</sup> Ibid, pp.19-20

<sup>383</sup> Erik Erl. Bodell, *Anmärkingar Om Tull-Verket, i Anledning Af Öfver-Direktören Vid Kgl. Landtulls- Och Accis-Verket, Högädle Herr C. A. Grevesmöhlens Memorial i Samma Ämne; Ingifne till Rikets Höglofl. Ständers Bevillnings-Utskott* (Stockholm: Henrik And. Nordström, 1809). p.18

Office were easier to accept than to resolve. His solutions appear to have been considered too extreme in the riksdag and while his Customs Office reforms would eventually find favour in the riksdag of 1823, Bodell's economic policy reforms were too difficult to digest.<sup>384</sup> Although historian Fredrik Hedin has argued that liberal tendencies can already be observed in the riksdag of 1823, Swedish trade would not move towards liberalisation until the riksdag of 1853/54.<sup>385</sup> Fully-fledged free trade would have to wait until 1865, when Sweden entered the Cobden Treaty under the direction of J. A. Gripenstedt.<sup>386</sup>

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During the eighteenth century protectionist policies, import prohibitions, and anti-smuggling legislation was issued at an ever increasing rate which helped to codify and define the Swedish economic area. This chapter has explored how conceptions of smuggling in Sweden changed under the influence of the various political and conceptual shifts that occurred in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It has considered how smuggling was defined according to two of the main economic lines of thought at the time, and how tools to control smuggling ran into conflict with pre-existing and developing ideas in society, finally turning to a discussion of how the debate developed after the introduction of severe press regulation around the turn of the century. More specifically, it has shown that the definitions and perceptions of smuggling, and its associated issues, were created and re-created through an interactive process between theoretical ideas and actual conditions.

Smuggling appears to have been debated in many European countries in the eighteenth century. While these debates might have been born out of a general protectionist fervour and challenged

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<sup>384</sup> Erik Erl. Bodell, *Utkast till Reglemente För Öfver- Och under Officienterna Vid Kgl. Sjö- Och Gränse-Tullverket* (Stockholm, 1815). For Bodell's later career see for example: 'Erik Erl. Bodell letter to the King - 31 Dec 1821', Ämnessamlingar, Personarkiv, Biographica, vol. B32b, Riksarkivet. For the acceptance of the need for customs reform see: Carl Hindric Posse, 'Bilaga till PleniProtocollet För Den 12 Martii', in *Bilagor till Högloflige Ridderskapets Och Adelns Protocoll, Vid Lagtima Riksdagen i Stockholm År 1823*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1823). Carl Mauritz Carpelan, 'Bilagor till PleniProtocollet För Den 21 Martii', in *Bilagor till Högloflige Ridderskapets Och Adelns Protocoll, Vid Lagtima Riksdagen i Stockholm År 1823*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1823).

<sup>385</sup> Bodell, *Utkast till Reglemente För Öfver- Och under Officienterna Vid Kgl. Sjö- Och Gränse-Tullverket*. For Bodell's later career see for example: 'Erik Erl. Bodell letter to the King - 31 Dec 1821', Ämnessamlingar, Personarkiv, Biographica, vol. B32b, Riksarkivet. For the acceptance of the need for customs reform see: Posse, 'Bilaga till PleniProtocollet För Den 12 Martii'. Carpelan, 'Bilagor till PleniProtocollet För Den 21 Martii'. For a discussion on early liberalism see Fredrik Hedin, 'Adam Smith Och Sverige: Ekonomisk Liberalism i Frihandelsdebatten Vid 1823 Års Riksdag', *Umeå Papers in Economic History* 9 (1994).

<sup>386</sup> Magnusson, *The Tradition of Free Trade*. pp.146-147

by enlightenment ideas, they were shaped in each country by domestic concerns and conditions. In Sweden smuggling first became a serious issue for scrutiny and debate with the emergence of patriotic protectionism in the early eighteenth century. This patriotic protectionism built on notions of citizen co-operation for the common good, and self-sacrifice for the betterment of the state. It was portrayed as a communal project for the Swedish citizens and within this context smuggling came to be defined as a betrayal of the state but also of fellow citizens (*medborgare*). Condemnation was not restricted to the smuggler but extended to all Swedish inhabitants who 'traitorously' consumed illegal foreign wares, contrary to the interests of the state. This interpretation of smuggling was, however, challenged by natural rights proponents calling for individual and trade liberties. In contrast to the patriotic protectionists, they understood smuggling as a symptom of an unnatural and oppressive regulatory system. While they did not consider smuggling as a severe threat in and of itself, the proponents of this approach argued that it was a sign of an ineffectual system which could only be corrected through the removal of trade barriers. The discussion between the patriotic protectionists and the natural rights proponents was tightly interlinked with the Swedish proto-parliamentarianism of the first half of the eighteenth century, which encouraged open debate and diverse opinions, particularly after 1766 when the Freedom of the Press Act was passed. The two interpretations of smuggling might have been born during the Age of Liberty (1718-1772) but they remained influential in the newspaper debates throughout the subsequent period of absolutism and the early regency period, lasting until the 'iron years' after 1796.

Despite a diverse debate, the legislation adopted, particularly after 1766, was increasingly protectionist, drawing heavily on the patriotic protectionist discourse. The legislation does, however, also bear marks of the influence of natural right and natural law, which becomes particularly clear when considering the prescribed punishments for smuggling offences. This legislation indicates that while the state's economic objectives became progressively more protectionist during the second half of the eighteenth century, the state refrained from the punitive actions suggested by hard-line protectionists in the newspaper debates. The legislation even bore marks of enlightenment thought.

Sweden was not a blank legislative canvas, however, and the anti-smuggling legislation had to contend with the pre-existence of earlier ideas of rights and freedoms, some of which had for centuries been protected by law. This becomes particularly clear when considering the issue of the house-visitation, which was seen by many as a threat to the old established freedom from

oppression and right to house peace that had long been important in Sweden. House-visitations thus became an area for much debate in the newspapers, where they were frequently described as dangerous. The public refutation of the house-visitations resulted in changes in legislation. Legislative changes were not only related to ideological shifts or ‘the will of the people’, however, but also depended on how the state was run, and its objectives; something that emerges starkly in Gustav III’s ‘liberation’ of his people from the house-visitation in 1776. The prohibition against house-visitations should not be interpreted as diminishing protectionism, but instead as a new stance on how to enforce it. Indeed, Gustav III’s solution to the issue of smuggling, the launch of a national costume, infringed upon another, newer, and arguably less important freedom, the freedom to choose.

While anti-smuggling legislation was running into conflict with pre-existing ideas of freedoms, new ideas of individual rights were also emerging in the eighteenth century that had a bearing on the discussions about smuggling. In the 1790s in particular, new ideas of rights were emerging, and the definition of citizenship started to expand. While the old patriotic protectionist interpretation saw the workers as producers of wares in need of support, these same workers were now suddenly appearing as consumers in their own right. There was also, in the newspapers and in the legislation, an increased recognition of the population as a uniform consumer mass, which should be induced to engage in patriotic consumption. Around the same time, voices were also raised in support of the right to choose freely, particularly among the poorer sorts, who it was argued should be allowed to purchase good quality products cheaply. This meant that state control, while being intended for the ‘common good’, was by some perceived as an affront to the liberty and freedom of the Swedish population. In this context the smuggler was seen to cater for the needs and desires of an oppressed population rather than being a traitor. However, while such ideas can be observed in the press, they were quickly stamped out through the increasing of press regulation, and replaced with a celebration of patriotic protectionism.

The last years of the regency government saw a crackdown on various rights and liberties as the future king Gustav Adolph became ever more involved in state affairs. After 1796, new and extended censorship legislation put an end to the freedom and smuggling debates in the regular press and in 1799 the harshest anti-smuggling legislation to date was released. Despite such measures, the smuggling debates were not completely silenced. Around the same time a new

approach to disseminating economic ideas developed in the form of economic enlightenment literature through which, in Kerstin Anér's words, liberal ideas were smuggled in.<sup>387</sup>

Within this genre, the customs officer Eric Erland Bodell published some of the first Swedish translations of Adam Smith's work. Combining Smith's ideas with his own experiences from the customs office at Marstrand, he published his own argument in support of free trade in 1806, on the eve of the continental blockade and at the end of this study. As a customs officer, author, and a translator of enlightenment literature, Bodell bridges the gap between economic theory and the realities of maintaining a border which will be discussed at further length in the next chapter.

This chapter has shown that the discourse of smuggling was affected by various competing ideas about economy, rights, and the relationship between the state and its citizens. The laws and legislation changed over time, reflecting both changing ideologies and systems of government. While the general tendency was towards increasing regulation and protectionism under the guidance of various forms of government, committee proceedings, newspapers, and economic literature allow us to observe another vein of thought about natural rights, liberalised trade and citizens' rights, which existed alongside patriotic protectionism. Over time proponents of liberal ideas found their public platform infringed upon and their voices silenced, but the existence of these ideas suggests that despite increasingly severe anti-smuggling legislation, there existed another interpretation of smuggling – one which might not have been deemed appropriate to express in the newspapers, but which might nevertheless have had an impact on the treatment of smugglers and the consumption of contraband in practice.

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<sup>387</sup> Anér, *Läsning i Blandade Ämnen. Studier i 1790-Talets Svenska Press- Och Litteraturhistoria*. p.14



## Chapter 3

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### Porous Borders: Controlling and Transgressing Swedish Space

The Swedish state was, like many other European states, undergoing a consolidation process during the eighteenth century. This consolidation process entailed increased legislative and economic homogenisation, which, according to Istvan Hont, contributed to transforming composite states into competitive ‘commercial nation-states’.<sup>388</sup> For Sweden, this consolidation process included the introduction of protectionist policies, import prohibitions, high import duties on many wares, and anti-smuggling legislation, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, were all intended to keep global trade at bay. Turning legislation into reality, however, depended on enforcement on the ground, a job that fell to the customs officers and customs courts. The enforcement of the economic legislation was conditioned by the loyalties and private interests of the customs officers, as well as by the geography, climate, culture, and history of the borderlands. In other words, the enforcement of economic policy and anti-smuggling legislation was intimately conditioned by the physical shape of the territory and the conditions prevailing along the border. This chapter explores the Swedish state’s attempts to enforce its protectionist economic legislation on its territory and the smuggling this provoked through a spatial perspective.

While Sweden was a reasonably stable territory for the duration of the time period studied in this thesis, 1766 to 1806, it still bore the marks of more or less recent territorial changes. During the Age of Greatness (1611-1721) Sweden had undergone considerable territorial developments and many of its borders had been redrawn. Territories along the southern shore of the Baltic had been conquered: often referred to as Swedish dominions, they were under Swedish control but were never fully incorporated into Sweden’s core lands. While many of these dominions were lost during the final years of the Age of Greatness, some areas seized under the old empire remained under Swedish control throughout the eighteenth century. The important trading centre Wismar remained a Swedish dominion until 1803, and Swedish Pomerania until 1815. Along with these European dominions, Sweden also gained the Caribbean colony Saint

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<sup>388</sup> For a more extended discussion, see Chapter 1.

Barthélemy from France in 1784; it would remain in Swedish hands until 1878.<sup>389</sup> One year after the Swedish acquisition, Saint Barthélemy was declared a free port and became an important transit port in the West Indies as a neutral, commercial harbour serving both French and British interests. Over time it also became a critical smuggling hub in the West Indies.<sup>390</sup> The Swedish dominions and its colony provided important opportunities for the exchange of knowledge and skill, as officials moved between Pomerania, Sweden, and Saint Barthélemy. Customs officers born in Pomerania could thus find themselves coming head to head with smugglers from the same area along the Swedish coast, while economic theorists like the Rügen-born Johan Fredrick Kryger penned supports of Swedish patriotism.<sup>391</sup> While there was a lot of exchange between the dominions, the colony, and the Swedish core territory, they were also all distinctly different on a fundamental level.

As noted, these continental dominions were never fully incorporated into the Swedish state and one important area of difference between the Swedish core territory and the dominions was their legislation. The dominions were governed by separate legislation to the Swedish core land, and it was not until 1805 that Swedish maritime law was introduced in Pomerania.<sup>392</sup> The discrepancy in economic legislation between the Swedish core territories and its dominions meant that for the duration of the eighteenth century the dominions were treated as foreign territories in terms of trade. At the same time, Sweden was also undergoing a gradual shift towards increased homogenisation. One crucial feature of this development was the creation of a unified legal code for its core territory in 1734. This legal code covered the areas that are present-day Sweden and Finland, and played a crucial role in creating a homogenised legislative Swedish core territory. This core territory also became synonymous with Sweden's economic

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<sup>389</sup> Pierrick Pourchasse, 'Trade between France and Sweden in the Eighteenth Century', *Forum Navale* 67 (2011), p. 110; Eric Schnakenbourg, 'Sweden and the Atlantic: The Dynamism of Sweden's Colonial Projects in the Eighteenth Century.', in *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity. Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology*, ed. Naum M. Nordin and et al. (New York: Springer, 2013).p.239

<sup>390</sup> Victor Wilson, *Commerce in Disguise: War and Trade in the Caribbean Free Port of Gustavia, 1793-1815* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi förlag, 2015); Han Jordaán and Victor Wilson, 'The Eighteenth-Century Danish Dutch, and Swedish Free Ports in the Northeastern Caribbean: Continuity and Change', in *Dutch Atlantic Connections, 1680-1800: Linking Empires, Bridging Borders*, ed. Gert Oostindie and Jessica V. Roitman, Atlantic World: Europe, Africa and the Americas, 1500-1830 (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Leos Müller, 'Sweden's Neutral Trade under Gustav III: The Ideal of Commercial Independence under the Predicament of Political Isolation', in *Trade and War: The Neutrality of Commerce in the Inter-State System*, ed. Koen Stapelbroek (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2011).

<sup>391</sup> For a discussion about J. F. Kryger's writings about protectionism and patriotism see Chapter 2.

<sup>392</sup> Andreas Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern: Kulturmöten Och Identifikation 1720-1815* (Lund: Lund University, 2003). p. 369; Andreas Önnersfors, 'Gränser Och Gemenskaper. Hur Svenskt Var Svenska Pommern?', in *Vid Gränsen. Integration Och Identitet I Det Förnationella Norden*, ed. Harald Gustafsson and Hanne Sanders (Göteborg & Stockholm: Makadam Förlag, 2006). p.251



space as it was covered by uniform customs legislation.<sup>393</sup> While the role of the dominions was redefined through this consolidation process, as will be discussed in this chapter, they continued to play an important role for the economic development of Sweden's core territory.

The Swedish core territory was by no means an ancient and stable construction. For a start, several areas had been gained from Denmark-Norway during the Age of Greatness. As a result of the Second Treaty of Brömsebro in 1645 the regions Jämtland and Härjedalen, as well as the islands Gotland and Ösel, had been conceded to the Swedes, along with the county of Halland, which was granted on a thirty-year loan. Eighteen years later, in the 1658 Treaty of Roskilde, further territories were added to Sweden as Denmark conceded the provinces of Skåne, Blekinge, Halland (permanently), Norwegian Trøndelag and the island of Bornholm.<sup>394</sup> In contrast to the dominions along the southern shore of the Baltic Sea, these new territories came to be included into the standard Swedish legal framework, and thus into its core territory. In the eastern half of the country, in the Grand Duchy of Finland, territorial changes had taken place even more recently. As a consequence of Swedish losses in the Great Northern War (1700-1721), several territories along the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea were lost, including Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, and Viborg. Not long after that, another war was fought against Russia (1741-43). Also known in Sweden as the Hats' Russian War, it aimed to retake control of the areas lost some twenty years previously. Instead, the war only resulted in further Swedish territorial losses. In the Treaty of Åbo in 1743 the southern part of the province of Karelia became Russian. Numerous borders around the Swedish core territory were thus of relatively recent date and, as discussed in Chapter 1, older borders were also redefined over time.

Within the core territory there were also attempts to set up alternative legislative spaces, which would function outside of the regular economic legislation. These spaces lay at the intersection between free trade policy, pursued particularly under Gustav III, and the domestic, regulated market.<sup>395</sup> One interesting example is Marstrand, a town on an island north of Gothenburg which was made into a free port in 1775, and for a few years the home of the customs officer E. E. Bodell, whom we encountered in the previous chapter. Another was Eskilstuna, a manufacturing town on Mälaren in which ironworkers from 1771 onwards came to enjoy

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<sup>393</sup> For a brief discussion about custom legislations, see Nordin, *Ett fattigt men fritt folk*.p.91 & 323

<sup>394</sup> The last two were quickly returned to Denmark-Norway in 1660 under the Treaty of Copenhagen.

<sup>395</sup> Leos Müller, 'Sweden's Neutral Trade under Gustav III: The Ideal of Commercial Independence under the Predicament of Political Isolation', in *Trade and War: The Neutrality of Commerce in the Inter-State System*, ed. Koen Stapelbroek (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2011).

particular business freedoms, including exemptions from guild rules and tax.<sup>396</sup>

The area that will be discussed in this chapter is the Swedish core area, as rendered in Georg Burman's 1747 map of Sweden, sourced from the Customs Office Atlas. As illustrated by the map, however, this territory was not only surrounded by borders with different historical contexts, but by borderlands with very different geographical characters, ranging from maritime borders, archipelagos and beaches, to long land borders stretching across mountains ranges and trekking through vast forests. The country was also heavily affected by the changing of seasons, particularly in the north and inland, which dramatically changed the living conditions, both in terms of weather, temperature and hours of daylight. These factors not only dictated the cycle of employment, but also the practical conditions for travel and surveillance.<sup>397</sup> The spatiality of the borders should thus be considered in terms of a number of various factors: geography, climate, culture, and history.

In addition, it should be noted that while the western and eastern halves of the kingdom – Sweden and Finland – were the same legislative space, not all inhabitants appear to have been treated equally. Both Jonas Nordin and Jani Marjanen have observed that Finnish-speaking inhabitants in the East were seen as distinct from the Swedish speakers and did not enjoy the same rights.<sup>398</sup> One crucial difference pertained to language. Finnish speakers, in contrast to those with Swedish as their mother tongue, were not allowed to defend themselves in court in their own language. In addition, not all decrees were communicated to them in Finnish, which raises the question of whether they were even aware of all the new legislation that came to be issued by the Swedish state.<sup>399</sup> While the court records discussed in this chapter are silent in regards to this discrimination, it should nevertheless be borne in mind when reading the sources.

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<sup>396</sup> Göran Rydén, 'Eskilstuna Fristad : The Beginnings of an Urban Experiment,' in *Sweden in the Eighteenth-Century World : Provincial Cosmopolitans*, ed. Göran Rydén, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013).

<sup>397</sup> For a longer discussion see Chapter 1.

<sup>398</sup> Nordin, *Ett fattigt men fritt folk*.pp. 325 & 438; Marjanen, 'Den Ekonomiska Patriotismens Uppgång Och Fall. Finska Hushållningssällskapet i Europeisk, Svensk Och Finsk Kontext 1720-1840'.p.156

<sup>399</sup> Nordin, *Ett fattigt men fritt folk*.p.327



Figure 3.1. Map of Sweden and Finland. G. Biurman, 66, 'Svea och Göta riket med Finland och Norland afritade i Stockholm år 1747', Generaltullarrendesocietetens svenska tullatlas, Kungliga Biblioteket.

The enforcement of economic legislation was not only influenced by the geographical, historical and cultural conditions of the borderland but also depended upon the actors active in these areas: the smugglers and customs officers. The first set of actors, the smugglers, were go-betweens moving through various legislative spaces and past customs barriers. Recent studies of go-betweens, or intermediaries, have highlighted their crucial role in the spread of knowledge and goods between countries as well as continents.<sup>400</sup> Intermediaries have increasingly been appreciated for their role in interconnecting the world through their abilities to surpass boundaries and rules separating various regions, enabling cross-cultural trade and the circulation of knowledge, people, goods, and capital. Francesca Trivellato has pointed to the great achievements accomplished by groups of go-betweens in managing to establish global trade networks despite the cultural and social hurdles they encountered.<sup>401</sup> Indeed, intermediaries played a particularly important role in the early development of global trade networks, which spanned different cultures and religions and had to negotiate diverse legislative frameworks.<sup>402</sup> These go-betweens could either work on their own as agents or in groups, such as families or companies, which were able to share tasks and take on various features of the trade responsibilities.<sup>403</sup> Intermediaries have often been studied in regards to connecting faraway territories, but there is a growing appreciation for their importance also in bridging regional and national borders, playing for instance a vital role in connecting various European market spaces including in the Nordic countries.<sup>404</sup>

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<sup>400</sup> See for example: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, ed., *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1996). Simon Schaffer et al., eds., *The Brokered World. Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770-1820* (Sagamore Beach: Science History Publications, U.S.A., 2009).; for a Swedish study, see Lisa Hellman, 'Ett Ensamt Skepp På Öppet Hav? Kopplingar, Kontakter Och Utbyten Ombord Svenska Ostindiefarare [A Lone Ship at Open Sea? Connections, Contacts and Exchanges on Swedish East Indiamen]', *Historisk Tidskrift* 3 (2014).

<sup>401</sup> Francesca Trivellato, 'The Historical and Comparative Study of Cross-Cultural Trade', in *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchange in World History*, ed. Francesca Trivellato, Leor Halevi, and Catia Antunes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>402</sup> Charles H. Parker, 'Entrepreneurs, Families, and Companies', in *The Cambridge World History. The Construction of a Global World, 1400-1800 CE.*, ed. Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Weisner-Hanks, vol. 2. Patterns of Change (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>403</sup> Parker.

<sup>404</sup> In relation to the Nordic Countries see several of the papers from the IEHC Congress, Helsinki 2006, Session 16: *Merchant Settlements as Intermediaries for European Influences in the Baltic North, or Elsewhere 1650-1850. Economic, Social and Cultural Aspects* – including Ida Bull, 'Immigrating Merchants to Trondheim in the 18th Century – Intermediaries between Europe and the Trondheim Hinterland', Christina Dalhede, 'Early Modern Merchant Families. Foreign Intermediaries in Swedish Cities. The Gothenburg Market in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century', and Klas Nyberg, 'Financial Networks, Migration and the Transformation of the Merchant Elite in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Stockholm'

A closer study of these go-betweens enables an exploration of their incentives for smuggling and the effects of their transgressive movements. Previous research on smuggling has suggested that smuggling could be viewed as a type of popular illegalism.<sup>405</sup> While it is commonly understood that financial reward was a prime incentive for smuggling, the reasons for this need to be considered in their specific contexts and in relation to the intermediaries concerned. Furthermore, it should be noted that not all smuggling go-betweens crossed a land border. Local go-betweens also moved contraband shorter distances within the country, and these local smuggling ventures could still play an important role in the smugglers' personal economy.

Along with the go-betweens there were the customs officers, who were posted in the borderlands, as the state's representatives on the ground, tasked with the responsibility of enforcing the economic legislation along the borders.<sup>406</sup> However, the state's authority over these actors varied. In remote areas in particular, and as already discussed in Chapter 1, the customs officers were private actors with personal interests that did not always align with those of the state. While the majority of the source material used for this chapter derives from these customs officers and relates their struggles to impede the activities of go-betweens, it is thus useful to scrutinise the customs officers, their interests and allegiances, whenever possible.

Sweden in the second half of the eighteenth century was made up of a vast and varied territory. Geography and climate in combination with historical and cultural connections helped to create a range of different types of borders. This chapter asks how the country's challenging geography, limited state authority, and the movements of go-betweens affected the state's ability to create a uniform economic unit. Furthermore, it questions how the perpetrators perceived smuggling and whether it was considered as an alternative source of revenue in times of need.

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<sup>405</sup> Frykman, 'Pirates and Smugglers: Political Economy in the Red Atlantic'; Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*; Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*; Cromwell, 'Illicit Ideologies: Moral Economies of Venezuelan Smuggling and Autonomy in the Rebellion of Juan Francisco de Leon, 1749-1751'. See also the longer discussion in Chapter 1.

<sup>406</sup> Ågren, *The State as Master*. p.4

In order to answer these questions this chapter relies on material from the Customs Office covering different parts of the core territory. Three particular sets of records have been consulted for this chapter: Customs Court Protocols (*Tullrätts domböcker*), Reports from the Customs Chambers (*Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter*), and Travel Fiscal Reports (*Resefiskalers rapporter*). The first body of sources, the Customs Court Protocols, suffers from heavy losses, which has to a large extent dictated the selection of the sources in terms of time period. The court protocols chosen for this study have been selected as they refer to various types of borders: maritime (Stockholm/Gothenburg), older land border (Funäsdalen/Duved), newer land border (Kides/St Mickel) and a town border (Gothenburg). Information about who was convicted of smuggling, the location of the crime, what was smuggled and the penalty that was issued can all be established from the protocols. Many of the Protocols are held in various regional archives, including the protocols from the Stockholm Maritime Customs Court (1769, 1800, 1803, 1805-1806) at Stockholm City Archive (Stockholms Stadsarkiv) and the Gothenburg Maritime Customs Court Records at Gothenburg Regional Archive (Göteborgs Landsarkiv), although some duplicates are also held at the Swedish National Archive (Riksarkivet), in which the court records for Funäsdalen (Härjedalen) (1770-1785), and Duved (1805-1806) are also held. The Finnish material from Kajana (1786), Kides (1787-1788, 1794-1798, 1800), Kuopio, (1794, 1800), Kusamo (1785, 1791, 1805) and St Mickel (1780, 1785, 1792-1794, 1797-1799, 1801, 1802-1806) was retrieved from the Finnish National Archives (*Kansallisarkisto / Finska Riksarkivet*) in Helsinki. The second large body of sources, the reports from the customs chambers, were submitted annually or biennially from the customs chambers, with updates on regional conditions, and new trends and developments. These reports have survived in their entirety and have been digitalised by the Swedish National Archive. For this chapter I have chosen to look at the reports from Duved, Funäsdalen/Härjedalen, Kajana, St Mickel and Kusamo for the years 1766, 1767, 1786, 1787, 1796, 1797, and 1806. This selection provides reports for each decade, but as some customs chambers only wrote new reports biennially, I have added a buffer year to ensure that I have reports from all chambers for each decade. The third main body of sources are the reports to the Customs Office (*Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige*), submitted by travelling fiscals, sporadically from 1799 and regularly from 1803. These reports are particularly useful as they throw the custom chambers reports into a critical light and also report on the conditions along the roads and coastlines, areas outside the reach of the regular customs chambers. In addition to these three main bodies of sources, information from economic tracts,

customs office maps, regular topographic descriptions and travel accounts has been used to gain a better understanding of local conditions and the circumstances of the regions studied.

This chapter is structured as follows. The first part of the chapter discusses maritime smuggling around Stockholm, the various mariners that engaged in the contraband trade and what legislative attempts were made to manage these intermediaries. The second part looks at a few different maritime and land borders and considers how borders and border-dwellers were conditioned by local circumstances. The third and final part homes in on smuggling within Sweden and looks at attempts to regulate the countryside and what can be learned from looking at a case study of smuggling into the city of Gothenburg.

### **Stockholm Archipelago – A Sea Studded with Islands**

The Stockholm archipelago played a crucial role in forming how smuggling worked in the Stockholm region. All vessels bringing import goods into Stockholm were supposed to first report to the customs chamber at Dalarö, an island south-east of Stockholm. However, the geography of the archipelago was difficult to survey and control and it allowed goods to be surreptitiously unloaded or transferred to domestic vessels before arrival at Dalarö. The 1757 anti-smuggling degree also recognised that the archipelago was a sensitive area, difficult to control. It therefore stipulated that ships should be met in the archipelago by a customs official who would seal all the openings on the vessels in anticipation of it being thoroughly searched (7§, 1757). Enforcing this decree was nearly impossible, however, due to the expanse of the archipelago. The 1770 anti-smuggling legislation tried to rectify this by criminalising more actions in the country's archipelagos. It stipulated that anyone who brought goods ashore illegally, or to another ship, or a house or hiding place out in the archipelago would be punished for smuggling (5 Art, 1§, 1770).



Figure 3.2. Map of Stockholm Archipelago. 'Östersjön, Öresund och Bälten. Karta öfver Stockholms Skärgård'. (1809), Sveriges Topografiska kartor 1580-1990, 23:30, Krigsarkivet.

The geography of the archipelago offered opportunities to clandestinely dispose of contraband, but it also presented a challenge to those unused to navigating in these waters. The difficulties smugglers faced in navigating the coastline might, however, have been small compared to the customs office's difficulties in surveying and controlling the archipelago, a topic that will be returned to later in this chapter. Smuggling around Stockholm was thus conditioned both by the geography of the archipelago as well as by the abilities and interests of state servants. As the anti-smuggling legislation shows, suspicions were directed against the state servants tasked with overseeing these spaces. From 1770 servants of the crown, such as the pilot at sea and



customs officers, were issued with new regulations to prevent them from engaging in or encouraging smuggling. The new legislation specified that they, as state servants, would be declared infamous if they engaged in smuggling. In addition, they would be condemned to labour at a smithy or a military fortress for a minimum of three years to life for their crimes (2 Art, 1§, 1770). How effective this legislation was in controlling the behaviours of state servants on remote islands is, however, uncertain.<sup>407</sup>

Stockholm had a prominent customs presence due to its status as Sweden's capital and most important harbour.<sup>408</sup> Management of the archipelago fell to the Maritime Customs Office in Stockholm, which was both the largest branch as well as the head office. By 1770 around 350 people were employed by the various branches of the customs around Stockholm alone. It was thus the largest government department in terms of personnel.<sup>409</sup> First housed in the Argus neighbourhood in the Old Town of Stockholm, the Maritime Customs Office was later moved as it could not deal with the increasing demands smuggling placed on it – particularly in regards to the storage space required for seized contraband. A new customs office was built in the 1780s following the designs of the city's vice architect Erik Palmstedt (see figure 3.2.). His drawing of the top floor (figure 3.3.), reveals the location for the Court (room number 2). Any person suspected of smuggling or any other maritime crime in Stockholm would eventually find themselves there. Material from the trials that took place there provides sources for the following section, which focuses on transgressing vessels.

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<sup>407</sup> One example of a pilot at sea reporting a smuggling venture has been encountered, which, however, predates the new legislation. On 28 July 1768, Captain Johan Martin Smitt's crew anchored their ship in headwind outside of Herrhamra (*Härhamra*), some way south of Dalarö, and three of the able seaman had thrown two sacks into a boat, preparing to row off, when pilot at sea Hans Hansson enquired about their actions. They responded that the sacks contained goods they wanted to transport ashore, asked if Hansson could help them and promised that in return he would be remunerated. According to his own account in court, Hansson was wary and unsure about how to act as he wanted to "conserve himself" and thus be able to expose the offence to the authorities. Finally, he decided that he would go along with it and took the sacks to his home on the isle of Krok. Shortly thereafter Hansson revealed the offence to the Inspector at Herrhamra, Johan Westman, and handed over the goods. As these events show, smugglers could be bold and brazen in their activities and unfaced by coastal dwellers, who could be seen as an asset rather than a threat. Furthermore, it illustrates which type of enticements state officials could be faced with if they chose to aid rather than prevent the smuggling. Hansson did, however, find himself well rewarded for his report and received 60% of the value of the seized contraband as stipulated in the 1757 decree. See: 5 July 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>408</sup> Gothenburg took over as Sweden's most important harbor in 1860: 'Stockholms Hamnar', accessed 12 February 2019, <https://www.stockholmshamnar.se/historia/epoker/1850-1899/>.

<sup>409</sup> Jan Berggren, *Tullsnok - Öppna Bommen! Carl Michael Bellman Och Tullen* (Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag, 2003).pp.24-28



Figure 3.3. The New Customs Office in Stockholm. 'Façade mot Skeppsbron', 1783, Kart och ritningsarkivet, Gamla Samlingen, Pack- och Tullhuset, 23:5, Stockholm Stadsarkiv.

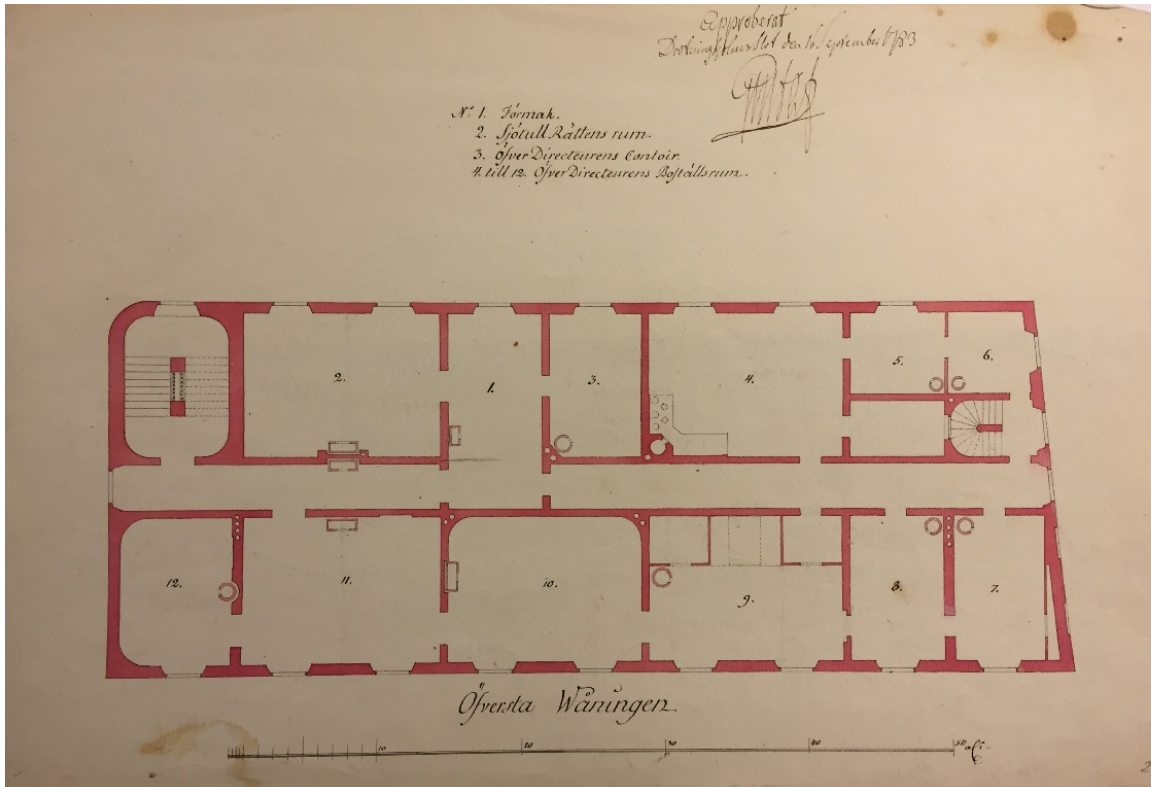


Figure 3.4. Floorplan of the Top Floor of the New Customs Office. 'Öfversta Wåningen', 1783, Kart och ritningsarkivet, Gamla Samlingen, Pack- och Tullhuset, 23:5, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

The large majority of the cases before the Maritime Customs Court related to seizures of contraband in incoming shipping vessels. The records from 1769, for example, report that 95 smuggling trials were held during the six-month period from June to November. Out of these 84 concerned confiscations made on board ships (88.42%).<sup>410</sup> These transgressing vessels and the people who occupied them require a closer examination.

### *The Captain – Assigning Responsibility*

The ship's captain is one of the most frequently occurring defendants in the Stockholm Maritime Customs Office. During the eighteenth century, Swedish anti-smuggling legislation came to place increasing responsibility on the captain. Over time he became accountable for all that took place aboard his ship, and he had to prove to the authorities that he had taken all necessary precautions to prevent smuggling. In the 1739 and 1741 anti-smuggling decrees it had been sufficient for the captain to swear an oath upon the ship's arrival that the manifest (the list containing all goods on board the ship which had to be declared to the customs officers) was correct. From 1757 this was no longer deemed sufficient and visitations on arriving ships became the norm. It also became prohibited to enlarge the ship or add any hidden compartments (1§, 1757). In addition to this the content of the ship's manifest was transformed, from a list of 'packs', 'baskets' and 'barrels' to an exhaustive inventory of each package, giving the quality and the exact amount of goods (2§, 1757). The manifest was checked against the contents of the ship upon arrival, and if anything was out of order the captain was held personally responsible.<sup>411</sup> In addition to this, the captain was tasked with the control of all clothes brought on board by the crew as well as his passengers, ensuring that they did not bring more than necessary for their personal needs while on board the ship. (6§, 1757; 5 Art, 4§, 1770).<sup>412</sup> In 1799 it was highlighted that 'forgetfulness' was not an acceptable excuse for omitting objects in the manifest.<sup>413</sup> Rules concerning the duties and obligations of the captain were established early and focused on various ways of exerting control over the vessel. The trading vessel, moving between various legal zones, provided a challenge for the customs

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<sup>410</sup> 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>411</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Ytterligare Nådige Förordning, Angående Lurendrägeriers Uptäckande Och Hämmande' (1757). 1§ & 2§

<sup>412</sup> Modée, 'Kongl. Maj:ts Förordning Emot Lurendrägerier Eller Förbudne Utrikes Warors Införsel I Riket, 22 Martii 1770' (1770). 5 Art., 1§ & 3§

<sup>413</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Förekommande Af Lurendrägeri Och Tullförnillning Gifwen Haga Slott Den 6 April 1799' (1799). 5 Art., 2§

office as it did not just facilitate the movement of people and legal goods, but could also be used to conceal contraband. The manifest and legislations against alterations to the ship were in various ways intended to impose increased transparency upon the trade, to help limit transgressions. By focusing on the duties of the captain the legislation tried to define a responsible party over whom the customs officers could exert control. This was, however, not always straightforward as the captains were navigating the vessels between different state regulations. Their experiences highlight that smuggling was a phenomenon which lay between nations and required constant negotiation and recalibration on both sides.

As can be discerned in the decrees, the skipper or captain was made a key player in the contraband trade through the responsibilities imposed upon him. One important aspect here was the circulation of trade information. This information allowed the captain to know what was currently legal and illegal in each destination country and what specific rules governed how to unload the ship and what to report to the customs office and so on. Consular and *Chargé d'affaires* reports contained information about new prohibitions and decrees which were vital for the smooth conduct of trade.<sup>414</sup> Information sent through consular reports focused on what could be imported, currencies, regulations, and similar. By contrast information needed to ensure successful smuggling ventures, such as where deliveries could be dropped off safely, and where to turn for assistance for continued transport, required local contacts and knowledge.<sup>415</sup> Due to its informal, ever-changing, word-of-mouth character this information is almost impossible to trace, but it was nevertheless central to the development of transnational smuggling networks.

The Swedish customs' focus on the captain was an attempt to get around the issue of trying to identify the 'real' culprit when a crime had been committed. This can be seen in a case from 20<sup>th</sup> December 1769 when Captain Michael Lefverentz came before the Maritime Customs Court following an anonymous tip-off, which had resulted in the confiscation of three packs of contraband wares, including among other things: red silk atlas, five socks filled with coffee

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<sup>414</sup> Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce. The Swedish Consular Service and Long-Distance Shipping, 1720-1815*; See for example: 'Publication Sur Les Privileges Du Port Franc de La Ville de Marstrand, Du 19 Avril 1776', *Mémoires et Documents, Suède*, vol.6, 1632-1814, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve.; 'David Hailes to Lord Grenville, Stockholm, 16 Apr 1799', 1799, FO 73, vol.27, British National Archives.

<sup>415</sup> For a discussion on the different types of trade knowledge and their transmission see: Donald J. Harreld, 'An Education in Commerce', in *Information Flows. New Approaches in the Historical Study of Business Information*, ed. Leos Müller and Jari Ojala (Helsinki: SKS / Finnish Literature Society, 2007). pp.63-64

beans, and flowered silk taffeta. The captain explained that he had received the wares in Danzig to take them across the Baltic Sea to Sweden. He claimed that he was not their real owner, but as he was unable to prove the veracity of his statement and as it was impossible to trace the consigner, Lefverentz recognised that the burden of the crime fell on him. He admitted that he knew the decrees and that he was willing to take responsibility for his cargo as stipulated by the 1757 decree. Lefverentz consequently accepted his fine that equated to half the value of the goods, which amounted to 1398 D kmt and lost possession of the contraband.<sup>416</sup>

Not every captain was so easily convinced to face the music and some appear to have absconded when they found themselves forced to take responsibility for their cargoes.<sup>417</sup> The anti-smuggling decrees had, however, measures in place to deal with escaping smugglers. From the second half of the century the anti-smuggling decrees demanded that an announcement should be made in the church pulpits when a smuggler was on the run, so as to alert the population, (5§, 1757), (Art 5. 2§, 1770) and (Art 5. 2§, 1799); this was later also followed up by advertisements in the newspapers.<sup>418</sup>

Another way captains attempted to escape punishment was through claiming ignorance of the legislation, as illustrated by two separate cases from 1769 when two brothers were individually made to stand trial for smuggling. The first one might have been the result of mistake: Captain Alberg Wallis arrived in Stockholm from London in June with a chest with the inscription 'Zu Barth'. Wallis explained that the chest in question was not destined for Sweden; it had been purchased for his brother Martin Wallis who lived in Barth, Pomerania - where Alberg Wallis would return after his visit to Sweden. Wallis swore an oath to the accuracy of his statement and was freed from fines.<sup>419</sup> Five months later Martin Wallis arrived in Stockholm from Stralsund. During the visitation of his ship, two planks underneath the captain's bunk were found to be loose. Hidden beneath were two rugs stuffed with various goods such as damask tablecloth, and 13 Dutch linen sheets. Martin Wallis claimed to be unaware of the prohibitions but the elaborate concealment, and his brother's recent run in with the law, prevented him from

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<sup>416</sup> 20 Dec 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>417</sup> One example of this is the captain Petter Östlund who absconded following a visitation on his ship. An arrest order was featured in the newspaper *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* on the 3rd of January 1801.

<sup>418</sup> See for example *Posttidningar*, 4 December 1800, 137 edition, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 10 September 1802.

<sup>419</sup> 20 Juni 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

convincing the court and he was sentenced to pay the fines of 234 D kmt.<sup>420</sup> It is thus clear that claims of ignorance were only accepted so far.

Stockholm maritime customs records feature many captains and ships, like the Wallis brothers, with a connection to Pomerania. Indeed, in a survey of all 84 ships found to contain contraband by the Maritime Customs in Stockholm from July to December 1769, 16 arrived from Wismar alone, which makes it the most common origin for contraband during this period. The broader origin classification 'England' comes in as a close second with 13 vessels.<sup>421</sup> The prevalence of vessels originating in Wismar indicates that this was an important route for contraband to get into Sweden. While no records from the Stockholm maritime customs have survived from 1769 to 1800, there is reason to believe that Pomerania's role as a transit for contraband to Sweden became more pronounced with time. The protectionist policies in Pomerania were eased in 1786, and its near- and long-distance trade boomed from the late 1770s, peaking in the 1790s.<sup>422</sup> As Andreas Önnersfors has pointed out, Swedish identity was also strengthened in Pomerania during this period.<sup>423</sup> The strengthening of Swedish-Pomeranian ties at the same time as Pomerania was becoming a trading hub would probably have resulted in more opportunities to engage in the lucrative contraband trade. The regular trade between the two territories remained strong and by 1800 10-25% of all boats arriving in Stockholm originated in Swedish Pomerania.<sup>424</sup> What is left of the evidence suggests that smuggling continued: in 1803, 110 cases were treated in the Maritime Customs Court in Stockholm, 12 of these concerning ships that had returned from Swedish Pomerania. The subsequent year the numbers were 12 out of 111.<sup>425</sup>

The prevalence of British sailors in the customs court records is also notable. The British Isles remained an important destination for Swedish exports throughout the period. While there was

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<sup>420</sup> 24 Nov 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>421</sup> As the arrivals either refer to distinct origins London (4), Hull (2), Colchester (1), Lancaster (1), or more generally as 'England' (5) I have standardized all these under 'England' as they all refer to the same legislative and economic space.

<sup>422</sup> Magnus Ressel, 'Swedish Pomeranian Shipping in the Revolutionary Age (1776-1815)', *Forum Navale* 68 (2012). pp. 74-75, & 83

<sup>423</sup> Andreas Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern: Kulturmöten Och Identifikation 1720-1815* (Lund: Lund University, 2003), pp. 269-484

<sup>424</sup> Thomas Lundén, *Pommern Ett Gränsfall i Tid Och Rum*, *Slavica Lundensia* 27 (Lund: Lund University, 2016), p.44

<sup>425</sup> 'Confiscationer i Stockholm', 1803, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1-2, Riksarkivet.

a decline from the middle of the century, 78% of the Swedish iron exports still went to the UK in 1800.<sup>426</sup> Britain itself had a much more liberal market than Sweden, a market which benefitted both from its global trade and improvements to its manufacturing industry. Engaging in trade with Sweden was, however, no easy task. A tariff which favoured the export of iron in Swedish ships had been introduced back in 1722, and it caused British ships to pay up to 70% more in taxes for exporting iron from Sweden. The Produktplakat (Commodity Act) of 1724 further stipulated that no goods could be imported to Sweden on foreign ships unless the goods had been produced in the same country, or its colonies.<sup>427</sup> Additional import restrictions were launched throughout the century, which forced many ships to travel to Sweden with ballast alone. Historian Louis Sicking has pointed out that the low levels of profit in the Baltic trade meant that even small boosts to profits were significant.<sup>428</sup> In this context it is possible that some of the English captains used smuggling so that, in Sicking's words "[o]ne small profit could help to carry the other small profit."<sup>429</sup> Indeed, this contraband trade from Britain is something that will be returned to in later chapters but it is worth pointing out already here that some historians have argued that the British exports to Sweden held their own despite the restrictive legislation.<sup>430</sup>

One case which illustrates how the contraband trade could be used to bolster incomes is that of Captain John Macartney, who arrived in Stockholm from Hull on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1769. When he passed through the Sound Toll it was reported that he only carried ballast on board.<sup>431</sup> During the ship visitation, however, two hidden boxes were found, containing black cotton velvet. While Macartney had originally claimed that he was the owner, he withdrew his confession during the trial, stating instead that he had discovered that his able seaman Thomas Halley was the owner of the goods. Halley confessed to the court that he had brought with him two boxes "in order to sell them for a profit". Despite this, Macartney took it upon himself to pay the

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<sup>426</sup> Bertil Andersson, *Göteborgs Historia. Näringsliv Och Samhällsutveckling* (Göteborg: Nerenius & Santérus, 1996). p. 196

<sup>427</sup> The Swedish Produktplakat was modelled on earlier British Navigation Acts: Michael Roberts, *British Diplomacy and Swedish Politics, 1758-1773* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980). p. 126

<sup>428</sup> Louis Sicking, 'A Wider Spread of Risk: A Key to Understanding Holland's Domination of Eastward and Westward Seafaring', in *The Dynamics of Economic Culture in the North Sea- and Baltic Regions*, ed. Hanno Brand and Leos Müller (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007). p. 128

<sup>429</sup> Louis Sicking, 'A Wider Spread of Risk: A Key to Understanding Holland's Domination of Eastward and Westward Seafaring', in *The Dynamics of Economic Culture in the North Sea- and Baltic Regions*, ed. Hanno Brand and Leos Müller (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007). p. 128

<sup>430</sup> H. S. K. Kent, *War and Trade in Northern Seas: Anglo-Scandinavian Economic Relations in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973). pp.110-111

<sup>431</sup> Sound Toll Registers Online. <http://www.soundtoll.nl/index.php/en/over-het-project/str-online>, Accessed 20 April 2017. (ship 699, 2 Sep 1769).

finer.<sup>432</sup> It is uncertain whether Macartney knew about the smuggling or not, but he would have had good reason to put the blame on Thomas Halley. Macartney had been sailing to Sweden regularly for at least two years according to the Sound Toll registers and would have been well aware of the decrees. Through shifting the blame onto another party Macartney could save face and continue undisturbed with his business. Even though he had to face a financial penalty, his reputation remained intact.

While no material has survived for Stockholm between 1769 and 1800, material from Gothenburg indicates that claims of ignorance of Swedish legislation continued, and that British captains kept using such excuses to distance themselves from the crime.<sup>433</sup> There were, however, limits to how long such excuses could be used. In April 1803 Captain John Harrison from Whitby was caught in Stockholm with a load of English manufactured wares on board his ship.<sup>434</sup> Entering though the Sound, his ship was registered as containing black coal, lead and manufactured goods worth 550 Rdr.<sup>435</sup> During the ensuing trial Harrison was assisted in the Swedish language by Martin Hagbom, a member of the Customs Office. At first the goods were identified as the property of the ship cook H. Rosdahl and the carpenter Robert Tindal, however Harrison soon admitted to being the true owner of the English fine hats, handkerchiefs and porcelain hidden on the ship. Through Hagbom, Harrison explained that the intention was to leave the goods in Helsingör but that, for unknown reasons, they had been kept on board. Harrison also explained that he had been unaware that these goods were prohibited, and that he had never intended to engage in illegal activities, and he agreed to pay the fines immediately.<sup>436</sup> Captain John Harrison had been sailing between Britain and Stockholm at least since 1797, and his main trade appears to have been in the transport of iron and planks from Sweden to his homeland.<sup>437</sup> He is registered as passing though the Sound Toll six times between his first appearance and the confiscation in 1803.<sup>438</sup> It seems highly unlikely that a captain who

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<sup>432</sup> 15 Sep 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>433</sup> 20 June 1776, 'Dombok' 1776, A1, vol.10, Göteborgs Sjötullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>434</sup> 26 April 1803, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv

<sup>435</sup> Sound toll registers online, 18/7/1797

<sup>436</sup> 26 April 1803, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv

<sup>437</sup> The first definite mention of him I have found is a trip on the 18th of July 1797 from Stockholm to London. Sound toll registers online, 18/7/1797

<sup>438</sup> However, the mentions in the records also show that these recordings were inconsistent as Harrison is recorded to have travelled from Sweden to Britain six times but merely three times in the reverse direction. John Harrison's travels between Sweden and Britain: 18/07/1797, 26/04/1798, 16/06/1798, 11/10/1798, 04/06/1802, 22/07/1802, 05/09/1802, 19/04/1803, 18/06/1803.



had been travelling to Sweden for such an extended period of time, and undergone numerous ship searches, would not have been aware of the Swedish regulations. While these cases illustrate that there were attempts to attach increased responsibility to the captain, there were, however, ways to negotiate this responsibility, particularly for foreigners who could claim ignorance of Swedish legislation. Some captains thus managed to distance themselves from the crime itself. Whether this ignorance was real or feigned is debatable, particularly for the captains who sailed regularly to Sweden.

These transgressions demonstrate how intermediaries could use various economic legislative spaces against each other to generate profit, even, or maybe particularly, when one of these spaces was protectionist. The prevalence of contraband on British and Pomeranian ships meant that contraband was brought into Sweden from its more liberal trading partners and annexed territories. It indicates that as long as a protectionist state was connected to more liberal markets by trade, maintaining its economic integrity would be a challenge. A country under restrictive trade legislation was thus a renegotiated space, where illegal goods could still enter, albeit on a new basis. While attempts were made to control and regulate the shipping to reduce the risk of smuggling, it was difficult to control large vessels in continuous transit. Over time Swedish legislation was adapted to pin accountability on the Captain, who in various ways attempted to escape this unwanted responsibility. Meanwhile it is important to note that the captain was not alone aboard the ship and that this transgressive space in fact contained a group of go-betweens who could work as a unit or follow their separate interests.

### *The Crew – Sundry Smugglers*

In the Maritime Customs Court records various members of the crew appear on a regular basis. Often they appear to have worked together in a model of organisation where each person invested in goods according to personal capability, but they worked together with the loading and unloading of the goods.<sup>439</sup> Another model was for one or more individuals to own the goods, remunerating the rest of the crew for their silence and assistance.<sup>440</sup> These two models

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<sup>439</sup> 30 May 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv

<sup>440</sup> 28 April 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, 5 July 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv

of organisation affected the perceived culpability of the various crewmembers but also their potential profits. While the owner of the goods could expect the highest profits, he also took the largest risks and would bear the brunt of the fines if caught. By contrast, those aiding and abetting could expect smaller returns but also lesser punishments for their involvement.

The exact relationship between the various crewmembers is often difficult to establish; who knew what, how involved the various members of the crew were and who the true owner of the contraband was were issues frequently debated and contested in the court records. Such questions became particularly pressing in the case of large contraband hoards, which would have been difficult to conceal without raising suspicion. Large caches of contraband would also have required particular safety measures during the unloading process that would, most likely, have required the captain's co-operation. Indeed, if a merchant financed a large contraband order, the captain would most likely have been involved as the risks would have been significant; having the captain involved would have reduced one significant hurdle.

With this knowledge in hand, the claims made in relation to the contraband hoard seized on-board Captain Wilhelm Gotfried Dahl's ship in 1769 seem implausible.<sup>441</sup> Dahl's ship arrived in Stockholm from Danzig in September of that year. On board was first mate Peter Mattsson, who with the help of the rest of the crew had brought on board 536 ells (318 m) of cloth and 1000 pounds (425 kg) of coffee in Danzig. That Captain Dahl could have been oblivious to these activities seems unlikely, but if true would have been a sign of severe negligence. Before Dahl's ship arrived in Stockholm the maritime customs in the city had received an anonymous tip, suggesting that contraband was hidden on the vessel. A patrol boat was therefore sent out into the archipelago to receive Dahl's ship and to search it for contraband. Contraband was soon located in the ship's hull but upon questioning the captain claimed ignorance of the cache. He did, however, relate that his first mate Mattsson and an able seaman had absconded during the search. The captain's ignorance was disputed, especially as some of the packs of contraband bore his initials, however, following interviews with the whole crew the main responsibility was settled on the first mate Peter Mattsson. During the trial Mattsson, who had by now been seized, explained that he had received the goods in Danzig from an unknown man and been told to bring them to Sweden, where the owner of the goods would contact him. Despite the

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<sup>441</sup> 15 Sep 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

fact that this confession was considered highly implausible by the court, Mattsson stuck with it. Mattsson was eventually convicted of smuggling. As he was unable to name the 'true' owner to the goods he had to pay the full fine of 3662 D kmt.<sup>442</sup> Although the captain escaped any fines his role in the offence clearly remains debatable.

As this case illustrates, loyalty among the crewmembers was crucial for a successful smuggling venture. The anonymous tip indicates that someone with knowledge of the transaction had informed the customs authorities, but unfortunately the records do not reveal if the tip had come from one of the crewmembers themselves. The reward for information leading to a seizure would have been high, probably much higher than the crew could have expected for their assistance in the crime. In the 1757 decree the reward for a person who exposed a smuggling venture was 60 percent of the value of the confiscated goods.<sup>443</sup> Despite this lucrative offer, tip-offs rarely appear in the customs material, which indicates that there existed a level of loyalty among the crewmembers.

Another case from 1769 further illustrates how many crewmembers co-operated in their smuggling ventures. In April of that year cook Joachim Hindric Hennes and able seaman Peter Michelsson got quite some way in their attempts to unload their contraband from the ship where they were serving under Captain Johan Mathias Schmidt. This is most likely the same man as the captain Johan Martin Smitt mentioned above. The ship arrived from Wismar to Stockholm archipelago and Hennes secretly managed to leave the ship with one load of goods and Michelsson another. They must have split up, as Hennes was later caught by Gälna gård and Michelsson by Kodjupet, together with first mate Johan Lorentz. Hennes and Michelsson confessed to being the owners of the goods seized from them but Lorentz claimed not to own any contraband. He did, however, admit that he had been bribing customs officials on Michelsson's request.<sup>444</sup>

These examples show that in order to enable their smuggling ventures crewmembers had co-operate. They split the various tasks between them and together they tried, and occasionally

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<sup>442</sup> 15 Sep 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>443</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Ytterligare Nådige Förordning, Angående Lurendrägeriers Uptäckande Och Hämmande' (1757).

<sup>444</sup> 28 Apr 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

failed, to escape the customs. Such projects depended not only on individual intermediaries, but on a community of go-betweens working together to introduce the contraband into the country. For the customs this meant that it was difficult to tie down personal responsibility as it was muddied through the sharing of responsibilities and tasks. While there were dangers in including multiple people in smuggling ventures it also meant that blame could be negotiated and greater contraband hoards could be moved. Whether these go-betweens ought to be tried on an individual basis or collectively remained an area of contention for the court.<sup>445</sup> As these cases also show, however, it appears to have been less important to establish who was ultimately liable than to collect the fines.

Why then did these crewmembers want to participate, either directly or indirectly, in smuggling? The short answer is profit. More can, however, be teased out by looking closer at the economy of the culprits. In 1808 the monthly salary of the average able seaman was around 10 Rdr rgs, a carpenter enjoyed a slightly higher salary of circa 14.50 Rdr rgs and a first mate 15 Rdr rgs.<sup>446</sup> According to historian Jens Ahlfors these salaries were fairly stable until the summer of 1808, when wages started to rise.<sup>447</sup> The same cannot be said for consumer prices, which increased from the 1770s onwards and increased steeply after 1790.<sup>448</sup> Trading in contraband could therefore have been used to extend an income which was not moving with the times.

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<sup>445</sup> One 1801 smuggling case from Karlskrona came to be crucial in the development of how the court should decide responsibility and blame. In this case the captain Trulls Törngren was in contention with his crew about who had known and done what in relation to the sinking of the ship *Lovisa*, the death of one of the crew and the smuggling of various wares from Danzig. This crime features in *Flintberg's Anmärkningar till Sveriges Rikes Sjö-Lag*, in relation to the need to include all criminals in the same trial proceedings in order to get a full understanding of the crime and who was involved with what. See: Jacob Albrecht FLINTBERG, *Anmärkningar till Sveriges Rikes Sjö-Lag, Jämte Författningarne till Närvarande Tid (1815), Our Hwarje å Utrikes Om Wistande Svensk Och Norrsk Consuls Skyldigheter Och Rättigheter, I Afseende På Sjöfart Och Handel. Utgifne, Tillika Med Orda-Register, Af J. A. F. Tredje Tillökta Upplagan*, 1815. p. 213; For a longer discussion about the crime see Tryggve Foghelin, 'Galeasen *Lovisa* - Ett Rättsfall Om Plundring Av Fartygslast, Lurendrejeri Och Sänkning 1801', *Forum Navale* 49 (1993); *Handlingar Och Protocoller, Rörande Det Emot Skepparen Trulls Törngren Och Desz Besättning, Med Flere Angifne Gröfre Brottmål. Karlskrona, Tryckt I Kongl. Amiralitets Boktryckeriet, 1801* (Karlskrona, 1801). ; *Fortsättning Af Kongl. Slotts-Rättens Protokoller Uti Undersöknings-Målet Angående Skepparen Törngrens Med de Fleres Begångne Brott. Karlskrona, Tryckt I Kongl. Amiralitets Boktryckeriet 1802* (Karlskrona, 1802).

<sup>446</sup> Jens Ahlfors, 'Sjöfolkslöner I Göteborg 1808-1810: Presentation Av Ett Lönehistoriskt Material', in *Handel Och Sjöfart under Gustaviansk Tid*, Meddelanaden Från Historiska Institutionen I Göteborg 4 (Göteborg: Historiska Institutionen, 1971).p 78

<sup>447</sup> Ibid

<sup>448</sup> Rodney Edvinsson and Johan Söderberg, 'The Evolution of Swedish Consumer Prices 1290-2088', in *Exchange Rates, Prices, and Wages, 1277-2008*, ed. Tor Jacobson, Daniel Waldenström, and Rodney Edvinsson (Stockholm: Ekerlids Förlag, 2010).p.432 see figure 8.1.

Considering the high values of some of these contraband collections and the modest salaries of the crewmembers it is necessary to consider how these sailors financed their endeavours, particularly when they were involved in larger contraband enterprises. Some insight can be gained from a trial that took place in December 1769. First mate David Wachter and able seaman Johan Block explained that they had got their wares on credit in Wismar and brought the goods onto the ship of Captain Carl Höök, where they were serving at the time, without his knowledge. The contraband hidden on the vessel was estimated to be worth 1571 D kmt. Among the goods were 150 pounds (63.75 kg) of coffee.<sup>449</sup> It is not certain why Wachter and Block were extended credit for such a hazardous venture or how common it was but there are other sources that also indicate that foreign vendors did extend credits to intermediaries, as the potential profits could be considerable.<sup>450</sup> Unfortunately, this type of information is rarely divulged in the customs records and more research is needed on the vendors to understand how this trade might have worked.

While crewmembers were occasionally responsible for large contraband hoards, smaller 'independent' transgressions were more common as they required less organised effort to unload, less co-operation, and no need for extensive credit.<sup>451</sup> These smaller smuggling cases might have been for private consumption or to gain an additional income. Whether the contraband was for private consumption or not seems to have had no effect on the outcome of the trials, however.<sup>452</sup>

Fewer large-scale smuggling ventures organised by the crewmembers occur in the court records towards the turn of the century.<sup>453</sup> This might have been related to the fact that the

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<sup>449</sup> 1 Dec 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>450</sup> This use of credit is for example mentioned in an account of the trade between Trondheim and Sweden, see: Pehr Lind, '37. Dufwed', 1766, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.2, Riksarkivet.

<sup>451</sup> For examples of smaller contraband seizures see for example: 6 June 1769, First mate Carl Kron with 20 chocolate cakes from Pernaw; Able seaman Sune Edlund with 20 small silk cloths and 12 ribbons from Riga; 23 June 1769, First mate Johan Sidin 16 pounds coffee beans from Arensburg; 5 July 1769, Able seamen Dahlman and Bertel Hindricsson 2 pounds coffee, silk ribbons, women's worsted socks from Danzig; 7 July 1769, Able seaman Eric Böttcher 48 pounds coffee from Wismar (escaped); 8 July 1769, First mate Eric Ström, Russian soap, 11 pounds of coffee, Russian linen cloth, from St Petersburg; 28 July 1769; Able seaman Peter Rosing, 4 pounds of coffee, 7 ells of blue cloth, in 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1769.

<sup>452</sup> 30 May 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv; 11 July 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv

<sup>453</sup> 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1800, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.23, Stockholms Stadsarkiv; 'Confiscationer i Stockholm'.

captain was gradually assigned more responsibility for his vessel while his ability to claim ignorance of both the regulations and the actions of his crew was undermined through the emergence of new legislation. This brings the discussion back to where it started, the captain and his responsibility over the vessel he navigated and the personnel he employed. An increasing amount of accountability was placed on the captain; in the 1770 decree he became personally responsible for checking all his crew and passengers and to prevent them from bringing contraband on board his ship. A fine of 10-100 D smt was issued to the shipmaster for negligence if illicit goods belonging to a crewmember were found (5 Art, 3§, 1770).<sup>454</sup> By 1799 this sum was raised to 5-50 Rdr (5 Art, 3§, 1799).<sup>455</sup> While the responsibility for the crew was increasingly transferred onto the captain, there are also examples of the crew trying to exonerate their captain and distance him from the crime.

For example, in a signed confession from 1803 various crewmembers attempted to absolve their captain from any guilt in their smuggling crime. This confession gives some insight into how the captain could manage his crew to prevent illicit goods from being brought on board.

Confession ... That we, the undersigned, have been warned by our Captain Mr Eric Schröder not to purchase any Wares in Lübeck which are forbidden to import to Sweden, in addition the Captain searched our Chests before departure from the same City and did not find any such Wares.<sup>456</sup>

This statement was signed by first mate Elias Fredric Planting, carpenter Johan Rautio, able seamen Michell Haataja, and Jacob Öhrn, and it was also witnessed by merchants Dipping and Somberg. The confession appears to have been successful as the court records show no indication that Captain Schröder was ever fined for negligence.<sup>457</sup>

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<sup>454</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Förordning Emot Lurendrägerier Eller Förbudne Utrikes Warors Införsel I Riket, 22 Martii 1770' (1770). 5 Art., 3§ ; an example of this new legislation in action can be seen in 1776 when Captain M. Lannes' ship arrived in Gothenburg from Aberdeen. 25 illegal items were found on board belonging to the able seaman Jon Stephens. Stephens confessed that he had brought the items onto the ship without the captain's knowledge. Jon Stephens was fined 177 D smt for his offence, whilst his captain had to pay 10 D smt for negligence (5 art. 3§, 1770). 30 April 1776, in 'Dombok' 1776, A1, vol.10, Göteborgs Sjöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>455</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Förekommande Af Lurendrägeri Och Tullförsnilling Gifwen Haga Slott Den 6 April 1799' (1799). 5 Art. 3§

<sup>456</sup> Erkännande, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Avdelning 2, Avdelning för tullmål, E, Inneliggande Handlingar, vol. 1 1791-1809, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>457</sup> 'Confiscationer I Stockholm' 1803-1807, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1-2, Riksarkivet.

The development of the regulations show a clear trend towards pursuing higher level offenders in order to stamp out the mastermind, not only through the previously mentioned intensification of punishment for the able mates, sailors, and the captain in 1770, but also through the tip-off system introduced in 1799.<sup>458</sup> According to the new system an able seaman or captain unable to pay the fines would be spared hard labour if he could prove that the ship-owner or commissioner had been responsible for, or known about, the smuggling. In that case the fines would instead be converted to prison on water and bread.<sup>459</sup> It has not been possible to identify any such cases in the court records however. Whether this is due to the fact that such cases were processed differently or whether the sailors never divulged the principal smuggler, either out of ignorance or due to other reasons, is uncertain.

The challenges of controlling and surveying shipping seem to have inspired a shift in the last years of the eighteenth century, when attention moved from the vessels to the vendors of contraband. Towards the end of the period under investigation here there was a proportional drop in trials against both captains and crewmembers. During the six-month period from July to December 1800, the Maritime Customs Court in Stockholm oversaw 46 trials, out of which only 25 concerned confiscations on board ships (54.34%): a definite drop from 1769.<sup>460</sup> This was related to the emergence of a new surveillance tactic. The late eighteenth century saw a shift in focus with the introduction of new anti-smuggling legislation and the reintroduction of shop searches in 1785 and universal house searches in 1799.<sup>461</sup> Such a tendency can also be discerned in the customs records, where confiscations on ships decreased while shop confiscations increased, which will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

One final observation should be made about the vessels in the Maritime Customs Court's records. Virtually all of the confiscations were made during the period between March and

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<sup>458</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Förordning Emot Lurendrägerier Eller Förbudne Utrikes Warors Införsel I Riket, 22 Martii 1770' (1770). 1 Art., 6§

<sup>459</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Förekommade Af Lurendrägeri Och Tullförsnillning Gifwen Haga Slott Den 6 April 1799' (1799). 1 Art., 1§

<sup>460</sup> 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1769; 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1800.; a similar trend can also be observed in the newspapers – out of the 126 people announced as smugglers in *Inrikes Tidningar* in 1807, 26 were captains, 9 of them British. '-', *Inrikes Tidningar*, 7 July 1807, 72 edition.; See also 'Confiscationer I Stockholm', 1803, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1-2, Riksarkivet.

<sup>461</sup> Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning til Hämmande af Lurendrägerier, Gifwen Stockholms Slott then 14 Martii 1785; Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Förekommade af Lurendrägeri och Tullförsnillning Gifwen Haga Slott den 6 April 1799.

(early) December, and there were hardly any seizures between late January and March. This was most likely due to climatic conditions, as Stockholm during this period came to be surrounded by an ice sheet, which immobilised trade for some months at the start of the year.<sup>462</sup>

Throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century transgressing vessels caused much concern for the authorities and despite ample legislative attempts to control them, they were never fully able to secure the archipelago around Stockholm. Instead, transgressing vessels connected the Swedish economic space to other more liberal markets like Britain, and after 1786 also Pomerania. Continuous movements of people, vessels, and illegal goods between Sweden and its trading partners undermined Sweden's protectionist economic policy and space. While attempts were made to control both the transgressing vessels and the people in them it was a difficult task to manage. At the same time the sources indicate that smuggling appears to have played an important role for those who sailed to Sweden, as it could both increase trade profits, undercut by the country's protectionist policies, and boost private income. Professional shippers and traders were not, however, the only go-betweens to cross Swedish borders, and the Swedish economic space must be considered in relation not only to its seafaring trading partners but also to its territorial neighbours.

## **Boreal Borderlands**

This section looks more closely at the Swedish borderlands. Three types of border spaces will be considered in particular detail: a maritime border, an older land border (established prior to 1700) and a newer land border (established after 1700). In addition, one singular area will be examined that was considered an exterior space despite the fact that it was located within the Swedish kingdom – the free port at Marstrand. While all areas analysed were defined by cross-border exchange, they were also characterised by attempts to detach and distinguish Sweden in relation to its neighbouring territories and to restrict cross-border movement.

### *Maritime Borders*

#### The West Coast

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<sup>462</sup> Leos Müller, 'Under Svensk Flagg i Medelhavet. Algeriska Sjöpass 1770–1800', in *Från Afrikakompaniet till Tokyo. En Vänbok till György Nováky*, ed. Marie Lennersand and Leos Müller (Exkurs, 2017).pp.53-56



Sweden's west coast varied from extensive sandy beaches in the south to inhospitable, craggy archipelagos in the north. This varied geography presented different problems for customs officers and opportunities for smugglers. People living and working in these areas were seen as particularly suspect and in need of surveillance, which is reflected in the anti-smuggling legislation issued in 1757 and 1766.<sup>463</sup> Suspicion of the coastal dwellers was related to the fact that many of them were involved in maritime transport and fishing for their subsistence and therefore equipped with boats – boats that could easily be used to transport contraband into Sweden, particularly from Denmark, which could be reached with just over an hour's rowing in fair weather.<sup>464</sup>

The south-west and west coast were prominent areas for shipping. Since the end of the Danish period in 1645, peasants, particularly in Skåne and Halland, had enjoyed special rights to complement their farming with shipping. Peasant shipping (*allmogesjöfart*) in Halland, Skåne and Bohuslän had primarily focused on exporting timber to Denmark, but the trade diversified and by the eighteenth century iron, timber and herring were also exported. Herring had by the 1770s become the dominant export good. It was exchanged for different types of consumer goods, including spices and dyes. The Danish connection remained strong in the region throughout the shipping period, but the peasant sailors also travelled to England, France, and even as far as the Mediterranean as the demand for salt started to increase.<sup>465</sup> The peasants' free navigation rights aggravated traders in Gothenburg which led to increased pressures to control trade from the mid-seventeenth century, to limit the peasants' free navigation rights and introduce new customs measures to weaken the Danish trade connections.<sup>466</sup> At the same time, this trade played an important role for these coastal areas, which were still dependent on a makeshift economy for their survival, and would not become agriculturally self-sufficient with grain until the nineteenth century.<sup>467</sup> Peasant shipping enriched the poor coastal areas with income raised from exports and imports, which led to the erection of many grand houses, particularly in Halland.<sup>468</sup> The exact character of peasant navigation varied between regions,

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<sup>463</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Ytterligare Nådige Förordning, angående Lurendrägeriers uptäckande och hämmande.' (1757); 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, Til Lurendrägeriers Hämmade.' (1766).

<sup>464</sup> This time approximation is solely intended to give an indication of the distance between the two countries and is taken from Erik Palmstedt, *Resedagbok 1778-1780* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells A.B., 1927), p.25

<sup>465</sup> Albert Sandklef, *Allmogesjöfart På Sveriges Västkust 1575-1850* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1973). p. 328

<sup>466</sup> Sandklef. pp. 109-111

<sup>467</sup> For the Halland example see, Pablo Wiking-Faria, 'Freden, Friköpen Och Järmplogarna: Drivkrafter Och Förändringsprocesser under Den Agrara Revolutionen I Halland 1700-1900' (Göteborgs Universitet, 2009). p.

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<sup>468</sup> Sandklef. p. 373

however. In Halland the sailing was dominated by a few villages, while in the northerly west coast province of Bohuslän, by contrast, the practice was common all along the coastline.<sup>469</sup> Peasant shipping, in different shapes, thus had a long tradition along the west coast and contributed to the local economy. In spite of this it also faced increasing calls for regulation, as it created a channel between the Swedish and the foreign markets, open to abuse.<sup>470</sup>

Along with the trade there was also the fishing. In Bohuslän in particular, herring fishing became an important source of income from the middle of the eighteenth century, but fish was in flux and provided booms of employment in certain regions during limited periods.<sup>471</sup> The importance of the movement of the fish can be seen for example in the consular reports submitted by Consul Thomas Erskine to the British state.<sup>472</sup> It led to the establishment of *sillsalterier* and *trankokerier* in the archipelago where herring was salted and train oil extracted.<sup>473</sup> Due to the bad odour emanating from these processes, the establishments were often remotely located. In this way the fishing and transport industry supplied the coast with an extensive network of boathouses, storage houses and refineries along the coast, particularly in the north.

An apprehension about these buildings as potential hiding places for contraband can be discerned in the anti-smuggling legislation. Protocols from the Maritime Customs Court in Gothenburg show that these concerns were not unfounded, as after the reintroduction of the house-visitation in 1766 large contraband hoards came to be seized in buildings related to the fishing industry.<sup>474</sup> In 1768 a search was conducted of *sillsalteriet* at Långedrag, south of Gothenburg. During the search a contraband cache was found worth 6394 D smt, a considerable sum. The goods were confiscated on the grounds that they were illegal, as well as being stored in an unlawful location. As the owner could not be established, the case was left

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<sup>469</sup> Sandklef. pp. 17-18

<sup>470</sup> Pablo Wiking-Faria, 'Freden, Friköpen Och Järnplogarna', p. 55; Pia Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg. Den Västgöta Gårdfarihandeln 1790-1864* (Göteborg: Göteborg Universitet, 2008). p.146

<sup>471</sup> Arne Carlsson, 'Marstrand under Frihamnstiden 1775-1794', in *Handel Och Sjöfart under Gustaviansk Tid*, Meddelanaden Från Historiska Institutionen I Göteborg 4 (Göteborg: Historiska Institutionen, 1971).

<sup>472</sup> See for example: 'Consular Report, Gothenburg 2 March 1781', 1781, FO 73, vol.1, British National Archives; 'Consular Report, Gothenburg 21 Jan 1786', 1786, FO 73, vol.5, British National Archives; 'Consular Report, Gothenburg 10 Feb 1787', 1787, FO 73, vol.6, British National Archives; 'Consular Report, Gothenburg 27 Nov 1787', 1787, FO 73, vol.6, British National Archives

<sup>473</sup> Fish oil or whale oil

<sup>474</sup> The house-visitation was banned between 1762 and 1766, see, 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, Til Lurendrägeriers Hämmande.' (1766); for a longer discussion about the visitation see Chapter 2.

open awaiting further information.<sup>475</sup> The following year another confiscation was made in the salt houses at *sillsalteriet* Barna Bratten on an island south of Gothenburg. This time the goods were valued at 3454 D smt and the joint owner, merchant Peter Bagge, was issued with the fines despite attempts to redirect the blame onto ‘two unknown sailors’.<sup>476</sup> As these establishments were often remotely located, it was common for the owners to claim ignorance of the activities taking place there, although it rarely shielded them from fines.

One case that deserves particular attention is a confiscation on the island Vrångö, which contains more information than is usual for confiscations in the archipelago. During the 1780s Vrångö, just to the south of Styrösö, came to prominence among the islands in Gothenburg's archipelago as an important stopping point for peasant sailors.<sup>477</sup> However, peasant sailors are known to have lived on Vrångö even before this time, including a certain Jon Nilsson, shipper, who lived on Vrångö in 1765.<sup>478</sup> Eleven years later, on 11<sup>th</sup> April 1776, Jon Nilsson's name turns up in the Gothenburg Maritime Customs Court records. During a visitation to "Nilsson's boathouse", 19 boxes of contraband were found, along with some extra clothing and several carpets.<sup>479</sup> It was quickly decided that the goods and the boathouse belonged to another peasant shipper, Olaf Jonsson, who had been missing since the seizure. Interviews were conducted with several of Jonsson's neighbours, who could provide very little information about him, even if they by their own accounts lived “a hundred paces” from Jonsson. By comparing the accounts of the witnesses, it became clear to the court that some of their witnesses were lying. During extended questioning it was finally revealed that Olof Jonsson had left for Helsingör in Denmark and that the witness Olof Andersson had been giving false information about his own identity as well as his relationship to Jonsson.<sup>480</sup> The goods, which were mainly British textile imports, were valued at 6968 D smt and Jonsson was convicted in *abstentia*.<sup>481</sup> The extensive research by Gothenburg Maritime Customs Court makes it possible to link this hoard to the peasant sailor Olaf Jonsson but also to establish that he had a connection to the Danish port Helsingör. It is possible to speculate that Jonsson had purchased the British wares in Denmark

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<sup>475</sup> 11 Aug 1768 & 26 Aug 1768, ‘Dombok’ 1768, A1, vol.7, Göteborgs Sjö tullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>476</sup> 20 Feb 1769, Kommerskollegiet, Advokatfiskalskontoret, D3a, Rättsprotokoll, Göteborgs Sjö tullsrätt.; This island, later renamed Styrösö Bratten, would continue to figure as a site for smuggling well into the 1820s and 1830s. See: C.R.A. Fredberg, *Det Gamla Göteborg. Lokallistoriska Skildringar Personalia Och Kulturdrag*, vol. 3 (Göteborg: Bröderna Weiss, 1922).pp.876-877

<sup>477</sup> Albert Sandklef, *Allmogesjöfart På Sveriges Västkust 1575-1850*. p.39

<sup>478</sup> Sandklef. p.338

<sup>479</sup> 11 April 1776, ‘Dombok’ 1776, A1, vol.10, Göteborgs Sjö tullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>480</sup> 2 May 1776, Ibid.

<sup>481</sup> 6 May 1776, Ibid.

before bringing them to Vrångö. The case highlights both how storage buildings along the coast could be used as entry portals for goods into the Swedish realm but also the role that peasant sailors could play in connecting the Swedish and foreign markets.



Figure 3.5. Gothenburg Archipelago. In this map of the archipelago outside of Gothenburg, the town can be seen in the centre and Styrso as well as Vrångö are located towards the bottom of the map. 'Göteborgs och Bohus län detaljkartor, Trakten emellan Bohus och Göteborg, sat söder om staden med Skärgården', Sveriges Topografiska kartor, 15B:4, Krigsarkivet.

Shortly after Jonsson's conviction these buildings disappear from the trial records. In July 1776 Gustav III banned the use of the house-visitation, which included all sorts of privately-owned structures, including boathouses and *sillsalterier*.<sup>482</sup> These sites were consequently protected and contraband stored there beyond the reach of the customs. The ban on searches of these coastal storage houses was only lifted in 1798, more than 20 years later, when the future king Gustav IV Adolph issued a "Prohibition against the illegal trade and storage of smuggled goods in the Country's archipelagos".<sup>483</sup> It contained a critique of the special privileges that the *sillsalteri* had been enjoying, privileges that included the right to import and store provisions for their business free from surveillance. This right, it was argued, had been misused to store illegal foreign goods, "which often with an open boat, from foreign places, are smuggled in directly to the *Salteri*".<sup>484</sup> In addition to this, the decree laments that "in several places in the Country's archipelagos forbidden foreign wares are stored and sold".<sup>485</sup> The decree noted that visitations and searches would thus be allowed in boathouses and stores in the archipelago and along the coastline, where people were trading without permission. Anyone conducting such illegal trade along the coast would be fined 200 Rdr each time they were caught regardless of the value of the goods.<sup>486</sup> Both the regulation and the customs protocols bear witness to the role played by these coastal storage houses in enabling the contraband trade. Furthermore, extended periods of visitation prohibitions, 1762-1766 and 1776-1798, meant that the storages could have been used for storing contraband relatively safely for long periods of the eighteenth century.

However, during the last years of the eighteenth century new efforts were made to control the coastal areas. A month after the reintroduction of the visitation of the coastal storage houses another decree was issued that was intended to prevent the use of open boats to sail across to foreign territories. It argued that it was much easier and faster to unload an open boat without proper mooring and that as such these boats enabled smuggling.<sup>487</sup> In the 1799 decree the scope of visitations increased again and the fiscal officers gained the right to visit anyone living in the archipelago or along the coastline in search of contraband. If nothing was found the fiscals should be charged 20 to 100 Rdr, depending on the situation (8 Art. 8§, 1799). Some restraint

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<sup>482</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förbud Emot Hus=Visitationer, Gifwit Ekolsund Then 16 Julii 1776' (1776).

<sup>483</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Förbud Emot Oloflig Handel Och Uplag Af Lurendrägade Waror I Rikets Skärgårdar. Gifwen Stockholms Slott Den 19 Junii 1798.' (1798).

<sup>484</sup> Ibid.

<sup>485</sup> Ibid.

<sup>486</sup> Ibid.

<sup>487</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Och Rikets Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Segelfarten På Utländske Orter Ifrån Götheborgs Och Bohus, Samt Hallands=Läns Skärgårdar.' (1798).

was still practised, but it is clear that the spotlight had been turned upon the coastal dwellers and that increasing efforts were being made to assert control over these coastal borders.

Despite attempts to strengthen anti-smuggling legislation and to extend the reach of the customs officers, the west coast was still difficult to manage. In a memorandum submitted in 1804 by travelling fiscal B. E. Hjelm from the fishing community Råå, a community with a population of 100 people located along the north-west coast of Skåne, Hjelm observed that the residents of Råå and the surrounding areas still travelled to Denmark for illegal trade, Denmark being only 10 km away, but also co-operated with foreign trading vessels under the pretence of fishing.



Figure 3.6. Author's own photograph of house used for the storage of contraband in Edenryd, Skåne, 2017, © A. M. C. Knutsson

Why did this smuggling trade continue despite increasing legislation and expanded customs officer authority? As Hjelm noted, the geography of the area, in particular its extensive beaches, made it possible to offload contraband anywhere, which meant that patrols could at most have limited effect.<sup>488</sup> Further north along the coast in the craggy archipelago of Bohuslän

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<sup>488</sup> 'Memorial 13 Juni 1804, B. E. Hjelm', 1804, Äldre centrala tullarkivet, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, mfl, Kansliet, Resefiskaler, E9, vol.4, Riksarkivet.

the issues looked completely different. There the customs officers were obstructed in their work by an endless number of cliffs, crags, and other hiding places.<sup>489</sup> Local knowledge was important in the archipelago as it was difficult to navigate. Moreover, some of the customs officers posted along the coast appear to have had no nautical knowledge at all. In 1791 the fiscal Nikolaus Källberg reported that a customs officer from Stockholm, Jacob Parell, had recently been posted in the Bohus archipelago. Parell had so far not had much success, as he was unable to row and was thus incapable of intervening when he saw a boat with contraband pass by.<sup>490</sup> Geography was thus crucial in facilitating smuggling but it was also vital that the customs officers be able to adapt to their local conditions and to gather the same local knowledge which most of the perpetrators already possessed. The need for local knowledge is something that will be returned to throughout this chapter.

Surveillance was primarily managed by mounted officers who patrolled both the coastlines, particularly on the western and southern coasts. Patrolling the beaches was not an easy task, however. In 1797 customs officers Olof Granbom and A. J. Tanson in Helsingborg reflected on their own lack of seizures from the previous year: “The Smuggler has through many years’ training and experience become more careful and difficult to get to...[and] the officer on horseback is not able to be in all places at the same time”.<sup>491</sup> Accounts from the customs office indicate that beach surveillance was limited to the spring and summer months and largely absent during the winter months.<sup>492</sup> This implies that maritime smuggling primarily took place during these months. However, this region should not have been suffering from winter ice, so the exact reason for this short surveillance period remains unknown.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>489</sup> ‘Ankomna Skrivelser Från Kungl. Maj:T m. Fl.’, 1776, Landskansliets för Göteborgs och Bohus län arkiv, Göteborgs Landsarkiv; Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd, *Dagboksanteckningar Förda Vid Gustaf III.:S Hof Af Friherre Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, 2 vols (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners förlag, 1878); Magnus Hollertz, *Resa Omkring En Mycket Liten Bit Av Jorden* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1949).p. 228

<sup>490</sup> Nikolaus Källberg, ‘Memorial, Marstrand, Bewakning, 9 Aug 1791’, 1791, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, m. fl., kansliet, Skrivelser från tullfiskaler E8, vol.1, Riksarkivet.

<sup>491</sup> ‘17. Helsingborg’, 1797, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.26, Riksarkivet.

<sup>492</sup> Summer confiscations by mounted officers all along the west coast are registered June-September in: ‘1795 Berättelse’ May 1794, Äldre centrala arkiv, Överdirektören vid sjötullen, Huvudarkiv Liggare över föredragna mål D1, vol.7, Riksarkivet. pp. 40, 45b, 58

<sup>493</sup> During the Little Ice Age, the sea to Denmark did freeze over on some occasions but this does not appear to have been a regular occurrence. S. Lindgrén and J. Neumann, ‘Crossings of Ice-Bound Sea Surfaces in History’, *Climatic Change* 4, no. 1 (1 March 1982).

Despite attempts to control the coastline, smuggling continued, and it came to receive particular attention during the riksdag of 1800. Several representatives of the burgher estate brought up the issue of the fishing villages as ports for both contraband and illegal travellers. One stated: “It is a too well-known truth, that the so-called fishing villages in Skåne ... have now been transformed to loading and unloading places for contraband goods”.<sup>494</sup> Indeed, the commentator added:

This abuse so harmful for the Kingdom and for both common and individual safety cannot, due to the expanse of the coastline, through any possible surveillance be stopped; and Your Royal Highness' wise and gracious decree for the prevention of smuggling will not be effective due to the ease with which smuggling can be conducted in these fishing villages.<sup>495</sup>

The activities in these fishing communities and along the coast were part of a makeshift economy which came to be increasingly controlled and regulated as a part of the government's consolidation of the borders and the increased focus on the economic integrity of the Kingdom. However, a challenging geography and shifting regulations made it difficult to exert the desired control over these spaces.

#### Marstrand

Marstrand, an isolated island north of Gothenburg, was an altogether different type of maritime space. As a free port it enjoyed a particular economic standing, enabling Sweden to enjoy the benefits of free trade while maintaining its protectionist legislation. Marstrand was not only a freeport where goods could be brought in, stored, consumed and re-exported duty-free, it was also a free-town with religious freedom, where the guild-system had been abolished and some criminals even were absolved of their crimes.<sup>496</sup> Marstrand thus enjoyed different legislation compared to the remainder of the Swedish economic space and it conforms to Francesco Somaini's definition of *emboîtement* territories – small spaces encapsuled in larger spaces.<sup>497</sup>

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<sup>494</sup> Various, *Wälloflige Borgare=Ståndets Protocoller Wid Riksdagen I Norrköping År 1800* (Stockholm: C. F. Marquard, 1800). p.655

<sup>495</sup> Ibid. pp. 655-656

<sup>496</sup> Arne Carlsson, 'Marstrand under Frihamnstiden 1775-1794', in *Handel Och Sjöfart under Gustaviansk Tid, Meddelanden Från Historiska Institutionen I Göteborg* 4 (Göteborg: Historiska Institutionen, 1971). pp.27-28

<sup>497</sup> Francesco Somaini, 'Territory, Territorialisation, Territoriality: Problems of Definiton and Historical Interpretation', *Plurimondi* 10 (2012).p.35



The creation of the free port was announced by Gustav III on 15 August 1775.<sup>498</sup> It was the result of the efforts of Johan Liljencrantz, the State Secretary of the Trade and Finance Office (*Handels och Finanse Expeditionen*), who had favoured transit trade as the solution to Sweden's trade imbalance since his expeditions to the Netherlands in the 1750s.<sup>499</sup> He had studied both Marseille and Livorno as models for the Swedish free port, and particularly found inspiration in the multi-cultural and multi-religious Livorno.<sup>500</sup> The idea of a free port was not met with universal approval, however, and one of the most significant critiques of the free port was that it encouraged smuggling. In order to avoid this undesirable side-effect it was important to find a location which could be easily monitored and surveyed. Several locations were up for discussion, including Käsö, Gotland, and Slite. Liljencrantz favoured Marstrand as he thought that it would be easy to monitor but also because it was a former staple town and contained all the related infrastructure, which would make the *porto franco* cheaper to build.<sup>501</sup>

Twelve years after the initiation of the free port at Marstrand, an unimpressed visitor approaching Tjuvkil, the ferry terminal to Marstrand, observed:

The walking path there went between rocks and over marshland: and the Customs cabin by the beach is located between cliffs with a lonesome view of the sea. All of the islands and islets that can be seen are rock; and these are all barren and not even picturesque.<sup>502</sup>

While the location of the *porto franco* had been chosen for its seclusion and limited access, it quickly became apparent that the location also encouraged smuggling. Four years after the introduction of the free port, a defeated Johan Liljencrantz admitted that its establishment had only led to an increase in smuggling. It was too difficult to prevent goods leaving the island surreptitiously due to all of its cliffs and difficult terrain, which made surveillance a continuous struggle.<sup>503</sup> That Marstrand had become a smuggling centre did not escape foreign commentators. One trade manual recounted,

...the inhabitants of that town receive many commodities, as entrepôt-goods,

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<sup>498</sup> 'Kongl. Majts Kungörelse, Angående Inrättandet Af En Så Kallad Porto-Franco Uti Marstrand. Den 15 Augusti 1775' (1775).

<sup>499</sup> Essén, *Johan Liljencrantz Som Handelspolitiker: Studier i Sveriges Yttre Handelspolitik 1773-1786*. p.64

<sup>500</sup> Essén.p.94

<sup>501</sup> Essén.pp.100 & 111

<sup>502</sup> Jonas Carl Linnerhjelm, *Brev under Resor I Sverige* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1932). p.236

<sup>503</sup> Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd, *Dagboksanteckningar Förda Vid Gustaf III:s Hof Af Friherre Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, 2 vols. (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners förlag, 1878). p.283

and they are later smuggled to Denmark, Scotland and domestic locations for distribution. The entrepôt trade is in general the most distinguished business, in particular in regards to foreign brandy which is imported and withdrawn for re-export.<sup>504</sup>

As early as 1776, new reinforced controls were deemed necessary. Military units were placed on Marstrand, and a guard boat was to patrol the Mittsund, the water between Marstrand and Koön. In addition, several other patrol boats would circulate in the surrounding archipelago.<sup>505</sup> By 1782 it was deemed necessary to publish a particular decree relating to the movement around Marstrand. It stipulated that it was forbidden to sail around in the archipelago and that all vessels passing must exit to Kattegat through the quickest route available. In addition, all open auctions also had to be attended by a magistrate to make sure that they were conducted lawfully.<sup>506</sup>

Despite all of these efforts to control Marstrand the Customs Court material indicates that the dispersion of goods from the free port continued. One example of this comes from 1776, the same year that the military postings were introduced at Marstrand. That year a considerable hoard of contraband was seized from a man by the name of Pihlström at Lahall Inn, on the road between Marstrand and Gothenburg. The goods had just arrived from Canton on the ship *Terra Nova* and parts of the legal goods had been purchased by Pihlström's accomplice, the Captain and Knight of the Swarts Order Adolph Hellman, and stored in Marstrand intended for re-export.<sup>507</sup> This case will be discussed at further length in the section on 'Inns' below, but it illustrates that far from all of the goods intended to remain at Marstrand actually did so. Many other examples of this can also be found in the customs records. In 1791, Jonas Hallberg was caught trying to enter Gothenburg in a calash, carrying 74 pieces of waistcoat cloth which he had acquired in Marstrand.<sup>508</sup> Four years after that the apothecary C.H. Bolin was caught trying to smuggle 418 Rdr's worth of medical material from Marstrand to Gothenburg.<sup>509</sup> From these few cases it looks as if people were able to acquire illegal goods at Marstrand, which should

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<sup>504</sup> Gottfried Christian Bohn, *Gottfried Christian Bohns Wohlerfahrner Kaufmann Herausgegeben von C.D. Ebeling, Professor Am Gymnasium Zu Hamburg Und Mitvorsteher Der Handlungsakademie, Und P. H. C. Brodhagen, Lehrer Vei Der Handlungsakademie*, 5th ed. (Hamburg: Carl Ernst Bohn, 1789), pp.723-724

<sup>505</sup> 'Ankomna Skrivelser Från Kungl. Maj:t M. Fl.', 1776, Landskansliets för Göteborgs och Bohus län arkiv, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>506</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Och Rikens Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Wißa Omständigheter Rörande Marstrands Fri=hamn; Gifwen Stockholm Then 20 Junii 1782' (1782).

<sup>507</sup> 22 - 30 Oct 1776 'Dombok' 1776, A1, vol.10, Göteborgs Sjtöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>508</sup> 25 July 1791, 'Dombok' 1791, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Sjtöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>509</sup> '1795 Berättelse' May 1794, Äldre centrala arkiv, Överdirektören vid sjötullen, Huvudarkiv Liggare över föredragna mål D1, vol.7, Riksarkivet.

have been intended for export. A market space thus existed that was separate from the Swedish legislation but relatively accessible as part of the Swedish geographical space. This experimental extra-legal space finally lost its free port rights in 1794 but it had by this point already fallen from favour, and trading had mainly been replaced with fishing.<sup>510</sup> Only a decade later, it would be on this same “rock in the sea” that the customs officer E.E. Bodell would pen his support of Swedish free trade as an antidote to smuggling.<sup>511</sup>

Marstrand had been founded to serve as an extra-legal space to allow Sweden to participate in free trade otherwise impossible due to its protectionist policy. Marstrand's geographical conditions and its proximity to the Swedish mainland, however, led to issues in maintaining and enforcing the border between the free trade port and the protectionist mainland. As a result, smuggling enabled goods from the transit harbour to ‘leak’ into the country. This did not just undermine the Swedish economic space but also the integrity of the free port.

In both of these coastal examples, the general case of the west coast and the specific case of Marstrand, legislation and regulations were used to define the spaces as part, or not, of the Swedish economic space. Through creating set standards of acceptable behaviour, these legislations also helped to define smuggling as a crime. Meanwhile, the coastal areas were highly exposed to smuggling and were difficult to control and manage. The coast thus became a contested geopolitical space, as the Swedish legal dominion was simultaneously being challenged and defined by criminality in these areas. The continued existence of smuggling and the struggle to control these challenging spaces meant that there was a continual interaction between the legislation and the crime – which in part depended on political developments, as discussed in the last chapter, but which were also related to the geographical space itself, its possibilities and limitations.

### *Land Borders*

As the investigation turns from maritime to overland smuggling it is important to address the geographical and climatic conditions that came to shape this smuggling. The topography of Sweden, particularly the northern two thirds, are dominated by the taiga, the primeval evergreen forest which spans most of the subarctic, or boreal, climate region. It is a forest that together

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<sup>510</sup> Arne Carlsson, ‘Marstrand under Frihamnstiden 1775-1794’, in *Handel Och Sjöfart under Gustaviansk Tid*, Meddelanden Från Historiska Institutionen I Göteborg 4 (Göteborg: Historiska Institutionen, 1971). p.58

<sup>511</sup> See Chapter 2 for a longer discussion.

with the mountainous regions along the Swedish north-west border makes the area vastly difficult to oversee and control to this day. For this reason, these territories have throughout history been used to conceal secret and forbidden movements.<sup>512</sup> Meanwhile, the region's subarctic climate has ensured regular and heavy snowfall throughout the winter period, along with frozen lakes. This was particularly true for the period under investigation here, which falls under the Little Ice Age, and which saw low average temperatures and an increased risk of crop failure.<sup>513</sup> Snow and ice, as well as the absence of agricultural chores, made winter into a time of travel and transport. It was also a period when many seasonal workers found themselves without regular employment.<sup>514</sup> In various ways these trends can also be observed in the customs protocols. One defendant even went as far as to argue that he could not possibly have committed the smuggling crime he stood accused of because it had not yet been winter, claiming that smuggling in the summer was hardly an option as it necessitated the use of regular roads which passed by the customs chambers.<sup>515</sup> At the same time, harsh winters and poor crop yields could increase the need to resort to alternative sources of income. These natural, topographic and climatic aspects preconditioned overland smuggling and enabled the movements and activities that will now be explored.

Topography not only conditioned movements in the terrain but also influenced the location of customs chambers, which were rarely located at the actual border. For example, Duved, the main customs chamber in Jämtland, was constructed in a location where several roads across the mountains converged (see figure 3.9.). Consequently, there existed a stretch of land all along the border which did not, in practice, require the importers to pass by a customs office to sell their wares on Swedish land, creating a type of economic no man's land. Duved was located around 50 km from the border, Härjedalen's customs chamber in Funäsdalen around 30 km away and Dalarna's Idre about the same (see figure 3.7.). While mounted officers were supposed to oversee these areas it is clear from the customs reports that they struggled, due to understaffing and vast distances.<sup>516</sup> In practice this meant that the effective economic border was located further into the country than where it was delineated on maps. In addition, the

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<sup>512</sup> One recent example can be found from the Second World War, when the mountains along the Norwegian border helped to conceal escapes into Sweden. Meanwhile, on the Finnish side the vast forests helped to conceal soldiers on skis during the Winter War.

<sup>513</sup> Mann, 'Little Ice Age' p.504

<sup>514</sup> For a longer discussion see Chapter 1.

<sup>515</sup> 4 Jan 1792, 'Kuopio, N:o 333', 1792, Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol.1, Kansallisarkisto (Finska riksarkivet).

<sup>516</sup> See for example: C.G. Borre, '40. Fahlun', 1786, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjtullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.11, Riksarkivet.

economic border was not a continuous line but was instead upheld by customs chambers with staff limited in their reach.

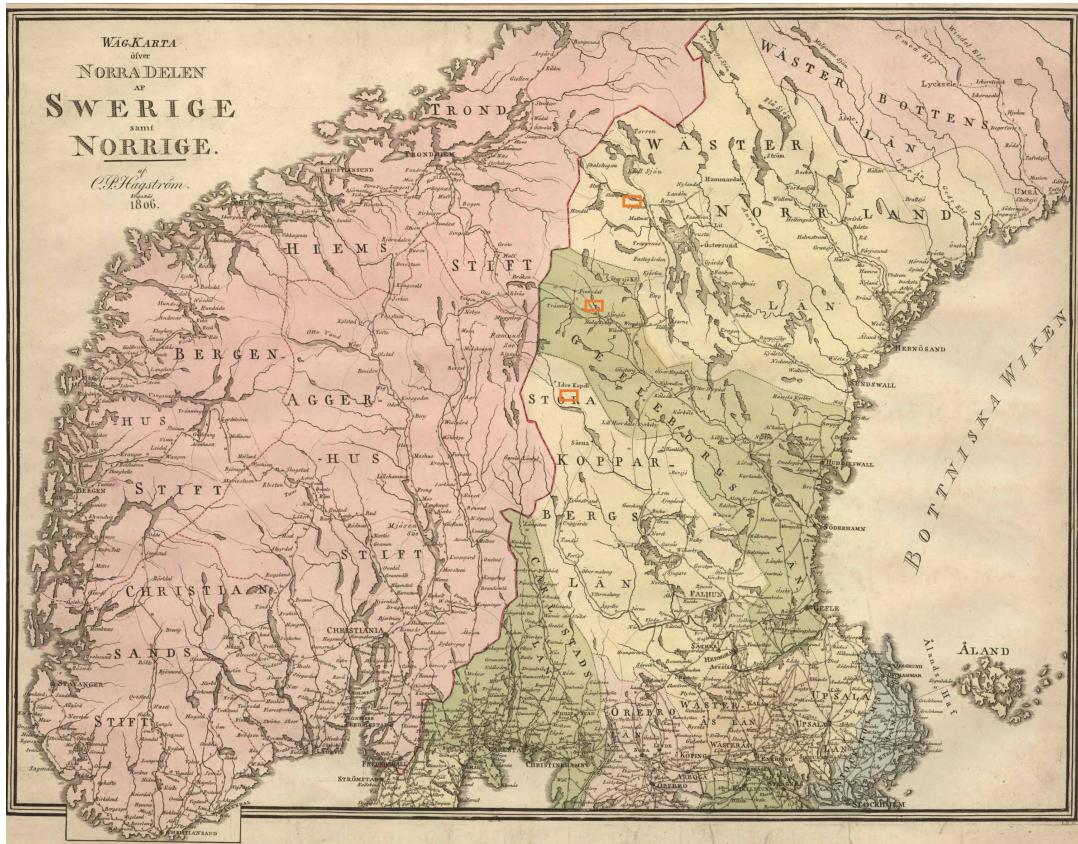


Figure 3.7. Road Map of Northern Sweden. The orange squares are inserted roughly where the customs offices Duved, Funäsdalen, and Idre were located. As can be seen, they leave a mostly unsupervised corridor along the Norwegian border. While this area was not heavily populated it allowed enough space to find alternative routes into the Swedish economic space that did not pass a customs office. C.P. Hagström, 'Wäg-Karta öfver norra delen af Swerige samt Norrige', 1806, Utländska kartor, 405, Norge, B:2, Krigsarkivet.

A similar situation can also be observed along the border to Russia. Just like along the Norwegian border there appears to have been a corridor between the border and the customs offices. In Figure 3.8. the locations of the customs offices along the border have been marked out and it is not simply their distance from the border that is noticeable but also their distance from each other. Kusamo in the north, not included on this map, was located even further away.

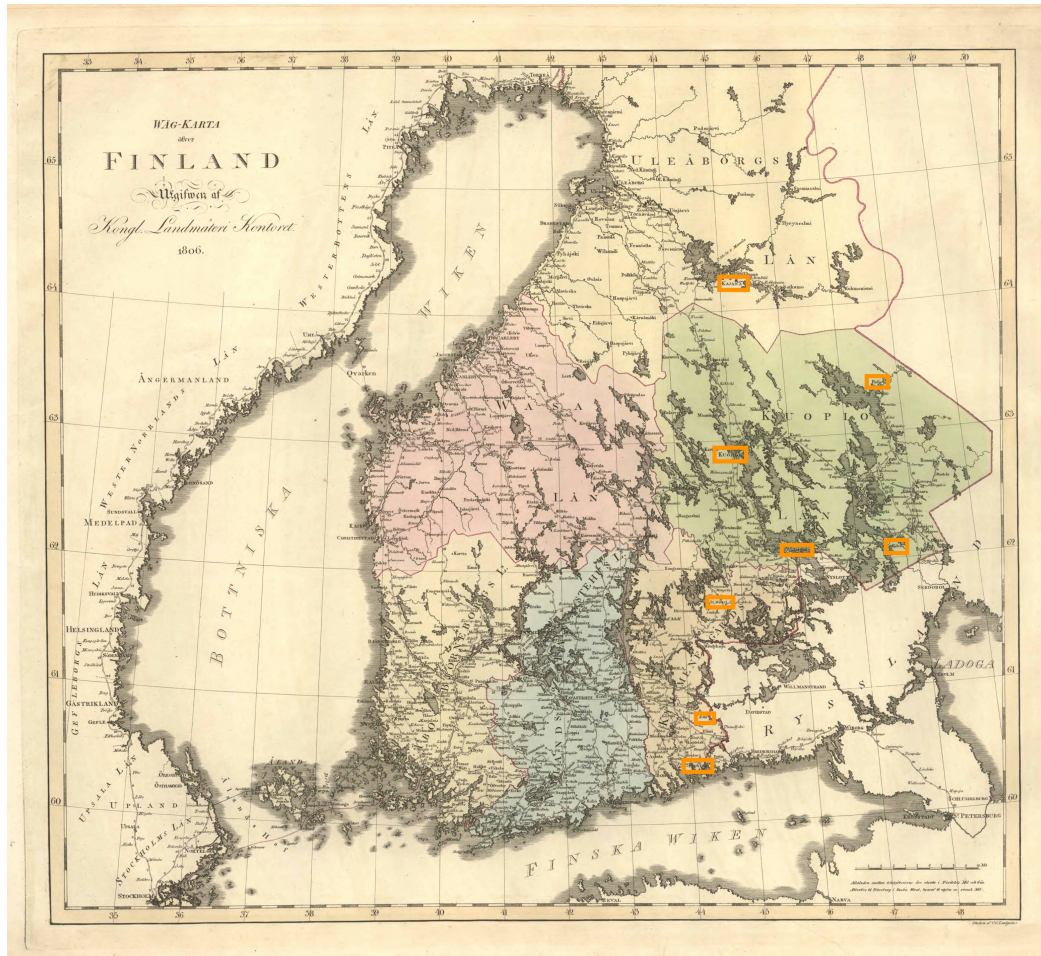


Figure 3.8. Road Map of Finland. ‘Wäg-karta öfver Finland’, 1806, Utländska kartor, 403, Finland, 42:3, Krigsarkivet.

### Jämtland and Härjedalen

The areas of Jämtland and Härjedalen had become Swedish in 1645 after previously belonging to the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway, and they maintained a strong regional identity with extra-Swedish ties throughout the eighteenth century. Jämtland and Härjedalen were particularly linked to the Norwegian province Trøndelag through trade. It has been suggested that trade was the main motivation that tied the regions and their populations together even after the separation.<sup>517</sup> In practical terms this meant that Trondheim, the regional capital of Trøndelag and the surrounding areas, remained an important trading centre for the region, something which did not markedly change after 1645. Trondheim, which has been referred to as the Hamburg of the Nordics, enjoyed an ice-free harbour and became an important trading centre

<sup>517</sup> Erik Opsahl, ‘Jemtland Fra Dansk Til Svensk i 1645? Staten, Riket Og Nasjonen Som Identitets- Og Lojalitetsgrunnlag i Norden i Tidlig Nytid’, in *Jämtland Och Den Jämtländska Världen 1000-1645*, ed. Olof Holm (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2011). p.193

for Norway at large, attracting many people from Jämtland, some of whom settled there to conduct trade.<sup>518</sup> It was not until the emergence of the idea of a unified economic space with a common agenda that this cross-border trade became truly problematic.

Jämtland and Härjedalen were far removed from any substantial Swedish town. In an 1810 map of the Swedish provinces (figure 3.8.) the provinces can be seen midway up the country along the western border, just south of Lappland. These border regions were characterised by a mountainous terrain which peaked along the Norwegian border. The institution of a border through these highlands in 1645 was followed by the establishment of several strategic customs chambers in the 1690s, two of which will be considered here: Duved in Jämtland and Funäsdalen in Härjedalen. The customs chambers were located along old roads crossing the mountains, but far from all roads were covered by customs chambers. Skarvdörren (*Skarfdören*), a passage to Norway on the border between Jämtland and Härjedalen, was, for example, left completely unguarded. The use of that road was consequently prohibited, but it was impossible to ensure that this prohibition was respected.<sup>519</sup> (figure 3.9.)

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<sup>518</sup> Sven Olofsson, 'Till Ömsesidig Nytt. Entreprenörer, Framgång Och Sociala Relationer i Centrala Jämtland ca 1810-1850' (Uppsala University, 2011).p.75

<sup>519</sup> Abraham Hülper, *Samlingar till En Beskrivning Öfwer Norrland, Andra Och Tredje Samlingen, Jämtland Och Herjedalen*, 1775. Andra samlingen pp.132-135; tredje samlingen, pp. 90-91

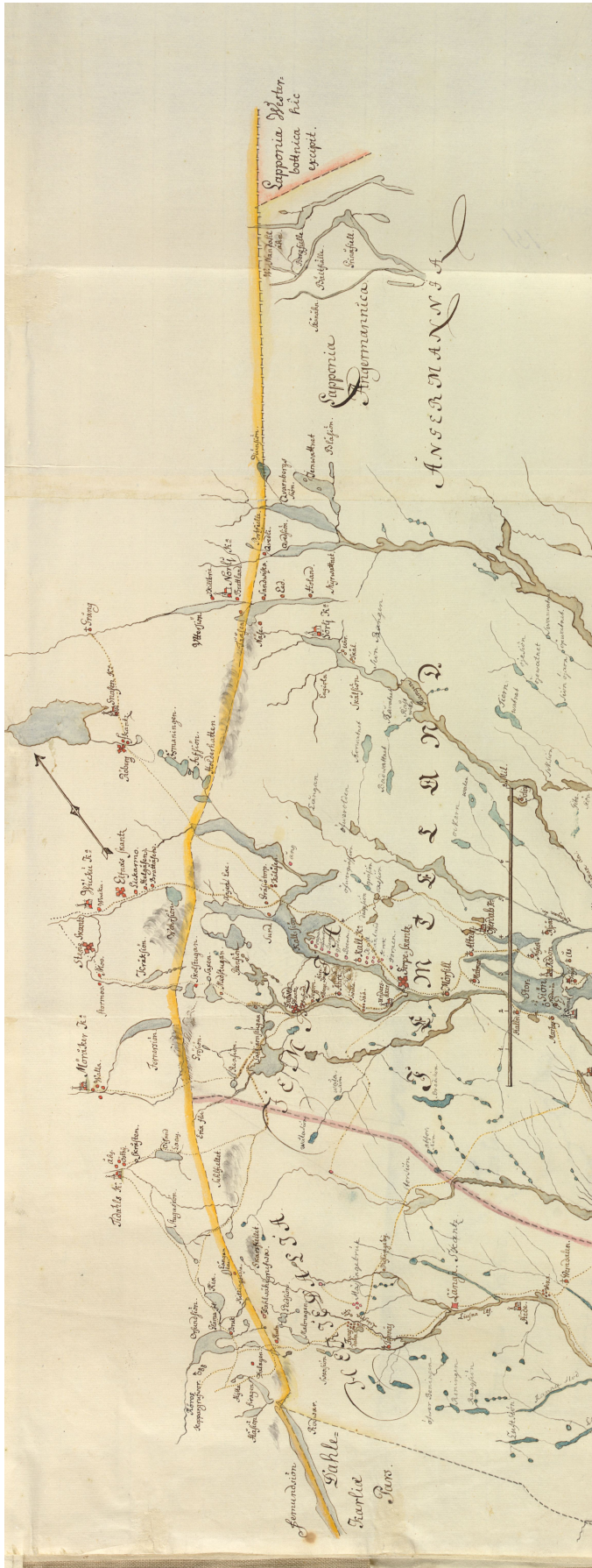


Figure 3.9. Map of the Jämtland and Härjedalen border towards Norway. Skarvdörren is the passage furthest to the left on this map. 'Karta över Jämtland, Härjedalen och Ångermanland vid gränsen mot Norge', undated, 151, Generaltullarrendesocieternas svenska tullatlas, KOB H. Vol. 5, Kungliga Biblioteket.





Figure 3.10. Map over Sweden's Provinces. 'Underlagskarta för Sveriges indelning i landskap', 1810, Sveriges topografiska kartor, 1A:19b, Krigsarkivet.

By 1769, Funäsdalen and Duved customs chambers employed 4 people each, a negligible workforce considering the need to continuously man the customs chamber and patrol vast mountainous areas and multiple by-roads, such as Skarvdörren.

The first yearly report from the customs chamber in Härjedalen dates from 1766. Its author, the customs officer Petter Cerling, observed that the customs officers were unable to impede transgressions that took place in the villages and cottages located towards the border to Norway as their paths had ‘since olden times’ spanned across the border and were used daily for fishing, farming, and taking animals up to the mountains for pasture. In addition, local people travelled to Liusnedal iron works where some of them were employed. The roads were thus crucial to the economy of the mountain dwellers.<sup>520</sup> These quotidian passages into Norway meant that smuggling was common, although Cerling noted that it had reduced in the last two years due to the financial crisis which had left the inhabitants of the region destitute. At the customs chamber in Duved, Pehr Lind also emphasised the continuous exchanges with Norway and in particular stressed the centrality of the market in the Norwegian town of Levanger.<sup>521</sup>

The Levanger Market was of particular importance for the people of Jämtland and Härjedalen and was a longstanding feature of the trade in the region. The earliest documentary evidence of the market dates back to the 1530s, although there is reason to believe that it had been in existence since the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>522</sup> It was held twice a year, in March and December, just before Christmas. The market was timed to correspond with the snow season, which made journeys across the mountains considerably easier as visitors could travel by ski or sleigh.<sup>523</sup> Levanger was ideally located beside the ice-free Trondheim fjord and could be accessed by trading ships in both the winter and summer. At its peak in the middle of the eighteenth century about 2,000 Swedes attended the market each year. Foodstuffs had always been a main trading good but during the eighteenth century various other wares started to be sold, including manufactured

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<sup>520</sup> Petter Cerling, ‘36. Herjedalen’, 1766, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.2, Riksarkivet.

<sup>521</sup> Lind, ‘37. Dufwed’. 1766.

<sup>522</sup> Einar Sandvik, ‘Levangermartnan’, 93 1992, <http://www.marsimartnan.no/Marsimartnan%202008/DKS/LEVANGERMARTNAN.pdf>, Accessed 26 December 2017.

<sup>523</sup> Many markets were held in the wintertime as this was a time that allowed easier travel. Another example of such a winter market is the Hindersmäso market in Örebro – see for example Birger Wennberg, *Hindersmässan i dikt och verklighet*. Nerikes Allehandas förlag (1995).

goods.<sup>524</sup> In Chapter Five I will be discussing worsteds, a wool textile prohibited for import to Sweden, which belonged to this category of goods.<sup>525</sup>

Customs protocols, which bear witness to the contraband trade from Norway, have survived for Funäsdalen stretching back to the 1770s. They show that worsteds play an important role among the contraband seized at Funäsdalen. The textiles might have been smuggled either from one of the markets in Norway, or potentially from the mining town Röros only 70 kilometres from Funäsdalen. One such seizure was made from an unknown man on 13<sup>th</sup> July 1772. It contained, among many other things, red striped calamancoes, black-yellow and red striped taboret, blue white and red flowered taboret, satins in white and red and blue and ample amounts of kersey, along with snuff boxes and brass and horsehair buttons, adding up to a full value of 19 Rdr 13 sk specie (c. 182 D kmt).<sup>526</sup> Four years later another large textile seizure was recorded from unknown miscreants carrying flowered satins, taboret, taffeta, kersey and calico along with woollen ribbons, together worth 40 Rdr 34 sk Specie (c. 716 D kmt).<sup>527</sup> The customs records also show several seizures of tobacco and horses.<sup>528</sup>

From Duved no customs protocols have survived prior to 1805. The 1805 material, however, indicates that most of the trade journeys were timed to coincide with the biannual market in Levanger in March and December. During the night between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1805 the customs officer Pehr Nilsson Råå encountered the farmhand Göran Nilsson from Åre wandering around north of the customs chamber with various contraband goods, presumably purchased at the market in Levanger. The contraband included black camlet, moirée and printed cottons.<sup>529</sup> The link between smuggling and the Levanger Market can also be discerned the following year. Out of the six confiscations made by Duved's customs officers, four were made between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> March and the last two on the 18<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> December, dates suggesting that they were connected to the Levanger Market. These confiscations mainly involved cotton handkerchiefs and children's neckerchiefs along with moiré and calico cloth of various colours and prints. Most common were the textiles moiré, calico (green and yellow and yellow with

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<sup>524</sup> Lars Waggen, 'Gamaltids Marknadsliv i Inntrøndelag,' *Årbok for 1952, Nord-Trøndelag Historielag*, 1952., 1952), pp.39-40

<sup>525</sup> See chapter 5 for a longer discussion on worsteds and why they were prohibited.

<sup>526</sup> §4, 'Funäsdalen', Kommerskollegiet, Advokatfiskalskontoret, Rättsprotokoll, D, Gränstullsätten norr om Värmland (1736-1824), Riksarkivet.

<sup>527</sup> §14, 'Funäsdalen', Ibid.

<sup>528</sup> 'Funäsdalen', Ibid.

<sup>529</sup> 6 May 1805, 'Duved', Kommerskollegiet, Advokatfiskalskontoret, Rättsprotokoll, D, Gränstullsätten norr om Värmland (1736-1824), Riksarkivet.

black roses) and cotton kerchiefs of various types.<sup>530</sup> The customs records can thus give an idea of what types of goods were smuggled, but they also highlight the prominent role the Levanger Market played in the consumer life of Jämtland and Härjedalen, and how it enabled illegal foreign goods to reach Swedish consumers.

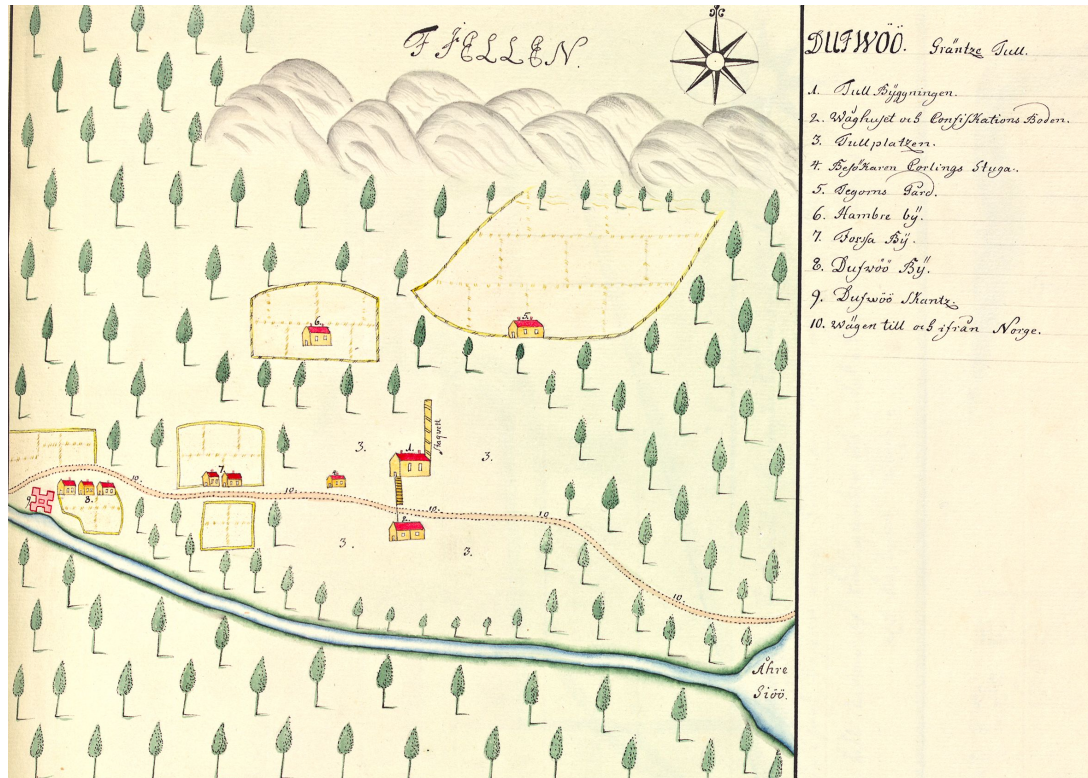


Figure 3.11. Duved Customs Chamber. 'Dufwöö [Duved] Gräntze Tull', 21, undated, *Generaltullarrendesociteternas svenska tullatlas*, KoB H. Vol. 5, Kungliga Biblioteket.

Around the same time as these seizures the Pomeranian traveller Ernst Moritz Arndt visited Jämtland. He described the cross-border trade in the following way:

Trondheim is not located far off... Both the pleasure and profit of a legal and illegal mutual trade are so great, that many are enticed to seize such a profitable trade... but it is too harsh to call all Jämtlanders smugglers.... In the houses of many peasants it is possible to buy wine, coffee, silk and cotton cloth, along with many other fripperies, which a peasant should never know.<sup>531</sup>

The customs protocols show that some goods were seized upon their arrival in Sweden, but a

<sup>530</sup> 1806, 'Duved', *Ibid.* See cases 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7

<sup>531</sup> Ernst Moritz Arndt, *Resa Genom Sverige År 1804*, trans. J. M. Stjernstolpe, vol. 3 (Carlstad, 1808). p.108

closer examination of the circumstances and conditions in the customs chambers indicates that these seizures were made *despite* severe deficiencies in the running of the regional customs. In 1784 the then customs officer at Funäsdalen, Anders Lund, reported that confiscation cases were waiting 6-8 years to be prosecuted as the border customs currently had no regular Customs Court chairman. This meant that the customs personnel did not receive their confiscation bonuses of 60% of the value of the goods, something that undermined the incentive to perform their duties. Meanwhile the border dwellers had started to ignore the regulations.<sup>532</sup> Smuggling plays a negligible role in the later yearly reports from Härjedalen, particularly from 1789 onwards when Fredrich Björkebaum was appointed chief customs officer at Funäsdalen.<sup>533</sup> While this, together with the absence of court protocols, might indicate that there was little smuggling in Härjedalen around this time, an investigation undertaken by travel fiscal Magnus Hammer in 1803 revealed the opposite to be true. Hammer arrived at the customs office in the late autumn and quickly started to suspect that something was awry after two arrested Norwegian farmhands were released in return for bribes. Two weeks later, on 13<sup>th</sup> December, Hammer discovered another indiscretion. This time Björkebaum had returned eight sacks of coffee beans, and a sleigh load of other contraband, to Johan Linde, a peasant caught smuggling. These occasions proved to be part of an established pattern under Björkebaum's charge. He himself had also smuggled gunpowder out of Sweden from Ljusnedal's iron works to Norway on behalf of the foundry proprietor Zacharias Wiklund, and the two of them had deceived both the neighbouring population and the customs visitors into believing that Wiklund had been given a license for this toll-free trade by the King. The situation imploded when Hammer arrested a band of Norwegian peasants who did not have a customs certificate for their twelve horses loaded with bar iron and other types of iron. When Hammer brought them to the customs office Björkebaum explained that certificates were rarely issued for that type of product. Hammer demanded to see the customs records, which he was denied; instead Björkebaum demanded that Hammer released the goods. In his report about the subsequent events Hammer recorded that he had been exposed to threats of violence and had eventually retreated to Duved customs office. From there he was finally able to report back to the central offices in Stockholm, Björkebaum having previously denied him the use of the customs office's own postal services

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<sup>532</sup> 'Brev Från Herjedalens Tullkammare, 3 Marti 1784, Anders Lund, Ankom 7 April 1784' (1784), Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteterens fullmäktige, mfl, Kansliet, Skrivelser från land- och sjötullkamrarna, E10, vol.4, Riksarkivet.

<sup>533</sup> '31. Herjedalen', 1789, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjtullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.16, Riksarkivet.

from Funäsdalen.<sup>534</sup> The Björkebaum case illustrates not only the presence of corruption in the customs chambers and how the enforcers could actually become enablers but it also stresses the need to approach the customs office records with caution – particularly when looking at the customs chambers in sparsely populated areas with limited personnel. It also highlights the importance of considering not simply the smugglers but also the enforcers in the analysis. These enforcers cannot simply be seen as an extension of the state but were also individuals with private interests and concerns. The efficient maintenance of the borders thus relied on aligning the state's and the enforcers' objectives.

Smuggling did not endure only because of the shortcomings of the customs surveillance, however, and in order to understand why it continued it is necessary to consider the perpetrators' motivations. By 1806 Björkebaum had been released from his post and a new customs officer, C.G. Lundberg, was authoring the yearly reports. In his 1806 report Lundberg observed that the local population still chose to sell their produce in Norwegian Rörös. Lundberg explained that “the introduction of illegal goods, seems to be a consequence of the remoteness of the Cities [on the Swedish side], from whence the Commoners not without difficulty can get their household wares.”<sup>535</sup> According to Lundberg, the transgressions against Swedish legislation should be understood both as a continuation of old traditions to sell and source goods in Norway, but also in relation to the lack of a feasible alternative. As a result of the difficult geography and the limited reach of state authority, smuggling could thus continue as long as the local population favoured it and found it economically beneficial.

#### Karelia and Osterbottnia

Having considered an older western border it is now time to turn to a newer eastern one. In the mid-eighteenth century the border through Karelia was still relatively new. In the Treaty of Nystad which marked the end of the Great Northern War (1700-1721), a new border had been drawn between Sweden-Finland and Russia. It was a border that cut through previously established villages, which meant that the inhabitants of these areas needed to cross it in order to get to church or the local mill. Their lives thus came to be fragmented by the border, and their quotidian movements across it became politically charged as they were seen to enable

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<sup>534</sup> Magnus Hammer, ‘Memorial, No 23, Dufveds Gränse Tull, 30 Dec 1803’, 1803, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, m. fl., kansliet, Resefiskaler, E9, vol.2, Riksarkivet. See also, Letter Funäsdalen, 19 Dec 1803; Memorial, Funesdalen 19 Oct 1803, in the same volume.

<sup>535</sup> C.G. Lundberg, ‘29. Herjedalen’, 1806, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol. 38, Riksarkivet.

smuggling and to undermine the integrity of the new border.<sup>536</sup> More recently still, Sweden had lost further parts of southern Karelia, including Villmanstrand, Nyslott and Fredrickshamn following the Treaty of Åbo in 1743.

Early economic descriptions of the area discuss how it should be managed and what was needed to make it prosperous. In an academic treatise from 1756 about the economy of Karelia the Karelian native and Åbo student Johan Kraftman called for increased regulation, noting that there were only two customs chambers along the border and that only one sole mounted officer was stationed in all of Karelia. This was woefully insufficient according to Kraftman, who pointed to the extensive border, the difficult terrain, and the many secret paths and by-roads only known to the Karelians themselves.<sup>537</sup> While Kraftman was altogether negative towards the 'Russian trade', which he saw as compromising the Swedish industry, there were several other commentators who took a different approach.<sup>538</sup> One of them was another student at Åbo, Osterbottnian Eric Carstén, who in his 1754 academic treatise about the county of Kajanaborg, in the province of Osterbottnia just north of Karelia, described the biannual markets at Kajana and the accompanying Russian trade as integral to the town's development. Kajana was at this time a town with a mere 135 inhabitants but Carstén described the market as well attended, both by peasants from Karelia and Savolax as well as by burghers from Uleåborg, Brahestad, Gamla and Nya Karleby, a multitude of Russians from Repola, Pyhaniemi, Vuokkiniemi, Russian Kemi, and Sordawalla Kargapol, and an increasing number of people from Arkhangelsk.<sup>539</sup> In this way, Carstén argued, the market provided a meeting point between people from Finland and Russia, stimulating trade and local development in areas otherwise far removed from any major town. Markets like the one at Kajana were also part of attempts to regulate and standardise the Russian trade to Sweden-Finland. The 1738 Customs Tax list for Williamstrand, Kajana, Kides and Pelis customs chambers thus noted that it was forbidden for both Swedish and Russian inhabitants to vend their imported goods anywhere other than at the markets.<sup>540</sup> Markets became important in these porous border areas, as they were intended to create order and to control the movements of goods in and out of the country.

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<sup>536</sup> Arno Rafael Cederberg, *Pohjois-Karjalan Kauppaolot Vuosina 1721-1775* (Helsinki, 1911).pp.107-108

<sup>537</sup> Johan Kraftman and Johan Lagus, 'Tankar Om Hushållningens Uphjelpande i Carelen' (Åbo Academy, 1756).pp.9-10

<sup>538</sup> Kraftman and Lagus., p.12

<sup>539</sup> Eric Carstén and Pehr Kalm, 'I Jesu Namn! Historisk Och Economisk Beskrifning Öfwer Cajanaborgslän' (Åbo Academy, 1754).p.28

<sup>540</sup> 'Taxa För Wilmanstrand, Cajana, Kides- Och Pelis Tull-Kamrar Wid Ryska Gränsen' (1738).

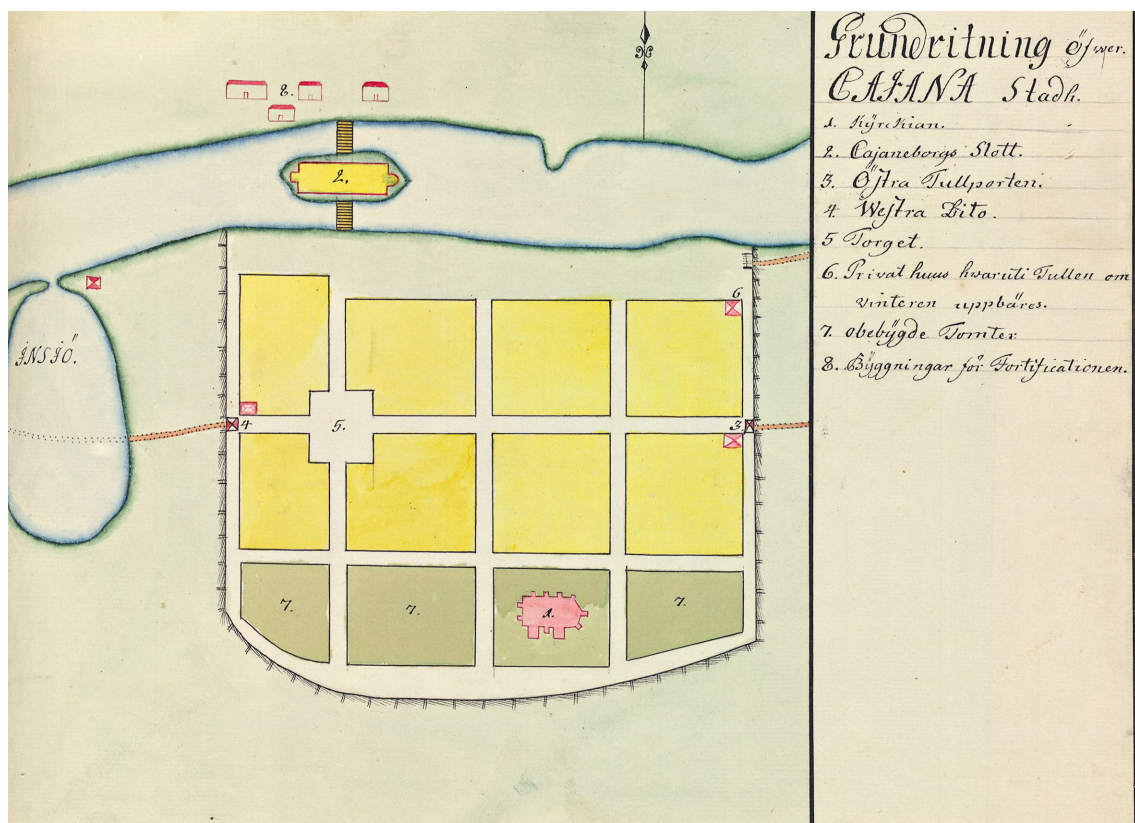


Figure 3.12. 'Customs office drawing of Kajana along with its two tollgates, no. 3 to the east and no. 4 to the west, along with a fence around the town, undated but originating from the 1760s or 1770s. Grundritning öfwer Cajana Stadh', 11, undated, Generaltullarrendesociteternas svenska tullatlas, KoB H. Vol. 5, Kungliga Biblioteket.

The first yearly reports from the customs stress the porousness of the Karelian border, and a general support for smuggling among the border population. In the first report from the customs at St Mickel, located in southern Savloax and tasked with surveying the customs chambers in Karelia, it was noted that Karelian and Savolaxian peasants were often involved in smuggling from Russia. Those that were not directly involved were still unwilling to assist the mounted officers. Widespread support for smuggling, as well as the smugglers' propensity for violence, caused some to observe that the customs officers could not make any real difference without military support.<sup>541</sup> Violent smugglers were not a new phenomenon. In 1757 Kraftman had concluded that if an honest customs officer wanted to make a confiscation he had to prepare for a violent encounter.<sup>542</sup> Letters had also been sent to the King requesting that the customs officers

<sup>541</sup> Lars Shürer, '41. St. Michels', 1766, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.2, Riksarkivet. See also the entry for St Michels in 1767, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol. 3, Riksarkivet

<sup>542</sup> Kraftman and Lagus, 'Tankar Om Hushållningens Uphjelpande i Carelen'.pp.9-10



should be armed, and given military assistance.<sup>543</sup> The call for military assistance was not unique to Karelia; at Duved customs chamber in Jämtland, one officer noted in 1786 that without military assistance the customs officers had to risk their lives in order to conduct searches at markets.<sup>544</sup> Such accounts bear witness to the dangers involved in the enforcement of borders.

Vast distances and the countless by-roads were prominent features in the reports from the eastern border. Long distances do not, however, appear to have had a deterrent effect on the people who inhabited these areas. One example from 1771 illustrates this particularly well. In February of that year a peasant from Torneå, Henric Larsson (or Laurinpaika), was seized with eight ells of striped Russian ticking. Henric Larsson explained that he had bought this cloth from a Russian subject at Kajana market without suspecting that it might be illegal.<sup>545</sup> This market expedition would have been roughly a 600 km return journey. Such vast distances made comprehensive surveillance as good as impossible. It also shows how these remote and sparsely populated areas made up transit zones where contraband could be brought in and transported even further into the country. Not everyone chose to travel by land, however, and the multitude of lakes along the border also made it possible to smuggle wares across the border by boat during the summer months.<sup>546</sup>

Despite early calls for military assistance, military postings did not appear along the border until the late 1780s and only then as a consequence of Gustav III's Russian War (1788-1790). They do, however, appear to have had an immediate effect on smuggling activities along the border. At Kajana the official, Abraham Strand, observed that smuggling had decreased due to the presence of military postings all along the Russian border and through all seasons.<sup>547</sup> The effects of war were not limited to military postings, however: the financial market was also affected, lessening the incentive to smuggle. As late as 1796 it was observed in the yearly report from St Mickel that smuggling was still limited in the area. It was believed to be related to less favourable prices for the sale of produce in Russia and the purchase of manufactured goods following the war which were "related to the Russian position vis a vis earlier, in relation to the

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<sup>543</sup> Cederberg, *Pohjois-Karjalan Kauppaolot Vuosina 1721-1775*.p.110

<sup>544</sup> Joh. Ol. Lund, '39. Dufwed', 1786, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.11, Riksarkivet.

<sup>545</sup> 12 Feb 1771, 'Sjötullen Uleåborg', 1771, Kommerskollegium, Advokatfiskalskontoret, D. Rättsprotokoll, Uleåborg 1769-1794, Riksarkivet.

<sup>546</sup> 6 April 1785, 'Mikkeli No 649', 1785, Routsin kauppaollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol.1, Kansallisarkisto (Finska riksarkivet).

<sup>547</sup> Abraham Strand, '34. Kajana', 1787, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol. 12, Riksarkivet.

European warring powers” and the continued postings of soldiers along the border.<sup>548</sup> The military postings appear to have had a long-lasting effect and as late as 1806 it was noted that the military postings along the border hampered the import of contraband to the biannual markets at Kajana.<sup>549</sup> The military postings did not eliminate smuggling completely, however, even if they might have added a level of complexity.

Despite the increased military presence some smuggling continued, probably aided by shortcomings at the regional customs chambers, where reports describe aged and incapacitated mounted officers, particularly in Karelia, and customs chambers that were too few and far between.<sup>550</sup> When J. J. Göös visited the town Kuopio in 1804, located between Kajana and St Mickel, to assess its trade, he noted that significant contraband trade was still carried out with Russia, particularly in sugar, tobacco and manufactured goods that were introduced during the spring.<sup>551</sup> This smuggling trade relied, as in earlier times, on the co-operation of the border dwellers who both housed contraband and later transported it further into the country.<sup>552</sup>

What then motivated the border population to get involved in the contraband trade despite the dangers? One of the common aspects reported upon by the customs officials, both from the Norwegian and the Russian border, was the economic situation in the region. In reports from various border regions, customs officers observed that smuggling *into* the country decreased in times of economic hardship, while smuggling *out* increased as the foreign markets offered higher returns for sales.<sup>553</sup> Such observations serve to connect smuggling to the makeshift economy and highlight how it could be used as a tool to cope with economically challenging situations, with proximity to the border being used as an asset to navigate and offset, at least in part, the hardships caused by the state of the national or local economy. In this context smuggling emerges as a type of popular illegalism, a way to generate revenue particularly

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<sup>548</sup> Hindrich Forshaell, ‘43. St. Michels’, 1796, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol. 25, Riksarkivet.

<sup>549</sup> And. Westman, ‘35. Cajana’, 1806, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol. 38, Riksarkivet.

<sup>550</sup> Hindrich Forshaell, ‘43. St. Michels’, 1796, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol. 26, Riksarkivet.

<sup>551</sup> J. J. Göös, ‘Rapport Från Kuopio, Haukivuori, 23 Maj 1804’, 1804, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, mfl, Kansliet, Resefiskaler, E9, vol.4, Riksarkivet.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid.

<sup>553</sup> Eric Noréen, ‘23. Wärmland’, 1796, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.25, Riksarkivet; G. Kranck, ‘35. Kusamo’, 1806, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.38, Riksarkivet.

during difficult times.

Another intriguing feature that emerges from the Finnish customs protocols is how the culprits actually viewed their own crimes. In particular, how they defined the criminal act of smuggling. In the early 1780s, Simon Sisonen was caught with contraband by the village Megrijervi, in Libelitz (now: Merkitjärvi). While he recognised the wares as foreign he maintained that as he had not brought them to the Swedish side of the border he had not committed any crime. To Sisonen the criminal act had been to introduce the wares into Sweden in the first place, but once they had entered they were 'legal'. He explained that as the rightful owner of the wares he demanded to have them returned and be recompensed for his suffering. The court did not accept his demands and fined him for smuggling.<sup>554</sup> This 'popular' definition of smuggling reoccurs in several protocols.<sup>555</sup> There thus appears to have existed an idea that once the goods were in the country, they were no longer illegal and that the crime of smuggling was defined as bringing prohibited wares across a border. As we will consider shortly, this definition did not match the legal reality.

All the provinces considered here, whether on the coast, in the mountains, or in the woods, were located along the edges of the kingdom and were characterised by cross-border movement and exchange. While the borders were created at different dates, they came to be increasingly enforced during the eighteenth century as the protectionist agenda developed. Eighteenth-century anti-smuggling legislation also reflects an emerging concern with the borderlands. Legislation became increasingly prevalent and detailed throughout the second half of the century and even began to target specific types of border territories such as the archipelago. These attempts to control the border regions, along with the people and goods featuring in them, became a quest not only to define Sweden's economic boundaries but also what was fitting and acceptable within the Swedish economic space. A solidifying border and new legislation defined existing patterns of movement and trade as illegal and criminalised common behaviours within these borderlands. At the same time, the continuation of old border-defying movements challenged the state's attempts to ensure territorial control and standardised economic borders.

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<sup>554</sup> 19 June 1785, 'Mikkeli No 649', 1785, Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol.1, Kansallisarkisto (Finska riksarkivet).

<sup>555</sup> See for example the case of Anders Waris who referred to previous cases of domestic contraband transport which he argued ended with acquittals: 4 Jan 1792, 'Kuopio, No. 333'. Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol. 1, Kansallisarkisto (Finska riksarkivet).

## Smuggling within the Swedish Dominions

The crime of smuggling was, despite what some defendants argued, not legally restricted to the movement of goods over a national border but included all handling of contraband within the Swedish economic space. Domestic contraband transport can also be considered in terms of borders, between regions (i.e. between the various legal constituencies which defined the authority of the customs officers), and across the borders separating towns from the countryside. In contrast to the former type of border which was often marked but unguarded, the latter border often consisted of physical restrictions such as fences, gates, and, crucially, tollgates.

### *Regulating and Surveying the Countryside*

The shortcomings in controlling Sweden's outer border made it necessary to extend the surveillance of smuggling into the country. It demanded increased regulation and a strengthening of the authority of the customs officers and other state officials tasked with surveying the countryside.

While there had been an official requirement to apply for domestic passports for all journeys within the country since the sixteenth century, the lack of surveillance meant that it could be circumvented. Many appear to have travelled freely within the kingdom and in 1799 a decree was issued to attempt to stem the flow of people travelling without passports. According to the decree itself, its primary motivation was to prevent people in debt from escaping their creditors, but by regulating movement it also became harder to engage in smuggling.<sup>556</sup> Movement was not all that needed to be controlled, however, and various regulations were issued in regards to what could be brought along on the road from the 1770s onwards. In 1770 new anti-smuggling decree directives were established to make it easier for customs officers in the countryside, as well as at the toll gates around cities, to distinguish between illegal and authorised cloth. When a piece of cloth was purchased it was cut from a bolt of cloth, which bore hall- or customs stamps. The purchased fabric was thus removed from the stamps that ought to be attached to all legal cloths. Without these stamps, it was impossible to prove the legality of the textile. Consequently, the 1770 decree stipulated that if textile was sent from one destination to another

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<sup>556</sup> 'Öfwer=Ståthållare-Embetets Förnyade Kungörelse Om Resandes Skyldighet at Med Rese-Pass Sig Förse. 1799.' (1799).

the vendor from whom it had been purchased had to provide written proof that the fabric derived from a legal, stamped, bolt of cloth. If larger collections of textiles were to be transported it was necessary to apply for a new hall-stamp in the town from which it was sent (8 Art, 2§, 1770). In the 1776 Country Customs Regulations (Land-Accis) these directives were developed further: wares in transit now had to be accompanied by two identical slips stating the origin and destination of the consignment along with exact details regarding weight, numbers, and measurements, proof of having been stamped, and if applicable, where and when the appropriate duties had been paid on imported wares (13 Cap, 1-2§, 1776).<sup>557</sup> This stipulation reoccurred in the 1799 decree (7 Art, 4§, 1799) with two notable additions. Firstly, if forbidden wares were discovered in transit no warrant nor witnesses were needed for their confiscation, and secondly, any fiscal was allowed to make a seizure. Such additions were intended to expand the state's reach into the countryside (8 Art, 3§, 1799), a place notoriously difficult to



Figure 3.13. Road networks in southern Sweden. G. Biurman, 'Wäge Charta öfver Swea och Götha Riken', 1742, *Vägvisare uti Svea- och Göta Riken samt Stor-Förstendömet Finland*, Stockholm, 1742.

control due to its sparse population and significant distances. While these attempts were intended to extend the state's reach, the legislation needs to be considered in relation to the practical conditions of surveillance in the countryside.

Surveillance of roads was scant and irregular. Road patrols were usually issued on a temporary basis on the command of a particularly vigilant customs officer, such as Customs Fiscal Hjelm, who in 1801 issued several patrols in the countryside around the southern town of Kristianstad, an undertaking that

<sup>557</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Förnyade Land-Tulls Och Accis Stadga, 19 Sep 1776' (1776).

resulted in numerous arrests.<sup>558</sup> Confiscations ‘on the road’ generally referred to roads outside of towns, roads connecting towns, or along exposed coastlines. There are, however, some exceptions to this general rule, such as in the case of farmhand Torsten Jönsson, who happened to encounter the Super Inspector of the Customs Court W. Ramelius in Markaryd, Småland, as the latter was travelling from Stockholm to Kristianstad. Jönsson, who at the time was carrying a trunk containing 697 Rdr Specie of contraband, found his cargo unceremoniously seized.<sup>559</sup>

In addition to the main roads, there were the by-roads, of which many officers had only limited knowledge. One travelling fiscal thus complained in 1791 that it was necessary to gather more knowledge about the by-roads in the area in order to keep up to date with the commonly used smuggling paths. Furthermore, he noted that it would be useful for the officers to have their authority extended beyond the districts in which they worked as the smugglers themselves were not limited by such restraints.<sup>560</sup> Local knowledge was thus a crucial tool in the surveillance of the countryside. One travelling fiscal, for example, argued that he was particularly suited for patrolling the border in Dalsland and Värmland due to fact that he grew up locally, and thus had known the roads since childhood.<sup>561</sup> Effective surveillance was not only an issue of intelligence and local knowledge, however; it was also an issue of practical skill. This can be seen in an example discussed earlier in the chapter where Jacob Parell, who was posted on the Bohuslän coast, was unable to row.<sup>562</sup> A similar lack of practical skills was also observed in Malung, near the border to Norway. In 1786, travelling fiscal C.G. Borre reported that “most of the subjects of both Countries, who conduct smuggling, run during the wintertime over mountain and valley on skis, and thus they can come in all over the border and through the forests”.<sup>563</sup> By contrast, the local patrolling officers who were not born in the area could not ski properly, which according to Borre made them unsuited for their positions.<sup>564</sup>

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<sup>558</sup> One of these seizures on the road between Ulls Inn and Bälinge was particularly significant. The wares, mainly silks, were valued at 1693 Rdr: 19 Maj 1804, Nr 1163, ‘Christianstad’, Kommerskollegium, Advokatfiskalskontoret, Årsberättelser Lurendrejrimål, (1803-1804) Cb4, vol. 2, Riksarkivet.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid.

<sup>560</sup> Sparre, ‘Memorial, No 178, Helsingborg, 17 Maj 1791’, 1791, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, m. fl., kansliet, Skrivelser från tullfiskaler E8, vol.1, Riksarkivet.

<sup>561</sup> ‘Brev 595, 4 Augusti 1804, Hellbom’ 1804, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, mfl, Kansliet, Resefiskaler, E9, vol.4, Riksarkivet.

<sup>562</sup> Källberg, ‘Memorial, Marstrand, Bewakning, 9 Aug 1791’, 1791, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, m. fl., kansliet, Skrivelser från tullfiskaler E8, vol.1

<sup>563</sup> Borre, ‘40. Fahlun’, 1786, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.11

<sup>564</sup> Ibid.

While there clearly were some attempts to control the Swedish countryside, the efficient enforcement of this control was irregular at best. This is also reflected in the customs court records, which do not feature many roadside confiscations. The unmanageable countryside thus stands in sharp relief to the towns, which were surrounded by customs fences and gates. Before turning to the towns it is worthwhile considering one type of fixed meeting space in the countryside which came to play an important role in the smuggling cycle – the inn.

#### The Inn and the Tavern – a Junction for Smugglers and Law Enforcement

While the countryside was a vast and fairly unmanageable space for the customs personnel, there nevertheless existed certain fixed sites where travellers, including smugglers, would come together for shelter and provisions. The inns (*gästgifwargårdarna*) provided an important reference point for travellers of various distinctions. Located at regular intervals along the public highways, they aimed to ease travelling and to shift the burden of housing visitors from the peasants, who had previously been responsible for supplying shelter, to formal establishments.<sup>565</sup> Travelling salesmen, as well as peasants frequenting markets, were common visitors.<sup>566</sup> The tavern (*krogen*) was a similar establishment to the inn but was cheaper and possibly rougher in character. As an Italian traveller in Sweden noted, “...the public houses kept by the peasants are so very bad, that it is impossible for decent company to stay in them.”<sup>567</sup> Inns as well as taverns were particularly common in the areas around cities as they provided shelter for people who were unwilling, or could not afford, to live *in* the city during their visit.<sup>568</sup> These establishments were spread out across most of the Swedish countryside and provided important meeting points for travellers from different ranks and geographical backgrounds.<sup>569</sup>

The inns were thus not just transit points but also meeting points. In his study of inns in Switzerland, historian Beat Kümin has argued that the inn and the tavern were important spaces for social exchange and an intersection between the local and the outside world.<sup>570</sup> Lars

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<sup>565</sup> Lars Levander, *Landsväg, Krog & Marknad* (Mörklinta: Gidlunds Förlag, 1976).

<sup>566</sup> This is for example explored in the play ‘Värdshuset’, *Carl Michael Bellmans Skrifter VI, Dramatiska Arbeten*, (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1936), p. 201

<sup>567</sup> Giuseppe Acerbi, *Travels Through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape: In the Years 1798 and 1799* (London: Joseph Mawman, 1802). p.364

<sup>568</sup> Lars Levander, *Landsväg, Krog & Marknad* (Mörklinta: Gidlunds Förlag, 1976). pp.90-91

<sup>569</sup> Allan Sjöding, ‘Gästgivargården I Svensk 1700-Talslitteratur’, *Svensk Litteraturtidskrift* 42, no. 1 (1978), p.33

<sup>570</sup> Beat Kümin, ‘Useful to Have, but Difficult to Govern. Inns and Taverns in Early Modern Bern and Vaud’, *Journal of Early Modern History* 3, no. 2 (1999). pp. 157 & 163

Magnusson has shown that the tavern was also a space of transaction and exchange in Sweden. Despite the prohibitions against trading at inns and taverns, goods could be bought or exchanged for other types of wares. According to Magnusson this provided an opportunity for people who were ‘paid’ in kind to convert these products into other products or real money.<sup>571</sup>

The authorities did not condone trade in these spaces and regulations were issued to try to control it. In 1783 a prohibition was issued against secret trading, which particularly stressed that it was illegal to trade at inns.<sup>572</sup> One important reason was that these spaces were used in the contraband trade, both to conceal illicit goods and as points of exchange. Additional regulation was issued in 1799 when the new anti-smuggling legislation stipulated that if a person in possession of contraband stopped at an inn or another resting place, any fiscal could immediately seize the goods, regardless of their value. The goods in question would then immediately be listed in the presence of a witness (8 Art. 3§, 1799). Despite attempts to control the inn and the tavern through increasing regulation, evidence from Europe indicates that this was to a large extent unsuccessful. This was partly due to the absence of regulatory authorities and partly to the nature of these places as social spaces shaped by popular demand.<sup>573</sup>

Swedish customs court protocols confirm this interpretation, as the inn often features as a prominent site in the records, whether for transfer, acquisition, or confiscation of contraband. One case from 1776 highlights the importance of the inn as an arena of transit. That year a particularly significant hoard, suspected to have been brought to Sweden on the ship *Terra Nova* from Canton, worth a staggering 20 037 D smt (47 years of work for an unskilled labourer), was transferred through the Lahall Inn, 20 km north of Gothenburg.<sup>574</sup> The ‘East Indian Headwaiter’ (*Ost Indiska Hof-Mästaren*) Pihlström, who seems to have been in charge of the transfer of the goods, had prior to the occasion appeared several times at the inn, travelling between Gothenburg and Vadbacka (*Wabacka*) possibly on route to Marstrand. During the night of 17<sup>th</sup> October, the inn-keeper Simon Norberg was woken up by the inn's coachman Jöns Pehrson, who informed him that Pihlström had arrived and demanded four

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<sup>571</sup> Lars Magnusson, ‘Försvinnning, Smygghandel Och Fusk. Förlagssystem Och Hantverkskultur I Eskilstuna Vid Början Av 1800-Talet’, *Historisk Tidskrift*, no. 2 (1986). pp. 179-182

<sup>572</sup> ‘Öfwer=Ståthålarare Embetets Kungöresle Och Förbud, Emot Handels= Manufactur- Och Handtwerkeri Warora Obehöriga Afsalu, Gifwen Stockholm Then 12 September 1783’ (1783).

<sup>573</sup> Beat Kümin, ‘Useful to Have, but Difficult to Govern. Inns and Taverns in Early Modern Bern and Vaud’.

p.174

<sup>574</sup> Bror A. Andersson, *Skepplanda socken: Från forntid till nutid i ord och bild.*, ed. Sven Forsæus (Skepplanda kommunfullmäktige, 1972). p.24



horses. Norberg got up and noted this in his 'Inn diary'.<sup>575</sup> When he got out into the yard he found several peasants unloading goods from a carriage. Norberg did not note when the people left or for how long they stayed, nor what the party did apart from changing horses. The same goods were later confiscated 10 km outside of Gothenburg.<sup>576</sup> This example illustrates how the inn was used to enable quick transfer as it allowed travellers to change horses.<sup>577</sup> Similarly, in 1805, Fittja Inn south of Stockholm was used by four individuals involved in smuggling English calico into the town. They not only converged at Fittja Inn but also used it to acquire new horses for getting them into Stockholm.<sup>578</sup>

Inns were also used as sites of exchange and acquisition. For example, in 1791 customs officials encountered the peasant Sven Jonsson from Skaraborg county on the public highway near Heken with two sacks full of contraband. Upon questioning he revealed that he was on his way to Enebacka Inn where he had been told to drop off the goods.<sup>579</sup> The inn also plays a prominent role in the account of farmhand Hans Dahlberg, who was searched for contraband when he tried to enter Stockholm in the late evening of 11<sup>th</sup> January 1803. Among his possessions the customs officers found illegal foreign imports including cups, tea caddies, microscope glasses, knives, and various metal buttons. Dahlberg immediately confessed to being their owner and related that he had bought the objects from an iron dealer, whom he had met in Östorp's Inn near Wimmerby, Småland.<sup>580</sup> The Ironmonger had, according to Dahlberg,

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<sup>575</sup> As seen in this account, the inn-keeper was tasked with committing the names and destinations of all travellers staying at the inn to a particular 'Inn Diary', according to the 1734 Inn-decree. 'Kongl. Maj. Gästgifware=Ordning, Öfwersedd, Förnyad Och Förbättrad Wid Riksdagen Uti Stockholm' (1734), §22

<sup>576</sup> 22 Oct 1776 & 31 Oct 1776, 'Dombok' 1776, A1, vol.10, Göteborgs Sjötullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>577</sup> 'Kongl. Maj. Gästgifware=Ordning, Öfwersedd, Förnyad Och Förbättrad Wid Riksdagen Uti Stockholm' (1734).§12

<sup>578</sup> See especially 2 Oct 1805 & 11 Dec 1805, Catharina Hesse, 'Stockholms Stora Sjötulls Rätt', 1805, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.27, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>579</sup> 23 Jun 1791, 'Dombok' 1791, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Sjötullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.; Enebacka was located along a road stretching from Gothenburg / the Bohus Towns to Stockholm, going north and crossing through Örebro; see Georg Biurman, *Vägvisare, Til Och Ifrån Alla Städer Och Namnkunniga Orter, Uti Svea-Och Göta-Riken, Samt Stor-Förstendömet Finland; Jämtne Tvänne Uti Koppar Stuckne Väg-Chartor, Efter Skedde Väg-mätningar Uprättad, Af Georg Biurman. Med Kongl. Maj:ts Allernådigste Privil*, 4th ed. (Stockholm: Johan Georg Lange, 1776). pp.19-20

<sup>580</sup> Östorp was strategically located between Wimmerby and Westerwik, only 5 Swedish miles (henceforth referred to as *miles*) from the sea. Taking the road north from Östorp would take the traveller towards Stockholm; it seems likely that Dahlberg would have taken this route. Travelling from Östorp to Stockholm he would have covered 349 km with his wares before being stopped by Horns Tull, a tollgate south west of Stockholm. 1 Swedish mile = 10 689 m, until 1889 when the unit was standardised as 1 mile = 10 000 m. For further information see Nils-Erik Winther, Rolf Wändel, and Matz Jörgensen, *Gästgifwerier, Krogar Och Skjutshäll* (Löddeköpinge: Harjager härads fornminnes- och hembygdsförening, 2003); All distances are calculated based on Georg Biurman, *Vägvisare, Til Och Ifrån Alla Städer Och Namnkunniga Orter, Uti Svea-Och Göta-Riken, Samt Stor-Förstendömet Finland; Jämtne Tvänne Uti Koppar Stuckne Väg-Chartor, Efter Skedde Väg-mätningar Uprättad, Af Georg Biurman. Med Kongl. Maj:ts Allernådigste Privil*, 4th ed. (Stockholm: Johan Georg Lange, 1776). p. 87

assured him that the products were Swedish manufactures.<sup>581</sup> Dahlberg and Jonsson's accounts indicate that the inn was also a site where contraband changed hands, where it could be sold on, or where travellers could be found who were willing to transport it for a fee. Whether it was always apparent that the goods in question were contraband is harder to establish, however.

How involved, then, were the inn-keepers in this clandestine trade? Kūmin has noted that the inn-keeper profession had excellent contacts, and the ability to bring people together, resources favourable to clandestine networking.<sup>582</sup> The customs court protocols also indicate that they frequently found themselves in the line of fire. One prominent example was the inn-keeper Johan Lindbom. The name and location of his inn are never firmly established in the court records, but it was situated somewhere near St Mickel along the shore of a lake from where it was possible to travel to the Russian town Willmanstrand. In 1799 he appears in the customs records when he, together with a peasant, bore witness that the peasant Johan Pylkäin had travelled across the border to Russia. Pylkäin explained that the testimony should not be trusted as he owed money to Lindbom, and that this was nothing but a revenge tactic.<sup>583</sup> Some years later Lindbom was called in again after a boat with contraband from Williamstrand had moored next to his inn, in the middle of the night. The wares included English tea cups, glasses in various shapes, coffee, various dyes, sugar, and 46 ½ (395 kg) of tobacco leaves. The smugglers argued that they had stopped at the inn instead of the customs chamber St Mickel due to a strong wind from the north which had made it difficult for them to stop, and that they had intended to get hold of horses at the inn to travel the 7.5 km back to the customs chamber to declare the wares. This argument was discredited by the customs officer Johan Holm, who observed that the night had been beautiful, both dry and calm. At the end of the proceedings one of the culprits managed to drag Lindbom further into the case by explaining that part of the tobacco was intended for the inn keeper himself.<sup>584</sup>

Another example suggesting that inn-keeping could be a dangerous business comes from Stora Hissingen, just outside of Stockholm. In December 1803, the tavern-keeper Enström found

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<sup>581</sup> 19 Jan 1803, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>582</sup> Beat Kūmin, 'Useful to Have, but Difficult to Govern. Inns and Taverns in Early Modern Bern and Vaud', p.164

<sup>583</sup> 6 April 1799, 'Mikkeli No 655', 1799, Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol. 2, Kansallisarkisto (Finska riksarkivet).

<sup>584</sup> 7 Aug 1802, 'Mikkeli No 657', 1802, Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol.2, Kansallisarkisto (Finska riksarkivet).

himself in a precarious situation when several customs officers saw three people rowing towards Enström's tavern in the middle of the night. As one of rowers went to the tavern to announce their arrival the other two were arrested by the customs officers. However, during the ensuing commotion the rowers escaped. Enström was apprehended as he was thought to be involved in the enterprise. From the first moment of his arrest he worked with the customs officers, telling them that people often smuggled wares past his tavern but that he had nothing to do with it. He even gave them a tour around his grounds, explaining that he often found suspicious-looking boxes there. After a lengthy trial it was still impossible to tie Enström to the crime and he was eventually cleared of all charges.<sup>585</sup> The inn-keepers thus appear in the customs court protocols both defendants and as witnesses. In both instances the inn played a prominent role as a site for smuggling but it illustrates how these 'safe' spaces could also spell danger.

This was something that Achima Purmunen got to experience when he was stopped by officers at Louhivara Inn in Kavi Kapell in northern Savolax, for being dressed suspiciously like a Russian. Purmunen, from the border village Nehavaniemi (now Nehvonniemi), had been arrested for smuggling the previous winter and let out on bail. Indeed, at the meeting at Louhivara Inn he was on his way to the Customs Court in Uleåborg to stand trial. However, when he met the customs officers at Louhivara, he was also carrying new Russian contraband. In the end it proved impossible to detain Purmunen, who fled from the inn.<sup>586</sup>

The inn and tavern thus provided not just a meeting place for smugglers; they also enabled smuggling, continuing the transit of illegal goods across the country and between intermediaries. Many inns and taverns were also located around the towns, providing meagrely regulated spaces just outside of the town limits. While it might have been possible to acquire contraband in these spaces, getting contraband into the towns was considerably riskier and many smugglers only got as far as the tollgate.

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<sup>585</sup> 5 Oct - 16 Nov 1803, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>586</sup> 28 Mars 1797, 'Mikkeli No. 653', 1797, Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol.2, Kansallisarkisto (Finska riksarkivet).

## The Town, a Controlled Space?

Customs surveillance was most substantial around towns and cities, which were often surrounded by fences and walls, interspersed by tollgates that, in theory, any visitor would have to pass through. While most people who wanted to enter the towns came through the tollgates, the towns were far from impenetrable by other means and customs fences, walls, and gates were not as effective as the customs authorities had hoped. There are numerous accounts of people scaling the fences, tearing them down, and during the winter, walking around them on frozen lakes and rivers. Due to the high level of surveillance in place, town customs officials have generated plentiful records. In the final section of this chapter, attention turns to a case study of Gothenburg, and specifically the tollgate Carl's Gate (*Carls porten*), which illustrates the multitude of individuals involved in smuggling, who they were, and their incentives for attempting to introduce prohibited wares into the towns.

### *Gothenburg*

Before considering the smugglers, it is first crucial to understand the conditions of the city. Smuggling around Gothenburg has already been touched upon in this chapter in relation to west

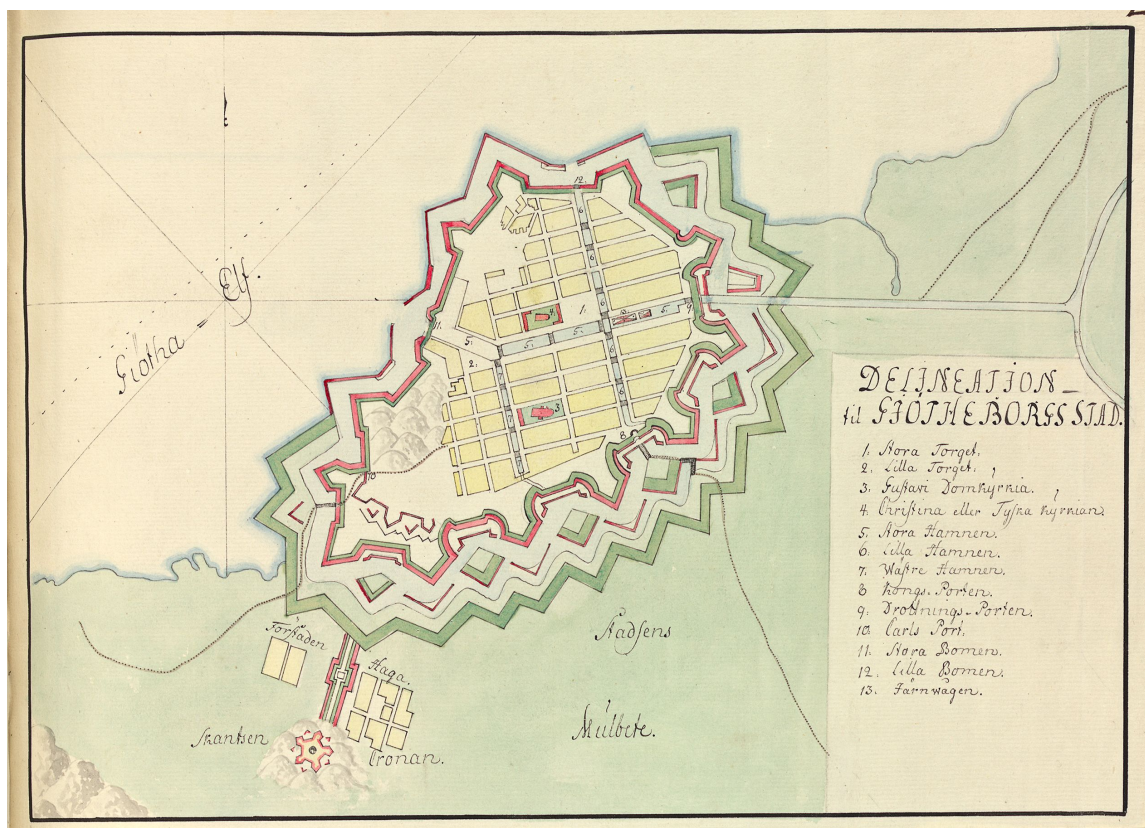


Figure 3.14. Gothenburg Town Map. 'Delineation af Giötheborgs stad', 27, 1760s, Göteborg, Generaltullarrendesocietetens svenska tullatlas, KoB H. Vol. 5, Kungliga Biblioteket.

coast smuggling, but now the focus turns to the city itself. Gothenburg was a fortified town, which housed an international harbour. This is significant as it meant that getting into the town, by land, without passing through a tollgate was considerably harder than in many other towns. It makes a good case study as it holds the tension between international trade and protectionist attempts at regulation at its centre. In the customs office map of Gothenburg (figure 3.14.) three tollgates can be observed: (from north to south) 9. Queen's Gate (*Drottningens porten*), 8. King's Gate (*Kungens porten*), and 10. Carl's Gate (*Carls porten*). This section delves into the records from these tollgates and considers what they can reveal about the customs surveillance around the town, who tried to defy it and why. Particular attention is given to the tollgate where most contraband confiscations were made: Carl's Gate. This rather small and unimpressive gate, the only Gothenburg tollgate not featured in the work *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* for its architectural elegance, faced south west towards the area Masthugget.<sup>587</sup>

Masthugget had previously had the character of a shantytown but was in the late eighteenth century on the rise. The population grew from 570 people in 1765 to 1263 in 1816.<sup>588</sup> A description of it from 1814 stresses its closeness to the sea:

Masthugget... stretches along the beach and has two long streets, which are called the Broad and the Narrow Way. The Narrow Way leads to a paved square. Along this square and the two streets there is a loading dock on the seafront. The properties located by the sea are called *Harbours*; they are on stilts ... made usable as storage spaces...<sup>589</sup>

The area thus came to be shaped by its proximity to the sea and to Gothenburg. Customs records from Carl's Gate indicate that the vast majority of the people found in possession of contraband were involved in short-distance smuggling, bringing illegal goods from Masthugget into the town itself. In fact, the records give an image of Masthugget as an area where contraband was in continuous circulation, passing between individuals in attempts to introduce it into the city.

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<sup>587</sup> Erik Dahlberg, 'Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna', [https://suecia.kb.se/F/?func=find-b&local\\_base=sah](https://suecia.kb.se/F/?func=find-b&local_base=sah), Accessed 13 February 2019,.

<sup>588</sup> Bertil Andersson, *Göteborgs Historia. Näringsliv Och Samhällsutveckling* (Göteborg: Nerenius & Santérus, 1996). p.182

<sup>589</sup> Per Adolf Granberg, *Staden Göteborgs historia och beskrifning*, 1814, p.207

One such example can be found in a case from February 1791, when the driver Nils Lieberg was stopped driving down the Narrow Way towards Gothenburg. His carriage was found to contain two barrels of contraband tobacco. During questioning Lieberg explained that he had encountered a boy by the Spa house (*Kurhus*) down by the quay who had requested him to drive the two barrels to the city.<sup>590</sup> In August the same year, the maid Catharina Andersdotter described how she had been walking down the Narrow Way in the evening of 28<sup>th</sup> July when she had been asked to bring cotton cloth, striped cotton nightcaps, and worsted socks into the city. According to Andersdotter, she had been promised that the owners would be waiting for her at Carl's Gate.<sup>591</sup> The court heard a very similar tale again the very same day, when the farmhand Anders Lundström, who had tried to hide illegal silk textiles underneath his clothes, recounted that he had been asked by an unknown person to introduce the wares into the city and been reassured that he would be met in the city, by the German School, by the owner.<sup>592</sup> Contraband appears to have been fairly prominent in Masthugget and accounts like these suggest that it passed relatively unreservedly between various individuals, known and unknown.



Figure 3.15. Artist's rendition of Carl's Gate. Unknown artist, 'Karlsporten från stadssidan'. 1787. Akvarell på konturetsning efter teckning av Elias Martin. GhmB:3245, Göteborgs Stadsmuseum.

<sup>590</sup> 21 Feb 1791, 'Dombok' 1791, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Sjtöullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>591</sup> 4 Aug 1791, 'Dombok' 1791, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Sjtöullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid.

It might also be why, despite its relatively small size and anonymity, Carl's Gate was Gothenburg's most active tollgate in terms of contraband seizures. Thirteen contraband seizures were recorded at Carl's Gate in 1785,<sup>593</sup> while by comparison there were five at King's Gate and four at Queen's Gate.<sup>594</sup> It is also possible that this preponderance of cases at Carl's Gate was linked, at least partially, to how the customs officials managed their duties. At Carl's Gate a disproportionate number of smuggling offenders were caught through body searches. Out of the 17 cases of contraband hidden under clothes reported in Gothenburg in 1785, one happened at Queen's Gate and two at King's Gate, while the remainder took place by or near Carl's Gate.<sup>595</sup> It is difficult to determine whether the frequency of these cases was due to increased rates of body searches, or because the practice of concealing contraband under clothes was particularly common when passing through Carl's Gate.

High rates of body searches did not guarantee an impeccably managed tollgate, however. In 1804 travelling fiscal Olof Bellander visited Masthugget and Carl's Gate, submitting a damning report about conditions at the tollgate, a customs barrier that Bellander himself noted was of great importance to the town. In particular, he recounted an incident with the customs officer Lundblad, who was supposed to have been on duty on 22<sup>nd</sup> June but had gone missing from his post. Following some investigations, Bellander discovered that Lundblad's absences were a regular occurrence and that he could normally be found at a nearby tavern. The drunk and violent Lundblad was subsequently brought back to his post, where he stayed only a few minutes before disappearing again. Meanwhile, another customs officer, Sven Hagman, albeit not on duty, was found lying passed out drunk in the middle of the street.<sup>596</sup> While the surveillance around town was better than in many other places it was not optimal, a fact that becomes particularly clear in the next chapter as attention turns to urban retailers and the contraband that could be purchased in their shops.

#### Women and Children as Smugglers

The Gothenburg case study also highlights something virtually absent in other customs material, namely women and children's involvement in the contraband trade. Female

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<sup>593</sup> This number excludes people caught before they reached the tollgate.

<sup>594</sup> 1785, 'Inneliggande Handlingar' 1786-1781, F, vol.7, Göteborgs Sjö tullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>595</sup> 1785, 'Inneliggande Handlingar' 1786-1781, F, vol. 7, Göteborgs Sjö tullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>596</sup> Olof Bellander, 'Raport [sic], Göteborg 23 Juni 1804' 1804, Äldre Centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, mfl, Kansliet, Resefiskaler, E9, vol.4.

defendants are particularly frequent in the records, making up nearly a third of all people caught smuggling in Gothenburg in 1785.<sup>597</sup> A significant proportion of the smuggling women were identified through body searches. Out of the 15 women caught smuggling in 1785, ten had undergone body searches. By contrast, among the 37 cases involving men from the same year only 7 were caught through body searches.<sup>598</sup> There are some likely reasons for this difference. Firstly, men had more options in relation to how to smuggle inconspicuously, as they often drove carriages in and out of the city while women often came on foot. Secondly, the female costume allowed more possibilities for hiding goods, particularly with the wide skirt and large pockets that remained in fashion for most of the period. Consequently, without routine body searches, female smuggling would have gone largely undetected.

Other differences can also be observed between female and male offenders. In a survey of the 1785 smuggling defendants almost everyone stated that they had acquired the goods from an unknown person outside of the town. In 10 cases, from 1785 and 1791, the defendants expanded on how they had acquired the goods, which allows a pattern to be observed. The major difference between the sexes lay in whether they had *bought* the goods and intended to introduce them into the city, or if they had been *given* the goods to bring into the city. There were five cases of bought goods, and five of commissioned goods. Out of the five cases of purchased goods, four of the smugglers were female, whereas all of the people introducing commissioned goods to Gothenburg were male.<sup>599</sup> It is possible that men were seen as preferable for commissioned smuggling and that the women were simply buying for their own consumption. However, the two did not have to be mutually exclusive; private consumption could be combined with commissioned smuggling, as a customs official noted in 1853:

...to the shop the goods are smuggled, shirting piece by shirting piece, hidden under the trading peasant woman's clothes. In this manner ... a merchant in Gothenburg, who has ordered 500 shirting pieces from England, will have his

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<sup>597</sup> There were 51 cases this year involving 15 women and 37 men: 1785, 'Inneliggande Handlingar' 1786-1781, F, vol.7, Göteborgs Sjtöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>598</sup> 1785, 'Inneliggande Handlingar' 1786-1781, F, vol.7, Göteborgs Sjtöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>599</sup> 13 Jan 1785, 31 Jan 1785, 17 Feb 1785, 7 July 1785, 1 Sep 1785, 7 Nov 1785, 'Dombok' 1785, A1, vol.18, Göteborgs Sjtöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.; 7 March 1791, 23 June 1791, 4 Aug 1791, 29 Dec 1791, 'Dombok' 1791, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Sjtöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.



wares within a week free of charge, smuggled into his shop by all the peasant women who visit his shop to buy coffee, sugar and pepper.<sup>600</sup>

Women thus appear to have played an important role in bringing contraband into towns, whether it was for personal enjoyment, profit, or both. It also agrees with earlier European scholarship, which has highlighted that women used smuggling, as well as other illegal activities, to generate additional income.<sup>601</sup>

In addition to adults of both genders, children also came to play an important role in the contraband trade into Gothenburg, as they helped to conceal the true owners of the contraband and could even be exempted from punishment.<sup>602</sup> The status of the child in relation to smuggling was discussed in a case from February 1785. It dealt with Mrs Annika Hallberg, who together with the girl Johanna Hellman had attempted to smuggle 16 pounds of chocolate into Gothenburg. During the trial the girl's father was called in, and he explained that his daughter only was 13 years old, “which was confirmed by the girl's weight and appearance”.<sup>603</sup> Although Hallberg confessed that she had convinced Johanna Hellman to help her to introduce the wares into the city, the court decided to free the girl as, “the girl Hellman was under age, and had no provable knowledge about the circumstances of the goods’ [illegality]”.<sup>604</sup> The court records indicate that children were considered too young and ignorant to be deemed culpable and were therefore freed. However, this approach to children also meant that they could be used as a buffer to protect the true identities of the smugglers. One such example has already been noted in the case of Nils Lieberg, who received a commission to drive contraband into the city from a boy he thought was a servant.<sup>605</sup> An unknown boy also approached the peasant Eric Larsson in the same year and encouraged him to come to the Nordre river to collect a contraband commission to be taken into Gothenburg.<sup>606</sup> While not all children avoided punishment, they do appear to have been a partially protected group, which could be used to

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<sup>600</sup> Magnus Hollertz, *Resa Omkring En Mycket Liten Bit Av Jorden* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1949). p. 228

<sup>601</sup> Margaret Hunt, *Women in Eighteenth Century Europe*. Harlow, England ; New York: Pearson Longman, 2009. p.170

<sup>602</sup> See for example: 26 Aug 1768, 'Dombok' 1768, A1, vol.7, Göteborgs Sjöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>603</sup> 17 Feb 1785, 'Dombok' 1785, A1, vol.18, Göteborgs Sjöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>604</sup> Ibid.

<sup>605</sup> 21 Feb 1791, 'Dombok' 1791, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Sjöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>606</sup> 29 Dec 1791, 'Dombok' 1791, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Sjöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

enable and disguise smuggling ventures.<sup>607</sup> In addition to communicating and commissioning, children could be used as lookouts during smuggling operations.<sup>608</sup> Children thus came to hold quite a specific role in the contraband chain, as diversions and buffers between the various links.

Despite being limited in scope, this case study of Gothenburg's tollgates reveals the multitude of people involved in the contraband trade. Men, women and children all seem to have found their part to play in the movement of illicit goods and to many it was probably a welcome addition to their finances. While contraband transporters could come in all shapes and sizes, they often played different roles in the transit of contraband. The material from Gothenburg indicates that children often served as intermediaries to control and direct larger smuggling ventures, while women often appear to have smuggled for their own consumption. Adult male smuggling was, as discussed throughout this chapter, more multifaceted. One thing, however, unified practically all of these actors: their relative poverty. It played a part in motivating the smuggling of fishing communities along the coast, of borderland dwellers, as well as of women and children in Gothenburg. While the cause and extent of their financial strain varied, many different actors appear to have used smuggling to bolster earnings, as part of a makeshift economy, and smuggling can in this way be conceived of as a type of popular illegalism with widespread support.

### Poverty as a Redeeming Feature?

Smuggling might have been seen as a coping mechanism by the perpetrators, but was poverty also seen as a redeeming circumstance by the customs court? Before turning to this question, it is necessary to consider what a transporter could actually hope to gain from their involvement in the contraband trade. Most of the smugglers discussed in this chapter did not own the contraband they transported but it had been given to them on credit or commission. What reward they could expect is difficult to gauge from the available material but the examples that exist suggest that the rewards were limited. The earliest mention of a reimbursement for contraband transport is from Gothenburg in 1785, and appears to be referring to some type of

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<sup>607</sup> Some examples of children convicted of smuggling can be found: 'Till Underdånigste Följe Af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning till Förekommande Af Lurendrägerier Och Tullförsnillning Af D N 6 April 1799', *Inrikes Tidningar*, 26 November 1805, 133 edition.; 'Confiscationer I Stockholm' 1803 -1807, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1-2, Riksarkivet. p.12

<sup>608</sup> 5 July 1769, 'Stora Sjötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

drink.<sup>609</sup> Seven years later the peasant Sven Andersson explained to the court that he had been paid 1 *plåt* (probably 2 D smt) to hold a box containing contraband until its owner returned.<sup>610</sup> Meanwhile, in 1803 the crofter Anders Jonsson in Stockholm was offered 32 shillings by the peasant Per Jansson and the churchwarden Jan Ersson for his help in transporting some smuggled goods by boat. For Jonsson this sum might have been significant. However, during the subsequent trial he was facing fines reaching up to 815 Rdr bco for his involvement, (1 Rdr bco was equal to 48 shilling). Eventually Jonsson was cleared of all charges as it proved impossible to ascertain that he knew that the goods were illegal.<sup>611</sup> While it is difficult to attain any precise knowledge about how much a transporter could hope to gain from their involvement in a smuggling venture, which probably varied considerably, it is nevertheless clear that the compensation was eclipsed by the potential fines attached to the crime.

For the people motivated by poverty the fines for smuggling were frequently impossible to pay. This had already been recognised in the anti-smuggling legislation of 1757, which settled that if the culprit was unable to pay the fines for the crime the sentence would be converted into a prison sentence on water and bread, a clause that reappeared again in (1 Art. 6§, 1770) and (9 Art, 1§, 1799). However, according to the customs court protocols, poverty, particularly in conjunction with poor health, could also lead to an alleviated punishment and in some instances the punishment was completely scrapped. In May 1776 the fire watchman's widow Helena Lundbeck stepped before the jury in Gothenburg. During a search of her home some 50 ells of forbidden cloth had been found and she explained to the court that they belonged to the surgeon's apprentice Johan Arnhold Schoner, who had left them with her. Schoner denied any involvement and stated that he had never set his foot in her house. As Lundbeck was unable to provide any witnesses to back up her story she was landed with the full blame for the offence. Unable to pay the fines, the punishment was converted to 28 days in prison on bread and water. However, the punishment was suspended, probably due to Lundbeck's age and poor health.<sup>612</sup> Other similar cases show that this was not a unique occurrence.<sup>613</sup> In 1803, the crofter Anders Jonsson was treated with particular leniency due to his poverty, and many dependents.<sup>614</sup>

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<sup>609</sup> 7 Nov 1785, 'Dombok' 1785, A1, vol.18, Göteborgs Sjtöullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>610</sup> 26 Mar 1792, 'Dombok' 1792, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Sjtöullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>611</sup> 5 Oct - 16 Nov 1803, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjtötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>612</sup> 6 May 1776, 'Dombok' 1776, A1, vol.10, Göteborgs Sjtöullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>613</sup> 7 Maj 1804, Nr 1078, , 'Carlshamn', 1803-4, Kommerskollegium, Advokatfiskalskontoret, Årsberättelser Lurendrejerimål,, Cb4, vol 2, Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

<sup>614</sup> 5 Oct 1803, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjtötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

Similarly, in the already discussed case of Annika Hallberg, who smuggled chocolate, the confiscators abstained from their right to 60% of the goods' value in confiscation fees, citing her poverty.<sup>615</sup> It shows that there was room for some negotiation within the legal framework, and that poverty could be a redeeming feature. Moreover, before the cases ever came to court, poverty might have helped to dissuade the customs officers from making an arrest.

Such leniency towards poor smugglers was not universal, however. Within the Finnish material from the border customs chamber at Kides there is a case from 1787 which contained an appeal to convert a multitude of smuggling fines into jail sentences. The nine convicted criminals in question were all too poor to pay off their fines, and the customs office requested the court to convert their sentences into jail sentences on water and bread stretching from 8 to 20 days, which the court also agreed to.<sup>616</sup> Poverty was thus not universally seen as a redeeming factor and whether it was or was not most likely came down to local conditions, such as the prevalence of smuggling in the area and whether leniency could be seen to encourage more smuggling or if it could be construed as a single act of mercy. It might possibly also have depended on whether or not the customs officers were locals and knew the offenders previously.

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How smuggling functioned depended on the border in question. Neither maritime nor land borders offered much of a barrier, but the tactics required to smuggle wares across them differed, and so did the possibilities for their surveillance. The border dwellers, who were particularly likely to smuggle in their own region, possessed both the skills and equipment to trespass against 'their' border: the peasant sailors on the west coast had both boats and navigation skills, the mountain and forest dwellers skis, sledges, and knowledge of their local terrain. They thus had the necessary skillset to cross the borders, which, as we have seen, was not always true for the people set to prevent them. The integrity of maritime borders, and to a lesser extent the land borders, could also be threatened by go-betweens not local to the region. The situation was particularly challenging along the maritime borders, as passing vessels could fairly quickly dispose of contraband along the coast. Trading vessels, with their large freight volume, were seen as especially problematic and various attempts were made to control them.

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<sup>615</sup> 17 Feb 1785, 'Dombok' 1785, Göteborgs Sjötullsrätt, A1, vol.18, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>616</sup> 16 April 1787, 'Kitee No. 578', 1787, Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol 1, Kansallisarkisto (Finska riksarkivet).

Responsibility for the ship's contents was, for example, delegated to the captains. These attempts at control aimed to make the captain a stand-in for the customs officers, and consequently the state, on board the ship; a responsibility that most captains did not want and tried to distance themselves from. The maritime and land borders were also affected in varying ways by the changing of the seasons, which influenced both surveillance and smuggling. Particularly noteworthy is the shift between snow, ice, and darkness in the winter, and the long, bright, and relatively warm days of summer. The winter was prime time for overland smuggling, as it enabled long journeys by sledge, and was simultaneously a period when many other types of employment, such as agricultural labour, were unavailable. Maritime smuggling, by contrast, appears to have followed a different schedule, particularly along the Baltic Sea, which often froze in winter. There is, however, reason to believe that west coast smuggling was also less active during the winter months, although it is unclear why, as the coastline would have been less affected by ice and mounted officers were scarce.

Smuggling across maritime and land borders thus presented a fundamentally different set of challenges and advantages for both smugglers and surveillance officers. By contrast, whether borders were of a recent or an older date appears to have had little bearing on smuggling. Cross-border trade does not appear to have diminished or perished with time. Instead, trade continued as long as it was meaningful to the people living in these border regions. More important than the age of the border was how it was maintained. When a reduction in smuggling was eventually recorded, it was in conjunction with the militarisation of the Finnish-Russian border in the 1780s. The arrival of military postings appears to have achieved what the customs chambers could not: impeding cross-border movements and smuggling. At the same time, as the customs officers themselves noted, while the military postings reduced smuggling, they did not extinguish it. It is therefore crucial to consider the effectiveness of the protectionist legislation in terms of its enforcement, which depended upon the level of surveillance present in various spaces. While the level of enforcement was particularly high around customs chambers, and in towns, it was less systematic along the border between customs chambers and in the Swedish countryside. The Swedish economic space thus benefits from being considered in terms of 'hotspots' of protectionist enforcement rather than as a uniform economic space. One such hotspot was the town: limited in scope, and with a large customs force, it was relatively easy to survey and manage. And yet, as discussed in this chapter, and as will become even more evident in the next, even the town was far from impervious to contraband.

While most of the go-betweens travelling between Sweden and extranational areas were male, the go-betweens who moved locally, for example in and out of the cities, were considerably more diverse, and included women and children. Most likely, this reflected women and children's movement patterns, as they were less likely to travel great distances independently, as most of the long-distance transporters did. It does not, however, indicate that smuggling into towns was less dangerous than across state borders. Instead, the opposite appears to have been the case due to strict surveillance at the toll-gates, and few alternative entry points into towns. Diverse groups of people thus engaged in the transport of contraband, despite the potential dangers. They were motivated by the prospect of profit, as one crucial, unwanted, consequence of the protectionist legislation was that it increased the incentive to smuggle, by limiting the potential to conduct trade legally and making traditional trade patterns illegal. An array of various perpetrators has been discussed in this chapter: many of them poor, marginalised, and sharing a common need to extend their income. As the restrictions on trade increased, the people who had previously depended on it, to add a bonus onto a meagre salary or as a crucial part of a makeshift economy, chose to maintain their trading activities even though these were redefined as illegal. In particular, smuggling out of the country seems to have been adopted to increase earnings during periods of crisis. In this way, smuggling appears to have been used as a popular way to negotiate the adverse effects of protectionism on the private economy.

Sweden was undergoing a process of legislative homogenisation during the eighteenth century. This chapter has shown that economic standardisation in law was not necessarily accompanied by the development of a state apparatus able to provide the level of surveillance required to enforce the legislation and to make Sweden into a homogenised economic space. In effect, the early modern Swedish state experienced numerous difficulties when it came to controlling its territory, including a vast and challenging geography, a shortage of resources, and limited authority over its own customs personnel. While customs surveillance appears to have improved in the early nineteenth century, mainly through the introduction of the travelling fiscals tasked with overseeing the regional customs chambers, the period was marked by uneven and unreliable customs enforcement. Sweden's borders must thus be understood as porous, enabling people and illegal global goods to enter surreptitiously, which made it challenging to impose protectionism in practice. The porousness of the borders also challenges our understanding of Sweden's globalisation process in the eighteenth century. Protectionist attempts to control and limit the impact of global trade on the Swedish market resulted in this

trade being pushed underground, with wares from other economic jurisdictions still able to enter secretly via the more liberal markets and entrepôts in surrounding territories. Such markets included Sweden's largest trading partner Great Britain, its own dominions in Wismar and Pomerania, and its neighbouring territories Denmark-Norway and Russia. It was thus difficult to efficiently distinguish Sweden's economic space from that of the surrounding territories; and wares located in these territories, prohibited in Sweden, could easily cross the border.





## Chapter 4

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### Retailers and Restrictions

...those Foreign goods that cannot be had from the smuggling Trader in the Town, they can be had from the Jews and the so called Westgothians (*Skålwästgöthar*) and certain privileged People who can provide richly.<sup>617</sup>

To understand how retailing in contraband functioned in Sweden it is necessary to understand the conditions under which it developed. Despite the introduction of increasingly severe anti-smuggling legislation and protectionist policy, the porous borders enabled many foreign wares to enter surreptitiously onto the market. Having reached Sweden, the contraband needed to be sold to the consumers, a task that fell to the multitude of retailers active at the time. Different groups of retailers served under distinct licences and legislation. While they were all heavily regulated, the regulations were not equally enforced. As noted in the previous chapter, the town, as a hotspot of surveillance, faced particular scrutiny along with all the traders based there.<sup>618</sup> However, evidence from other countries suggests that traders involved in the dispersion of contraband in towns could be shielded by the social protection of their customers.<sup>619</sup> This chapter strives to understand the retailing of contraband in Sweden and to explore how it was affected by two facets in particular: regulation and its irregular enforcement, and the social relationships between the retailers of smuggled wares and their consumers.

As previously discussed in Chapter Two, two approaches to smuggling co-existed in Swedish discourse: patriotic protectionism, promoted by the manufacturers, endorsed patriotic consumption and the support of Swedish manufacturing, whereas natural rights, advocated by many retailers, in particular the Silk and Cloth Trader Society, supported the right to consume and conduct trade freely. The Silk and Cloth trader Society were, according to the 1749

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<sup>617</sup> 'Kommittée Ang Förordning Mot Yppighet Och Överflöd, 1793'.

<sup>618</sup> For a longer discussion on hotspots of surveillance see Chapter 3.

<sup>619</sup> See Chapter 1.

Merchant Regulations (*Kramhandelsreglemente*), entitled to trade in all manufactured textiles, such as wool, worsted, silk, halfsilk, and finer cotton textiles, both domestically produced and whatever could be legally imported, which varied over time (see table 1.1.). While the regulations saw the Silk and Cloth Trader Society as crucial in supporting the domestic manufacturers through yearly stock-purchases from the Swedish manufactures, they themselves viewed their role in a different light, fighting for the right to stock all textiles in demand, including illegal foreign stuffs.<sup>620</sup> Natural rights supporters argued that rather than trying to suppress smuggling, it was necessary for retailers to be allowed to adapt to the nation's taste and to provide their clients with what they desired. It was against this discursive framework that the trade in contraband played out, particularly in the urban areas. These two interpretations of smuggling concurrently motivated retailers to engage in contraband trade and coloured perceptions of them as disloyal and unpatriotic.

Two markets, the rural and the urban, will be considered here; while they are treated as separate there was in reality an overlap, as pedlars were also active in towns and urban retailers in the countryside. However, these two markets make up two very distinct retailing spaces. The vast majority of the Swedish population was living in the countryside; by 1810 less than 10% of the population lived in towns. The great bulk of the population thus lived in rural areas where shops were prohibited until 1846, which meant that these consumers had to rely on markets and travelling salesmen.<sup>621</sup> As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the countryside was also effectively unregulated, as the sheer size of the territory made surveillance near-impossible. By contrast, the towns featured a large body of various retailers, competing for consumers, and labouring under extensive regulation and surveillance. Consequently, the retailing spaces in the countryside and the towns were fundamentally different, which also affected the retailing of contraband, as the vendors needed to adopt varying techniques not only to conduct illicit trade but also to escape, or minimise the effects of, their punishment. As will become clear in this chapter, the 'who' and 'where' of smuggling were tightly linked to the question of 'how' legality was negotiated.

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<sup>620</sup> On the yearly purchase of stock see: Klas Nyberg, 'Stockholms Handlande Borgerskap Och Manufakturister', in *Till Salu. Stockholms Textila Handel Och Manufaktur 1722-1846*, ed. Klas Nyberg (Stockholm: Stads- och Kommunhistoriska Institutet, 2010).pp.60-61

<sup>621</sup> [http://ortshistoria.se/nedladd/befolkn\\_txt/befolkning\\_1570-2000\\_andel.txt](http://ortshistoria.se/nedladd/befolkn_txt/befolkning_1570-2000_andel.txt), Accessed 10 Jan. 2019; Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, 'Rural Retailing of Textiles in Early Nineteenth-Century Sweden', in *Selling Textiles in the Long Eighteenth Century. Comparative Perspectives from Western Europe*, ed. Jon Stobart and Bruno Blondé (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). p.101

Even more important than the location of the contraband retailing was the relationship between the vendors and their clients. In order to understand this relationship, it is crucial to consider the consumers and their attitudes towards contraband. Consumer attitudes towards buying, and more vitally towards buying foreign goods, have been increasingly explored in Swedish scholarship. While the meaning and perceptions of such consumption among the lower echelons of society have so far only received very limited attention, considerably more attention has been paid to the Swedish elite and their consumption.<sup>622</sup> In her studies of consumption among the Swedish nobility, Johanna Ilmakunnas argues that luxury consumption was an intrinsic part of aristocratic culture in the eighteenth century. This luxury consumption should not be considered simply as conspicuous consumption but as an expression of taste and politeness, which was related to the fact that the nobility no longer had the same economic advantages over the burghers as they had previously enjoyed.<sup>623</sup> However, Ilmakunnas has also noted that the elite's economic behaviour was related to an ideal of frugality, which demanded moderation in consumption and habits, but encouraged 'acceptable' consumption that supported Swedish industry.<sup>624</sup> These two very different consumer behaviours can in part be explained by Ilmakunnas' observation that there were two different elite consumer 'types': the munificent spendthrift and the responsible and restrained saver.<sup>625</sup> The elite's double role of being both protectors of the fatherland and its economy, *and* members of a cosmopolitan community which demanded a certain type of behaviour and consumption, has also been discussed at length by Charlotta Wolff, who argues that there was no tension between the two identities.<sup>626</sup> However, Wolff also agrees that contemporaries made a distinction between good cosmopolitanism – which was focused on the betterment of the country through international examples and influences – and bad cosmopolitanism – which led to the ruin of the country including its financial drain.<sup>627</sup> Furthermore, Rickard Karlsson, who has studied the conflicted relationship between Swedish and French habits and consumer practices, has argued that there was never a passive adoption of French trends in Sweden, but rather cultural appropriation took place in the

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<sup>622</sup> One notable exception is the study of attitudes towards the consumption of indigo in the Swedish countryside: Leif Runefelt, 'Grå bonde, blå bonde: Den globala indigomarknaden som etiskt problem på svenska landsbygden kring sekelskiftet 1800', in *Det svenska begäret - Sekler av lyxkonsumtion*, ed. Klas Nyberg and Paula von Wachenfeldt (Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag, 2015).

<sup>623</sup> Ilmakunnas, 'Ståndsmässig Konsumtion: Högadelns Penningbruk Och Konsumtionsvanor i Sverige under Senare Delen Av 1700-Talet', pp.391-392

<sup>624</sup> Ilmakunnas.p.394

<sup>625</sup> Ilmakunnas.pp.395-398

<sup>626</sup> Wolff, *Vänskap och makt. Den svenska politiska eliten och upplysningstidens Frankrike*.p.336

<sup>627</sup> Wolff.p. 337

light of a fierce debate on the nature of ‘Swedishness’ and the appropriateness of adopting foreign trends.<sup>628</sup> The elite relationship to foreign consumer wares was thus contested, however, as both Ilmakunnas and Wolff observe, the Swedish elite still consumed contraband, which they either had brought back from the continent or which they were sent by friends and family staying abroad.<sup>629</sup> Ilmakunnas in particular has suggested that the ability to access the newest French fashions appears to have been an integral part of the aristocratic self-image.<sup>630</sup> However, as will be discussed in this chapter, these illegal foreign wares could also be acquired from retailers within Sweden. This raises the question of what relationship the consumers had with the retailers who were able provide them with these desirable, and symbolically important, wares at home.

The relationship between the retailer and the elite consumer has received some attention from Sofia Murhem and Göran Ulväng, who have suggested that the social standing of the trader and his or her connections played an important role for the development of their business. They have for example argued that patronage from the nobility played an important role in establishing traders and their reputation.<sup>631</sup>

The retailer gains a reputation for having tasteful goods because he is known to sell to people of good taste. But it works both ways: his customers gain a reputation for good taste because they buy their goods from someone known for selling tasteful goods.<sup>632</sup>

It indicates that the consumers and the retailers between them created and maintained the concept of fashionableness. It is therefore possible to stipulate that as they created each other they were also interested in maintaining each other, protecting each other from unwanted interference, including from the state. Such a mutually beneficial relationship is reminiscent of similar relationships in other countries. Studies from France have suggested that the symbiotic

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<sup>628</sup> Rickard Karlsson, *Svensk-franska förhandlingar. Bland sprätthökar och franska flugor i svenskt 1700-tal* (Linköping: LiU Tryck, 2007).p.232

<sup>629</sup> Wolff, *Vänskap och makt*. pp.302-303; Ilmakunnas, ‘The Luxury Shopping Experience of the Swedish Aristocracy in Eighteenth-Century Paris’ .p.123

<sup>630</sup> Ilmakunnas, ‘The Luxury Shopping Experience of the Swedish Aristocracy in Eighteenth-Century Paris’ . p.123

<sup>631</sup> Sofia Murhem and Göran Ulväng, ‘To Buy a Plate: Retail and Shopping for Porcelain and Faience in Stockholm during the Eighteenth Century’, in *A Taste for Luxury in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).p.201

<sup>632</sup> Ibid.

relationship between consumer and retailer was particularly important in relation to smuggling. Anne Montenach has even gone so far as to argue that the risks the merchants took to involve themselves in the contraband trade might have increased their respectability and heroism to their consumers.<sup>633</sup> In order to explore the retailing of contraband it is necessary to consider not merely the legislative trading conditions, and enforcement thereof, but also the social structures around the retailers, in particular the relationship between retailer and client.

How can this support of the contraband trade be reconciled with the patriotic protectionism that was popular around the same time? Van Schendel and Abraham, who have studied the co-existence of various legalities, have argued that they “find it useful to distinguish between political (legal and illegal) and social (licit and illicit) origins of regulatory authority”.<sup>634</sup> This could possibly also help to explain the co-existence of various interpretations and attitudes to smuggling.

This chapter looks at the final link in the contraband chain prior to the goods reaching the consumer, the retailer, and asks how the retailer responded to the prohibition against, condemnation of, and continued demand for illegal wares. In addition, how was their response influenced by their inter-personal relationships to customers and other traders? Four groups of retailers are studied in this chapter: pedlars, mercers, Jewish traders, and elite trade agents, all of whom traded under distinct privileges, with partially separate, and partially overlapping consumer groups.

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This chapter analyses case studies of various contraband retailers. These case studies are based on smuggling cases identified in the Customs Court protocols. Additional material has been retrieved from a range of sources. These include different types of published sources, such as regulations of traders, newspaper articles, and economic tracts, particularly in relation to the Finnish provinces. Diaries have also been used, including for example *Årstafruns dagbok* composed by Märta Helena Reenstierna (1753-1841, diaries 1793-1806), the memoirs of Aaron Isaac (1730-1816), the first settled Jew in Sweden, and diaries from the Swedish court including

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<sup>633</sup> Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*. p.272

<sup>634</sup> Willem van Schendel and Itty Abraham, ‘Introduction’, in *Illicit Flows and Criminal Things. States, Borders, and the Other Side of Globalization*, ed. Willem van Schendel and Itty Abraham (Indiana University, 2005), p.17

that of Fredrik Sparre (1731-1803, diary 1781), Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd (1746-1783, diary 1776 & 1779), and Hedvig Elisabet Charlotta (1759-1818, diaries 1783-1792). Different types of unpublished sources have also been used, including proceedings from the Silk and Cloth Trader Society (*Siden och Klädes Kramhandels Societeten*), private account books of members of the high nobility and the Swedish royal family (Hans Axel von Fersen (1755-1810), Duke Carl (1748-1818), Hedvig Elisabet Charlotta, Gustav IV Adolph (1778-1837), bills, business inventories of Johan Abraham Théel (1765-1811), and Johan Sundbeck (1769-1816?), the register of tax payers, letters, and reports from the customs office.

The chapter will start by outlining the shape of contraband retailing in the countryside before turning to the more complex situation in the towns and cities. Divided into four parts, each part of the chapter is concerned with a different type of retailer. It starts with a discussion about pedlars, mainly active in the countryside, who played an important role in furnishing the Swedish peasants with consumer wares. Thereafter the attention turns to the town-based mercers, more specifically the textile merchants tasked with selling manufactured and imported textiles, a group which became particularly restricted by the protectionist textile legislations. After discussing Jewish traders, the chapter ends with the story of the French court supplier Marcelin Robert (1753-1832).

### **The Wandering Pedlar - A Mobile Merchant in the Countryside**

The traveling salesmen, or pedlars, who supplied the countryside with consumer wares did not restrict their business to the wares they were legally entitled to trade. There were two main groups of pedlars who came to play an important role in the distribution of contraband within the Swedish dominions in the eighteenth century – in the west, the Westgothian pedlars, (*westgöta gårdfarihandlare*) and in the east the ‘Trading Russians’ (*kiöpryssar*). As many travelled widely the two groups were not restricted to their separate halves of the kingdom, nor were they the only pedlars in the kingdom.<sup>635</sup> However, the prominence of these two groups in the customs records suggests that these two groups need to be further investigated, to explore what role smuggling played in their line of trade, and how they managed to negotiate the illegality of their activities.

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<sup>635</sup> B Phylion, ‘Memorial, 2 Oct 1806, Åbo’ 1806, Äldre Centrala Tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, m. fl., kansliet, Resefiskaler, E9, vol.5, Riksarkivet.

Pedlars have received increasing attention among historians particularly since the publication of Fontaine's *History of Pedlars in Europe*. In her book Fontaine shows that the pedlars, a group often considered unorganised and vagrant, appeared in various forms, often making up complex and sophisticated networks. One of her observations, also highlighted by other researchers, is that many pedlar groups were not confined to a single country but capitalised on cross-border trade.<sup>636</sup> In Sweden and the Nordic countries, pedlars started to receive attention following Göran Rosander's 1980 overview of peddling in the Nordic countries. More recent studies have focused on specific peddling groups such as the Jewish pedlars, the Westgothian pedlars, and the Trading Russians.<sup>637</sup> Such studies show that the pedlars were an integral part of the distribution networks of manufactured goods, particularly, albeit not exclusively, in the countryside. Picking up from Fontaine, in her study of Swedish developments Lundqvist has shown that these distribution networks were more sophisticated than previously believed and included, for example, the use of credit.<sup>638</sup> Further, she argues that peddling deserves to be included in the economic history of Sweden on a par with other outlets.<sup>639</sup>

### *Westgothian Pedlars*

The Westgothian pedlars originated in Sjuhäradsbygden, Småland, and had long been trading across the country under particular privileges, which, however, were only officially ratified in 1776.<sup>640</sup> Although their trade was supposed to be restricted to the sale of handicrafts from Sjuhäradsbygden, the traders came to play an important role as conveyors of minor conveniences and luxuries, including manufactured goods.<sup>641</sup> In her extensive study of the Westgothian pedlars, Pia Lundqvist notes that their varied range of stock, legal and illegal, was an important contributing factor to their success, as they were able to cater for changing tastes

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<sup>636</sup> Laurence Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe* (Polity Press, 1996), pp. 8-11; Johanna Wassholm and Anna Sundelin, 'Emotions, Trading Practices and Communication in Transnational Itinerant Trade: Encounters between 'Rucksack Russians' and Their Customers in the Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Finland,' *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 66, no. 2 (2018): 132–52.p.134

<sup>637</sup> Göran Rosander, *Gårdfarihandel i Norden, En Översikt Av En Gammal Handelsform* (LTs förlag i samarbete med Institutet för folklivsforskning, 1980); Jacqueline Stare, ed., *Judiska Gårdfarihandlare i Sverige* (Stockholm: Judiska museet, 1996); Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg. Den Västgöta Gårdfarihandeln 1790-1864*; Wassholm and Sundelin, 'Emotions, Trading Practices and Communication in Transnational Itinerant Trade: Encounters between "Rucksack Russians" and Their Customers in the Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Finland'.

<sup>638</sup> Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg. Den Västgöta Gårdfarihandeln 1790-1864*. (Göteborg: Göteborgs Universitet, 2008), pp.183-206

<sup>639</sup> Lundqvist.p.273

<sup>640</sup> Lundqvist, p. 68

<sup>641</sup> Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, 'Före Lanthandelns Tid? Förutsättningarna För Och Förekomsten Av Handel På Den Svenska Landsbygden Före 1846'. In *Kommers. Historiska Handelsformer i Norden under 1700-Och 1800-Talen*, (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2001), p.134

quickly.<sup>642</sup> The association between these traders and contraband was established reasonably early on; in 1775, in his description of the Westgothian traders, Baron Silfverhem of Jönköping noted:

According to their Privileges the wandering Westgothians are supposed to be entitled to distribute their own productions ... [but] such wandering traders are now stocked with purchased unstamped camlets, silk cloth, fine linens and satins and other Merchant wares which they are not allowed. They probably bring them from Norway and thus contribute not only to the increase of the much complained about smuggling but also to the increased luxury among the commoners, whose children buy such wares.<sup>643</sup>

The pedlars were thus regarded with a certain level of concern by both merchants and the government, and attempts were made to infringe upon their trading freedoms, particularly in order to prevent the distribution of contraband. A Royal Decree from 15<sup>th</sup> August 1792 prohibited the pedlars from entering any foreign country for trade, except for Norway. It was hoped that this would hamper the introduction of illicit foreign goods into the country.<sup>644</sup> The exception of Norway was possibly related to the longstanding trade links enjoyed both by pedlars and by border-dwellers living along the border, particularly in the Jämtland and Härjedalen provinces.<sup>645</sup> Despite this, however, the ban was extended to Norway only a few years later, as the government strove to shut down all channels of contraband.<sup>646</sup> This same edict also stipulated that it was forbidden for sailors to ferry a commoner across to a foreign shore, or to ship wares across the sea on their behalf. Any transgression would be fined 50 Rdr. While the regulations were intended to keep the Westgothian pedlars in the country and out of reach

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<sup>642</sup> Pia Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg*, pp.208, 211, 228

<sup>643</sup> 'Baron Silfverhielm, Jönköping, 18 Aug 1775' 1775, Kollegiers m fl landshövdingars skrivelser till Kungl. Majt, 15 Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade, A, vol. 13, Ang handelsrörelse mellan städer och landsbygd, 1775-1776, Riksarkivet.

<sup>644</sup> Johan Liljencrants, *Kongl. Commerce=Collegii Circulair Til Samtelige Tull=Rätter, Angående Widtagne Anstalter Emot Mißbruk Af Den Allmogens I Wißa Händer Af Elfsborgs Län Tillåtne Gårdfari=handel*, 1792.

<sup>645</sup> Karin Wikberg, "'Skogarnas Wilda Innevånare" Tull Och Smuggling I 1800-Talets Jämtland', *Argus*, no. 8 (1994). p.13; Pia Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg*, p.146; According to Stein Tveite, Swedish and *västgöta* textiles had already been prominent in all of Norway by the late 17th century, See Stein Tveite, 'Den Norske Tekstilmarknaden På 1700-Talet', *Historiallinen Arkisto*, 1967. p.63

<sup>646</sup> *Kongl. Maj:ts Och Rikets Commerce-Collegii Förnyade Kungörelse, Angående Wästgöthe Allmogens Gårdfarihandel Med Hwad Derwid I Akt Tagas Bör. Gifwen Stockholm Den 8 Martii 1803* (Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1803). 1§



of foreign contraband, the customs court records indicate that transgressions continued and that the Swedish pedlars kept interacting with foreign markets.

There were many pedlar routes out of the country, but particular attention will be paid here to the areas Skåne and Halland, on the south and south-west coast of Sweden. Halland was an important purchasing site for the pedlars, where they could buy wool, silk, and cotton textiles.<sup>647</sup> The availability of manufactured products in Halland was probably linked to the fact that it was an important area for peasant shipping to and from Denmark, England, and France, as discussed in the previous chapter. Peasant shipping not only introduced foreign wares into Halland but could also offer transport possibilities for pedlars wanting to travel themselves. From the early 1790s onwards, the customs records contain growing numbers of reports of Westgothian pedlars in Halland engaging in smuggling, which coincides with the increasing regulation of and prohibitions against their foreign travels. Halland was not the only transit area used by the pedlars, and in 1791 it was reported from Malmö, in Skåne, that many pedlars had been observed passing by the customs, but that it was impossible to stop them. Upon reaching Sweden, the pedlars spread out, to make the customs persecution of them more difficult, before travelling homewards with goods obtained in Zealand in Denmark.<sup>648</sup> Not long thereafter the same customs officer reported from Helsingborg that upon going through the local customs reports it had become clear that many confiscations had been made in the area from the Westgothian pedlars.<sup>649</sup> Despite the introduction of the ban on foreign travel in 1792, the presence of pedlars in the local customs accounts continued. Although regulations were developed to control the mobility of the pedlars, they repeatedly strove to defy them, as their movements between countries and regions were important for their business.

Whether the pedlars had themselves travelled abroad to acquire wares, or if they purchased goods already introduced into the country, once they were in possession of the wares a cat-and-mouse game commenced between the customs officers and the pedlars. An example of this dates from July 1795, when Royal Constable Gyllberg came across a group of five pedlars on the border between Halland and Älvsborg counties, in Marks Härad. This group of tradesmen immediately took flight but the constable was still able to confiscate 16 packages of smuggled

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<sup>647</sup> Pia Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg*, 2008, p. 146

<sup>648</sup> Sparre, 'Memorial, No 143, Alingsås, 29 Apr 1791' 1791, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, m. fl., kansliet, Skrivelser från tullfiskaler E8, vol.1, Riksarkivet.

<sup>649</sup> Sparre, 'Memorial, No 178, Helsingborg, 17 Maj 1791.', *Ibid.*

goods. However, Gyllberg was prevented in his attempts to transport the contraband back to the confiscation warehouse in Varberg, Halland by numerous pedlars who gathered around him to reclaim the goods and, unable to resist, Gyllberg was forced to abandon the confiscated items. A week later six of the packages were recovered in a pile of manure and were soon after auctioned off for export, reaching a sale price of 942 Rdr 35 sk.<sup>650</sup> Pedlars usually travelled in caravans, but this was seen as a problem by the authorities, who in 1803 tried to limit the number of pedlars in each travelling group to six in order to avoid disturbances.<sup>651</sup> How effective this rule was is hard to establish. In 1805 *Inrikes Tidningar* announced that seven pedlars had been caught smuggling together.<sup>652</sup> Moving in larger groups made it possible for the pedlars to not only transport greater quantities of goods, but also defend themselves if they came under threat, or split up in order to avoid capture. As the traders travelled up through the country, single pedlars split off from the group to attend their markets. While the pedlars as a group created a distribution network which spanned the whole country, single traders usually had their own distinct markets, whether in the sparsely populated countryside or in a city.<sup>653</sup> This was important as it allowed the pedlars to develop a trust and credit network which made it possible to trade with a larger range of customers.<sup>654</sup> Contraband could thus spread in areas where ready money was scarce and among people living remotely in the countryside.

The relationship between the pedlars and their consumers cannot always be gauged simply by looking at customs records, which primarily record the conditions for and occurrences of illegal trade. In order to understand attitudes toward the Westgothian pedlars it may instead be useful to consider the parish discussions about luxury from 1793, which will be featured at length in the next chapter. In Bergslagen, an important mining region, the parishioners in Norrbärke observed that “the Westgothian pedlars, visiting every farm, come stocked with ample, and probably illegal goods”.<sup>655</sup> Indeed, such were the attractions of the pedlar’s stock that, in the neighbouring parishes of Ludvika and Grangärde just to the north of Norrbärke, it was suggested that the parish men could only reduce their wives’ luxury consumption through the help of the state. They proposed that a royal decree should be issued that forbade the pedlars

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<sup>650</sup> ‘1795 Berättelse’, Äldre centrala arkiv, Överdirektören vid sjöttullen, Huvudarkiv Liggare över föredragna mål D1, vol.7, Riksarkivet, pp. 49-50

<sup>651</sup> Pia Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg*, p. 146

<sup>652</sup> ‘Till Underdånigste Följe Af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning till Förekommande Af Lurendrägerier Och Tullförsnillning Af D N 6 April 1799’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 3 May 1805, 49 edition.

<sup>653</sup> Pia Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg*, pp. 71, 78, 172,

<sup>654</sup> Lundqvist, pp. 189-196

<sup>655</sup> ‘Norrbärke, 7 Juli 1793’ 1793 Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vo. 28, Riksarkivet.

from selling textiles to the commoners, as they themselves were unable to prevent their wives from buying the pedlars' attractive wares.<sup>656</sup> While Pia Lundqvist has pointed out that the pedlars had some support from local governors, the reigning attitude among the decision-makers was that the pedlars were a destructive force.<sup>657</sup> This notion was probably linked to their popularity among rural consumers, a feature that emerges even more distinctly in the Finnish material.

### *'Trading Russians'*

In Finland, pedlars often referred to as Trading Russians (but usually of East Karelian origin) came to play a similar role to that of the Westgothians traders. Little attention has yet been paid to the early activities of this group of traders, although the group is currently being investigated by a research project at Åbo Academy. Ethnologist Nils Storå has argued that the peddling activities of the East Karelians can be traced back at least to the seventeenth century and that they mainly traded with manufactured goods, including textiles – many of which were illegal for import into Sweden.<sup>658</sup> According to Storå, the peasants of East Karelia took to peddling in order to supplement the meagre incomes that the barren soil and poor farming conditions in their region could generate. They were able to use peddling as a way to increase their funds as they, despite their relative isolation, were within reach of important Russian trading centres such as St Petersburg, established in 1703 after the Swedish loss of Ingria, and Arkhangelsk, where an English trading company had existed since the sixteenth century. The trading language was a mixture of Karelian, Finnish and Swedish, depending on where the pedlars worked and how far they travelled.<sup>659</sup> Most of their peddling activities broke with the Swedish regulations, which in the standardised national law of 1734 severely limited the right to peddle in the countryside.<sup>660</sup> In contrast to the Westgothian pedlars the Russian Traders were never exempted from this rule, and their peddling thus remained illegal for the duration of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century.

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<sup>656</sup> Ludvika & Grangärde, 27 Juli 1793' 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.28, Riksarkivet.

<sup>657</sup> Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg*. p.69

<sup>658</sup> Nils Storå, "'Rucksack Russians'" in Finland Peddling and Culture Contact', trans. Michele McNabb, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 21 (1991). p.74

<sup>659</sup> Storå.pp.78-79

<sup>660</sup> *Sveriges Rikes Lag, Gillad Och Antagen På Riksdagen 1734* (Stockholm: Historiographi regni, 1736). See (handelsbalken §6 om landskiöp)

In 1756 the economic writer Johan Kraftman described the business activities of these itinerant traders in an academic treatise on the œconomy of Karelia. Kraftman argued that the pedlars sold manufactured cloth, including calico, satin, damask, silk and various linens, neckerchiefs and caps, which they smuggled into Sweden-Finland.<sup>661</sup> While he noted that they were increasingly being forced to limit their retailing activities to markets, Kraftman suggested that it made little difference to their smuggling ventures.<sup>662</sup> For this reason he suggested that the only way to treat the “smuggling plague” was to prohibit all Russian traders from coming to the border and market town of Kajana, and all use of Russian silk ribbons and neckerchiefs among the Karelian women.<sup>663</sup>

The conditions along the extensive Russian border, with its vast distances and sparse population, made it very difficult to control.<sup>664</sup> This situation clearly worked in the pedlars’ favour. Describing the conditions along the border in the north, a customs official in Torneå in 1767 observed:

The border between Sweden and Russia is located northeast of Torneå... By the border itself, as well as the whole distance to the town, the terrain is flat and those who travel across the border come both on horseback, and walking on skis... the Russian subjects tend to smuggle when they cross the border to Torneå with their wares, which is made easier by the fact that Farms are located everywhere along the road, where they can sell their goods safely.<sup>665</sup>

Just like with the Westgothian pedlars in the western part of the country, the Russian traders caused anxiety among those in charge, as reflected by a report submitted by vice governor Roos of Umeå on the state of trade in Torneå. In his report to the king Roos noted that the Russian traders were highly damaging to the region. They are described as travelling in groups to Torneå throughout the winter with a great assortment of legal goods such as linen and wadmäl (a coarse homespun wool textile), but also illegal wares of various sorts. According to Roos the

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<sup>661</sup> Kraftman and Lagus, ‘Tankar Om Hushållningens Uphjelpande i Carelen’, p.9

<sup>662</sup> According to Kraftman the Trading Russians would go to the customs chamber, where they would occupy the attention of the officers while contraband was being brought in across the border along one of the many secret passageways. See page. 10 in the book above.

<sup>663</sup> Kraftman and Lagus, ‘Tankar Om Hushållningens Uphjelpande i Carelen’. p.12

<sup>664</sup> For a longer discussion about this border see Chapter 3.

<sup>665</sup> Gustaf Lithners (?), ‘39. Torneå’, 1767, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.3, Riksarkivet.

prevalence of the illegal trade was proved by numerous confiscations. Roos added that as long as the Russians were allowed to come to Torneå it would be impossible to prevent this type of violation. Insisting that their mobility needed to be restricted, he suggested that one solution could be to set up a market close to the border where all Russian traders were obliged to conduct their business. Kusamo was suggested as a possible location for the market, as it was located close to the Russian border and would prevent the traders from entering too far into the Swedish-Finnish territory. Furthermore, Roos suggested that the market should be held in January, when the Torneå dwellers were able to attend.<sup>666</sup> The idea of the border market reappeared again in 1806, when the customs officer G. Kranck observed that many of the Russian traders travelled through communities without customs chambers such as Sotkamo and Paldamo. Kranck objected to their uncontrolled movements and argued that it was better to concentrate all Russian traders in Kusamo where a free market could be created to cater for the new trade situation.<sup>667</sup> The mobility of the Russian pedlars was thus seen as particularly troubling and echoes similar concerns expressed over the Westgothian traders. Mobility offered traders an opportunity to acquire and distribute contraband goods, and at the same time made it harder to oversee and control them.

Finnish customs court protocols also bear witness to the difficulties involved in identifying and controlling the smuggling pedlars. In surviving customs court protocols stretching back to 1771 there are mentions of escaped peasants. While their cargoes indicate that they might have been trading Russians, it was impossible to know for sure. This is the case for example with the ‘peasant’ whose wares were caught at Limmings’ customs in 1771, including spun Dutch tobacco, green Russian damask, gilded silver rings, 14 lots (c. 180 gram) of camphor, Russian pearls, thread and soap worth a total of 104 D smt along with six different types of struck coins, including *gute groschen* worth an additional 91 D smt. It is possible that this man was a pedlar, but as he fled in his sledge while the officers were busy carrying the contraband into their office, it is impossible to know for certain – although the customs office records note that the wares were “infallibly introduced from the Russian side”.<sup>668</sup> Many of the Russian traders remain unidentified, and the most common sentence in the customs records concerning these pedlars

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<sup>666</sup> ‘Vice Landshövding Roos, Umeå, 1 Dec 1777’ 1777, Kollegiers m fl landshövdingars skrivelser till Kungl. Majt, 15 Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade, A, vol. 13, Ang handelsrörelse mellan städer och landsbygd, 1775-1776, Riksarkivet.

<sup>667</sup> Kranck, ‘35. Kusamo’. 1806, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Kansliet, Personella berättelser och anmärkningspunkter, E1, vol.38

<sup>668</sup> 9 March 1771, ‘Sjötullen Uleåborg’. Kommerskollegium, advokatfiskalskontoret, Rättsprotokoll, D. Uleåborg 1769-1794, Riksarkivet.

is “confiscated from unknown Russians”. The assumption that the escaped offenders were Russian appears to have been based on their dress, but presumably also on their language.<sup>669</sup> When names and origins are given for the culprits they are usually identified as coming from East Karelia, which agrees with Nils Storå’s descriptions of these travelling tradesmen. Examples from the sources include the smuggling Russian peasants, Ivan Harrinen and Joseph Mehtonen, stopped on the 29<sup>th</sup> of February 1804 near Kajana, who identified themselves as originating from Vuokkiniemi, East Karelia. The same day another Russian, Michell Karjanamen, also informed the customs that he was from Vuokkiniemi, after being arrested at the customs chamber at Sotkamo, east of Kajana.<sup>670</sup> However, these named individuals belong to a minority and are outnumbered by those labelled “unknown Russians”. This anonymity was also a consequence of the pedlars’ movements, as they covered significant distances and would have been unfamiliar to the local customs authorities.

Mobility was not the only problem with the Trading Russians, however, and in 1777 vice-governor Roos observed another troubling aspect. The peasants living on the Swedish-Finnish side of the border appeared to be in cahoots with the Russians.<sup>671</sup> Roos suggested that Swedish-Finnish subjects were not only friendly with the Russian pedlars, but that they also supported them in various ways. A widespread acceptance of and support for the pedlars can also be observed in the customs records. Customs protocols from Kides, for example, relate an incident with the Russian trader Onto Jänis. One night in 1787, he had his leather bag seized by customs personnel. Jänis was at the time staying in the house of the peasant Jöran Pesani in Ilmantz parish (now Illomantsi) when the customs officer Johan Strandeen stopped by. When Strandeen seized Jänis’ bag a violent brawl erupted and Jänis hit the customs officer over the head with a halberd, which left Strandeen with a three-finger-long cut in his forehead. It is not known where Jänis was heading with his contraband, which included blue wool cloth, red/white silk cloth, calico, ribbons in red silk and blue, along with 66 combs, ribbons with red pearls, pins and striped belts, but what is clear is that he was relying on the hospitality of local peasants for his

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<sup>669</sup> See for example: 16 April 1787, 'Kitee No. 578', Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol.1, Kansalliarkisto, Finska Riksarkivet; 'Cajana', 1803-1804, Kommerskollegium, Advokatfiskalskontoret, Årsberättelser Lurendrejerimål, Cb4, vol 2, Riksarkivet.

<sup>670</sup> 'Uleåborg', 1803-1804, Kommerskollegium, Advokatfiskalskontoret, Årsberättelser Lurendrejerimål, Cb4, vol 2, Riksarkivet.; Vuokkiniemi is an area known for peddling, and in the 1830s when the Finnish scald Elias Lönnroth visited the area, he noted that more than 400 men travelled from there to Finland for trade in the autumn, not to return until the following spring. See Storå, ““Rucksack Russians” in Finland Peddling and Culture Contact”. Elias Lönnroth, ‘-’, *Helsingfors Morgonblad*, 28 July 1834.

<sup>671</sup> 1 Dec 1777, 'Vice Landshövding Roos, Umeå.'. Kollegiers m fl landshövdingars skrivelser till Kungl. Majt, 15 Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade, Ang handelsrörelse mellan städer och landsbygd, A, vol. 13, 1775-1776, Riksarkivet.

protection.<sup>672</sup> A decade later the customs visitor Johan Pellgren was travelling along the roads of Kideslax in a remote part of Finland. At 3 o'clock in the morning he arrived at the home of the peasant Lukas Machonen (later referred to as Maikoses) in the village of Jama in the parish of Kides. When he entered the house of Machonen, three unknown men "dressed like Russians" ran out of a room, carrying leather bags. Pellgren managed to seize the bags, but despite his best efforts he was unable to identify the Russian men. The confiscated wares, similar to the seizures from a decade earlier, included printed calico, striped, flowered, or just single colours, and calamancoe and worsted belts and pins of various descriptions worth 34 Rdr Specie.<sup>673</sup> The culprits were never found, and the contraband went on to be sold at auction for export. Similar reports can be found along most of the border. The reports highlight circumstances observed in other sources, including that the local border population often appears to have been on the side of the pedlars, assisting them by providing housing: many of the seizures were made in the middle of the night in peasant homes. Generally, the border population also appears to have been unwilling to co-operate with the customs officials. It might be linked to the border populations' relationship to, and sometimes even dependence on, cross-border trade, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Scholars have argued that the presence of contraband in the pedlar's stock was an important part of their success as it allowed them to offer everyday luxuries to the common people, in the countryside as well as in the city.<sup>674</sup> As this examination of pedlars in the customs records has shown, they managed to acquire contraband in Sweden's neighbouring countries, and distribute it widely through the co-operation, mobility, and anonymity that characterised the pedlars' trade. Meanwhile, the desirability of their wares landed them with protection from the rural population, who shielded them from the customs officers and enabled them to surreptitiously conduct trade in the Swedish countryside without risking exposure. It is important to emphasise this link between the popularity of the pedlar's goods and the general attitudes of the consumers towards the traders themselves. These factors enabled the pedlars to move beyond the legal confines of trade.

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<sup>672</sup> 7 Nov 1787, 'Kitee No 578', 1787, Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol. 1, Kansallisarkisto, Finska riksarkivet

<sup>673</sup> 5 Feb 1798, 'Kitee No. 580', 1798, Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol. 1, Kansallisarkisto, Finska riksarkivet.

<sup>674</sup> Pia Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg*. pp. 228 & 230 ; Sigfrid Svensson, *Skånes Folkdräkter. En Dräkthistorisk Undersökning 1500-1900*, Nordiska Museets Handlingar 3 (Stockholm, 1935). p. 292

## The Mercers – Shop-owners Under Surveillance

Just like the pedlars in the countryside, urban vendors found themselves labouring under considerable restrictions in the protectionist state, trapped between the legislation and the realities of conducting a profitable business. In most other respects, however, the urban retailers were working under conditions distinctly different to those in the countryside. Based in towns with fixed shop spaces, they were well-known individuals, to both their clients and the local customs officers. The majority of confiscations from the mercers were also conducted in their shops, which is symptomatic of their renown, their relative fixity in the townscape, and the high surveillance level present in towns. Due to these conditions the mercers' involvement in the contraband trade looked quite different to that of the pedlars.

While the history of shop retailers has received attention from British and French scholars, the interest in Sweden has so far been limited.<sup>675</sup> Exceptions are the Swedish historian Martin Wottle's writing on the social networks of trading burghers in Stockholm and Sofia Murhem and Göran Ulväng's discussion of the trade in porcelain; this aside there is still only a patchy understanding of how the trading mercers conducted their business, what their shops looked like, and what shopping was like in eighteenth-century Stockholm.<sup>676</sup> It is therefore useful to start the discussion of the mercers by outlining the basic conditions for their trade.

Retailing in Stockholm had, since the seventeenth century, been divided between different societies that decided who was allowed to sell particular wares.<sup>677</sup> The system can be compared to the guilds of the manufacturers. In order to acquire burghership and membership in a society

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<sup>675</sup> See for example: Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); Claire Walsh, 'Shops, Shopping, and the Art of Decision-Making in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (Yale University Press, 2006); Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996); Natacha Coquery, *Tenir Boutique à Paris Au XVIIIe Siècle: Luxe et Demi-Luxe* (Paris: éditions du Comité historique et scientifique, 2011).

<sup>676</sup> Martin Wottle, *Det Lilla Ägandet: Korporativ Formering Och Sociala Relationer Inom Stockholms Minuthandel 1720-1810 / Martin Wottle* (Stockholm: Stads- och Kommunhistoriska Institutet, 2000); Martin Wottle, 'Ett Anspråkslöst Förslag: Barbara Pauli Och Människoslåktets Allmänna Fåfånglighet', in *I All Anspråkslöshet: En Vänbok till Lars Björnin*, ed. Kekke Stadin (Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2005); Martin Wottle, 'Detaljhandeln Med Kläder Och Tyger, 1734-1834', in *Till Salu. Stockholms Textila Handel Och Manufaktur 1722-1846*, ed. Klas Nyberg (Stockholm: Stads- och Kommunhistoriska Institutet, 2010); Martin Wottle, *Det Lilla Ägandet: Korporativ Formering Och Sociala Relationer Inom Stockholms Minuthandel 1720-1810 / Martin Wottle* (Stockholm: Stads- och Kommunhistoriska Institutet, 2000). Murhem and Ulväng, 'To Buy a Plate: Retail and Shopping for Porcelain and Faience in Stockholm during the Eighteenth Century'.

<sup>677</sup> Svenskt Konversations-Lexicon, (Stockholm: P. G. Berg, 1847) v.2, p.46



it was first necessary to go through training, an apprenticeship with a registered merchant in order to become skilled in the trade. Only then could a person, equipped with letters of recommendation, apply to the city magistrate to be accepted for burghership.<sup>678</sup> The applications would be dealt with by the appropriate guild or society. When awarded burghership it was necessary to swear a burgher oath (*borgared*); this was an oath of fidelity to the King and the oath included a promise not to deal in illicit goods. The procedure underwent little change during the eighteenth century.<sup>679</sup>

The mercers were members of the Silk and Cloth Trader Society (*Siden och klädeskramhandels societeten*), a society that engaged in the trade in finer fabrics, and which commonly dealt in both foreign and domestic industrial products.<sup>680</sup> As discussed in Chapter Two, the mercers' trade in high quality domestic and foreign textiles led the Swedish manufacturers to argue that they also dealt in unlawful foreign textiles, thus undermining the domestic industry. Many mercers saw their task as catering for the demands of the consumers, rather than only being an outlet for Swedish manufacturers. During the latter half of the eighteenth century the conflict between the mercers and the manufacturers deepened and the Society came to be mobilised in the discussion on smuggling, in support of the retailers.<sup>681</sup> The Silk and Cloth Trader Society maintained that "smuggling is founded in man's covetousness...the covetousness planted in all men..."<sup>682</sup> This positioning was not only a rhetorical device, however. As custom court records reveal, it also translated into an active engagement with the contraband trade.

### *The Visitation*

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<sup>678</sup> Erik Lindberg, *Borgerskap och burskap, Om Näringsprivilegier Och Borgerskapets Institutioner i Stockholm 1820-1846*. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis), 2001. pp.78-81

<sup>679</sup> This can be seen from a comparison of two burgher oaths, one from the early seventeenth century and the other from 1808. The only addition in regards to the wares was that in the earlier oaths the trader swore not to deal with foreign goods but in the later oaths illicit goods were also included. This was probably a reflection of the developing Swedish manufacturing sector, and refers to unstamped, thus untaxed, domestic manufactures. See Borgmästare och råd i Stockholm, Utdrag ur Taxor för år 1620 (ryggtitel), see <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/7896>, Accessed 29 March 2018; 22 September 1808, Borgerskapets gubbbhus, Inträdesansökningar, E1, vol. 8, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>680</sup> Klas Nyberg, 'Stockholms Handlande Borgerskap Och Manufakturister', in *Till Salu. Stockholms Textila Handel Och Manufaktur 1722-1846*, ed. Klas Nyberg (Stockholm: Stads- och Kommunhistoriska Institutet, 2010), pp.60-61

<sup>681</sup> 'Til Commerce Collegium - Om Husvisitationer Och Fiscaliska Besök I de Handelandes Gatubodar' 1772, Skråarkiv, Siden- och kramhandelssocieteten, Siden- och kramhandelssocietetens handlingar 1770-1787, F1, vol.2, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. For a longer discussion see Chapter 2.

<sup>682</sup> Ibid.

The vast majority of all mercers who appeared before the customs court had been caught with contraband during shop-visitations. The development of the visitation as a tool to control smuggling has already been thoroughly explored in Chapter Two, and the legislation changed several times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>683</sup> As the visitation legislation altered, so did the conditions for illegal trade. In 1769 universal visitations were allowed in shops and storages, including in spaces frequented by irregular traders such as valets and lackeys. Seven years later, in 1776, a royal decree prohibited the use of all visitations due to public safety issues, a prohibition that lasted until 1785, when visitations were reintroduced for some specific properties, most prominently shops and storage houses.<sup>684</sup> Visitations would thus be allowed, but exclusively in properties used by registered merchants.<sup>685</sup> For the merchants it meant that a period of grace reigned from 1776 to 1785; for the historian it means that there is hardly any material relating to smuggling mercers in the customs accounts from this period.

It should also be noted that the visitation, by its very nature, investigated the property and possessions of known and named individuals, who most often were also present during the visitation itself. The conditions of contraband surveillance in towns, and the renown of the burghers thus produced distinct conditions for smuggling, which needs closer investigation.

### *Sundbeck, Bruse, and Linderoth - Three Retailers Setting the Scene*

In order to introduce the mercers and the conditions under which they worked, three mercers convicted of smuggling will be discussed, two dating from the period before the 1776 ban on visitations and one from 1786, the year after the reintroduction of the visitation. The first mercer, Johan Sundbeck (1734?-1800), was based in Stockholm, the second, Samuel Bruse (1732-1800), was active in Gothenburg. The third, Erick Linderoth (1750-1790), was also based in Gothenburg. While the circumstances of their crimes vary, some crucial similarities can be observed, both in relation to how they conducted their trade and how their crimes came to affect them.

The first case is atypical, as it concerns a well-to-do burgher, Johan Sundbeck, who attempted to personally introduce contraband into Stockholm under the pretence of being a merchant's

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<sup>683</sup> For a longer discussion about the visitation see Chapter 2.

<sup>684</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förbud Emot Hus=Visitationer, Gifwit Ekolsund Then 16 Julii 1776' (1776).

<sup>685</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning Til Hämmande Af Lurendrägerier, Gifwen Stockholms Slott Then 14 Martii 1785' (1785).

assistant. On 18<sup>th</sup> May 1769 the Land Customs Assistant (*waktmästare*) Olof Wallman stopped a man at Skans Tull, south of Stockholm. The man identified himself as Carl Holm, a Merchant's Assistant from Västervik (*Westerwik*).<sup>686</sup> Wallman soon discovered that 'Holm' was carrying a large number of contraband textiles, which he immediately seized. 'Holm' then claimed that there was security for the payment of the fines, and that he had a '*connoissance*' by Stortorget who could help him.

The trial against 'Holm' commenced the day after the seizure, on 19<sup>th</sup> May. In preparation for the trial and according to standard practice, two merchants were called in to estimate the value and quality of the goods. Part of the problem with establishing the value was *how* to do it. Eventually it was agreed that the merchants would calculate the value by using the median between the foreign retail and domestic wholesale price.<sup>687</sup> They first settled on an estimate of 8316 D kmt, a sum later revised to 8796 D kmt. While the trial had started on 19<sup>th</sup> May, it was not until 6<sup>th</sup> June that the court finally came face to face with 'Holm'. On that day, Olof Wallman was called to the stand and he was accompanied by the mercer Johan Sundbeck. Sundbeck, Wallman explained, was 'Carl Holm', the man from whom he had confiscated the contraband. Upon questioning, Sundbeck confirmed Wallman's testimony. He also explained that he had immediately paid the fines for the crime, and had not expected that the question of his identity would be of any relevance. In relation to the contraband, he stated that he had received the goods from a friend against commission, but as the transaction had taken place without anyone else being present, no one could verify his claim. Sundbeck declined to identify the person from whom he had acquired the textiles, claiming that it would only add to his troubles. Asked where he had received the wares, he answered just outside of the tollgate, where the man in question had come to meet him. In the end Sundbeck was sentenced to pay half of the value of the confiscated goods in fines, as stipulated in the 1757 anti-smuggling decree. Sundbeck claimed to be content with this verdict, and confirmed that he would pay the fines immediately, or just after lunch.<sup>688</sup> Sundbeck's case is rare in that it concerns a mercer physically transporting contraband into the city; the norm appears to have been to rely on intermediaries for this crucial transit, an arrangement which had the advantage of protecting

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<sup>686</sup> 19 May 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>687</sup> 19 May 1769, & 24 May 1769, & 6 June 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. This would the following year become the standardised practice (4 Art, 1§, 1770).

<sup>688</sup> 19 May 1769, & 24 May 1769, & 6 June 1769, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

the reputation of the mercer and distancing him from the crime. While unusual, the case nevertheless illustrates an important feature that most mercers had to contend with – their own renown. This feature distinguishes them from the rural pedlars and it conditioned both how they conducted trade and how any transgressions were communicated to the public. While Sundbeck had wanted to play down his involvement in the smuggling crime and sweep the event under the carpet, the account of his smuggling came to gain traction due to his renown. The protocols from Sundbeck's trial were published by the Royal Print shop in Stockholm, and came to be advertised in the daily press.<sup>689</sup> With such exposure, Sundbeck's crime appears to have become common knowledge in Stockholm. However, while a prominent retailer's transgressions might have been of public interest, it did not automatically follow that the consequences were negative.

At the time of his arrest Sundbeck ran a prominent mercer business, which he had set up after gaining burghership on 26<sup>th</sup> February 1761.<sup>690</sup> He had a shop on Stortorget, next to the great trading house Grill – the same location Sundbeck had given for his 'connoissance' when he was arrested. Indeed, on a map of the city from 1771, the house in which Sundbeck had his shop was called "H. Joh. Sundbeck's house" indicating that he owned the house and that he was a recognisable character in Stockholm.<sup>691</sup> Sundbeck's conviction, and the publication of his crimes in 1769, had no discernible negative effect on his business. In 1775 he remodeled the house, possibly with the money he had won in compensation following a 1774 case wherein he was cleared of the charge of having violently assaulted the fiscal officer Délen.<sup>692</sup> During this trial, it was observed that Sundbeck had been receiving large sums of money from unknown sponsors, and despite repeated attempts to make him swear an oath (*wärjemål sed*, 17 Cap, 30§, Rättegångs Balken) in regards to the accuracy of his account books, nothing ever came of it. While Sundbeck appears to have been involved in various sorts of business

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<sup>689</sup> *Stora Sjö Tulls Rättens I Stockholm, Protocoller Och Utslag, Rörande Kramhandlaren Johan Sundbeck, Som D. 18 Näst-Ledne Maji Genom Skans Tulls Gjordt Försökt, at Inpracticera åtskillige Stycken Utländske Siden=Tyger Och Silkes Näsdukar.* (Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1769); '-', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 29 June 1769, 141 edition, p.2

<sup>690</sup> 'Förteckning över Kramhandlare 1750-1769' 1769, Handelskollegiet, DIIa, vol.6, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>691</sup> J Lundell, *Om Handtverksskrån, Näringsfrihet Och Arbetets Organisation* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1846).

<sup>692</sup> Ragnar Josephson, *Borgarhus i Gamla Stockholm* (Stockholm: Nordiska Bokhandeln, 1916). p.108; Jonas Hedenskog, *Uti Det, Af Stads-Advocaten, Wälbetrodde Benjamin Delén, i Lifstiden Til Undersökning Hos Rätten Anmälte, Samt Af Rådmanen ... Pehr Quiding, å Ambetes Wägnar, Bewistade Mål, Angående Deléns Deröfwer Förde Klagan, at Kramhandlaren Johan : Sundbeck ... Den 2 Augusti Nästledit År ... Wäldsamheter å Delén Utöfwat ... (År Denna Stockholms Stads Kjämners-Rätts Dom, Afsagd Den Andra Augusti År Ett Tusende Sju Hundrade Sjuttio Fyra.) = (Text.) = (Stockholm, Tryckt Hos Johan Georg : Lange, 1774.)* (Stockholm: Georg Lange, 1774).p.12

illegalities, which also came to be expounded in print, he remained, at least until 1785, a successful tradesman.<sup>693</sup> Around 1785 Sundbeck's business appears to have suffered a setback, and he was forced to leave his house and move to a poorer area of the city, where he stayed until his death in 1800.<sup>694</sup> It would, however, be a stretch to link this to the smuggling activities which had taken place 16 years previously.

Sundbeck's smuggling conviction is distinctive in two ways. First, he was caught red-handed impersonating an assistant while transporting contraband into the city, and secondly and more importantly his renown as a retailer seems to have played a role not only in exposing him but also in affecting the treatment of the case, as it came to be printed and distributed in Stockholm. The same was true of the abuse case against Délen, which was also publicised.<sup>695</sup> Despite the fact that his smuggling came to be common knowledge, there are no indications that he was abandoned by his customers or that his business suffered during this period. While the later cases that will be considered were not as widely publicised, they reflect a similar unconcern among the consumers for the merchants' illegal side business.

As the case of the second trader to be considered here, Samuel Bruse, shows, the illicit retailers were by no means restricted to Stockholm. On 5<sup>th</sup> January 1773 Customs Prosecutor Hoffgardh performed a search of mercer Samuel Bruse's shop in Gothenburg and retrieved numerous unstamped and foreign goods, including camlet, corduroy, cottons, calico, worsteds and so on.<sup>696</sup> Bruse was a well-known retailer in Gothenburg, and he was known to the customs office, and to Hoffgardh personally; he had already in 1768 assisted the Maritime Customs Court in the valuation of a hoard seized in a rowing boat.<sup>697</sup>

The subsequent court case came to be drawn out, primarily because Bruse resisted appearing in court. From the start of the trial Bruse claimed that illness prevented him from attending court,

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<sup>693</sup> In 1785 there was a drop in his tax payments which continued until 1789. (Kronotaxeringslängder, Överståthållarämbetet för uppbördsärenden, G 1 AF, vol. 11-14, Stockholms Stadsarkiv)

<sup>694</sup> '-', *Inrikes Tidningar*, January 27, 1801.

<sup>695</sup> Hedenskog, *Uti Det, Af Stads-Advocaten, Wälbetrodde Benjamin Delén, i Lifstiden Til Undersökning Hos Rätten Anmälte, Samt Af Rådmannen ... Pehr Quiding, å Ämbetes Wägnar, Bewistade Mål, Angående Deléns Deröfwer Förde Klagan, at Kramhandlaren Johan : Sundbeck ... Den 2 Augusti Nästledit År ... Wäldsamerheter å Delén Utöfwat ... (År Denna Stockholms Stads Kjämners-Rätts Dom, Afsagd Den Andra Augusti År Ett Tusende Sju Hundrade Sjuttio Fyra.) = (Text.) = (Stockholm, Tryckt Hos Johan Georg : Lange, 1774.)*

<sup>696</sup> '5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13 Jan, 1, 4 & 8 Feb 1773, 'Dombok', 1773, Kommerskollegium, Advokatfiskalskontoret, Rättsprotokoll, D, Göteborgs Sjö tullsrätt, Riksarkivet.

<sup>697</sup> 14 & 24 Nov, 'Dombok', 1768, A1, vol.7, Göteborgs Sjö tullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

choosing instead to give a power of attorney to vice-chief district judge (*Vice häradshöfding*) Johan Björk to act in his place. This ‘illness’ did not prevent Bruse from repeatedly trying to have the case against him overturned, however. In letters to the court Bruse claimed that the search itself had been illegal. He expressed a concern that Hoffgardh had used his absence and “the fear of his assistants” to “break in”, an idea that quickly was dismissed by the court. Eventually the court became exasperated with Bruse’s delaying tactics and sent two attendants to bring him to court. Upon their arrival at Bruse’s Gothenburg residence they were informed that he was not at home, but that he had gone to the exchange market. The attendants followed him to the exchange market, where they were told that he had gone to the coffee house. After trying and failing to find him at the coffee house, they were eventually informed that Bruse had retreated to his country estate. The court then issued a subpoena and servants of the crown were sent out to retrieve Bruse. On 4<sup>th</sup> February Bruse finally appeared at court, where he explained that he had lived in the countryside for many years and that he had handed over the running of his shop to his assistants and “can thus impossibly imagine or believe that any contraband had been in his shop”.<sup>698</sup> He even offered to swear an oath to the effect that no one had brought in illegal wares into his shop. Bruse again asked to be freed of all accusations due to the “illegality of the search”. However, the patience of the court was wearing thin. They argued that Bruse had no proof whatsoever that he had handed over the running of his shop to his assistants, and he should consequently be tried as the owner of the contraband. On the 8th of February 1773 he was finally sentenced to pay the fines for the crime, 10 658 D smt.<sup>699</sup> This considerable fine appears to have put a strain on Bruse’s finances, as only a month later he published an advertisement calling for anyone who had pawned anything to him to immediately buy it back.<sup>700</sup> While Bruse eventually proved unsuccessful in his various attempts to evade court and have his case overturned by claiming professional misconduct on the part of Hoffgardh, his attempts indicate that he was not averse to using the customs’ own court system to negotiate his responsibility and to question the customs office’s narrative of events. Bruse’s willingness to challenge the court was probably related to his social position: as a prominent burgher who had previously assisted the customs office with valuations, he was familiar with and unintimidated by the customs court world.

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<sup>698</sup> ‘5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13 Jan, 1, 4 & 8 Feb 1773, ‘Dombok’, 1773.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid.

<sup>700</sup> ‘-’, *Göteborgska Nyheter*, March 6, 1773, 10 edition.p.79

Just like the case with Sundbeck, there are no indications that Bruse's reputation suffered as a result of his conviction. For example, in 1782 his daughter Elizabeth married the chief district judge Samuel Brag, who had previously worked with the king Gustav III.<sup>701</sup> Some years later, in 1796, he gained a special royal privilege to own the estate Rossared in his own right. Rossared had been purchased already in 1768 from Abraham Reenstierna for 10 383 D smt, but as only nobles were allowed to own estates prior to 1810, it was not until Bruse received this royal privilege that he became its full owner.<sup>702</sup> Despite his repeated failed attempts to distance himself from the smuggling as well as his serious accusations against the customs office itself Bruse continued to feature as a merchant of note and saw his social status rise in the subsequent years through the marriage of his daughter and the royal licence for the estate of Rossared.

The cases of Sundbeck and Bruse illustrate a few important features of mercers' involvement in the contraband trade. Firstly, the mercers were important and renowned retailers, who occasionally assisted the customs office through valuations. They also appear to have enjoyed a continued support from consumers after their convictions, which enabled them to continue thriving despite the financial set-back of the smuggling fines. Finally, Bruse's negotiation techniques at court were not unique to him but appear to have been common among the established burghership, something that becomes more evident as we move forwards in time.

In 1786, the year after the re-introduction of the house-visitation, the merchant Erick Linderöth's shop in Gothenburg was searched for contraband. On 10<sup>th</sup> October a visitation was conducted at Linderöth's open shop. It was overseen by Samuel Bruse's previous adversary, Hoffgardh, who by now had been appointed Super-Inspector. Just like Bruse, Linderöth had previously provided his valuation services to the customs office.<sup>703</sup> The goods confiscated from Linderöth's shop, which included camlet, chintz, calico, calamanco, everlasting and silks along with buckles for hats and shoes, had to be revalued several times due to disagreements between Linderöth and Hoffgardh. Eventually the value of the contraband was settled at 265 Rdr 4 sk.<sup>704</sup> The seizures equated to roughly half of the contents in Linderöth's shop.<sup>705</sup> Hoffgardh also tried

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<sup>701</sup> '-', *Göteborgs Allehanda*, February 1, 1782, 10 edition., p.1

<sup>702</sup> Peter von Möller, *Halländska Herregårdar* (Stockholm, 1871).p. 55a

<sup>703</sup> 27 July 1786, 'Dombok' 1786, A1, vol.18, Göteborgs Sjtöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>704</sup> 2 - 7 Nov 1786, 'Dombok' 1786, A1, vol.18, Göteborgs Sjtöfullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>705</sup> *Protocoller, Rörande Hus-Visitationen d. 10 October 1786. Förrettad af Öfwer-Inspectoren Herr John Hoffgardh, hos Handelsmannen Herr Erick Linderöth Tillika med Höglofl. Kongl. Slotts Rättens Ransakning Öfwer de wid samma tilfälle förfallne Händelser.* (Göteborg: L. Wahlström, 1787),p.39

to introduce legal wares into the contraband valuation, whether out of malice or ignorance is uncertain. Hoffgardh himself claimed that the confusion arose from the chaos triggered by the visitation, when a crowd gathered outside of Linderoth's shop and started attacking him and his guards, forcing them to run away with the seized goods. The customs officers could only get so far and finally had to seek refuge in several houses, including a pharmacy, where he was trapped for hours while a stone-throwing mob smashed all the lower floor windows.<sup>706</sup> Hoffgardh described the mob as consisting of "several 100 people...among whom there were many traders and people of note".<sup>707</sup> While the size and composition of the crowd might be a matter of debate it seems to be certain that there was some sort of riot in relation to the visitation of Linderoth's shop, which not only saw Hoffgardh barricaded in a pharmacy but also resulted in the cancellation of two other shop-visitations scheduled to take place that day.

During his trial Linderoth asked to swear an oath (*wärjemåls ed*) to the effect that the oddments which Hoffgardh had 'accidentally' confiscated were of domestic cloth.<sup>708</sup> When faced with a false accusation, this oath could be used to swear on the veracity of a statement when no other proof existed to support it.<sup>709</sup> Just like Bruse before him, Linderoth defended his own business actively, making use of the tools of the court, such as the *wärjemåls ed*, to protect his own interests. However, as the attack of Hoffgardh and his officers indicates the public was not want of showing their displeasure for the reintroduced house-visitations which they perceived as attacks on their merchants.

### *A Crackdown on Retailers*

While the visitation of shops had been reintroduced back in 1785, the last year of the century saw a further tightening-up of the legislation as new attempts were made to curb and control the retailers. Some of the most important changes in the 1799 anti-smuggling decree were the expanding regulatory tools, which included extended visitation rights, and more severe punishments. Article 8 of the decree explained that since the conditions had changed drastically since 1776 it was no longer possible to maintain the 'lenient' regulations of the previous era.

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<sup>706</sup> *Protocoller, Rörande Hus-Visitationen d. 10 October 1786. Förriättad af Öfwer-Inspectoren Herr John. Hoffgardh, hos Handelsmannen Herr Erick Linderoth Tillika med Höglofl. Kongl. Slotts Rättens Ransakning Öfwer de wid samma tilfälle förfallne Händelser*, (Göteborg: L. Wahlström, 1787). pp.7-8, 27

<sup>707</sup> *Ibid.* p.45

<sup>708</sup> 2 - 7 Nov 1786, 'Dombok' 1786, A1, vol.18, Göteborgs Sjötullsrätt, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>709</sup> *Sweriges Rikes Lag, Gillad Och Antagen På Riksdagen 1734* (Stockholm: Historiographi regni, 1736). pp.367-368



Nevertheless, the visitation decree should still only apply to people selling or storing illegal goods, rather than private residents. This arrangement made it possible to still store illegal wares in the private residents of friends and family. The visitations should be overseen by fiscal officers; these included the City Fiscals, the Country Fiscals, and the Industry Fiscals, and in particular the Trade and Manufacturing Fiscal (*Handels och Slöjde Fiskal*). As responsible persons, they would be charged a fine if they launched a search on a house which presented no, or only negligible amounts of contraband, with some exceptions (8 Art. 4§, 1799). It was therefore important that they had reasonable suspicion before they applied to the mayor, the king's official, or the head of the enforcement office, to conduct a visitation (8 Art, 2-3§, 1799).<sup>710</sup> In order to guide the fiscal officers in their duties a manual for the Trade and Manufacturing Fiscal was issued in August 1803. The manual stressed the need for diligence and severity in the line of duty.<sup>711</sup> At the time of the publication the position of Trade and Manufacturing Fiscal in Stockholm was held by Petrus Jonas Junbeck (1761-1820) commonly referred to as P. J. Junbeck. According to his own memoirs, published between 1815 and 1817, he performed his work zealously without consideration for personal relationships, something that would later come back to haunt him.<sup>712</sup> Junbeck calculated that during his career he had overseen the confiscation of 9451 Rdr 38 sk worth of goods and brought in some 2289 Rdr worth of fines to Stockholm.<sup>713</sup> According to Junbeck, this landed him with powerful enemies.<sup>714</sup> He also seems to have attracted the dislike of manufacturers as well as merchants in Stockholm as they opposed his attempts to set up his own leather-working industry in 1813.<sup>715</sup> Indeed, Junbeck's experience showed that diligence in the line of duty could prove disadvantageous when the offenders retained power and influence.

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<sup>710</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Förekommade Af Lurendrägeri Och Tullförsnillning Gifwen Haga Slott Den 6 April 1799' (1799).

<sup>711</sup> Johan Liljencrants and etc., *Kongl. Maj:ts Och Rikets Commerce-Collegii Instruction För Handels= Och Slöjde=Fiscalen, Hwarefter Han Har at Sig Rätta. Gifwen Stockholm Den 2 Augusti 1803* (Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1803). See f ex 8§ and 19§

<sup>712</sup> P. J. Junbeck, *Handels- Och Slöjde-Fiscalen Junbecks Sällsamma Öden, Både Såsom Embetsman Och Enskild Medborgare: Afskilldrade I Anledning Af Stockholms Garfware-Embets Försök, Att åtkomma Sista Skärfven*. (Stockholm: Marquarska Tryckeriet, 1815).; P. J. Junbeck, *Andra Delen Af Handels- Och Slöjde-Fiscalen Junbecks Sällsamma öden, Både Såsom Embetsman Och Enskild Medborgare: Afskilldrade I Anledning Af Stockholms Garfware-Embets Försök, Att åtkomma Sista Skär* (Stockholm: Marquarska Tryckeriet, 1817). A third volume appears to have been planned but no evidence suggests that it was ever published.

<sup>713</sup> P. J. Junbeck, *Handels- Och Slöjde-Fiscalen Junbecks Sällsamma Öden, Både Såsom Embetsman Och Enskild Medborgare: Afskilldrade I Anledning Af Stockholms Garfware-Embets Försök, Att åtkomma Sista Skärfven*. (Stockholm: Marquarska Tryckeriet, 1815), p.27

<sup>714</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 4-5, 9

<sup>715</sup> *Ibid*, pp.25-27

This section homes in on some mercers who happened to come under P.J. Junbeck's scrutiny in 1803, with particular attention given to the mercer Johan Abraham Théel. Starting with Junbeck's contraband seizures at Théel's premises, the investigation turns to consider Théel's career, his networks and connections, allowing a deeper exploration both of what role contraband played in the mercery business but also what effect the contraband convictions had upon reputations. Comparing the result of the study of Théel and his social networks with material from the customs court protocols offers insight into the close ties that connected the Silk and Cloth Traders' Society members, as well as other burghers. It also illustrates the prevalence of contraband convictions among the retailers in this Society in particular, and among the burghers more generally.

Johan Abraham Théel

#### The Crime

On 7<sup>th</sup> December 1803 the Trade and Manufacturing Fiscal P. J. Junbeck conducted a search of the premises of silk-mercator Johan Abraham Théel (1765-1811) on Mynttorget 4 in central Stockholm. Three sealed sacks of wares were confiscated containing unstamped textile goods. Junbeck brought Théel before the Customs Court where the 135 types of textiles were valued and assessed by silk manufacturers Lindström and Distlein, and the textile merchant Sundin. While it was easy to establish Théel's guilt it was considerably more complicated to determine the extent of the crime. Both parties announced their dissatisfaction with the valuations and requested the invocation of Article 8, 1§ of the 1799 anti-smuggling decree.<sup>716</sup> According to this article it was necessary for the fiscals to thoroughly investigate whether the goods were legal (stamped) or illegal (not stamped).<sup>717</sup> A fresh valuation followed. The prosecution called on textile merchant Björkman, who was deemed to be trustworthy and possessed a good knowledge of the goods concerned. Théel agreed but reserved the right to call upon another, according to him, reliable merchant by the name of Juggström.<sup>718</sup> Following a guilty verdict in the Maritime Customs Court Théel appealed to the Court of the National Board of Trade on the grounds that many of the wares identified as illegal were actually of Swedish production. After some deliberations and additional valuations the National Board of Trade eventually

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<sup>716</sup> 13 Dec 1803, 21 Dec 1803, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjtullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. pp. 2016-2018, 2049-2051, 2057-2059

<sup>717</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Förekommade Af Lurendrägeri Och Tullförsnilling Gifwen Haga Slott Den 6 April 1799' (1799).

<sup>718</sup> 13 Dec 1803, 21 Dec 1803, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjtullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. pp. 2016-2018, 2049-2051, 2057-2059

agreed with the verdict of the Maritime Customs Court. It was decided that Théel should pay the full fines for the wares deemed to be foreign manufactures and to lose the right to stand for election for a post that required civic trust. This last punishment was stipulated in (1 Art, 1§, 1799) and should have been imposed on anyone in possession of more than 50 Rdr worth of contraband. Théel was released on bail after the mercers A. H. Norin and C. Wiberg had signed his security.<sup>719</sup> In a ledger of confiscation cases Théel's contraband was valued at approximately 217 Rdr bco worth of legal but unstamped textiles, and 657 Rdr bco worth of foreign contraband. Théel was fined a total of 754 Rdr bco and the contraband would later be sold for export for 934 Rdr bco in May 1805.<sup>720</sup> Despite this misfortune Théel appears to have been let off rather lightly. His name never appeared in the newspapers as the 1799 decree stipulated, and the loss of the right to stand for election for posts that required public trust seems never to have been enacted, as Théel was elected as an assessor (*taxeringsman*) for Stockholm City in 1810.<sup>721</sup> The lack of public exposure of Théel's crimes and his later election are likely linked. Without a public announcement it was easier to overlook other features of the punishment as well, which would have been more difficult to ignore if he had been publicly exposed as a smuggler.

#### Networks, Contacts, and Career

At this point a closer study of Théel's life and career is useful in contextualising and explaining his smuggling and the effects of it. Théel started his career in Stockholm in the shop of Carl Wiberg (1751-1821) and Abraham Elfving (?-?), a fact that appears to have shaped a lot of his later career. The shop was located in the Rosenadler house (*Rosenadlerskahuset*) on Mynttorget in the 1780s, on premises that Théel would later take over.<sup>722</sup> Mynttorget, and the Rosenadler house have been described as a centre (*medelpunkt*) in Stockholm in the 1780s, and housed several shops and cafés.<sup>723</sup> By the time Théel arrived in Stockholm from the mining town Falun around 1790, Wiberg and Elfving had moved to the property just across the street from the Rosenadler house, where Wiberg would remain until his death in 1821. Théel probably benefitted from the merchants' extensive connections and it was also here that Théel met his

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<sup>719</sup> '25 & 30 April, 11 June, 20 Aug, 1804', 1804, Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Justitiedivisionens protokoll, A1e, vol. 55, Riksarkivet.

<sup>720</sup> 'Confiscationer I Stockholm' 1803-1807, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1-2, Riksarkivet.

<sup>721</sup> '-?', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 14 September 1810, 251 edition. p.2

<sup>722</sup> '-?', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 5 August 1776, 176 edition. p.3

<sup>723</sup> Per Wästberg, 'Stockholm 1786', in *1786, Vitterhetsakademiens Jubileumssymposium*, 1986. p. 82

future business partner, the shop assistant Carl Fredrick Hasselquist. Hasselquist was at the time working for the merchant Ek, who kept a shop in the same building.<sup>724</sup> It is unclear exactly how Wiberg and Elfving conducted their business as they shared shop premises but were not officially partners. What is evident, however, is that Théel found himself in a highly favourable position upon entering Wiberg and Elfving's service. Both were successful tradesmen in their own right. In 1778 Wiberg had been invited to attend the baptism of the new crown prince along with 24 other burghers.<sup>725</sup> He had also been one of the members of the Burgher Estates Economic Committee (*Borgare Ståndets Oecomonie utskott*) in 1778. Abraham Elfving, meanwhile, was a successful burgher who later left the retailing business to become a wholesale dealer. At an unknown time in the 1790s Elfving left Wiberg and entered into a partnership with another wholesale dealer and Head of Division at the National Board of Trade (*Kommersråd*), Eric Zetterstén, whose daughter Johanna he later married. Despite this, Elfving's contact with Théel remained strong, and in 1803 he became godfather to Théel's third daughter Erica Wilhelmina.<sup>726</sup>

Notably, Ek, Wiberg, Elfving and Zetterstén all also appear in the customs court records. Ek and Wiberg both had contraband textiles seized in their respective shops.<sup>727</sup> Elfving and Zetterstén on the other hand were involved in business illegalities on a private property on Djurgården, an island in Stockholm.<sup>728</sup> It should be noted that the owner of the contraband recovered from Zetterstén's property Rosenvik was later identified as Johanna Elfving, Elfving's wife and Zetterstén's daughter. Johanna herself explained to the jury that she took the blame for the coffee beans because her husband was abroad and her father ignorant of the hidden contraband.<sup>729</sup> Even though she was named as a smuggler in the newspapers, it was under a pseudonym and not her real name.<sup>730</sup> Understanding Théel's background and acquaintances is important both because it illustrates how common business illegalities of

<sup>724</sup> 'Mantalslängd, Staden Södra Och Västra' 1790, *Överståthållarämbetet för Uppbördsärenden, Kammarexpeditionen, Mantalslängder*, BA, vol. 25/15, Riksarkivet. f. 369-370; Ek was yet another of the city's well-known merchants, mentioned in Bellman's play *Caffehuset* from 1790. See Carl Michael Bellman, *Carl Michael Bellmans Skrifter VI, Dramatiska Arbeten*, 1936, p.169

<sup>725</sup> '-', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 13 November 1778, 260 edition., p.2

<sup>726</sup> 1 Sep 1803, 'Födelse Och Dopböcker', 1803, Storkyrkoförsamlingens kyrkoarkiv, Födelse- och dopböcker, huvudserie, vol. 14 (1800-1814), Riksarkivet.

<sup>727</sup> For Ek see: 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1800. pp. 713 & 942, For Wiberg see 'Diarium' 1799, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, C1a1, vol 26 1799, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. p.878.

<sup>728</sup> For Zetterstén and Elfving see: 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1800. Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, v.23, p.1029, for Elfving see: 20 Feb 1804 'Confiscationer i Stockholm'.

<sup>729</sup> 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1800.1800, p.1029

<sup>730</sup> 'Till Underdånigste Följe Af Kongl. Maj:Ts Nädiga Förordning till Förekommade Af Lurendrägerier Och Tullförnillning Af d n 6 April 1799', *Inrikes Tidningar*, 20 October 1802, 114 edition.

various descriptions were among this group of traders, and because it illustrates the interconnectivity of the retailers active in Stockholm.

After training under Wiberg and Elfving, Johan Abraham Théel was awarded burghership (*burskap*) in the Silk- and Cloth Trader Society in December 1791 at the age of 26.<sup>731</sup> His first company appears to have been Joh. Abr. Théel & Comp, which he ran together with C. F. Hasselqwist.<sup>732</sup> Already by 1796, Théel appears in the list of board members of the Silk- and Cloth Trader Society along with his former employer Carl Wiberg.<sup>733</sup> Three years later, in October 1799, the City Fiscal Teuchler conducted a raid on Hasselquist and Théel's establishment in the Rosenadler house where he confiscated a few wares. Just before his visit, Teuchler had made some confiscations in the shop of Carl Wiberg.<sup>734</sup> Théel protested that the seized wares had been Swedish productions and during the later trial the manufacturer J.M. Ahlberg offered to pay the fines, as he claimed he had produced the wares unstamped.<sup>735</sup> Both Théel and Ahlberg were landed with fines, the former for selling unstamped goods in his shop and the latter for not stamping his productions.<sup>736</sup>

A few months after this incident, in December 1799, Théel was involved in purchasing and exporting contraband wares to Wismar.<sup>737</sup> This practice was legal and part of the effort to cleanse the country of illegal foreign goods. However, suspicion was raised that some of the goods were reintroduced to Sweden, and in 1799 an investigation was launched. Several people known to be dealing in smuggled goods appear in this investigation, including Théel, who appears three times, once shipping textiles worth 1487 Rdr with M. Nilsson (or Nelson) to Copenhagen, a second time shipping etamin, flowered wool satins and chalons among other things worth 465 Rdr to Wismar with the shipper H.J. Schmid, and the third time when Théel

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<sup>731</sup> 7 Dec 1791, 'Johan Abraham Theel Burskap', 1791, Skråarkiv, Siden- och Klädeskramssocieteten, Siden- och klädeskramhandelssocietetens handlingar, 1787-1799, F 1, vol.3, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>732</sup> '-', *Posttidningar*, 6 September 1802, 107 edition.

<sup>733</sup> 'Protocoll', Skråarkiv, Skråarkiv, Siden - och klädeskramhandler societeten, Protocoll, 1796-1868, A, vol.1, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>734</sup> 'Diarium' 1799, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, CIa1, vol 26 1799, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. p.878

<sup>735</sup> 'Protocoll', 1799, Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Justitiedivisionens protokoll, A I e, vol. 50 (1799), Riksarkivet, pp.1975-1976

<sup>736</sup> 'Protocoll', 1800 Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Justitiedivisionens protokoll, A I e, vol. 51 (1800), Riksarkivet, pp.1746-1752

<sup>737</sup> 6 Dec 1799, No. 90, 'Exporterade Lurendrejerivaror, 1799-1805', 1799. Kommerskollegiets Huvudarkiv, Särskilda utredningar och berättelser, F IV, vol.23 Utredning angående exporterade lurendrejerivaror 1799-1805. Riksarkivet.

shipped 2472 Rdr worth of textiles with C. Mattson, again to Copenhagen.<sup>738</sup> At least one of the captains, Captain Schmid, is known to have introduced smuggled goods to Sweden on board his ship at around the same time.<sup>739</sup> It is not impossible that Théel actually acquired some of the contraband found in his shop a few years later from this type of sham ‘re-export’ business.

Théel’s presence in the Rosenadler house can be observed from 1792. However, it is only in 1801 that Théel was noted as the tenant of the shop space on the corner of Mynttorget and Smedjegatan (later Västerlånggatan). The following year he also decided to move in there with his family, renting all three floors above, as well as the basement and the attics.<sup>740</sup> In 1802, the year before the contraband seizure, his and Hasselqwisht’s company was dissolved for unknown reasons.<sup>741</sup> Théel appears to have been very active in these years and frequently appears in bankruptcy cases as a creditor.<sup>742</sup> During Théel’s early years in Stockholm he was introduced to many merchants with whom he would maintain contact for the duration of his career. This appears to have been a small close-knit community of traders – by 1797 there were 53 mercers in Stockholm.<sup>743</sup> Many of the names of these mercers also appear in some form in the customs court records. While the Silk and Cloth Trader Society was relatively small, many of its members appear to have been involved in the contraband trade.

After December 1803, when Junbeck made the large contraband confiscation in Théel’s shop at Mynttorget, Théel suddenly disappears from the Silk and Cloth Trader society proceedings. His name reoccurs again in 1806 once the debacle had been resolved and forgotten.<sup>744</sup> This indicates that while the society was treating smuggling offenders with care they also had an institutional tolerance for the crime. As Théel was never exposed in the newspapers, it was perfectly possible for him to return to his old position once the dust had settled.

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<sup>738</sup> No 44, 110, 111, ‘Exporterade Lurendrejerivaror, 1799-1805’, 1799. Kommerskollegiets Huvudarkiv, Särskilda utredningar och berättelser, F IV, vol.23 Utredning angående exporterade lurendrejerivaror 1799-1805. Riksarkivet

<sup>739</sup> For confiscations on board H.J. Schmid’s ship in 1803 and 1804 see ‘Confiscationer i Stockholm’. Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1-2, Riksarkivet.

<sup>740</sup> Gösta Selling, *Stockholms Stads Brandförsäkringskontors Hus I Kvarteret Aglaurus Vid Mynttorget - Historik Med Anledning Av Kontorets 200-åriga Tillvaro* (Stockholm, 1946). p.59

<sup>741</sup> ‘-’, *Posttidningar*, 6 September 1802, 107 edition.

<sup>742</sup> Tidigmoderna konkurser, <http://www.tidigmodernakonkurser.se/index.php/extended>, Accessed 31 October 2018.

<sup>743</sup> Nils Lundequist, *Stockholms Stads Historia, från Stadens anläggning till närvarande tid*, vol.2, (Stockholm: Zacharias Haeggström, 1828), pp. 247-248

<sup>744</sup> ‘Protocoll’, 1796-1868, Skråarkiv, Skråarkiv, Siden - och klädeskramhandler societeten, Protocoll, A, vol.1, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

During his absence from the society he appears to have directed his efforts elsewhere. Théel had joined the Freemasonic lodge St Jean Auxiliaire back in 1795, and he quickly rose through the ranks. In 1799 St Jean Auxiliaire found itself with a new grand master with Duke Carl, the crown prince's uncle and later king Carl XIII, who initiated a merger of his old lodge St Johannis and St Jean. The new lodge was to be called *Den Nordiska Första*.<sup>745</sup> This also coincides roughly with Duke Carl's first recorded purchases in Théel's shop. At some point Théel came to be moved from *Den Nordiska Första* to *St Andreas Nordiska Cirkeln* where he continued his rise through the ranks. Between 1804 and 1805 he was Treasurer (*skattemästare*) and in 1805 he became Junior Warden (*andra bevakande broder*), rising to Senior Warden in 1810. His career as a Freemason appears to have taken off at the same time when his mercer career ran into some difficulty. It thus appears that he shifted his focus during this period. However, according to §10 of the rules introduced by Duke Carl in 1800 (*Ordens Allmänna Lagar*) any brother who had been condemned by a court of law should also be condemned by his brothers and lose the right to bear the Freemasonic name and decorations as well as be crossed out of the lodge's cadastral, and forever be condemned to exclusion from the community of the Order.<sup>746</sup> This clearly did not happen in the case of Théel; rather, it seems that he could continue to progress there whilst his opportunities in regular society had been temporarily put on hold.

#### High-ranking Clients and Social Rise

Having brought to the fore Théel's early networks and developing professional contacts it is time to consider his clients. During the 1790s Théel had established himself as a merchant of fine textiles. At the same time as he was moving into the Rosenadler house his bills turn up in the most prominent accounts. An early customer was the crown prince, future king Gustav IV Adolph. His earliest purchase was made in May 1792, which was the first of at least 37 separate purchases made up until April 1794.<sup>747</sup> Other prominent customers followed his lead, such as Hans Axel von Fersen and Duke Carl, who made numerous purchases from Théel.<sup>748</sup> These are

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<sup>745</sup> Ulf Åsén, 'Personal Correspondence', 12 December 2017. Svenska Frimurare Ordens Generalmatrikel ; Andreas Önnersfors, ed., *Mystiskt Brödraskap – Mäktigt Nätverk Studier i Det Svenska 1700-Talsfrimureriet* (Lund: Lund University, 2006).p.266

<sup>746</sup> For a discussion on freemason justice and law see: Hans Brusewitz, 'Frimurerisk Straffskipning - Domstolen Som Försvann', *Frimuraren* 4 (2016).

<sup>747</sup> 'Fordringar Konungens Hand Cassa 1795', 1795, Statskontoret, Kammarkontoret, Furstliga personers räkningar, G2M, vol. 6, Riksarkivet.

<sup>748</sup> From November 1799 to February 1800 Hans Axel von Fersen made at least four purchases from Théel, See 'Bill 8 March 1800' 1800, Strafsundarkivet, Ätten von Fersen, 6, Hans Axel von Fersens Samling, Räkenskaper VI, vol.28, Riksarkivet.; In January 1800 Théel entered the account books of Duke Carl and 22 separate bills

only a few examples of the type of accounts in which Théel's bills turn up but they give an indication of the social make-up of his customer base. An elite clientele of this type was extremely important and helped both to boost the social standing of the trader and promote his business.<sup>749</sup> Notably, these bills stem from the same period in which Théel is known to have traded in contraband.

More material indicates that Théel's customers were not deterred by his smuggling activities. To get an idea of the customer response it is helpful to consult the diary of Märta Helena Reenstierna, who was a longstanding client of Théel's. Reenstierna lived at Årsta just outside of Stockholm and was married to the cavalry captain Christian Henrik von Schnell. Her first purchase from Théel's shop was recorded in 1794: a grey silk shawl.<sup>750</sup> A few months before the confiscations in his shop, on 12<sup>th</sup> August 1803, she recorded, "[f]rom Merchant Théel I let Nyström collect Sitz 9 3/4 ells for a dress".<sup>751</sup> Of course it is impossible to say whether this 'sitz' or chintz was of the type later confiscated, but many of her purchases were similar to the contraband cloth seized in 1803. It is very possible that Théel had both legal and illegal versions of the same textiles so this does not necessarily incriminate Reenstierna. Six months after the raid on his premises she was back, buying a *brocherad* muslin neckerchief for her brother. In her diary Reenstierna relates purchasing goods from Théel on nine occasions between 1794 and 1804.<sup>752</sup> If she knew about the court case against him, Reenstierna, who was acquainted with several Customs Officers, seems to have paid it little heed.<sup>753</sup> As Reenstierna herself is known to have bought illegal wares elsewhere and assisted escaping smugglers, she would probably not have abandoned her long-term shop.<sup>754</sup>

Théel turned out to be a successful merchant despite the 1803 conviction. By 1810 he had eight people in his employ, a tobacco plantation in the parish Adolph Fredrick, and a yearly income

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were paid to Théel from 1800 until April 1803. See: Hovstatsräkenskaper Prins Karl, Räkenskaper ang. enskilda medel 1791-1800, vol 55, Slottsarkivet ; Hovstatsräkenskaper Prins Karl, , Räkenskaper ang. enskilda medel 1801-1806, vol 56, Slottsarkivet

<sup>749</sup> Murhem and Ulväng, 'To Buy a Plate: Retail and Shopping for Porcelain and Faience in Stockholm during the Eighteenth Century' .p.201

<sup>750</sup> Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*, ed. Gunnar Broman, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts Förlag, 1946). p. 70

<sup>751</sup> *Ibid.*, p.103

<sup>752</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 81, 102, 124, 192, 275, 298, 301, 312

<sup>753</sup> Reenstierna seems to have been acquainted with Over-Inspector Muhr and his wife, Controller Lewin and Lieutenant Carlén, all prominent customs officers in Stockholm. See Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*, pp. 274-275, 291

<sup>754</sup> See disussion in Chapter 5.



of 2500 Rdr.<sup>755</sup> The tobacco plantation had been purchased the previous year, and the manor attached to it also contained a silk weaving-mill, which added an additional branch to his business activities.<sup>756</sup> Théel's career was cut short when he died in 1811 at only 46 years old from consumption. He left behind six daughters and a wife, along with a very extensive catalogue of books.<sup>757</sup> At this final point in Théel's life, the wholesale dealer Anders Emanuel Maulström makes an appearance. According to Théel's will Maulström was to take over his business and care for his wife and children. In Théel's estate inventory the warehouse stock, mainly containing silks and cottons, was valued at 61 682 Rdr bco. The lists of outstanding payments from customers lists an array of notable people, from the king Carl XIII, previously Duke Carl, and the Dowager Queen's favourite Gustav Badin, to the Duchess and Excellency Armfeldt, Baron Höpken, Fabian von Fersen, and Axel Adolph Piper along with many other prominent individuals, including the Super-Inspector at the Customs Office (*Överdirektören vid Tullverket*) A. Muhr. Furthermore, it should be noted that among Théel's creditors, who mainly include his suppliers, it is possible to identify the Jewish wholesale dealer Joseph Marcus, and the brothers M. & A. Jacobsson, to whom Théel owed 20 400 Rdr bco and 13 815 Rdr bco respectively; both of whom will be discussed at further length in the next section. In addition, Théel also owed 1250 Rdr bco to the Westgothian pedlar And. Larsson and several lump sums to other mercers, including his wife's father Eric Hising (1970 Rdr bco), his old companion C. F Hasselquist (3046 Rdr bco) and Johan Sundbeck (269 Rdr bco) who will be discussed further below.<sup>758</sup> This illustrates just how interconnected the Stockholm retailers were.

One final note should be made about Maulström, the person charged with taking over Théel's estate. He also appears in the customs court records and in the newspapers, where he was exposed as a smuggler. Almost exactly a year after the confiscations in Théel's shop, in 1804, P. J. Junbeck visited Maulström in his warehouse on Götgatan where he confiscated 896 Rdr

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<sup>755</sup> 'Mantalslängd, Katarina 2' 1810, *Överståthållarämbetet för Uppbördsärenden, Kammarexpeditionen, Mantalslängder*, BA, vol. 27/14, Riksarkivet.

<sup>756</sup> Gösta Selling, 'Artur Hazelius' Födelsehus I. Den Fritziska Sidenvärgården', *Fataburen* 65 (1926). p.94

<sup>757</sup> 'Johan Abraham Théel Bouppteckning', 1811, Justitiekollegium 1637-1856, Förmyndarkammaren 1667-1924, Rådhusrättens 1:a avdelning 1850-1924, F1 A, Bouppteckningar, 1811 part 4, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.- The book collection covers everything from law and tax regulation and language to philosophy, free masonry and medicine. The previously mentioned Zetterstén makes an appearance with his history and science of trade (*Om allmänna handels historien och vetenskapen*, 1769). The list full of books on international trade and foreign languages, primarily French and notably English, indicates that Théel was also actively involved with creating and maintaining foreign trade connections.

<sup>758</sup> 'Johan Abraham Théel Bouppteckning', pp. 680-738

worth of various goods.<sup>759</sup> The exact relationship between Maulström and Théel is so far unknown, beyond the fact that they had both been members of the Freemasonic lodge *St Jean Auxilliaire* in the late 1790s.<sup>760</sup> While it is not always possible to get to the bottom of the nature of each relationship, it seems clear that the constellations that Théel and the other mercers and wholesale dealers worked within were tightknit social networks which meant that they could be allied both in business, and through societies such as the freemasons. Conversely, any comparison between Théel's customer lists and the Freemasonic lodge memberships show great overlaps. This does not mean that they were clients because of their associations with the freemasons, but rather that many burghers, officials, and aristocrats joined because they saw the social and professional benefits of such connections, and they were all part of the public life of Stockholm. However, it still resulted in numerous entanglements and social connections between various traders, and between customers and vendors. Going into a Stockholm shop in the late eighteenth century was thus not an encounter between anonymous individuals but a meeting between actors interconnected in various ways through the social fabric of the town.

As this survey illustrates, Théel – while clearly using illegal means to expand his trade, particularly in the early years – nevertheless managed not only to keep his clients and become an important member of his trade society, but also to expand his trade, bolstered by an extensive network both of members from the Silk and Cloth Traders Society and wholesale dealers. Another intriguing feature which will be returned to is how interconnected Théel's trade appears to have been, not merely with members of his own trade but also with other types of retailers, including pedlars and Jewish merchants. The study of Théel thus helps to highlight several features of the mercer's contraband trade; moreover, this case study expands upon some of the trends which were observed in earlier cases where less information was available about the mercers, their lives and their contacts. It also suggests that while control and surveillance tightened over time, the social acceptance of trade in contraband by the mercer was maintained.

#### Other Cases

Following this in-depth exploration of J. A. Théel it is worthwhile to consider a couple of other cases from the same year, 1803, that feature slightly different ways of negotiating legality, and which, perhaps unavoidably, involved people of Théel's acquaintance. On 20<sup>th</sup> December, only

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<sup>759</sup> 'Confiscationer i Stockholm'. 1803-1807, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1-2,

<sup>760</sup> Önnersfors, *Mystiskt Brödraskap – Mäktigt Nätverk Studier i Det Svenska 1700-Talsfrimureriet*.pp.227 & 266

days after the confiscations in Théel's shop, P. J. Junbeck, accompanied by some policemen, seized two packs of foreign textiles at the home of mercer Johan Sundbeck, a different Sundbeck to the one previously encountered. Junbeck was aided by the 1799 decree, which now made it possible to conduct a visitation on a private property if there was a suspicion that contraband was stored there for sale. Sundbeck could not deny that he was the owner of the wares which included, among other things, dark blue cashmere, broadcloth in mixed colours, cotton velvet, muslin, silk west cloth, striped linen, and angora shawls.<sup>761</sup> Initially Sundbeck did not present any defence and was landed with 403 Rdr in fines.<sup>762</sup> However, he appealed the verdict, arguing that while the goods were his he was ignorant of their origins as they had been given to him by creditors. Interestingly, Sundbeck did not object to the fines but in the high court proceedings explained that he did not want to lose his good reputation and was worried about losing his right to be elected for posts of public trust.<sup>763</sup> His name, like Théel's and many others, was never published in the newspapers.

Little is known about the merchant himself. Sundbeck was born in 1769 and was possibly related to the man of the same name discussed earlier in the chapter. He obtained burghership on 19<sup>th</sup> September 1795 through the Silk and Cloth Trader Society. According to his application he had at that point already worked as a shopkeeper's clerk for 12 years, and was known for his trade skills.<sup>764</sup> Together with Carl Wiberg and Théel he was also a board member of the Silk and Cloth Trader Society.<sup>765</sup> His business expanded considerably, and by 1810 he owned at least seven different properties in Stockholm; his income was calculated at 3250 Rdr annually.<sup>766</sup> It is unclear, however, whether Sundbeck was actively involved in the contraband trade in the same way as Théel, or whether he was innocent, simply caught with illegal items on his hands at the wrong time. Regardless of Sundbeck's awareness of the wares' illegal nature, this case indicates that contraband was common and circulated relatively freely around various mercer establishments and homes across Stockholm.

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<sup>761</sup> 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. pp. 2059-2061

<sup>762</sup> 'Confiscationer I Stockholm' 1803-1807, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1-2, Riksarkivet.

<sup>763</sup> 'No 111 Sundbeck', 9 September 1806, Justitierevisionen, Besvärs- och Ansökningsmål, Utslagshandlingar, 1806 September 24 (II)-30, No 110-138, Riksarkivet.

<sup>764</sup> 'Johan Sundbeck Junior Burskap, 19 Sep 1795', 1795, Skråarkiv, Siden- och Klädeskramssocieteten, Siden- och klädeskramhandelssocieteten handlingar, 1787-1799, F 1, vol.3, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>765</sup> 'Protocoll', 1796-1868, Skråarkiv, Skråarkiv, Siden - och klädeskramhandler societeten, Protocoll, , A, vol.1, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>766</sup> 'Mantalslängd, Katarina 2' 1810, *Överståthållarämbetet för Uppbördsärenden*, Kammarexpeditionen, Mantalslängder, BA, vol.27/14, Riksarkivet. f.194

One of the reasons why visitations came to be central in the hunt for smuggling retailers was the common use of agents to carry the contraband into towns. It meant that until the goods were in the retailer's shop it was possible for the latter to distance themselves from the crime. An example of this is wholesale merchant C.G. Ullman, yet another of the retailers that Théel owed money to upon his death.<sup>767</sup> About a year before the visitation of Théel and Sundbeck's houses, Ullman's coachman Sven Rosenstedt was stopped by Hammarby winter toll as he was driving back towards town in a sledge from Värmdö, a group of islands in the archipelago east of Stockholm. Customs visitor Ekman and E. Jungström discovered that the sledge had double bottoms and hidden within it they found various foreign goods which had been stored away, including silk socks, stripy serges, checked serges, and large checked serges. Upon questioning Rosenstedt disclosed that he was in the service of Ullman, but that neither of them was the owner of the wares. Rather Rosenstedt related that an unknown man had convinced him that his own horse was too tired and asked Rosenstedt to put his horse before the man's sledge. Rosenstedt complied and travelled with the man to the tollgate, however, just before reaching the gate the man absconded, and Rosenstedt drove alone to the gate, unaware of the contraband hidden beneath him. What happened next is telling but not incriminating. Rosenstedt was asked to pay an immediate 40 Rdr fine. Rosenstedt explained that he had no money, but he requested to enter the city and return with it. This was agreed, under the condition that an officer accompanied him. Where Rosenstedt and the officer went to get the money is not disclosed in the proceedings but they promptly returned with the money. At trial Sven Rosenstedt was determined guilty, beyond doubt, and was not only fined the full sum 439 Rdr 8 sk, but also lost his civic trust and could no longer be elected to a post of confidence. The coachman declared that he was content with the outcome.<sup>768</sup> Almost a year later his name was published in *Inrikes Tidningar* along with the verdict.<sup>769</sup> It is impossible to know who paid Rosenstedt's fines, either the initial sum of 40 Rdr or the later fines. However, it is known that Rosenstedt remained an employee of Ullman at least until 1810, so he was clearly not in a hurry to get rid of his criminal coachman. Ullman was at this point earning the significant sum of 5000 Rdr a year, and would have been in a position to pay the fines.<sup>770</sup> While it is impossible to say who

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<sup>767</sup> 'Johan Abraham Théel Bouppteckning'. Justitiekollegium 1637-1856, Förmyndarkammaren 1667-1924, Rådhusrättens 1:a avdelning 1850-1924, F1 A, Bouppteckningar, 1811 part 4, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>768</sup> 19 Jan 1803 & 26 Jan 1803, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>769</sup> 'Till Underdånigste Följe Af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning till Förekommande Af Lurendrägerier Och Tullförnillning Af D N 6 April 1799', *Inrikes Tidningar*, 13 March 1804, 29 edition.

<sup>770</sup> 'Mantalslängd, Staden Södra Och Västra' 1810, *Överståthållarämbetet för Uppbördsärenden*,

paid the fines, it is clear that Rosenstedt was taking the moral fall, and that the monetary punishment was suffered elsewhere. This was the perfect screen for the merchant to hide behind.

All three cases from 1803 resulted in a conviction, in all cases the fines were paid and, crucially, in none of the cases were the names of the owners of the contraband published in the newspapers, despite the stipulations of the 1799 anti-smuggling decree. This raises the question: if there was a general acceptance of smuggling, then why did the contraband retailers seemingly object to having their names appearing in the newspapers? This was possibly due to the fact that honour remained important, particularly for public individuals such as the trading burghers. While the mercers in practice could support the contraband trade they were unwilling to be listed as ‘unpatriotic’ smugglers who had betrayed their nation. Being denounced as an unpatriotic smuggler in the press was something quite different to the day to day practice of selling contraband to encouraging consumers.

Many merchants did, however, have their names featured in the newspapers; in 1800, 5 out of the 34 people denounced as smugglers in *Stockholms Post Tidningar* were merchants.<sup>771</sup> In a list of smugglers from five years later, 6 out of the 84 announced culprits were vendors, with an additional 7 being merchant assistants.<sup>772</sup> How many merchants were then convicted of smuggling? Focusing on Stockholm alone the court records show that 11 out of the 110 convicted smugglers were titled either merchant or wholesale dealer in 1804, and the following year the numbers were 8 out of 80.<sup>773</sup> Shopkeepers thus made up roughly 10% of the yearly numbers of convicted offenders towards the end of the research period.

Mercer smuggling was very different from that of the pedlars: it was conducted under higher levels of surveillance and the culprits themselves had a very different social position. The urban mercers made ample use of what can be described as their social capital – their contacts and networks, good name and reputation – in order to shield themselves from any of the adverse effects of their crimes. As members of the burgher estate, they were also equipped with the

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Kammarexpeditionen, Mantalslängder, BA vol.27/6, Riksarkivet. f. 83

<sup>771</sup> ‘Lista över Folk Dömda För Lurendrägeri Och Tull-Försnillning.’, *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, 20 December 1800, 144 edition.

<sup>772</sup> ‘Till Underdånigste Följe Af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning till Förekommande Af Lurendrägerier Och Tullförsnillning Af D N 6 April 1799’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 3 May 1805, 49 edition.

<sup>773</sup> ‘Confiscationer I Stockholm’ 1803 - 1807, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1-2, Riksarkivet.

confidence, skill and know-how to ‘re-negotiate’ their crime in the courtroom. The world of courtrooms, administration, and state servants was also the world of the mercers. Most often their re-negotiations, through oaths and appeals, did not lead to a reduction of the monetary fines, but rather an escape from the other features of the punishment. Their smuggling was thus a type of bourgeois or business illegality, very different from the popular illegality discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>774</sup> The mercers’ involvement in the contraband trade was also, crucially, interlinked with their customers, their wants and patronage. Without the customers’ demand for contraband textiles, it would not have been profitable for the mercers to engage in this risky trade, and without their continued visits to the shop following a conviction the mercers would most likely have suffered a reduction in their business, potentially even bankruptcy. There are no signs that the mercers were ever ‘punished’ by their clients following a smuggling offence. It suggests that while a patriotic protectionist discourse was dominating newspapers and legislation, consumers both supported and benefitted from the mercers’ contraband trade. This mutually beneficial relationship enabled smuggling to continue, something that will become even more evident as the investigation moves on to look at other types of urban retailers.

### **The Jewish Trader – a New Nemesis**

Jewish traders had been invited to settle in Sweden in 1775. However, becoming a protected Jew involved a considerable financial investment and it was mainly wealthy Jews who could afford to move.<sup>775</sup> Gustav III played an important role in opening up the Swedish borders as part of an attempt to improve Swedish trade and manufacturing. He had taken similar measures in Pomerania, where Jewish traders were offered protection in 1776.<sup>776</sup> Most of the Jews who settled in Sweden came from Mecklenburg, which indicates that the Swedish dominions functioned as an entrance to the Swedish territories. In addition to the arrivals from Mecklenburg and the German lands there were also arrivals from Denmark, Galicia and to a lesser extent from Britain and the Netherlands.<sup>777</sup> It was hoped that this influx would help to

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<sup>774</sup> For a discussion on the illegalism of the privileged, who navigated illegality through status, exception and intolerance see Foucault, *The Punitive Society. Lectures at the College de France 1972-1973*.p.142

<sup>775</sup> Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, ‘A Diaspora on the Edge of Modernity? The Jewish Minority in Gothenburg in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries’, in *Connecting Worlds and People. Early Diasporas*, ed. Dagmar Friest and Susanne Lachenicht (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017). p.131

<sup>776</sup> However this development was far from uncontested – see: Wolfgang Wilhelmus, *Juden in Vorpommern* (Schwerin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2007). p.20

<sup>777</sup> C-H. Carlsson, ‘Judisk Invandring Från Aaron Isaac till Idag’, in *Judarna i Sverige – En Minoritets Historia, Fyra Föreläsningar*, ed. H. Müssener, Uppsala Multiethnic Papers 53 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2011).p.11

regenerate the Swedish market by bringing in new money and competency.<sup>778</sup> The Jewish traders will receive particular attention in this section due to their notable presence in the customs court protocols.

The role of protected Jewish communities in generating dynamic trade areas in Europe has been explored by Francesca Trivellato, who has pointed to the importance of family ties in building up trust and creating reliable networks of exchange.<sup>779</sup> Even more recently Nuala Zahedieh has argued that the Sephardic diasporas also played a central role in the maintenance of global illicit trade, particularly in high-risk environments. She posits that as these smugglers were acting outside of the realms of legal protection and state support, they had better prospects of surviving if they operated in close-knit communities based on trust and social discipline.<sup>780</sup> In the Swedish context, Hugo Valentine and Rita Bredefeldt have discussed how Jewish traders came to be invited to settle in Sweden to stimulate the economy.<sup>781</sup> However, Valentine has also observed that they entered into a tightly regulated society where they came to be tied by regulation almost at every turn, and their position and presence in the country continually challenged. It led Valentine to suggest that the Jewish experience in Sweden was marked by a struggle between the controlling guilds and the proponents of free trade, where one side saw them as a threat and the other as playing an important role in liberalising trade.<sup>782</sup> This conclusion has also been echoed by Rolf Nygren.<sup>783</sup> The early Jewish traders in Gothenburg have been studied by Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, who have argued that they played an important role in developing the consumer market in Sweden, both in terms of imports and in regards to reinvigorating the cotton printing industry.<sup>784</sup> While kinship networks helped the Jewish traders to connect the Swedish market to international flows of goods, Brismark and Lundqvist have also pointed out

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<sup>778</sup> Rita Bredefeldt, 'Judarna i Sverige - Invandring, Ekonomi Och Integration', *Ekonomisk Debatt* 43, no. 4 (2015).p.9

<sup>779</sup> Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven London: Yale University Press, 2009).

<sup>780</sup> Nuala Zahedieh, 'Defying Mercantilism: Illicit Trade, Trust, and the Jamaican Sephardim, 1660-1730'. *The Historical Journal* 61, no. 1 (2018), pp.101-102

<sup>781</sup> Bredefeldt, 'Judarna i Sverige - Invandring, Ekonomi Och Integration'.

<sup>782</sup> Hugo Valentine, *Judarna I Sverige Från 1774 till 1950-Talet* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur/LTs förlag, 2004). p.62

<sup>783</sup> Rolf Nygren, 'Fördomar Och Ekonomisk Krishantering 1815 års Riksdag Och Frågan Om Judars Rättsställning I Sverige', *Liber Amicorum*, 2007. p.452

<sup>784</sup> See for example: Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, 'Sidensjalar Och Socker. Judiska Näringsidkares Betydelse För Konsumtionsrevolutionen i Sverige,' in *Från Sidensjalar till Flyktningmottagning. Judarna i Sverige - En Minoritets Historia*, ed. Lars M Andersson and Carl Henric Carlsson (Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2013)p. 45; Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, 'A Textile Web,' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40, no. 4 (2015),p. 505; Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, 'A Diaspora on the Edge of Modernity? The Jewish Minority in Gothenburg in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,' in *Connecting Worlds and People. Early Diasporas*, ed. Dagmar Friest and Susanne Lachenicht (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).p.133-135

that they had extensive contacts with various domestic retail outlets, including for example Westgothian peddlars, which allowed the wares they imported or manufactured to be distributed to a large market.<sup>785</sup>

The first Jewish traders had been invited to stay in the free port of Marstrand in 1775, as this 'external' space was the first to enjoy religious toleration, which Johan Liljencrantz considered an important aspect of a successful freeport.<sup>786</sup> The same year Aaron Isaac, an engraver from Mecklenburg, along with his brother Marcus Isaac and their business associate Abraham Pach, became the first 'protected Jews' to settle in Stockholm without having to convert.<sup>787</sup> In 1779 a Bill for Religious Freedom was issued by Gustav III, which formally extended religious toleration of the Jews. However, it was not until 1782 that the Jewish Regulation Act (*Judereglementet*) was issued, which fully explained and regulated rights and limitations. The act established that even though the Jews were part of the Jewish rather than the Swedish Nation, they would still be allowed to reside within the Swedish dominions. They were, however, only allowed to settle in three other towns in addition to Marstrand: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Norrköping, and after 1785 the port town Karlskrona.<sup>788</sup> The Jewish Regulation Act built on foreign examples and embodied a compromise between two opposing political interests, protectionism, which was anchored in the guild system, and the government's pro-business factions.<sup>789</sup> The 1782 decree allowed the Jews to practise trade both wholesale and retail, and set up manufacturing businesses. It also stipulated that they were only allowed to sell in open shops, and not allowed to enter people's homes or to sell on the streets (§5-6, 1782).<sup>790</sup>

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<sup>785</sup> Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, 'Sidensjalar Och Socker. Judiska Näringsidkares Betydelse För Konsumtionsrevolutionen i Sverige,' in *Från Sidensjalar till Flyktningmottagning. Judarna i Sverige - En Minoritets Historia*, ed. Lars M Andersson and Carl Henric Carlsson (Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2013), p. 24; Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, 'A Textile Web,' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40, no. 4 (2015), pp.497-499; Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, 'A Diaspora on the Edge of Modernity? The Jewish Minority in Gothenburg in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,' in *Connecting Worlds and People. Early Diasporas*, ed. Dagmar Friest and Susanne Lachenicht (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p.137

<sup>786</sup> Arne Carlsson, 'Marstrand under Frihamnstiden 1775-1794', in *Handel Och Sjöfart under Gustaviansk Tid, Meddelanaden Från Historiska Institutionen I Göteborg 4* (Göteborg: Historiska Institutionen, 1971).Essén, *Johan Liljencrantz Som Handelspolitiker: Studier i Sveriges Yttre Handelspolitik 1773-1786*. Pp.94-96

<sup>787</sup> Bredefeldt, 'Judarna i Sverige - Invandring, Ekonomi Och Integration'.p.9; The same Isaac later came to be the leader of the Stockholm-based Jews and he played a prominent role as a communicator between the royal court and the Jews, as can be seen in his memoirs. See Aaron Isaac, *Aaron Isaac Minnen: Ett Judiskt Äventyr i Svenskt 1700-Tal*, ed. Mattias Dahlén, trans. Abraham Brody (Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 2008). See for example: pp. 73-75, 80-82, & 94-95

<sup>788</sup> According to his diary Isaac was highly resentful against the act, which he saw as putting severe limitations upon their activities. See: Isaac, *Aaron Isaac Minnen: Ett Judiskt Äventyr i Svenskt 1700-Tal*.pp.94-95

<sup>789</sup> Rolf Nygren, 'Fördomar Och Ekonomisk Krishantering 1815 års Riksdag Och Frågan Om Judars Rättsställning I Sverige', *Liber Amicorum*, 2007. p. 452

<sup>790</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Och Rikenss Commerce Collegii REGLEMENTE, För Them Af Judeska Nationen, Som Wilja Hit I Riket Inflytta Och Sig Här Nedsätta, 27 Maj 1782' (1782).



It was also specified that they were not allowed to engage in trades involving alcohol, medicines or similar types of goods (§12, 1782). This led to a disproportionate representation of Jews in wholesale dealing and manufacturing; historian Bertil Andersson has shown that, between 1782 and 1838, 85% of the protected Jews in Gothenburg were involved in trade.<sup>791</sup> Meanwhile, immigration numbers remained small for the duration of the eighteenth century.<sup>792</sup> The Jewish community in Sweden was thus a fairly small group of strictly controlled traders and manufacturers.

The Jews therefore held a contradictory position in Sweden. While they had been invited to stimulate and open up trade, they soon found themselves bogged down by regulation, even more so than other Swedish burghers. Their situation is thus similar to that of the mercers, only more extreme. Just like in the case of the mercers, the Jewish traders also came to be trapped between regulations and the realities of trade. Despite their relatively small numbers, Jewish merchants started to appear in relatively large numbers in the customs court records from the 1780s onwards.

#### Early Appearances in the Customs Records

One of the first Jewish traders to settle in Gothenburg was David Abraham, who is said to have arrived in 1780 and set up a shop in his residence where he sold homemade snuff.<sup>793</sup> The year before his arrival in Gothenburg Abraham features in the customs records, as he together with Moses Levin Cohen was caught at the customs in Malmö while trying to smuggle in several “prohibited luxuries”, brought along from Copenhagen. It was established that Cohen was the owner of the main part of the goods (worth 128 Rdr 30 sk), while Abraham was deemed accountable for a smaller collection (worth 34 Rdr 46 sk).<sup>794</sup> Five years later, 18 Jews were registered as living in Gothenburg.<sup>795</sup> In the same year two Jewish traders appear in the Maritime Customs Court records, namely Joseph Leiffnenon (also known as Joseph Simon Cohen) who tried to introduce prohibited camlet and buttons into the city, and Jacob Samuelsson, who

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<sup>791</sup> Bertil Andersson, *Göteborgs Historia. Näringsliv Och Samhällsutveckling* (Göteborg: Nerenius & Santérus, 1996). p.241

<sup>792</sup> Andersson, p.142; Eskil Olän, *Judarna På Svensk Mark. Historien Om Israeliternas Invandring till Sverige* (Stockholm: Bok- o. Konstförlaget Rex, 1924). p.53

<sup>793</sup> Eskil Olän, *Judarna På Svensk Mark.* p.66

<sup>794</sup> ‘Commers Collegie Utslag, 26 Juli 1779’ 1779, *Ämnessamlingar, Miscellanea, Tullväsende, Rättegångs handlingar i tullmål 1700-1800*, vol. 27, Riksarkivet.

<sup>795</sup> Eskil Olän, *Judarna På Svensk Mark*, p.66

arrived at the King's Gate (*Kungsporten*) in the evening of 13<sup>th</sup> October with ostrich feathers, English hats, and ginseng.<sup>796</sup> While there was clearly some Jewish involvement in the contraband trade from early on, there were also other reasons as to why they appeared so frequently in the customs material.

### *Accusations of Smuggling from Outside of the Jewish Community*

The Jewish traders were, just like the mercers, also affected by the patriotic protectionist discourse. Because of their distinctive position as Jewish rather than Swedish merchants they were particularly exposed to criticism by the defenders of patriotic protectionism. Accusations of smuggling came mainly to draw upon the notion that the Jewish emigrants were lacking in loyalty towards the Swedish state: an allegation that came to be levelled particularly against Jewish traders. Such accusations were, to a large extent, based on self-interest and were often used against those who were seen to pose unwanted competition. That the accusation of smuggling was used to challenge and discredit Jewish traders becomes particularly evident in the case of the Karlskrona-based Jewish trader and manufacturer Fabian Philip (1761, Mecklenburg - 1832), and the Super-Inspector and Customs Manager Mathias Fredrich Strübing (1753 - ? ). On 5<sup>th</sup> October 1792, Strübing sent a letter to the Customs Board in Stockholm explaining that he had recently encountered a problem that required their attention. He explained that he suspected that Fabian Philip, who had been granted protection to stay in Karlskrona and to set up a sailcloth factory to provide sailcloth to the naval base housed in the city, was using his warehouses to conceal significant repositories of forbidden and unstamped goods. These, Strübing suggested, were used to conduct “the most extensive trade” in illicit goods in Karlskrona.<sup>797</sup> Furthermore, Strübing saw himself hampered in his duties by the anti-smuggling decree of 1785, which specified that visitations were only allowed in open shops and storages owned by those practicing retailing. He requested for the decree to be extended to include the homes of Jews, where they, according to Strübing, conducted the majority of their trade. “[In their] living chambers”, he noted, “which are furnished with shelves and counters as shops and stores, the Jews get an opportunity to hide... away their forbidden goods.”<sup>798</sup> Strübing

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<sup>796</sup> 2 May 1785, ‘Dombok’ 1785, Göteborgs Sjöfullsrätt, A1, vol.18, Göteborgs Landsarkiv; 2 May 1785 & 17 Oct 1785, ‘Inneliggande Handlingar’ 1781 - 1786, Göteborgs Sjöfullsrätt, Inneliggande Handlingar, F, vol.7, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>797</sup> ‘Öfver-Directeuren Och Tullförvaltaren Mathias Fredrich Strübing Angde Handräckning Vid Visitationen Anställande Efter Lurendregerier Hos Juden i Carlsrona, 5 Oct 1792’, 1792. Ämnessamlingar, Personarkiv, Biographica, vol. S88. Riksarkivet.

<sup>798</sup> Ibid.

therefore asked for an extension of his powers so that he could search the homes of the trading Jews inhabiting Karlskrona.<sup>799</sup> Strübing's suggested action would have effectively divested Jewish traders of the ancient Swedish right to house peace discussed in Chapter 2. The discriminatory regulations were never introduced, but Strübing's request highlights that some officers within the customs office believed that the Jews passed under the radar of the anti-smuggling surveillance and control mechanisms. Strübing argued that this made the Jewish merchants particularly suspect and dangerous. Meanwhile, their 'suspiciousness' was used as an argument against the Jewish settlers and a justification for why they should not enjoy the same liberties as other Swedish citizens.

In order to fully understand the alleged threat posed by Fabian Philip it is also necessary to consider the conditions for his settlement in Karlskrona. Philip had arrived in Sweden in 1780 together with Emanuel Samuel and had been granted the right to stay in Karlskrona by the town council. Through the introduction of the Jewish Regulation Act in 1782, it became illegal for Jews to live anywhere other than Stockholm, Gothenburg and Norrköping. In order to stay on in Karlskrona, Philip approached Henrik af Trolle, the Admiral of the Fleet, and offered to set up a sailcloth manufacturing business that would serve the Royal Navy that was based in the town. Seeing the need for such a business, af Trolle applied to the King for a special permission for Philip to remain in Karlskrona, which was granted.<sup>800</sup> However, Philip seems to have been slow in taking up his new line of business, which angered the other burghers in Karlskrona. In 1783 the Karlskrona trade guild raised objections to Philip's privilege to remain in the town, claiming that instead of producing sailcloth, Philip and his Jewish employees spent their time dealing in illegal merchandise.<sup>801</sup>

While the guild members engaged in this discrediting campaign against Philip, others defended him against the assault, and for every letter against him the admiralty received one in his favour.<sup>802</sup> Philip was not the only one targeted with this sort of slander, however. In the 1790s the newly settled Karlskrona Jews attracted a lot of attention from the established trading

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<sup>799</sup> 'Öfver-Directeuren Och Tullförvaltaren Mathias Fredrich Strübing Angde Handräckning Vid Visitationen Anställande Efter Lurendregerier Hos Juden i Carlskrona, 5 Oct 1792', 1792. Ämnessamlingar, Personarkiv, Biographica, vol. S88. Riksarkivet.

<sup>800</sup> Harry R:son Svensson, 'The Case of Fabian Philip, Karlskrona's First Jewish Entrepreneur: A Swedish Example of the Port Jews Phenomenon?', *Sjuttonhundratalet* 11, (17 August 2014) p.76

<sup>801</sup> Svensson, p.77; *Kongl. Maj:ts Befallningshavandes beslut att förbjuda Fabian Philip att idka handel i Karlskrona*, Familjen Rubens arkiv, Lunds Landsarkiv.(translated and quoted in Harry R:son Svensson, 'The Case of Fabian Philip, Karlskrona's First Jewish Entrepreneur')

<sup>802</sup> Svensson, p. 78

community. Janrik Bromé has labelled this a “hunt for black market traders, soldiers and ‘cheaters.’”<sup>803</sup> However, it should probably be seen as a discrediting campaign by the already established burghers, many of whom had themselves arrived in Karlskrona from the Swedish dominions in the first half of the eighteenth century. They had financial motives for keeping Philip and the other Jewish traders at bay. Despite the admiralty’s continued support of Fabian Philip and the lack of any real proof of his illicit activities, the burghers of Karlskrona rejected him and used the accusation of smuggling as a tool to slander him and to question his right to conduct business in the city. Super-Inspector Strübing originated from this earlier influx of traders to Karlskrona. He came from a merchant family that had immigrated from Greifswald, before he was born, and it is possible that this background might have played into his persecution of Philip.<sup>804</sup> However, ultimately these assaults on Philip were unsuccessful, and he became one of the wealthiest people in Sweden in the early nineteenth century. In 1816 he was rewarded with the *Illis quorum* medal for his work in poor relief.<sup>805</sup>

The Jewish traders found themselves in a difficult situation as they, by legal definition, were part of the Jewish rather than the Swedish Nation, with different rights and obligations.<sup>806</sup> This distinction made them vulnerable to attack as they did not fit into the regular Swedish patriotic merchant narrative. Harry Svensson argues that the animosity towards Philip should be understood not as an expression of antisemitism but as a response by the Karlskrona guild board to a perceived increase in competition.<sup>807</sup> However, while the competition argument might not in and of itself have been an expression of antisemitism, the expression it took is considerably

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<sup>803</sup> Janrik Bromé, *Karlskrona stads historia: Del II, 1790–1862* (1934), p.122

<sup>804</sup> No. 7 1753, ‘Födelsebok’, 1753, Karlskrona tyska församlings kyrkoarkiv, Födelse- och dopböcker. Huvudserie. 1725-1797, Lund Landsarkiv. ; Carl Fredric Rothlieb, *Matrikel öfwer Dem Af Swea-Rikes Ridderskap Och Adel.: Som Ifrån år 1807* (Stockholm: Gadelius, 1807). p.247

<sup>805</sup> Harry R:son Svensson, ‘The Case of Fabian Philip, Karlskrona’s First Jewish Entrepreneur’, p.84; At the time of his report Strübing had just been appointed Super-Inspector after 18 years of serving the Customs Office. His assiduity had been noted and he was celebrated for his work, which had dramatically increased the contraband seizures in Sweden. However, he did not shy away from adopting alternative means to his end. In January of 1793, only a few months after his appeal for a visitation order against Fabian Philip, Strübing was forced to write to the King to explain why he had been seizing goods outside of his own jurisdiction. Strübing was trying to make a name for himself and worked hard to do so. He notes: “... it becomes the unconditional duty for every Customs-Servant, to restrain the Lawbreakers’ projects”. Inspired by the protectionist discourse common among the burghers of Karlskrona, Strübing appears to have seen a possibility in Philip to further his own career, but this time he found himself hindered. See ‘Strübing’, *Ämnessamlingar, Personarkiv, Biographica*, vol. S 88, Riksarkivet.

<sup>806</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Och Riksens Commerce Collegii REGLEMENTE, För Them Af Judeska Nationen, Som Wilja Hit i Riket Inflytta Och Sig Här Nedsätta, 27 Maj 1782’ (1782).

<sup>807</sup> Svensson, ‘The Case of Fabian Philip, Karlskrona’s First Jewish Entrepreneur’, p. 77

more problematic as it specifically targeted Jewish trading techniques and the perceived lack of loyalty evidenced by the “unpatriotic crime” of smuggling.

### *Accusations of Smuggling from Inside the Jewish Community*

The accusation of smuggling did not only come from people outside of the Jewish community but also from within. Although the Jewish community in Stockholm was tight-knit and reasonably small – by 1807 it contained 333 members, including women and children – this did not mean that it was devoid of internal conflict.<sup>808</sup> In the 1790s a schism developed between Aaron Isaac, the leader of the Jewish community in Stockholm, and David Hirsch (c. 1752-1811). In his memoirs Isaac, who appears to have had a longstanding conflict with Hirsch, suggested that Hirsch had started out as a poor itinerant tobacco-seller in the Swedish countryside. According to Isaac, Hirsch acquired his tobacco on credit from Elias Magnus, one of Isaac’s acquaintances.<sup>809</sup> The relationship between Magnus and Hirsch eventually turned sour, and most of the Jewish community of Stockholm sided with Magnus. Hirsch progressed in his trade and in 1793 he received a licence to conduct trade in trinkets (*nipperhandel*). At the same time, he also complained in a letter to the Governor-General (*Överståtshållaren*) in Stockholm that he was being persecuted by two other Jewish traders, Josef Marcus and Levin Isaac.<sup>810</sup> In his memoirs, Aaron Isaac noted that all Jews shunned David Hirsch, that he was untrustworthy in trade, and was giving the Jewish traders a bad name.<sup>811</sup> David Hirsch, meanwhile, appears to have disliked Aaron Isaac’s dominance in Stockholm and suggested that the longstanding conflict was caused by a power struggle between the two merchants.<sup>812</sup> Over time the conflict grew increasingly poisonous and eventually resulted in accusations of smuggling.

In 1799 a letter sent by David Hirsch to the King was published in *Dagligt Allehanda*. In the letter, Hirsch demanded that the accusations of smuggling launched against him by the Jews Gumpert Hirsch and Isaac Michaelson, son-in-law to Aaron Isaac, should be investigated and challenged. Contrary to the statements issued by his ‘enemies’ David Hirsch argued that his

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<sup>808</sup> Carlsson, ‘Judisk Invandring Från Aaron Isaac till Idag’.

<sup>809</sup> Aaron Isaac, *Aaron Isaac Minnen: Ett Judiskt Äventyr i Svenskt 1700-Tal*. (Stockholm: Hillelförlaget, 2008), pp.180-182

<sup>810</sup> Isaac.p.182

<sup>811</sup> Isaac.p.183

<sup>812</sup> Hugo Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige Från 1774 till 1950-Talet*, .p.58

trade was and should remain ‘untainted’. In his letter Hirsch noted, “[t]he command of morality and the deep obedience of the subject are the objects which guide me...”<sup>813</sup> The letter was a result of the longstanding conflict between the Jewish community and David Hirsch, and it shows that the accusation of smuggling could be used also within the Jewish community itself against traders who were seen as a threat. When considering the accusation of smuggling towards Jews in Sweden, it is vital to appreciate that the Jewish traders were under constant scrutiny and frequently challenged, particularly by other burghers. As their loyalties were already in doubt the accusation appears to have been particularly potent.

### *Entanglements and Contrabands*

Meanwhile, there is little doubt that there were Jewish merchants who engaged in the contraband trade to bolster and expand their businesses, just like the mercers. For example, many of the people said to have persecuted David Hirsch appear themselves in the customs records. In the Stockholm customs records from 1804 Levin Isaac (?-?) is described as receiving an undeclared cargo from London with Captain J. Stare, and Josef Marcus (1750 Schwaan – 1838) one from Copenhagen with Captain N. Claesson.<sup>814</sup> Unfortunately little else is known about these cases as the customs court records for the year in question are missing.

Josef Marcus had arrived in Stockholm back in 1777 under the protection of Aaron Isaac and received his license to conduct wholesale trade in 1790. The same year he also received a license to deal in trinkets and jewels.<sup>815</sup> Marcus had, along with his brother Jacob Marcus and Levin Isaac, made his fortune during Gustav III’s Russian Wars by delivering provisions to the Swedish army in Finland. It is possible that these services to the crown helped them win the licenses for wholesale dealing. Josef Marcus was wealthy and well-connected and he was also the person that mercer J.A. Théel owed the most money to upon his death in 1811.<sup>816</sup> It is likely that Théel used Marcus’ services to stock his shop with textiles. It is, however, uncertain whether Théel acquired cloth from him as a wholesale dealer or as a calico printer, an industry

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<sup>813</sup> David Hirsch, ‘Afskrift.’, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 9 March 1799.

<sup>814</sup> ‘Confiscationer i Stockholm’, 1804, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1., Riksarkivet.

<sup>815</sup> CHC, ‘Marcus, släkt’, In <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/9079>, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Accessed 23 November 2018; Isaac, *Aaron Isaac Minnen: Ett Judiskt Äventyr i Svenskt 1700-Tal*.p.307

<sup>816</sup> ‘Johan Abraham Théel Bouppteckning’.

in which Marcus was engaged from 1804 until his bankruptcy in 1815.<sup>817</sup> It is nevertheless clear that they engaged in extensive trade with one another. Both Marcus and Levin Isaac also appear in Johan Sundbeck's accounts, along with 23 other Jewish tradesmen.<sup>818</sup> This type of interconnectivity was common between the mercers and the Jewish traders, and suggests that their trades overlapped. As earlier noted, many Jewish merchants worked either with the import of foreign goods or with the manufacture of calico cloth and the mercers, who dealt mainly in imported fabrics or finer domestic productions, would have wanted their shops both types well-stocked with both types of cloth.

Another individual who appears with some frequency in the customs court records is Abraham Moses Jacobsson (1776 Karlsruhe – 1838). The first mention of him dates from 1803 when 318 Rdr worth of contraband was seized at the premises of his glass shop.<sup>819</sup> He had arrived in Sweden in 1801 following his brother Jacob Moses Jacobsson (1773 Karlsruhe – 1827), who had arrived in 1798 and gained a wholesale dealer license in 1801.<sup>820</sup> Four years after his arrival in Stockholm, in 1805, A. M. Jacobsson was about to marry Regina von Halle from Copenhagen. Upon her arrival at the tollgate Horns Tull in Stockholm, von Halle's luggage along with that of her travel companions were searched, and numerous illegal goods discovered. During the ensuing trial von Halle explained that the goods retrieved had been her dowry. As her future husband Jacobsson took it upon himself to pay all of the fines, but as this was his second conviction for smuggling he had to pay double fines (1 Art, 1§, 1799).<sup>821</sup> Later the same year Jacobsson's name appeared in the smuggler lists published in *Inrikes Tidningar*, where it was also noted that he had thus lost his ability to stand for election for public posts.<sup>822</sup> It is intriguing to note that only two years later A. M. Jacobsson was awarded with a wholesale license, despite two convictions of smuggling and a public announcement of his guilt in the newspapers.<sup>823</sup> In addition to his two convictions Jacobsson was also put on trial for smuggling in 1803 after a postal package with 969 Rdr worth of contraband was seized. The package in

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<sup>817</sup> CHC, 'Marcus, släkt', In <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/9079>, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Accessed 23 November 2018.

<sup>818</sup> 'Kramhandlaren Johan Sundbeck, Handlingar' 1800-1816, vol.4, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>819</sup> 'Confiscationer I Stockholm', 1803, Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, vol. 1 Riksarkivet.

<sup>820</sup> Isaac, *Aaron Isaac Minnen: Ett Judiskt Äventyr i Svenskt 1700-Tal*.p.297

<sup>821</sup> 26 June, & 3 July 1805, 'Stockholms Stora Sjötulls Rätt' 1805, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.27, Stockholms Stadsarkiv

<sup>822</sup> 'Till Underdånigste Följe Af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning till Förekommande Af Lurendrägerier Och Tullförnillning Af D N 6 April 1799', *Inrikes Tidningar*, 26 November 1805, 133 edition.

<sup>823</sup> Isaac, *Aaron Isaac Minnen: Ett Judiskt Äventyr i Svenskt 1700-Tal*.p.297

question was addressed to numerous individuals, among them A.M. Jacobsson, but as the recipients' claims to be unaware of the shipment could not be falsified, no action was taken and the charges dropped.<sup>824</sup> Just like Marcus, A.M. Jacobsson also appears in Théel's estate inventory where he was listed together with his brother Moses Jacobsson. Théel owed the brothers his second largest debt.<sup>825</sup> The recurrence of overlaps between traders found in Théel's network and the customs court records thus expands beyond the mercer community, to other types of traders. It shows not only that the Stockholm traders were interconnected but also the omnipresence of business transgressions among various types of vendors.

How the introduction of illicit wares could be orchestrated can be seen in a case from 1803, which also involves some by now familiar names. That year a contraband hoard consisting of various goldwares and precious stones worth 1404 Rdr 32 sk was seized in Helsingborg from ferry boatman Bengt Persson. Persson had travelled from Helsingör in Denmark and brought with him a package addressed to the apothecary Berkenmeijer. Further investigation revealed that the package was actually destined for Stockholm and the Jewish merchants Isaak Michaelson, Aaron Isaac and M.M. Bendix.<sup>826</sup> This was proved by a letter submitted to the Maritime Customs Court by Bengt Persson. The letter in question had been given to him along with the wares by the Jewish trader Ruben in Helsingör.<sup>827</sup> This case gives an insight into how such illicit shipments could be organised through contacts, intermediaries, and via dummy recipients. Such elaborate ventures would probably have required extensive networks both within Sweden and in the country of shipment.

#### Increasing Restriction and Blame

Around the turn of the century, support for patriotic protectionism was at its peak. Regulations intended to keep retailers in check expanded, and at the same time the slurs made against Jewish traders were becoming increasingly severe. This escalation became particularly visible in the conflict between the jewellery and goldsmith guilds and the Jews. It came to a fore in 1809 when the court-jeweller Bengt Sander published the antisemitic lampoon, "Some evidence, that

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<sup>824</sup> 16 Nov & 23 Nov 1803, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok' 1803, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>825</sup> 'Johan Abraham Théel Bouppteckning'.

<sup>826</sup> As already noted Isaac Michaelson was the son-in-law of Aaron Isaac and would later take over his business, later also forming a trading house together with Bendix called Michaelson & Benedicks.

<sup>827</sup> 'Diarie No 447', 1803, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Överdirektören för Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalens arkiv C3, vol 24, Riksarkivet.



the Jews contribute to the common distress in Sweden” (*Några bewis, att Judarne äfwen på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Swerige*), blaming the Jews for the miserable state of Swedish trade.<sup>828</sup> A strong reaction followed the publication of *Några bewis* and several rejections of Sander's text appeared in print. In one of them an anonymous writer argued that the Jews had been labouring under “severe laws and the attention of jealous rivals”, and that they could not be blamed for the destruction of Swedish finances – by contrast, they had played an important role in developing domestic manufacturing.<sup>829</sup> The writer went on to note:

...search without violence and partiality, the public evidence that exists of the shameful actions of the pursuit of profit, and it shall easily be revealed, whether the Country's own Sons always and without exception can be congratulated on their law-abiding and civic mind-set; judge also the Stranger without prejudice and resentment, and some few examples of illegal pursuits, which the Law have prosecuted, will not make us unjustly proceed against an entire communion of honest and worthy Members, who deserve our reverence and respect.<sup>830</sup>

Despite such defences of the Jewish traders, they were facing an increasingly hostile environment. On 19<sup>th</sup> December 1806 a first prohibition against Jews entering Sweden was issued. Although it was lifted after the revolution in 1809, by 1815 Jewish immigration had stopped completely with the cancellation of the Jewish Regulation Act.

When the Jewish traders arrived in Sweden they entered into a pre-existing conflict between those who favoured a rejection of international trade in favour of protectionist policy and those who advocated a more liberal approach to trade. In other words, between those who benefitted from, and those who suffered under restrictive guild and protectionist rules. This meant that the Jewish traders and the international goods they brought along with them were embraced by some, as a boost for Swedish trade, and rejected by others, as damaging and threatening to Swedish interests. Within this framework the accusation of smuggling came to play a prominent

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<sup>828</sup> Aaron Isaac indicated in his memoirs that Sander had previously tried to obstruct Isaac's trade at court through spreading rumours and false accusations. Isaac, *Aaron Isaac Minnen: Ett Judiskt Äventyr i Svenskt 1700-Tal*, pp.106-109

<sup>829</sup> Anonymous, *Några Ord, I Anledning Af En Nyligen Utkommen Smådeskrift, Kallad: Några Bewis Att Judarne äfwen På Sitt Sätt Bidraga till Den Allmänna Nöden I Swerige* (Stockholm: Peter Bohm, 1809). p.10

<sup>830</sup> *Ibid.* p.6

role, as it was seen as evidence of conflicting loyalties. It thus links back to the diverging views on smuggling discussed in Chapter Two, where the protectionists saw smuggling as an expression of failing loyalty, whereas natural rights defenders saw it as a natural consequence of an oppressive economic system.

It is evident that the Jewish traders were under particular pressure, as they were both under the scrutiny of the customs office and the target of accusations of smuggling from both outside and inside the Jewish community. At the same time, they also appear to have been able to negotiate this situation, as the vast majority of the individuals studied in this section appear to have been successful in their trades despite accusations of smuggling and/or actual involvement in the contraband trade. The Jewish traders are thus similar to the mercers in that, while they were suspected of smuggling, they nevertheless managed, on an individual basis, to maintain a profitable trade. As wholesale dealers they also appear to have been heavily involved in trade with the mercers, and one can speculate that some of the contraband seized in the shops of the mercers might have come through the Jewish trade networks. The Jewish traders as a group came under increased pressure towards the end of the period as their very presence in Sweden was increasingly seen as damaging, a view which also aligned with a general move towards increased patriotic protectionism in the same period.

### **The Elite Smuggler – the Case of Marcelin Robert**

In this final section of the chapter, attention turns to an individual hardly visible in the customs court records despite his heavy involvement in contraband retailing, Marcelin Robert.

#### *Early Connections and Establishment as an Indispensable Valet Retailer*

Marcelin Robert arrived in Stockholm sometime in 1778, although it is uncertain what he did during his first two years in the Swedish capital. Originally from Millau in the Occitan region of France, he had prior to his move to Sweden relocated to Paris, where according to his own account he trained as a merchant.<sup>831</sup> In 1781 Robert entered the royal household as a second valet, and almost immediately came to be engaged by the young Crown Prince, the future

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<sup>831</sup> 'Letter from Robert 19 April 1793' (30 May 1793), *Kommerskollegium till Kungl. Majt*, 30 May 1793, vol. 252, Riksarkivet.

Gustav IV Adolph, who took a liking to him. Not everyone was equally delighted by the Frenchman, however. The Prince's tutor Fredric Sparre described Robert as a "complete stranger" and added that the Prince could not understand a word he said and vice versa, a comment which indicates that Robert at this point was unable to speak Swedish.<sup>832</sup> Despite some initial difficulties Robert quickly found his footing at court. Only a month and a half after his engagement in the Prince's service he was selling him lavender water, combs, and various trinkets.<sup>833</sup> Retailing valets were not uncommon at this time, particularly at court, where they often functioned as intermediaries between the court and the outside world. Indeed, the 1766 anti-smuggling decree indicates that they even had a reputation for dealing in contraband, as the decree specified that customs personnel should take extra care with valets and lackeys and search their rooms for illegal goods.<sup>834</sup> Robert was thus not remarkable in retailing at court; however, the reputation he managed to gain through it was.

Robert's business flourished and he quickly became a regular fixture at court. Duchess Charlotte made her first recorded purchase from him in 1787 for 84 Rdr.<sup>835</sup> She was not alone in favouring him with business; several other members of the royal family are known to have purchased goods from Robert, including Duke Carl and Crown Prince Gustav Adolph. All of them came to amass considerable debts to Robert during his time as at court. In 1793, Duchess Charlotte owed Robert at least 1052 Rdr and at the end of 1793 the Crown Prince Gustav Adolph had purchased lace, vases, pomades, and cloth from Robert worth 4377 Rdr, which would have corresponded to the price of roughly 292 oxen.<sup>836</sup> Such considerable sums indicate Robert's importance as a vendor at court.

### *Robert the Contrabandier*

Robert seems to have gotten involved in contraband trade early on, and his first run-in with the customs authorities occurred as soon as September 1788, when one of Robert's clandestine cargoes was confiscated while in transport. The goods, worth 871 Rdr, were seized from an

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<sup>832</sup> Fredric Sparre, 'Dagböcker, 1781' 1781, Ericsbergsarkivet, Enskilda arkiv, Fredric Sparres samling, vol.5, Riksarkivet. P.27

<sup>833</sup> Ibid.p.71

<sup>834</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådige Förordning, Emot Yppighet Och Öfwerflöd, Gifwen Stockholm i Råd-Cammaren Then 26 Junii 1766' (1766).

<sup>835</sup> Kungliga Arkiv, Drottning Hedvig Elisabet Charlotta, Egenhändigt förda räkenskapsböcker, K 295

<sup>836</sup> Kungliga Arkiv, Drottning Hedvig Elisabet Charlotta, Egenhändigt förda räkenskapsböcker, K 296 ; Statskontoret, Kammarkontoret, Furstliga personers räkningar, G2M, vol. 6, Riksarkivet; Lagerqvist, *Vad Kostade Det? Priser Och Löner Från Medeltid till Våra Dagar*.p.133

unknown man who escaped capture at Åstorp's Inn, located along the main road between Helsingborg and Stockholm. Immediately following the seizure, the goods were transported to Helsingborg Customs Court, where they were identified as illegal and marked for export. Meanwhile, King Gustav III had penned a letter to the Customs authorities explaining that the goods seized belonged to his valet Robert and that they should be released from confiscation in exchange for a 'just' duty on the goods, most of which were prohibited from importation.<sup>837</sup> However, closer inspection of the contraband hoard suggests that the goods were not intended for the King's private consumption but destined for sale to numerous clients. The goods included 324 pairs of various women's and men's silk stockings, 139 pairs of silk gloves, 8 dozen silk neckerchiefs of various design, 12 silk waistcoat fabrics, 128 ells of patterned taffeta, and 819 ells of blue taffeta.<sup>838</sup> The contraband was released, but the customs officers were disgruntled and complained that this meant that they would miss out on their lawful confiscation fees and that the state would also lose out on its fines.<sup>839</sup> As this incident clearly illustrates, Robert received protection and help from the highest quarters, which enabled him to conduct illicit trade without any concern for the Customs Office. However, Robert's activities were not greeted with enthusiasm in all quarters. In 1793 Duchess Charlotte wrote in her diary:

It has inspired extreme discontentment, that the duke has enjoined the greatest economy, at the same time as he let many wares be introduced into the country for Robert, without paying import duty as the goods arrived in the name of the duke and therefore cannot be searched. This process is far from correct and cannot but awaken resentment. In this, one can yet again see proof of the duke's indiscretion and his inability to refuse a solicitation, for it is impossible for the duke to refuse anyone, whether it is a general or a smuggler, if [the latter] knows how to present his request persuasively. Moreover, [the duke] has a secondary reason to tolerate smuggling since he himself loves to decorate his own apartments with objects in good taste, and gives away Christmas presents of the same type.<sup>840</sup>

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<sup>837</sup> '26 Mar 1789, N.167', Allm verks skrivelser till Kungl Majt, Generaltulldirektionen till Kungl. Majt 1788-1789 v. 249, Riksarkivet

<sup>838</sup> 1 Swedish ell = 59.38 cm

<sup>839</sup> '26 Mar 1789, N.167', Allm verks skrivelser till Kungl Majt, Generaltulldirektionen till Kungl. Majt 1788-1789 v. 249, Riksarkivet

<sup>840</sup> Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok*, ed. Carl Carlson Bonde, vol. IV (P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1920).p.65

While Robert was able to cater for noble tastes with illegal French imports under royal protection, these actions also resulted in increased discontentment with an unfair system. Paying no heed to this, Robert kept using his contacts with the royals to avoid his customs obligations, writing a letter to King Gustav IV Adolph in 1800 asking to be relieved from paying import duty on the importation of a set of porcelain.<sup>841</sup> Robert was not only favoured by the court, but the court also actively worked to protect and enable his illegal business activities by deploying its privilege. It is thus maybe not surprising that in 1795 Robert was described as a “by the court protected and tacitly authorised smuggler”, by Baron Johan af Nordin.<sup>842</sup>

In return for the court protection bestowed on him, Robert was able to offer direct access to the latest fashions from Paris. This can be seen, for example, in the correspondence of Duchess Charlotte, the wife of Duke Carl, and sister-in-law to the King. In August 1791, she wrote an excited letter to her friend Sophie Piper: “Robert has arrived from Paris and has an incredible amount of things with him. There are all kinds of things and more than enough for him to make some money”.<sup>843</sup> A few days later, she again addressed a letter to her friend explaining that the King’s favourite, Gustav Mauritz Armfelt (1757-1814), had bought almost all of Robert’s hats and split them between his wife and his mistress, who was said to have looked magnificent in her new attire.<sup>844</sup>

### *Conflict with the Burghers*

While Robert was a success at court, his activities were however not appreciated by everyone, particularly not his competitors. In 1792 Robert decided to expand his business and applied to become a burgher in Stockholm, which would give him the right to trade officially and to keep a shop. In order to acquire burghership it was necessary to apply to the City Magistrate and Trade Commission (*Stats Magistrats och Handels Kollegi*) with letters of recommendation and proof of skill and experience. If the magistrates declined the application it was possible to appeal to the magistrate, and later to the National Board of Trade, and finally to the King.<sup>845</sup>

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<sup>841</sup> ‘Robert’, 1800, Riksarkivets ämnessamlingar. Personhistoria, Biographica, Supplement, vol. R II 3, 21, Riksarkivet.

<sup>842</sup> Ur landshöfdingen friherre J. af Nordins hofkrönika’, Ur Svenska hofvets och aristokratiens lif. Skildringar hemtade i arkiven på Säfstaholm, Eriksberg och Sjöholm m. fl. enskilda och offentliga samlingar, Arvid Ahnfelt (ed.), (Stockholm: Oscar L. Lamms förlag, 1880), vol.3, p.21

<sup>843</sup> ‘Smärre Enskilda Arkiv’, Stafssundsarkivet, Vol. 15, Riksarkivet. Thank you to My Hellsing and Charlotte Bellamy for these references.

<sup>844</sup> Ibid.

<sup>845</sup> Erik Lindberg, *Borgerskap och burskap*, 78-81

The first rejection of Robert's application was filed by the Stockholm City Magistrate on 6<sup>th</sup> December 1792. This was followed by an appeal to the National Board of Trade, which also rejected his application on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1793. This second rejection was supported by the Silk and Cloth Trader Society. On 30<sup>th</sup> May they also added an explanation detailing why they considered Robert to be unsuitable for burghership. In the first rejection, by the city magistrate, it was explained that Robert's lack of official training disqualified him from becoming a burgher.<sup>846</sup> The Silk and Cloth Trader Society also gave this as a key reason for his unsuitability. In Robert's answer to the rejection of his application he argued that he had served His Royal Majesty loyally for 13 years and that he had been relied upon by the newly deceased King Gustav III to acquire all sorts of wares to dress and ornament the king as well as the rest of the royal court. He noted, "this involved considerable quantities [of textiles], so that I in this way got to know the mercery trade here in the Country, in all its breadth."<sup>847</sup> Indeed, it appears that it was exactly this that unsettled both the society members and the National Trade Board. In response to Robert's appeal the Silk and Trader Society maintained that:

... the Members, cannot remain silent, there is a rather well known and possibly even verifiable rumour which relates that Robert during many years has carried on mercery trade here in the city if not only with foreign and prohibited wares, then at least the main part has been of that kind...<sup>848</sup>

They further argued that the sort of trade knowledge that Robert possessed was detrimental to the kingdom itself; according to them Robert's business activities would lead Swedish finances into disaster. They also voiced the familiar argument that it would leave the children of the kingdom in danger of being thrown into complete poverty.<sup>849</sup> The same arguments had previously been used *against* the Silk and Cloth Trader Society and it is interesting to find them applying them on their own behalf. The intrusion of a foreign, non-guild-affiliated merchant who dominated the trade at court was clearly not looked upon with sympathy. That Robert was competing directly with the Stockholm-based mercers is supported by the account books of the

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<sup>846</sup> 'Undated letter' (30 May 1793), Kommerskollegium till Kungl. Maj:t, 1793, Vol 252, Riksarkivet.

<sup>847</sup> 'Letter from Robert 19 April 1793', (30 May 1793), Kommerskollegium till Kungl. Maj:t, 1793, Vol 252, Riksarkivet.

<sup>848</sup> 'Letter 13 May 1793' (30 May 1793), Kommerskollegium till Kungl. Maj:t, 1793, Vol 252, Riksarkivet.

<sup>849</sup> Ibid.

elite, which contain both bills from Robert and from the above-mentioned mercers, including for example J. A. Théel and Carl Wiberg.<sup>850</sup>

Following this onslaught, however, it was decided, perhaps by Duke Regent Carl, that Robert should be awarded the title *contingent-borgare*, a type of position whereby a person who was not part of the bourgeoisie could trade but only as a wholesale dealer, and in return for a fee paid to the State.<sup>851</sup> The position, the appointment of which could not be challenged, was commonly used by nobles, or people of the crown, and later also women and others who were unable to gain a regular burghership.<sup>852</sup> In 1797 there were only 18 contingent-burghers in Stockholm in comparison to the 128 wholesale dealers and 53 mercers.<sup>853</sup> Very soon after his failed application to become a burgher, Robert could thus nevertheless style himself a valet and merchant.<sup>854</sup> Robert never appears to have been able to officially establish a shop in town, however. This was prevented by the fact that he as a *contingent-borgare* was not legally allowed to sell to private individuals, a rule he clearly ignored. Thus, people kept visiting ‘chez Robert’ to make unlawful purchases. Robert’s continued influence is further indicated by his appointment as consul to Lyon in 1796. Baron af Nordin, in his accounts from court, suggests that the appointment was linked to the huge debts which Duchess Charlotte and her husband, as well as the rest of their circle had run up.<sup>855</sup> Robert never appears to have taken up his position in Lyon however but stayed on in Stockholm. He eventually returned to France in 1814, but continued to furnish the Swedish court with the most fashionable wares from Paris. As late as 1818 Robert still functioned as an agent for the Swedish court, tasked with sending wares including vases, candelabras and a clock to Stockholm.<sup>856</sup>

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<sup>850</sup> See for example the accounts of Gustav IV Adolph: ‘Fordringar Konungens Hand Cassa 1795’. Statskontoret, Kammarkontoret, Furstliga personers räkningar, G2M, v. 6; and of Duke Carl; ‘Prins Karl, 1791-1800’ 1791-1800, Hovstatsräkenskaper, Räkenskaper ang. enskilda medel, vol. 55, Slottsarkivet.; ‘Prins Karl, 1801-1806’ 1801-1806, Hovstatsräkenskaper, Räkenskaper ang. enskilda medel, vol. 56, Slottsarkivet.

<sup>851</sup> ‘Note 26 July 1793’ (30 May 1793), Kommerskollegium till Kungl. Maj:t, 1793, Vol 252, Riksarkivet.; ‘1796’, C. C. Gjørwell, Biografiska samlingar, I. 36. Kungliga Biblioteket; Robert was also referred to as *contingentborgare* in relation to his appointment as a consul to Lyon in 1796, ‘-’, *Posttidningar*, 21 July 1796.

<sup>852</sup> J Lundell, *Om Handtverksskrån, Näringsfrihet Och Arbetets Organisation* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1846).pp.188 & 207; Anita Du Rietz, *Kvinnors entreprenörskap: under 400 år*, (Stockholm: Dialogos, 2013), p.224

<sup>853</sup> Nils Lundequist, *Stockholms Stads Historia, från Stadens anläggning till närvarande tid*, vol.2, (Stockholm: Zacharias Haeggström, 1828), pp. 247-248

<sup>854</sup> ‘March 1793’, Födelse och dopböcker, 1793, S:ta Eugenia Katolska församlings kyrkoarkiv, Födelse och dopböcker, Riksarkivet.

<sup>855</sup> ‘Ur landshöfdingen friherre J. af Nordins hofkrönika’, Ur Svenska hofvets och aristokratiens lif. Skildringar hemtade i arkiven på Säfstaholm, Eriksberg och Sjöholm m. fl. enskilda och offentliga samlingar, Arvid Ahnfelt (ed.), (Stockholm: Oscar L. Lamms förlag, 1880), vol.3,p.45

<sup>856</sup> ‘Letter 12 August 1818’, 1818, Sjöholmssamlingen, Possesamlingen, Riksarkivet.

The case of Marcelin Robert crystallises two observations which have already been made in relation to other retailers. Firstly, it underlines the importance of the relationship between the merchant and the consumer and how it was one of mutual benefits. The symbiotic relationship between Robert and the members of court not only enabled Robert to conduct illegal trade, it also enabled the members of court to wear and consume foreign goods that were officially prohibited. It was this relationship, and the court's protection that sprung from it, that allowed him to become a successful contraband trader despite protectionist legislations and his lack of burghership. In addition, Robert's case clearly illustrates that various retailers were fighting for the same clients, and that accusations of smuggling came to be levelled against the competition. The group of traders that came to particularly object to Robert were the mercers, who as previously discussed catered for the same clients as Robert. The Silk and Cloth Trader Society, which had a longstanding and well-known tolerance towards contraband retailing, paradoxically came to attack Robert on the grounds of his smuggling activities, with the motive of warding off the 'unfair' competition he posed to its members. While the pedlars, mercers, and Jewish traders all had to contend with the Swedish legal system, Robert was absolved from it. It was not the contraband dealing in itself that vexed the mercers, but rather the conditions under which it was conducted.

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Four groups of retailers – pedlars, mercers, Jewish traders, and a trade agent – have been discussed in this chapter. All of them were involved in the distribution of contraband in eighteenth-century Sweden. Together they distributed contraband across the Swedish realm to a variety of different consumers. Contraband could be purchased everywhere, from the forests of Karelia to the streets of Stockholm, including in the royal castle of the capital. Due to the association with smuggling, these retailers attracted much criticism and suspicion. Various kind of legislation and surveillance measures were introduced against them, intended to impede the trade in contraband. The nature of these regulatory measurements varied pending on which retailer group they were targeting. For example, while attempts were made to limit the movements of the pedlars to domestic territory, the mercers were exposed to shop-visitations. Discrepancies in regulation, but also in the scope of their retailing activities, meant that that the various groups of retailers conducted trade under very different conditions and legal premises. It affected how they went about transgressing the law, in order to engage in smuggling. Three



coping strategies have been identified in this chapter: pedlars physically avoided the customs officers, the mercers negotiated in the courts, and Marcelin Robert relied upon his influential customers to shield him from the law. In their separate ways these retailers were thus striving to circumvent the illegality of the contraband trade.

While the groups were different, they were also interconnected. Records of debts suggest that the mercers, the pedlars, and the Jewish merchants conducted trade with each other, and sometimes appear to have been working together. Similarly, consumer account books and bills show that the retailers, to an extent at least, were competing for the same clients, most prominently this was the case for the mercers and Marcelin Robert. As this chapter has illustrated, retailing in Stockholm was a small and interconnected world one that benefits greatly from being studied through its entanglements, which enabled co-operation and the circulation of goods, but could also foment competition and enmity.

Common to all retailers discussed in this chapter was the fact that they were seen by legislators, manufacturers, and all other proponents of patriotic protectionism as suspect and potentially morally dubious, because of the type of business they engaged in. The pedlars were dubious because their mobility enabled them contact with foreign markets, and the mercers because they traded in fine textiles, but no trader was as suspicious as the Jewish trader. As outsiders, with extensive international trade networks, the Jewish traders' position was particularly scrutinised by a society in which patriotic duty and a closed market were pitted against the attractions of international trade. As has been discussed in this chapter, the accusation of smuggling did not merely come from manufacturers and other protectionists, but was also used within and between retailer groups as they tried to eliminate and ostracise competition. This is something that becomes especially evident when looking at the Silk and Cloth Trader Society, which both argued that smuggling was necessary to alleviate the nation's unquenchable thirst for foreign fashion and deemed Marcelin Robert unworthy to be a member due to his previous involvement in the contraband trade.

Furthermore, this chapter has highlighted the importance of the relationship between the retailers and the consumers. To a significant extent it was this relationship, and the support that sprang from it, that enabled the trade in contraband to continue even under the pressure of increasing regulation and control. The shape of this support varied, depending on who the

consumers and the retailers were. For example, commoner consumers in the countryside could shield and shelter the pedlars, while urban consumers could financially support the mercers through continued consumption, and at court, Robert's privileged clients could bestow upon him legal exemptions. Such support allowed the contraband retailers to continue with their illicit trades and to 'bounce back' if they were convicted for smuggling. Ultimately, the support of the retailers was based in the public's appetite for contraband, which echoes historian Anne Montenach's observation that the risks that the merchants took in catering for the popular demand for illicit goods *might* actually have increased their respectability and valour in the eyes of the general public.<sup>857</sup> In this way, the relationship between the retailers and the consumers can be seen as one of mutual benefits: while the retailers catered for the public demand for contraband, the consumers supported the retailers, enabling them to continue their illicit trade and thus also to expand their stock and their profits. The fact that consumers could turn to their normal retail outlets to procure contraband probably also served to normalise its consumption.

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<sup>857</sup> Montenach, *Femmes, Pouvoir et Contrebande Dans Les Alpes Au XVIIIe Siècle*.p.272

## Chapter 5

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### Consuming Contraband: Worsteds & Coffee

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, global wares and ‘new’ manufactured products were gaining prominence in Europe as a result of the intensification of global trade and the development of new forms of manufacturing. Few European countries welcomed the new goods into their domestic markets with open arms; on the contrary, the flows of global goods were often met with the erection of trade barriers and the introduction of protectionist legislation. Protectionism in theory and in practice were two different things, however, and despite its severe trade policies, the Swedish state found it difficult to effectively close its borders to unwanted global wares and foreign products. What was prohibited as well as desired varied, suggesting that in order to understand smuggling we also need to take into account the specific qualities of the goods and the ‘life’ or trajectories it took. These lives were affected by three general factors: the globalisation of trade, the materiality of the objects in circulation, and the local contexts that they passed through.<sup>858</sup> While previous chapters of this thesis have discussed how foreign wares came to enter the Swedish market, this chapter focuses on the latter two components. The contraband and its materiality are at the centre of the investigation, which considers how contraband came to be defined as such, how it was perceived, and received, and what effect it had on culture, society, and politics. The discussion will focus on two distinct types of smuggled goods: worsted textiles (see figures 5.1. 5.3. 5.4. 5.5 for examples of various types of worsteds) and coffee.<sup>859</sup> Worsteds and coffee have been chosen due to several different factors. As will be discussed, they were brought to Sweden as a consequence of the expansion of global trade and, importantly, they were smuggled in large quantities during the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>858</sup> For a longer discussion see Chapter 1.

<sup>859</sup> Worsted, or stuff, is a type of woollen textile made from worsted yarn, a high-quality yarn that was combed rather than carded and tightly twisted, which together with the quality of the sheep’s wool give it a finer, harder appearance compared to carded wool, with its ‘fluffier’ texture. See: ‘Worsted Knitting Yarn | Textile’, <https://www.britannica.com/technology/worsted-knitting-yarn>, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Accessed 5 December 2018

Both worsteds and coffee came to be prohibited in the eighteenth century. During this time, as we have seen, Sweden was pursuing a protectionist agenda of self-sufficiency, and independence from the influence of other nations.<sup>860</sup> There were thus two main motivations for import prohibitions: to lock out foreign manufacturers that could undermine the domestic industry; and to shut out foreign wares which, since they could not be produced in Sweden, made Sweden dependent on foreign imports. Of course, the extent to which prohibitions and decrees were effective depended on whether they were respected or not.

Previous research into law-abidingness and sumptuary legislation has produced contradictory results. Historian Leif Runefelt has argued that the prohibition of coffee was generally disregarded due to its importance in elite social life.<sup>861</sup> Pernilla Rasmussen, on the other hand, has argued that most people abided by the sumptuary legislation, which was partially due to the fact that sumptuary laws followed behind the trends in fashion, prohibiting that which had already fallen out of fashion.<sup>862</sup> Eva Andersson, who has also studied sumptuary decrees, agrees that the decrees appeared to be efficient.<sup>863</sup> The obvious reason behind these contradictory results is that they were studying different consumer products. While Rasmussen's hooped skirts might already have fallen out of fashion, coffee was *à la mode*, and had a considerable and growing consumer base. Whether or not prohibitions were respected thus appears to have been related to the wares in question and their social significance and status.

Other research indicates that coffee and foreign textiles had very different connotations and presence in Swedish society. Research on probate inventories has revealed that worsted, a skilled European manufacture regularly used for clothing, was common across the Swedish realm, in the towns as well as in the countryside, not at least among the lower estates where it seems to have been particularly popular.<sup>864</sup> How manufactured textiles were used and adopted

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<sup>860</sup> For a longer discussion see Chapter 2.

<sup>861</sup> Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*.p.218

<sup>862</sup> Pernilla Rasmussen, *Skräddaren, Sömmerskan Och Modet : Arbetsmetoder Och Arbetsdelning i Tillverkningen Av Kvinnlig Dräkt 1770-1830* (Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag, 2010).p.45

<sup>863</sup> Andersson, 'Foreign Seductions: Sumptuary Laws, Consumption and National Identity in Early Modern Sweden' .p.24

<sup>864</sup> Lennart Björkquist, *Jämtlands Folkliga Kvinnodräkter. Studier i Den Jämteska Allmogens Dräktskick under 1700-Talet Och 1800-Talets Första Hälft*, Skrifter Utgifna Af Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien För Folklivsforskning 7 (Uppsala: Appelbergs, 1941). pp. 228 & 233; Ulväng, *Klädekonomi Och Klädkultur. Böndernas Kläder i Härjedalen under 1800-Talet*. p. 96 ; Seija Johnson, 'Fashion from the Ship: Life, Fashion and Fashion Dissemination in and around Kokkola, Finland in the 18th Century', in *Fashionable Encounters. Perspectives and Trends in Textile and Dress in the Early Modern Nordic World*, ed. Tove Engelhardt Mathiassen et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014).pp.38-40; see also Seija Johnson, *I Den Folkliga Modedrakens*

has long been discussed in Swedish dress scholarship, focusing in particular on the interaction between an ‘unchanging’ traditional costume and new influences. The idea of an unchanging traditional peasant costume has been challenged by scholars since at least the 1930s, when Sigfrid Svensson published his first studies of local Swedish dress practice.<sup>865</sup> Svensson argued that new types of textiles came to be included in the local costume in various parts of the country. Just like Svensson, most dress scholars have argued that the appropriation of new clothing or textiles must be considered in a highly localised context.<sup>866</sup> For example, changes in dress could be triggered by periods of economic prosperity, either regional or national, and the introduction of new types of work, such as forestry, mining or industry, which led to a boost in disposable income in the region.<sup>867</sup> Peasant dress practises were normally governed by conformity, meaning that the preservation of traditional costume, *or* the adoption of foreign textiles and new cuts, happened on a community basis.<sup>868</sup>

How new goods were introduced was determined by local conditions. Costume curator Håkan Liby has argued that the distinction between a never-changing traditional costume and a fluctuating fashionable costume is too simplistic; new elements, textiles and cuts were instead typically incorporated into the traditional costume.<sup>869</sup> “The interplay between tradition and trends can be read in traditional fashion, and here the cultural context of a district becomes visible in a very obvious manner.”<sup>870</sup> While this research has shown that the traditional dress used changed as regional communities adopted and adapted new influences and materials, it is also possible to find examples of very different but simultaneous approaches to new materials. In her micro study of probate inventories in Gamla Karleby in Österbotten, Seija Johnson has shown that women in the late eighteenth century owned both fashionable dress in worsted *as*

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*Fotspår. Bondekvinnors Välstånd, Ställning Och Modemedvetenhet i Gamlakarleby Socken 1740-1800*, (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopiston kirjasto, 2018).

<sup>865</sup> See for example: Sigfrid Svensson, ‘Svenska Dräkten Som Bondeplagg’, in *Gustavianskt. Studier Kring Den Gustavianska Tidens Kulturhistoria* (Stockholm, 1932); Sigfrid Svensson, *Dräktlyx Hos Gotländsk Allmoge 1793* (Stockholm: Ymer, 1933); Sigfrid Svensson, *Skånes Folkdräkter. En Dräkthistorisk Undersökning 1500-1900*, Nordiska Museets Handlingar 3 (Stockholm, 1935); Svensson, *Bygd Och Yttervärld. Studier Över Förhållandet Mellan Nyheter Och Tradition*.

<sup>866</sup> For Ångermanland see Sigfrid Svensson, *Bygd Och Yttervärld. Studier Över Förhållandet Mellan Nyheter Och Tradition*, Nordiska Museets Handlingar 15 (Stockholm, 1942).; For Uppland see Håkan Liby, *Kläderna Gör Upplänningen. Folkligt Mode - Tradition Och Trender* (Uppsala: Ord&Form, 1997).; For Härjedalen see Marie Ulväng, *Klädekonomi Och Klädkultur. Böndernas Kläder i Härjedalen under 1800-Talet* (Mörklinta: Gidlunds Förlag, 2012).

<sup>867</sup> Sigfrid Svensson, *Bygd Och Yttervärld*. p.80; Ulväng, *Klädekonomi Och Klädkultur. Böndernas Kläder i Härjedalen under 1800-Talet*. p.171

<sup>868</sup> Svensson, *Bygd Och Yttervärld*, pp.74-75

<sup>869</sup> Liby, *Kläderna Gör Upplänningen. Folkligt Mode - Tradition Och Trender*. p.5

<sup>870</sup> Liby, p.5

well as traditional costumes. In other words, the line between people wearing traditional and fashionable costume might be fuzzier than previously assumed.<sup>871</sup> The fact that recent research indicates that Swedish peasants and commoners bought manufactured textiles is important because such consumption was usually the first step into the consumer market. As John Style has argued, “[w]hile many ordinary people owned duplicate items of clothing, they often had few other belongings. Insofar as their material lives revolved around what they owned, clothing loomed large.”<sup>872</sup> By studying clothes and textiles it is thus possible to study consumption from below, the consumption that involved the largest body of consumers. By studying illegal worsteds it is possible to gauge what role contraband played in their consumption.

Of course, commoners were not the only ones to consume worsteds. Woolen textiles had long been used and produced in Sweden, and were seen as characteristically Swedish. When in 1778 Gustav III introduced the national costume for the burghers, clergy, and aristocracy, it was supposed to be made from Swedish-manufactured textiles, including worsted camlet, in order to support Swedish industry and economy.<sup>873</sup> As Eva Bergström has pointed out, some argued that it was more worthwhile to support the worsted industry than the ‘misguided’ silk industry.<sup>874</sup> Meanwhile, Lena Rangström has stressed that the design and material of the national costume idealised a period when the Swedish way of dressing was ‘unpolluted’ by foreign elements, ill-suited to the Swedish character and climate.<sup>875</sup> There have even been suggestions that the national costume might have been inspired by peasant costumes from southern Sweden.<sup>876</sup> Worsteds was thus used by all social levels in society.

If worsteds could be regarded as a ‘Swedish’ consumer good, this was certainly not the case with coffee, as an exotic perishable which had only relatively recently arrived in Sweden. How widespread the use of coffee was is also much more difficult to establish. Coffee itself does not appear in probate inventories, although instruments used for preparing and drinking coffee do.<sup>877</sup>

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<sup>871</sup> Johnson, ‘Fashion from the Ship: Life, Fashion and Fashion Dissemination in and around Kokkola, Finland in the 18th Century’. pp.38-40; see also Johnson, *I Den Folkliga Modedräktens Fotspar. Bondekvinnors Välstånd, Ställning Och Modemedvetenhet i Gamlakarleby Socken 1740-1800*.

<sup>872</sup> John Styles, *The Dress of the People*, p. 322

<sup>873</sup> Bergman, *Nationella Dräkten: En Studie Kring Gustaf III:s Dräktreform 1778*.p.26.

<sup>874</sup> Bergman.pp. 45-46

<sup>875</sup> Rangström, ‘Gustaf III’s Svenska Dräktprojekt- En Nationell Reform I Tiden’.p.131

<sup>876</sup> Svensson, ‘Svenska Dräkten Som Bondeplagg’; Rangström, ‘Gustaf III’s Svenska Dräktprojekt- En Nationell Reform I Tiden’.p.131

<sup>877</sup> Ahlberger, *Konsumtionsrevolutionen 1. Om Det Moderna Konsumtionssamhällets Framväxt 1750-1900*. pp. 84-109

Christer Ahlberger, basing his argument on studies of coffee utensils in probate inventories, suggests that coffee drinking only was as extensive as the coffee utensils themselves. Based on the utensils he concludes that coffee drinking was increasing in Gothenburg in the eighteenth century but not in the surrounding countryside.<sup>878</sup> Leif Runefelt, meanwhile, has argued that this only shows that coffee was not part of a ritualistic consumption among the poorer sorts, who consumed coffee without the accoutrements of specialised coffee pots, cups, and saucers.<sup>879</sup> Rasmus Nilsson identifies another issue with using probate inventories to explore the spread of coffee, namely that the town-dwelling commoners often did not leave behind such inventories until several decades into the nineteenth century.<sup>880</sup>

While it is difficult to establish the spread of coffee in the eighteenth century most scholars agree that coffee drinking in the eighteenth century was primarily an elite and urban phenomenon, a practice that was part of a larger polite culture.<sup>881</sup> Runefelt has suggested that coffee came to have increasingly female connotations as it moved from the coffee house into the female parlour during the eighteenth century, something which nursed the emerging visiting culture.<sup>882</sup> In line with this, Lundqvist has suggested that the role of coffee in Sweden can be compared to that of tea in England, as the consumption of both came to revolve around a domestic visiting culture.<sup>883</sup> The image of coffee as an elite and urban consumer good was not fixed, however, and according to Ahlberger and Lundqvist, it started to change in the nineteenth century, as a larger range of consumers started to drink it.<sup>884</sup> British historian Emma Spary has argued that due to coffee's relatively recent arrival in Europe, "its identity was not constant, but was the end product of many negotiations over value, meaning, and authenticity, which took place under very specific social and political circumstances."<sup>885</sup> Coffee, its definition and associations, were in flux during the eighteenth century as consumers tried to define its social and cultural role in society.

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<sup>878</sup> Christer Ahlberger and Magnus Mörner, 'Betydelsen Av Några Latinamerikanska Produkter För Sverige Före 1810', *Historisk Tidskrift*, no. 1 (1993). p. 102

<sup>879</sup> Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*. p.227

<sup>880</sup> Rasmus Nilsson, 'När Kaffet Kom till Staden. Uppsalabornas Te- Och Kaffekonsumtion Från 1750 till 1850' (B-Uppsats, Uppsala University, 2014).p.18

<sup>881</sup> Ahlberger and Mörner, 'Betydelsen Av Några Latinamerikanska Produkter För Sverige Före 1810', p.102; Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*.p.221

<sup>882</sup> Leif Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*. pp. 146-147

<sup>883</sup> Pia Lundqvist, 'Taste for Hot Drinks - the Consumption of Coffee and Tea in Two Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novels', *History of Retailing and Consumption*, 2, no 3, 2016.

<sup>884</sup> Ahlberger, *Konsumtionsrevolutionen 1*.pp. 84-109, Pia Lundqvist, 'Taste for Hot Drinks', pp.7, 9, & 14

<sup>885</sup> Emma C. Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment. Food and Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2012). p.87,

This was also true for its health effects, which were unknown to European consumers. Many investigations were made into coffee's medical and health properties, and whether it was restorative or weakening. An international discourse on the health properties of coffee thus developed in the eighteenth century as consumers and scientists tried to come to terms with the exotic new beverage.<sup>886</sup> In Sweden the effects of coffee were believed to depend on the social standing of the individual in question. Runefelt has suggested that the perceived health effects of coffee depended on whether or not the drinker worked with their body or not: coffee was seen as suitable for those who did not engage in physical labour, and weakening for those who did.<sup>887</sup> Drawing on dietetics discourses, Annika Windahl-Pontén has argued that consuming coffee was considered harmful and weakening for those unfamiliar to coffee, such as peasants and servants, but not for elite bodies, already accustomed to it.<sup>888</sup> The perceived importance of the dietary habits of the population in the eighteenth century has been explored by Emma Spary, who notes that for eighteenth-century thinkers, "diet was a major determinant of morals and character, both for individuals and for nations."<sup>889</sup> What the population was eating thus came to be interlinked with its very identity, both physically and morally, and the exact effects of the exotic and unfamiliar coffee were uncertain.

Worsteds and coffee were two very different types of products, and thus posed very different types of threats to the state. Worsted was a manufactured good, the result of technical skill and craftsmanship. Coffee on the other hand was an exotic raw material, exclusively grown in tropical climes. To consumers and legislators alike, the former was familiar and considered compatible with Swedish bodies, whereas the latter was seen as suspect, and its exact effects on Swedish bodies uncertain. The two products also appear to have been used by two distinctly different consumer groups and in separate consumer contexts. This chapter looks at how these distinct contrabands came to influence the development of Swedish consumer culture. Three questions are at the forefront: Why were these goods prohibited? How did the legislators

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<sup>886</sup> Woodruff Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 125-6; Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment. Food and Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760*.pp. 77 & 80

<sup>887</sup> Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*. p.286

<sup>888</sup> Annika Windahl-Pontén, 'Kiär Hustru, Wackra Barn, Bodde Ut i Ett Palais- Materialitet Och Identitet i Hushållet von Linné' (Uppsala University, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation), forthcoming., See Chapter 2

'Medicin, moral, mode - vetenskapsidkarens formering av persona'

<sup>889</sup> Emma C. Spary, *Feeding France. New Sciences of Food, 1760-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). p.269



respond to the smuggling of these goods? And finally, who consumed these goods, and how were the wares appropriated into the Swedish consumer context?

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In order to understand two such different types of contraband and their respective consumers it is necessary to use different sets of sources. In Swedish sources worsted is either referred to as *ylle-stoff* or simply *stoff*. More common, however, is to refer to worsted in terms of its various qualities: camlet (*kamlott* or various other spellings in the eighteenth century), taboratt (*taborett*), wool damask (*ylledamast*, often also referred to as *satın* in the sources), and calamanco (*kalmink*), just to mention the most common ones.<sup>890</sup> In order to study the spread of worsteds published material has been used, primarily commercial treatises and travel books. Various unpublished sources have also been consulted, including consular reports from British consuls and ambassadors in Sweden (British National Archives, Kew), and various letters between the National Board of Trade and the King (Riksarkivet). A particularly prominent source is the 1793 parish discussions on luxury (Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet). They consist of reports from all Swedish parishes outlining their current local dress practices, and what the parish members were willing to refrain from using in the future. Parishes from six regions have been chosen for closer analysis: Halland, Blekinge, and Dalarna (in Sweden) and Heinola, Kuopio and Uleåborg (in Finland). Along with these written sources, some museum artefacts have also been included in order to make comparisons with the written material. The artefacts derive from two museum collections: the Nordic Museum (Nordiska museet) in Stockholm and the Museum of Dalarna (Dalarnas museum) in Falun. Experts on folk costume, including Berit Eldvik (formerly at the Nordic Museum) and Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg (at the Museum of Dalarna), have also been consulted.<sup>891</sup> The material for the coffee study is of a slightly different character. The list of published sources consulted includes coffee prohibition decrees and the cancellations of the

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<sup>890</sup> Berit Eldvik, *Möte Med Mode. Folkliga Kläder 1750-1900 i Nordiska Museet* (Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag, 2014), pp. 211–12.

<sup>891</sup> Artur Hazelius, the founder of the Nordic Museum and the force behind the collective efforts, in 1873 published a manual (*Några anvisningar vid samlandet af folkdräkter och bohag .m.m*) for how the collecting of folk costume should be conducted. In it he argued that when there were several versions of a costume the most striking should be collected as this was probably the best costume. Such directions would have favoured the highly coloured and glossy Norwich textiles. The quality of the Norwich worsteds might thus have caused them to be collected in lieu of less beautiful and poorly preserved worsteds from other locations. However, it does not negate the fact that these textiles *are* in the collections and have been worn in Sweden despite their illegality. See Eldvik. p.28f

prohibitions, along with pamphlets on coffee, and newspaper articles. These sources have been supplemented by prohibition committee proceedings, and letters and diaries from the prohibition periods. A selection of three diaries has been consulted due to their relatively extensive discussion of consumption during the prohibition eras, namely those of Lisa Mullberg from 1794, Märta Helena Reenstierna from 1794-1796 and 1799-1802, and Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelm from 1799-1801. The diaries all date from the third and fourth prohibition periods; unfortunately no diaries for the earlier prohibition periods have been located. Finally, material from the Supreme Court from the 1760s, and Stockholm police for the periods 1794-1795 and 1799-1800 have been used to gather insights into crimes against the coffee prohibitions. Statistics with regards to the illegal introduction of coffee have been drawn from the customs court protocols.

The chapter is divided into two main parts, the first dealing with worsteds and the second with coffee. Each of these parts is divided into four subsections. The first looks at why these goods came to be prohibited, the second homes in on how these goods were smuggled into the country, the third explores how the continued introduction of these goods was perceived and received by the legislators, and the final and longest section looks at how consumers adopted and adapted these wares to fit their own needs and consumer contexts.

## **Skilled Manufactured Goods - Norwich Worsted**

### *A Threat to the Domestic Industry – The Ban on Worsted*

Wool manufacturing had been an important part of the English economy since the Middle Ages, and Norwich had long been a centre of worsted textile production. As early as 1315 worsted was mentioned in relation to the city, but it was not until the 1560s that the trade started to flourish, after foreign weavers were allowed a special licence to settle in the city. Through the 1680s new products like calamancoes were launched, and new techniques developed to enhance the sheen and gloss of the textiles.<sup>892</sup> The colour and the finish of the textiles became an important trademark and even today it is possible to identify Norwich worsteds by their quality and shine.<sup>893</sup> In the 1720s the Norwich weavers stood on the brink of what would prove to be a massive and persistent challenge to their trade. With the arrival of cotton from India and the

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<sup>892</sup> Ursula Priestley, *The Fabric of Stuffs. The Norwich Textile Industry from 1565*, (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1990). pp.7-9

<sup>893</sup> Berit Eldvik, Private Communication, 30 January 2017.

expansion of the English cotton industry, the worsted weavers found their traditional market under pressure.<sup>894</sup> From the 1740s onwards and particularly during the 1760s the merchant-manufacturers started looking abroad for new international markets which could supplement the domestic market. This development was observed in 1798 by the wool manufacturer and Norwich resident John Taylor in his 'The History of Norwich Manufactures', published in the *Monthly Magazine*, where he observed that the Norwich weavers reached out to Europe, noting that "[t]he introduction of [Norwich worsteds] into Spain, Italy, Poland, and Russia, soon made the manufactures ample amends for the capriciousness of fashion in their own country."<sup>895</sup> As an extension of this trade a port opened in Great Yarmouth in 1766 providing a direct trade link between Norwich and Northern Europe, including the Baltic Sea.<sup>896</sup> The Norwich worsteds appear to have spread widely, even reaching some far-removed destinations. In the correspondence of Norwich merchant Philip Stannard, the brightly coloured Norwich textiles are, for example, described as popular among the Tartars and Siberian peoples, and people in South America.<sup>897</sup> Historian Beverly Lemire has also demonstrated how worsteds came to be smuggled into China as fashion goods, where they were consumed by trendsetting courtesans, and at brothels.<sup>898</sup> Other markets closer to home were also explored, and Norway quickly proved a lucrative one.<sup>899</sup> Despite these attempts to expand the market for Norwich worsteds, business dwindled during the latter half of the eighteenth century, both due to domestic competition – Yorkshire was quickly rising as a new woollen industrial centre – and due to increased competition from cotton products.<sup>900</sup> However, foreign trade remained critical for the worsted manufacturers during this period of decline, as they attempted to find new sales outlets in an increasingly globalised market.

Just like in England, wool was also important in Sweden. Indeed, the wool manufacturing industry was Sweden's largest branch of manufacturing in terms of workforce, though it was

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<sup>894</sup> Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The cotton trade and the consumer in Britain 1660-1800*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>895</sup> John Taylor (T), 'History of Norwich Manufactures', *The Monthly Magazine* 6 (December 1798).p.415; see also M. F. Lloyd Prichard, 'The Decline of Norwich', *The Economic History Review* 3, no. 3 (1951).

<sup>896</sup> Priestley, *The Fabric of Stuffs. The Norwich Textile Industry from 1565*, 1990. pp.33-34

<sup>897</sup> Michael Nix, 'Norwich Textiles: a Global Story, 1750-1820', Norwich Castle Museum Saturday 5 December 2015.

<sup>898</sup> Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures*. p.162

<sup>899</sup> Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen, "Virkningsfulle Tekstiler - I Østnorske Bønders Draktpraksiser På 1700-Talet", (University of Oslo, 2014). pp.125-140

<sup>900</sup> Priestley, *The Fabric of Stuffs. The Norwich Textile Industry from 1565*, pp. 38-39

still relatively small on an international scale.<sup>901</sup> The output of the wool manufacturers was thus limited. The quality of Swedish wool textiles was also considered inferior to that of foreign manufactures, particularly British. Some attempts were made to rectify this imbalance through tapping into the British manufacturing process. The Swedish consul to Britain, Jonas Ahlströmer, had, for example, in the 1720s, attempted to smuggle “a great quantity of wool and workmen to Stockholm and Gothenburg” in an attempt to improve the industry.<sup>902</sup> In the 1730s state support for Swedish manufacturers increased, which resulted in the introduction of the 1734 import tariff that prohibited the import of most manufactured wools.<sup>903</sup> During the 1750s Swedish wool production increased, but in the 1760s, with the economic crisis, production decreased dramatically; production levels would not recover until the late 1770s.<sup>904</sup> By 1775 the British ambassador was during that Sweden could only produce two thirds of the wool needed in the country.<sup>905</sup>

The situation of worsted manufacturing was particularly dire as the Swedish manufactories were unable to get the proper finish on their textiles, a crucial step in producing the worsteds’ distinctive sheen and smooth texture. While the government had established a ‘finishing house’ next to the Barnängen wool manufactory in Stockholm back in 1748, it appears never to have been fully equipped and it burned to the ground only ten years after its construction. In 1761 the wool manufacturers applied to the government to have a new finishing house built, but nothing was done until 1770. At the 1769-70 riksdag it was argued that the extensive smuggling of foreign, particularly English, worsted stuffs into Sweden could be directly traced back to the lack of a proper finishing house. Indeed, it was believed that there were more English smuggled worsteds than legal Swedish products on the market.<sup>906</sup> A markedly protectionist import tariff was instituted in 1771, prohibiting the import of worsteds such as calamancoes, camlets and camletees, taboratt and satin/wool damask as well etamin.<sup>907</sup> While the prohibitions against some wares were lifted in 1776, wool textiles experienced no such development. In 1782

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<sup>901</sup> Sven Gerentz, *Kommerskollegium Och Näringslivet, 1651-1951, Minnesskrift*, 1951. p. 282

<sup>902</sup> Letter from Mr C Corkelke Customs House London, to Mr Tilson, 3 Apr 1729, SP 36, vol.114, British National Archives.

<sup>903</sup> Gerentz, *Kommerskollegium Och Näringslivet, 1651-1951*, p. 240

<sup>904</sup> Gerentz, p. 267

<sup>905</sup> ‘Letter No 30, to Lord Suffolk, from De Visme, Stockholm, 1 August 1775’, 1775, SP 95, vol.125, British National Archives,

<sup>906</sup> Sven T. Kjellberg, ‘Ull Och Ylle: Bidrag till Den Svenska Yllemanufakturens Historia’ (Lund University, 1943). p.414 & 417; ‘N. 69’, Handels- & Manuf & Tull Deputs Betänkande För åren 1769-1770, 1769-1770, Borgareståndets arkiv, R1402, vol. 13, Riksarkivet. p.4033

<sup>907</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:ts Taxa, Hwarefter Stora Sjö=Tullen Uppå Alla Inkommande Waror Bör Erläggas Och Upbåras, 15 Feb 1771’ (1771).

camlet, etamin and satin/wool damask were still prohibited, along with all other non-specified wool fabrics.<sup>908</sup> The prohibitions were repeated in the 1799 import tax.<sup>909</sup> Between 1785 and 1790, a complete ban on the import of worsted yarns was also in force, intended to support domestic spinning.<sup>910</sup> As historian Sven Kjellberg has observed, however, the Swedish worsted yarn spinning industry never properly took off due to poor payment and insufficient organisation.<sup>911</sup> The result of the import prohibition was thus a shortage of worsted yarn, which further injured the Swedish manufacturers.<sup>912</sup> Despite ample attempts to aid and support the Swedish worsted industry it never became completely self-sufficient, nor were the manufactories able to cater for Swedish demand. The shortcomings of the Swedish industry, together with the accessibility of foreign alternatives, led to the emergence of a flourishing smuggling trade in these wares.

A number of contemporary commentators addressing various audiences observed that English worsteds played a prominent role on the Swedish market despite the prohibitions. One of these, the Welsh economic and political writer and clergyman Josiah Tucker (1713-1799), noted that the Swedish attempts at strengthening their manufacturing industry represented no threat to the manufacturing powerhouse of England:

...every Article of [English Manufacture] ...is afforded so cheap at the Market of Stockholm, that the Swedes have lost Money in every Attempt they have made to rival them. Judge now, therefore, what little Cause there is to fear that a poor Country can ever rival a rich one in the more operose, complicated, and expensive Branches of a Manufacture: Judge also, whether a rich Country can ever lose its Trade, while it retains its Industry.<sup>913</sup>

Approaching the issue from a very different angle the Dutch traveller I.F. Henry Drevon noted in his *Voyage en Suède* 1789, translated into English the following year,

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<sup>908</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Taxa, Hwarefter Stora Sjö=Tullen Uppå Alla Inkommande Waror Bör Erläggas Och Upbäras, 6 Jun 1782' (1782).

<sup>909</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Taxa, Hwarefter Stora Sjö=Tullen Uppå Alla Inkommande Waror Beräknas Och Erlägges. Gifwen Stockholm Slott Den 17 April 1799' (1799).

<sup>910</sup> 'Kongl. Maj:ts Och Rikens Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Förbud Emot Utländskt Kamulls=Garns Införsel. Gifwen Stockholm Then 11 April 1785' (1785).

<sup>911</sup> Kjellberg, 'Ull Och Ylle: Bidrag till Den Svenska Yllemanufakturens Historia'. p.347

<sup>912</sup> 'Letter 16 April 1798', 1798, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl Maj:t, skrivelser från Kommerskollegiet, 9, vol. 269, Riksarkivet. p.10

<sup>913</sup> Josiah Tucker, *Four Tracts, on Political and Commercial Subjects.*, 3rd ed. (Glocester: R. Raikes, 1776). p.41

[the Swedes] cannot hold their own against the competition of foreign cloth, and they consequently favour smuggling, which is a natural consequence of the high price or the imperfection of their own textiles. Moreover, in Sweden one can see people of condition and those comfortably off clad in English cloth and other foreign stuffs, which enter into the kingdom despite rigid defences and pointed searches.<sup>914</sup>

That Sweden had to rely on the contraband trade to supplement its wool industry thus appears to have been well-known, at least among foreign commentators. It does, however, raise the question of what other material exists that can illuminate this trade, and whether it is possible to trace a link between the manufacturing workshops in Norwich and the Swedish market.

### *Worsted Smuggling to Sweden*

While it is not at this time possible to establish precisely how the Norwich worsted trade to Sweden worked, it is nevertheless possible to *connect* the Norwich manufacturers to Swedish consumers. In order to do so it is useful to consider the merchant manufacturers J. & J. Ives (later: J. & J. Ives, Son & Basely). They were worsted merchant manufacturers established in Norwich. That they produced for the Swedish market becomes evident in a letter addressed to the British ambassador in Stockholm, Lewis de Visme, in 1776. It was a reminder to deal with the issue of Jonas Krook.<sup>915</sup> Krook, a well-established merchant and burgher in the important southern Swedish port town of Karlskrona, was a member of the riksdag in 1765-6, 1769-70, and 1771-72.<sup>916</sup> In 1767, he had made a significant purchase of worsteds, to the value of £508, from J. & J. Ives, who never received payment.<sup>917</sup> The former British ambassador Sir John Goodricke had already had the errand on his table, but found his hands tied as the culprit was a member of the riksdag.<sup>918</sup> The Ives were now demanding payment, and with the help of Henry Howard, Lord Suffolk, the Secretary of State of the northern territories, de Visme was put in charge of retrieving the money. According to Lord Suffolk it was not possible to go through the official Swedish channels and issue a suit of law as Mr Krook “had been guilty of smuggling the English Manufactures He bought of Messers Ives into Sweden which was punishable by

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<sup>914</sup> I. F. Henrik Drevon, *Voyage En Suède: Contenant Un État Détaillé de Sa Population de Son Agriculture, de Son Commerce, et de Ses Finances* (La Haye: Gosse, 1789).p.315

<sup>915</sup> ‘Letter to De Visme, from Lord Suffolk, 8 March 1776’, 1776, SP 95, vol.126, British National Archives.

<sup>916</sup> Janrik Bromé, *Karlskronas Stads Historia*, vol. 1 (Karlskrona: K. L. Svensson, 1930).p.258

<sup>917</sup> ‘25 June 1776’, 1776, Justitieämbetet, Konzept, Huvudserien, BIIa:80, Riksarkivet.

<sup>918</sup> ‘Letter to Lord Suffolk, from De Visme, Stockholm, 29 March 1776’, 1776, SP 95, vol.126, British National Archives.

Swedish Laws.”<sup>919</sup> If Krook was convicted of smuggling, Suffolk reasoned, he would never repay his debt. De Visme, tasked with collecting the money, despaired, “Krook [sic] has an infamous Character, and will never pay this just Debt unless pressed and threatened with a Suit at Law”.<sup>920</sup> Despite his misgivings, de Visme proceeded to threaten Krook and, finding an ally in the Swedish Chancellor of Justice Liljenstråle, he eventually brought a suit against Krook in the Swedish court.<sup>921</sup> Unfortunately, the proceedings from this case have proved difficult to locate, but Krook’s involvement with the Norwich-based merchants indicates that contraband worsteds were traded directly from Norwich to Sweden and that credit was extended even for this type of illegal trade.

Table 5.1.  
Return of the manufacturing house Messrs Ives, Basely & Robberds in the year 1791,  
information supplied by John Warden Robberds

	Total	Italy	Spain/ America	Germany	Russia	Norway/ Sweden	Holland	Madeira	China
Camlet	65468	9544	12816	5972	7986	8193	-	987	19970
Camletees	4423	256	-	1725	-	252	2190	-	-
Callimancoes	17693	-	742	388	15508	51	1004	-	-
Satins	11036	123	1402	6751	1457	601	702	-	-
Bombazines	1063	-	910	-	-	-	-	153	-
Lastings	4739	98	1378	245	790	1494	734	-	-
Figured Stuffs	4860	463	2425	1397	-	180	275	120	-
Total £	109282	10484	19673	16478	25741	10771	4905	1260	19970

Source: *The Sessional Papers Printed by Order of the House of Lords. Reports from Commissioners: Hand-loom Weavers*, (1840), Vol. XXXVII, p. 303.

This incident with Krook does not appear to have hampered J. & J. Ives’ desire to export to the Scandinavian markets, as illustrated by their export accounts from 1791 (now under the name J. & J. Ives, Son & Basely). This table was supplied to a House of Lords hand-loom commission in 1840 by Norwich sheriff John Warden Robberds in order to illustrate how lucrative the Norwich trade once was.<sup>922</sup> As seen in table 5.1., Sweden and Norway make up a significant proportion of the Ives’ exports, even though Sweden had a population of barely 3 million and Norway about 0.8 million in 1791, and the use of the British worsteds was strictly prohibited in Sweden. Consequently, and even though the calculations might be overstated, they were

<sup>919</sup> ‘Letter to De Visme, from Lord Suffolk, 8 March 1776’, 1776, SP 95, vol.126, British National Archives.

<sup>920</sup> ‘Letter to Lord Suffolk, from De Visme, Stockholm, 29 March 1776’.

<sup>921</sup> ‘Letter 32, to Lord Suffolk, from De Visme, Stockholm, 2 August 1776’, 1776, SP 95, vol.126, British National Archives.

<sup>922</sup> *The Sessional Papers Printed by Order of the House of Lords. Reports from Commissioners: Hand-loom Weavers*, Vol. XXXVII, (1840), p. 303.

considerable in comparison to the population of these countries. Further evidence that Ives' wares did in fact reach the Swedish market can be observed in surviving worsted textiles in Swedish museums. In addition to the many worsted textiles identified as being of Norwich provenience at the Nordic Museum, Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg at the Museum of Dalarna has shown that through textile analysis it is possible to identify some of their worsted bodices not merely as originating in Norwich, but also matching samples in the 1791 sample books of Ives & Baseley.<sup>923</sup> These textile collections will be discussed at further length below.



Figure 5.1. Bodices from Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg's survey of bodices in Dala-Floda alongside textile samples from Ives & Baseley textile sample book. Private photographs © Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg.

Such evidence suggests that the illegal worsteds from Norwich played an important part in the Swedish consumer market. It also indicates that the Scandinavian market was tightly integrated into the Norwich international trade despite the attempts made by the Swedish government to create an 'insular' domestic textile market. One probable reason why Sweden and Norway are lumped together in the export table is the extensive entrepôt and cross-border trade which tied the two markets together, as examined in previous chapters. One of these crucial border crossings was located at Frederikshald (now Halden), a southern Norwegian border town with extensive entrepôt trade with Sweden. Norwich merchant manufacturer Philip Stannard's correspondence shows that he was already delivering worsteds to Frederikshald directly

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<sup>923</sup> Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg, Private Communication, 13 October 2017.



through Yarmouth by 1755.<sup>924</sup> On site in Frederikshald the Norwegian merchant Peter Bull observed in his diary:

From the moment when I got to know the trade of Friderichshald [sic] with the Swedes I lost my desire to establish myself there, as I took a dislike to the place, the people and the trade. Tricks, slyness, deception and almost all heavy vices were here *Grand Mode*. Cursing and swearing must be used for each piece of Camelot and Kersey, which the Swedes purchased either in exchange for iron or on credit and this trade was always subjected to danger.<sup>925</sup>

An account by the Norwegian customs official Friedrich Wilhelm Thue gives a similar picture. He estimated with curious specificity that, in 1788, 3688 ells of Calamancoes, 25 640 ells of Camlets, 40 ells of Serge, 1110 ells of Challon, and 1108 ells of Everlasting were imported into Sweden via Halden alone (1 Norwegian ell = c. 62,75 cm).<sup>926</sup> Such measurements should be treated with caution, but accounts from both sides of the border bear witness to the extensive trade in the area. As can be seen in map 5.2., Fredrikshald was located directly on the Swedish-Norwegian border, and it was possible to travel into Sweden both by water and by land. Meanwhile, at Hälle just across the border from Fredrikshald, a customs officer in 1791 observed that the border was poorly guarded despite the presence of many officers.<sup>927</sup> In the nearby town of Strömstad there were complaints from travelling fiscal Arvid Arvedsson, who in 1803 reported the lack of adequate surveillance at “the very place where prohibited Wares are brought across in perfect safety, partly by Norwegians and a hundred times more by Westgothian peasants”.<sup>928</sup>

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<sup>924</sup> Priestley, *The Letters of Philip Stannard, Norwich Textile Manufacturer (1751-1763)*. (1994), pp.93-97

<sup>925</sup> Peter Bull, ‘Kjøbmand Peter Bull’s Optegnelser. Et Handelshus i Fredriksstad 1770-1800.’ in *Norsk Tidsskrift for Genealogi, Personhistorie, Biografi Og Litterærhistorie*, ed. S.H. Finne-Grønn, vol. 1 (Christiania: Cammermeyers, 1910). p.280

<sup>926</sup> Quoted in Hol Haugen, “Virkningsfulle tekstiler” p.140f

<sup>927</sup> Hans Friedr Frick, ‘Memorial 163, Götheborg, 18 Maj 1791’, 1791, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, m. fl., kansliet, Skrivelser från tullfiskaler E8, vol.1, Riksarkivet.

<sup>928</sup> Ar Arvedsson, ‘Memorial No 772, Uddevalla 25 Aug 1803’, 1803, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, m. fl., kansliet, Resefiskaler, E9, vol.1, Riksarkivet. For similar accounts see also: Frick, ‘Memorial 163, Götheborg, 18 Maj 1791’.



Figure 5.2. Map of Strömstad and the Bohuslän border against Norway. C. J. Carlson, 'Charta som utvisar situationen omkring Strömstad til land och sjös', 96, 1756, Generaltullarrendesocietetens svenska tullatlas, Kungliga Biblioteket.

Fredrikshald was one of the larger trading centres along the Swedish-Norwegian border through which contraband worsteds could enter. This is not to say that it was the only smuggling route for worsteds. Worsteds are also featured, albeit possibly to a lesser extent, in the records deriving from the Finnish part of the country, where they entered across the Russian border.<sup>929</sup> Nor was the entrepôt trade restricted to overland smuggling; as discussed in previous chapters, contraband entered along a range of routes simultaneously. In the records from the Maritime Customs Court at Stockholm there were, during the six-month period from June to December 1769, 95 cases of smuggling in process. Of these, 20 cases concerned cargoes that included worsteds of some description, and of these 20, five were identified on board ships from Wismar,

<sup>929</sup> See for example: 16 April 1787 & 1 Nov 1788, 'Kitee, no 578', 1788, Routsin kauppakollegion tuomiokirja-arkistoa, Rajatullioikeuksien tuomiokirjat, RTO, vol. 1, Kansallisarkisto, Finska riksarkivet.

two on ships from Danzig (now Gdansk), and an additional five on ships from various locations in Britain. The remainder were brought in from other locations in Sweden, including Visby on the island of Gotland and Gothenburg (see appendix 1).<sup>930</sup> The origins of these ‘Baltic worsteds’ can only be guessed at, but it is known that the Norwich weavers also exported to various Baltic harbours including Danzig.<sup>931</sup> It should also be borne in mind that Stockholm was easier to reach from the Baltic harbours than from the British Isles. Nevertheless, the prevalence of ships from Britain in the worsted smuggling is evident. There were thus several different smuggling routes through which the worsteds could enter, both across land and by sea.

### *The Government Responds to the Contraband*

The reception of the worsteds by the state and by consumers diverged considerably. The government’s attitude towards the contraband can be gauged from the way they treated transgressions and seized contraband. One significant example from 1778 relates to the fallout after Gustav III’s introduction of a national costume in that same year.<sup>932</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, the national costume was introduced in order to deal with the issue of smuggling, to strengthen the domestic industry, and to ‘reinvigorate’ patriotic feeling. By introducing a static fashion in the form of a costume made of plain, domestically produced fabric, the king believed it would allow Swedish producers to specialise in one type of cloth which could be both cheap and high-quality, and thus resist competition from smuggled goods.<sup>933</sup> The national costume was to be made in two sets of colours, one for everyday use at the court, in black and “*colour [sic] de feu*” (a red-orange colour), and one for festive occasions in pale blue and white. For the burghers a costume of a similar cut, but in a single colour, usually black, was introduced.<sup>934</sup> It was hoped that the national costume would limit the strain posed on the manufactories by ever-changing fashions, allowing them to specialise in single wares instead of constantly lagging behind the wheel of fashion, copying a multitude of foreign trends.

While the national costume project was launched to protect the manufacturers from untenable competition by foreign manufacturers, it also had some unforeseen consequences. Only three months after the introduction of the costume, a member of the Privy Council, Baron Carl

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<sup>930</sup> Based on a compilation of cases from, ‘Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok’, 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22, .Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>931</sup> Ursula Priestley, *The Fabric of Stuffs*. p.34

<sup>932</sup> For a more extensive discussion about the conditions for the introduction of a national costume see Chapter 2.

<sup>933</sup> Gustavus III, *Réflexions*, pp. 30-32

<sup>934</sup> Lena Rangström, ‘Den Svenska Hovdräkten - Nationell Och Europeisk’, in *Hovets Dräkter*, ed. Lena Rangström (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 1994).pp.16-18

Sparre, in a letter to the King, pointed out that there was a universal shortage of worsteds in all the shops. Sparre identified the introduction of the national costume as the reason behind this shortage; it had caused the demand for the woollen textiles to soar as “almost everyone” needed new clothing. Sparre’s proposed solution was to release seized contraband for sale; more specifically a large contraband hoard seized a month earlier worth 2985 Rdr, confiscated from Captain Nystrand in Nyköping.<sup>935</sup> The goods consisted of 100 chalons, 84 calamancoes, 10 flowered damasks, 11 camlets, 100 striped cameletees, and 30 etamins, and some silks which would not be released for re-sale.<sup>936</sup> The National Board of Trade was at first dismissive of the suggestion. Pointing to the poor quality of the textiles, they argued that no one was likely to buy them apart from those only concerned with appearance, as their finish was still superior.<sup>937</sup> Nevertheless, the King eventually agreed with Sparre’s suggestion and decided that the worsteds should stay in the kingdom and be offered for sale.<sup>938</sup> A few textile samples still survive from this hoard, which illustrates what these textiles looked like. (See appendix 3). A year later the King made a general announcement that the confiscated worsteds were to be offered for sale due to the nationwide shortage.<sup>939</sup> The contraband worsted thus came to be incorporated into the regular market in order to sustain the regulation, and to avoid removing the trade barriers to deal with the textile shortages.

The idea of complementing the products of a struggling domestic industry with seized contraband kept recurring. In 1798 a report on the Swedish manufacturing industry was sent to the government by the National Board of Trade, which outlined the state of the Swedish manufactories and why a protectionist system should be maintained. In regard to the worsted manufacturers the Board observed that Swedish productions were just as good, although not as beautiful, as the English products. They also noted that there had been a decline in domestic productions in recent years. This might seem like a good incentive to open up for foreign importation. However, given the decreasing demand for worsteds due to the popularity of calico as well as the great quantities of smuggled worsteds on the market, they saw no need to lift the protectionist prohibitions.<sup>940</sup> The contraband worsteds are here portrayed as intrinsically bound

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<sup>935</sup> ‘8 July 1778.’, 1778, Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Registratur, Huvudserie, B1a, vol. 184, Riksarkivet.

<sup>936</sup> ‘9 June 1778.’, 1778, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kongl Mayt, skrivelser från Kommerskollegium, 9, vol. 205, Riksarkivet.

<sup>937</sup> ‘8 July 1778.’

<sup>938</sup> Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kongl Mayt, skrivelser från Kommerskollegium, 9, vol. 205, Riksarkivet.

<sup>939</sup> Ehrensvärd, *Dagboksanteckningar Förda Vid Gustaf III.:S Hof Af Friherre Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd.* p.229

<sup>940</sup> ‘Letter 16 April 1798’, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl Maj:t, skrivelser från Kommerskollegium, 9, v. 269, Riksarkivet.

up with the continued life of the protectionist policy. The government agreed, adding that the introduction of new spinning machines and the establishment of worsted factories in the countryside would eventually help to overcome the shortage of Swedish worsted stuffs.<sup>941</sup> Just like in 1778, the contraband worsteds were used to cover the hole in the market produced by increased prohibitions and regulations and a struggling Swedish industry.

As previously noted, although the national costume was supposed to be ‘universal’, but in practice this was not the case. King Gustav III excused the peasants from using it, who made up the vast bulk of the population.<sup>942</sup> This exemption was allegedly due to that they had requested to keep using their traditional costumes made of homespun and Swedish-manufactured textiles.<sup>943</sup> The national costume project was part of a larger venture that had the *esprit national* as its guiding star.<sup>944</sup> By exempting the commoners from his dress reform, Gustav III suggested that they did not need to change. Instead he set them up as a model for other Swedish inhabitants: controlled, simple and patriotic in their consumer choices.<sup>945</sup> From a state perspective, particularly under the regime of Gustav III, the use of foreign textiles by commoners was seen not simply as unpatriotic, but even as unnatural.<sup>946</sup> The commoners did not conform to this elite view of their consumer habits, however, and it did not prevent them from buying foreign textiles. In the following section the discussion turns to these peasant or common consumers to examine how they viewed their own consumption of foreign worsteds.

### *Consumer Adoption and Adaption of Worsted*

The use of fashionable textiles such as the worsteds could take many forms hence and it is difficult to generalise. Drawing on examples from a few different localities it is nonetheless possible to gauge how these fabrics *could* be used. Surviving worsted textiles in Swedish museum collections are a good place to start. Costume Curator Berit Eldvik has noted that more than 150 worsted items of Norwich origin exist in the traditional costume (*folkdräkt*) collections

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<sup>941</sup> ‘Letter 7 Aug 1798.’, Kommerskollegium, huvudarkivet, Kongliga brev och remisser huvudserie, E Ia, vol. 116, Riksarkivet.

<sup>942</sup> In 1810, 90% of the Swedish population was living in the countryside, the proportion would have been even larger around 1778. [http://ortshistoria.se/nedladd/befolkn\\_txt/befolkning\\_1570-2000\\_andel.txt](http://ortshistoria.se/nedladd/befolkn_txt/befolkning_1570-2000_andel.txt), accessed 24 Oct 2019

<sup>943</sup> Rangström, ‘Den Svenska Hovdräkten - Nationell Och Europeisk.’ p.18

<sup>944</sup> Bo Lindberg, ‘Introduktion: Nationalism Och Nationell Identitet i 1700-Talets Sverige’, in *Nationalism Och Nationell Identitet i 1700-Talets Sverige*, edited by Åsa Karlsson and Bo Lindberg, (Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2002), pp.12-14

<sup>945</sup> Mikael Alm, ‘Making a Difference: Sartorial Practices and Social Order in Eighteenth-Century Sweden,’ *Costume* 50, no. 1 (2016).p.45

<sup>946</sup> Leif Runefelt, ‘Grå bonde, blå bonde’. p.123

at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm.<sup>947</sup> Eldvik, who has studied these textiles in depth, believes that at least 90% of the calamancoes at the Nordic Museum are Norwich creations.<sup>948</sup> The largest survival rate for Norwich worsteds are from the provinces bordering on Norway, together with the provinces of Gästrikland, Hälsingland, Halland, and southern Småland. In general there are no striking local preferences in terms of colour, and the cuts and tailoring of the surviving clothes are so similar that nothing can be discerned about where they were used in the country.<sup>949</sup> There are, however, exceptions from areas in central Dalarna where the cut of the bodices reveals exactly in which parish they were made.<sup>950</sup>



Figure 5.3. Taboratt bodice from Getinge parish, Halland. Cloth identified as produced in Norwich by Berit Eldvik. Textile dates from 1770-1790 and bodice created 1790-1810, NM.0001957, Nordiska Museet. Photo © Fanny Oldenburg / Nordiska Museet



<sup>947</sup> Berit Eldvik, *Möte Med Mode*, p.44

<sup>948</sup> Berit Eldvik, Private Communication, 30 January 2017.

<sup>949</sup> Eldvik, *Möte Med Mode*, p.46

<sup>950</sup> Anna-Karin Jobs Amberg, Private Communication, 13 October 2017.

Studying regional and private collections in Dalarna, Anna Karin Jobs Arnberg has catalogued around 130 worsted bodices in the parish of Dala-Floda alone. The high local survival rate is related to the fact that the women of Dala-Floda only began collecting previously owned worsted bodices from the surrounding parishes and turning them into the Dala-Floda bodice in the 1850s-70s.<sup>951</sup> These bodices are slightly longer than many from the nearby areas, and for each Dala-Floda bodice two recycled bodices were needed. This also means that few unaltered bodices have survived from the regions around Dala-Floda.<sup>952</sup> Jobs Arnberg has also been able to match several worsted bodices in her collections to textile samples from the Ives' 1791 sample book.<sup>953</sup> Tracing the origin of the Dala-Floda worsteds to their Norwich-based producer allows us to know their approximate production date, a date that falls within the period investigated in this thesis. The continued circulation and recycling of these items shows the longevity of contraband worsteds in the Swedish countryside. Textiles were reconditioned nearly a century after their initial production. Even in Dalarna, a region famed for its use of simple traditional dress, Norwich worsteds eventually came to be incorporated into the local design.

#### The 1793 Parish Debates

Information on how commoners viewed worsted textiles can be extracted from parish responses to a questionnaire sent out to all parishes in 1793. The questionnaire asked the parishes to provide descriptions of the local dress and say what the parishioners were willing to refrain from consuming in the future, in order to help and support the nation's finances and reduce the drain of coinage from the Kingdom. It particularly inquired about the use of foreign cloth, especially silk. The intention of the questionnaire was to gauge what goods the population was willing to do without, and their responses would form the basis of the new sumptuary law, and ensure that the law had popular approval. It was hoped that this approach would make the laws easier to enforce and maintain.<sup>954</sup> However, not all parishioners were included in drafting the reply, as only a selection of male parishioners participated in the discussions. These men did,

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<sup>951</sup> This type of recycling of good quality fabrics was fairly common in the nineteenth century and helped to compensate for supply shortages, as discussed in Kristina Lilja and Pernilla Jonsson, 'Inadequate Supply and Increasing Demand for Textiles and Clothing: Second-Hand Trade at Auctions as an Alternative Source of Consumer Goods in Sweden, 1830-1900', *The Economic History Review* 0, no. 0 (2019).

<sup>952</sup> Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg, Private Communication, 13 October 2017; Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg, 'Un-Titled' (MA thesis, Uppsala University, 2019).

<sup>953</sup> Anna-Karin Jobs Arnberg, Private Communication, 13 October 2017

<sup>954</sup> 'Sammanträde Protocoll, 7 Juni 1793' 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.25, Riksarkivet.

however, represent various different (male) interest groups young and old, and various types of farmers (*kronobonde/hemmansägare/åboägare*), lay assessors (*nämndemän*), men in charge of parish order (*sexmän*), aldermen (*åldermän*) and occasionally even poor tenant farmers (*torpare*). The exact composition varied between parishes, particularly in terms of size but the parish representatives were dominated by men with local authority which doubtlessly influenced the answers submitted to the questionnaire, as these were individuals interested in maintaining hierarchical order and reinforcing authority. However, disagreement between the older generation, wanting to reduce the consumption of purchased textiles, and the younger generation, who were more supportive of the purchase of ‘luxury’ goods, is prominent in the records. The definitions of what was unnecessary luxury could vary considerably, which underlines the necessity of thinking about consumer choices as something individually as well as locally determined. This is also relevant for the *worsteds*, whose definition as ‘luxury’ varied between different localities. The parish reports thus offer insights not only into the spread of *worsteds* but also into how they were perceived.

In Halland *worsteds* featured regularly in the discussions. For example, in Slöinge parish the elders noted with concern the “increasing use, particularly among the youth, of the superfluous and luxurious Silk textiles, damasks, camlets etc”. In the future, they promised that “[their] wives, daughters and maids would not wear... camlet, satin or etamin sweaters or skirts.”<sup>955</sup> Nor were the sons and farmhands to wear waistcoats in the same materials.<sup>956</sup> (See figures 5.4. and 5.5 below.) However, in many parishes argued that the clothing which was already in people’s possession should be kept and used until worn out.<sup>957</sup>

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<sup>955</sup> ‘Slöinge Socken’ 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, C, vol.26., Riksarkivet.

<sup>956</sup> Ibid.

<sup>957</sup> See for example, ‘Gälared Socken’ 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, C, vol.26., Riksarkivet; ‘Gunnarp Socken’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, C, vol.26., Riksarkivet.





Figure 5.4. Worsted damask waistcoat, textile probably of Norwich origin from Getinge parish, dating from 1770-1790, Halland, located 5 km from Slöinge, NM.0001999, Nordiska Museet. © Fanny Oldenburg / Nordiska Museet.



Figure 5.5. Worsted damask skirt, textile probably of Norwich origin from Efra parish, Halland, located c.3 km from Slöinge, dated c. 1770-1800, NM.0001958, Nordiska Museet. © Bertil Wreting / Nordiska Museet.



In the county of Blekinge another usage of textiles was recorded. In Backaryd parish it was explained that only peasant wives were allowed to wear camlet skirts or sweaters.<sup>958</sup> At Jemsröd the parish representatives gave an elaborate account of exactly the sort of costume worn in the locality: for example the skirts of married women were for example made of fine blue wool cloth, black, red or green camlet, wool damask or etamin. Whereas this costume is described as ‘ancient’, new elements had appeared in recent times, such as faded muslin and calico aprons and foreign red and blue felt and worsted socks. The parish vestry asked to keep their ancient costume, but nevertheless announced that in the future they would refrain from buying all types of foreign textiles, including “... cambric, and muslin, calico, velvet, camlet, satin, etamin, silk, and worsted socks... All foreign clothing will be rejected as useless luxury”.<sup>959</sup> In the coastal parish of Thorhamn what was described as the ancient costume contained multiple purchased fabrics like flowered velvet, camlet, and wool damask. Whilst they were willing to refrain from buying any cloth they “had misgivings about having been made in the fatherland”, they also

<sup>958</sup> ‘Backaryd Socken’ 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, C, vol.26., Riksarkivet.

<sup>959</sup> ‘Jemshög Socken.’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, C, vol.26., Riksarkivet.

urged that more support should be given to the domestic industry to improve their manufacturing.<sup>960</sup> Such statements indicate that these consumers considered themselves able, and often willing, to make consumer choices that benefitted their country. While Runefelt has argued that the upper echelons of society did not consider the commoners able to make patriotic consumer choices, it appears that at least some peasant consumers did not see it that way, instead considering themselves quite capable of making qualified decisions about their own consumption.<sup>961</sup> Such decisions included being able to make an informed choice to buy domestic textiles in order to support the Swedish industry, though the definitions of what wares were dangerous varied, and this is particularly true for worsteds.



Figure 5.6. Women from Blekinge in traditional dress. Preparatory illustration by C.W.Svedman for the book *Costume of Sweden*, London, 1823. Original held at Kungliga Biblioteket.

Records from southern Dalarna show that worsteds played an important role there too, and that some people perceived them as dangerous expressions of luxury. In the mining and farming parish of Söderbärke, it was noted that the farmhands were asking for higher wages than previously to satisfy their thirst for consumer goods. The parish representatives complained that “[n]ow he has to have several coats for the feast days and they should not be of one, but of several colours, Camlet or Satin for a [waistcoat], Velvet for trousers, German shoes and silver

<sup>960</sup> ‘Thorhamn Socken’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, C, vol. 26, Riksarkivet.

<sup>961</sup> Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*.p.277

buckles...it is said that some have even started wearing Pocket watches.”<sup>962</sup> It was also observed that the women were wearing camlet and wool damask, which “is cheap to the highest degree”, and that both men and women should refrain from using such textiles.<sup>963</sup> In Saxe some 5 km away the inhabitants also argued that silk, velvet, wool damasks and camlet and all similar vanities should not be used any more, neither by men, women nor children.<sup>964</sup> In these records it is clear that the worsteds were perceived in the same category as silks and other luxury fabrics at least by the parish notables.

In some parish records, the worsteds are notable for their absence. This is the case for several parishes around Siljan from whence many of the worsted bodices today kept in museums originate. The parish vestry make no mention of their use of worsted, insisting instead that they wanted to continue using the costume of their forefathers.<sup>965</sup> In Leksand it was even noted that: “The commoners in Dalarna have the merit, that they never ape after new fashions but are unchanging in their costume, this all agree. Those who come travelling from the Southern villages must bear witness thereof.”<sup>966</sup> The scarcity of surviving estate inventories from this early period makes it difficult to establish how common worsteds were in the poorer parishes in central Dalarna, however calamanco bodices can nevertheless be observed in parishes such as Leksand and Nås.<sup>967</sup> The insistence on the absence of luxury might thus have been related to the fact that they did not perceive these woollen cloths as luxuries.

The records from Finland also indicate that the perceived status of worsteds varied between different parishes. In Rantasalmi, located between Kuopio and St Mickel in southern Savolax, the parish representatives explained that for the sake of the nation “they were willing to soon

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<sup>962</sup> ‘Söderbärke’ 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.28, Riksarkivet.

<sup>963</sup> Ibid.

<sup>964</sup> ‘Saxe’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 28, Riksarkivet.

<sup>965</sup> ‘Nås’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.28, Riksarkivet; ‘Jerna’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.28, Riksarkivet; ‘Rättvik’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 28, Riksarkivet.

<sup>966</sup> ‘Leksand’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.28, Riksarkivet.

<sup>967</sup> 10 calamanco bodices have been identified in Leksand inventories 1771-1775: Personal correspondence: Johanna Gullback, ‘Kalmink i Leksand’, 23 February 2019. See also: Johanna Gullback, ‘Karmink Snörlif Och Wahlmars Tjortil’ (MA thesis, Uppsala University, 2012). In Nås parish 12 calamanco bodices have been identified in inventories between 1758-1792, according to Margareta Jonth’s survey of estate inventories in Nås. Anna-Karin Jobs Arberg, Personal Communication 23 February 2019; By contrast the first in Dala-Floda dates from 1840, see: Jobs Arnberg, ‘Un-Titled’.

stop using all Silk, and foreign textiles, even Camlets, Calico and so on” as long as they could have finer textiles in their caps and neckerchiefs.<sup>968</sup> In nearby Pieksämäki it was decided that if they were forced to stop using their silk caps, they would instead use caps of camlet or linen. Furthermore, they noted that during feast days their women dressed in sweaters of camlet or home-woven striped cloth, but that it was rare that they wore skirts of wool damask or camlet. The only people able to wear such skirts were the mistress of a farm, or the old maid, who through many years of service had earned enough to be able to acquire such fabric.<sup>969</sup> Meanwhile, in neighbouring Rautalampi, northern Savolax, it was agreed they would put aside all use of camlet, calico and wool damask clothes along with the silk. The use of the silk caps would in the future be reserved for farm mistresses, and thin silk taffeta ribbons would be allowed for their daughters.<sup>970</sup> The prohibition of young people’s use of camlet, worsted, and gauze for sweaters and aprons along with fine shoes and similar vanities was the focus of the debates in Mörskom, in the county of Nyland north of Borgå.<sup>971</sup> Similarly, in Gustav Adolph parish, situated between Tammerfors and St Mickel in the county of Tavastland, it was argued that while their population was among those least inclined to vanities and expensive dress there had nevertheless been an increased use of wool satin sweaters and camlets in recent years.<sup>972</sup> In these parish discussions, worsteds appear on par with silk as dangerous luxury objects that should be rejected.

By contrast, in Jämsä parish, located just north of Gustav Adolph in the same county, the parish representatives maintained that while they could put aside the use of silk jackets, sweaters, skirts, aprons and silver and gold embroidery, along with silver knee- and shoe buckles, they viewed camlet and wool damask as exempt and the representatives thought that their continued use should be allowed.<sup>973</sup> Similarly, in the coastal parish of Pernå, which neighboured Mörskom, argued that while the people in the region ought to wear homespun textiles for their everyday clothing, they should be allowed to use camlet and cotton for their best clothes. The parish

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<sup>968</sup> ‘Rantasalmi’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl , landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>969</sup> ‘Pieksämäki’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl , landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>970</sup> ‘Rautalampi (Now Rautalampi)’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl , landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>971</sup> ‘Mörskom’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl , landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>972</sup> ‘Gustav Adolph’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl , landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>973</sup> ‘Jämsä’ 1793, Kollegiers m fl , landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.29, Riksarkivet.

representatives argued that they should be allowed to wear the clothes they already possessed, which they used sparingly and could be passed from mother to daughter.<sup>974</sup> Artsjö, another neighbouring parish to Mörskom, agreed with this approach, arguing that on feast days the parish women wore skirts, sweaters and bodices made of either striped and dyed wool, calamanco, satin or cloth, depending on their wealth. They wanted to keep using this costume, which they had used since ancient times, but agreed to prohibit the use of silver shoe buckles.<sup>975</sup> The parish replies of 1793 thus reveal a wide variety of attitudes and interpretations of what worsted was, and how it ought to be perceived. While some parishes appear to have seen it as a substitute for silk, others clearly thought of it as just as morally damaging as silk and therefore part of a larger problem of consuming manufactured cloth instead of homespun creations. Just as Håkan Liby has argued in general for the traditional costume, the consumption of worsteds must thus be considered not simply on a national basis but as being highly conditioned by its usages in regional and local contexts.<sup>976</sup>

Although there are many similarities between the western and eastern parts of the realm, local customs and consumption practices can be discerned. One feature of the contraband seizures and parish records from the Finnish areas which is not present in the material from Sweden proper is the worsted belt that appears to have been popular among younger men. In Lappo, in southern Österbotten, young men were told to abandon their use both of Russian velvet carpuses and calamanco belts.<sup>977</sup> Similarly, in Pulkkila and Piippola, in central Österbotten county, the use of taboratt and silk belts among the youth and servants was locally prohibited.<sup>978</sup> This was again echoed in Pyhäjoki, along the western coast south of Brahestad in the same county, where the use of calamanco, wool damask and etamin belts should be dropped along with Manchester hats which were illegally brought in by merchants.<sup>979</sup> A belt of this type can also be observed in a painting of Karelian peasants by Pehr Hilleström. (See figure 5.7.).

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<sup>974</sup> 'Pernå Och Kapellerna', 1793, Kollegiers m fl, landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>975</sup> 'Artsjö', 1793, Kollegiers m fl, landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>976</sup> Håkan Liby, *Kläderna Gör Upplänningen*. p. 5.

<sup>977</sup> 'Lappå (Brahestad)', 1793, Kollegiers m fl, landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>978</sup> 'Pulkkila, Piippola', 1793, Kollegiers m fl, landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>979</sup> 'Pyhäjoki', 1793, Kollegiers m fl, landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 29, Riksarkivet.



Figure 5.7. Interior from Peasant House in Karelia. Pehr Hilleström, 'Karelska Dräkten', 1782-1810, 144. Hallwylska Museet.

A sense of change and of an upcoming generational shift is expressed in many of the records. In Jyväskylä, in Tavastland, it was simply noted that the coarse cloth that had once been in common use was “now out of fashion”, and instead women now wore bodices of wool damask, calamanco and some of camlet.<sup>980</sup> In Lillkyro parish, just outside of Vasa, Österbotten, there was a disagreement between the older yeomen and the younger farm tenants and married farmhands, with the latter group insisting that the use of all clothing should be allowed according to each person’s income and standing.<sup>981</sup> The introduction of foreign and fashionable elements could be triggered on a local or individual level by new sources of income, or new and more versatile economies, which provided disposable funds and encounters with people from the outside. Scholars have also highlighted that disposable income varied across the life cycle, and that the last years before marriage, when expenditures were few, was a particularly lucrative period.<sup>982</sup> Periods of economic prosperity, either regional or national, and the

<sup>980</sup> 'Jyväskylä', 1793, Kollegiers m fl, landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>981</sup> 'Lillkyro Socken', 1793, Kollegiers m fl, landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>982</sup> John Styles, *The Dress of the People*, p.9 ; Amanda Vickery, 'Mutton Dressed as Lamb? Fashioning Age in Georgian England,' *Journal of British Studies* 52 (October 2013).p.858; Ulväng, *Klädekonomi Och Klädkultur. Böndernas Kläder i Härjedalen under 1800-Talet*. See for example pp.120 &223

introduction of new types of work, forestry, mining or industry, were also often accompanied by shifts in the dress practice.<sup>983</sup>

It is necessary to treat these accounts of youth extravagance with some care. As Lennart Björkquist has observed, complaints about youthful extravagance in dress, and deviation from older established dress traditions, seems to be a recurring theme in commentaries on local dress especially.<sup>984</sup> The idea that there had previously been no manufactured fabrics should thus be approached with scepticism. To conclude, while the alarmist reports from some parishes should be treated with some caution it is very clear that there was a widespread awareness of the qualities of the manufactured textiles. Moreover, they had distinct uses, which indicates that they were in use in the locality and were considered part of the costume. Silk shawls, caps and ribbons for the unwed women's hair, camlet and wool damask sweaters and bodices, and cotton aprons are all particularly noticeable in this respect.

The parish accounts can also offer insights into how trends as well as goods were adopted. Competition appears to have played an important role in some regions. In the parishes of Frändefors, Brålanda, and Ryr, near the Norwegian border, it was observed that whilst the use of "glittering Etamin and Camlet" should in theory be curtailed, the peasant masters did not dare to place such a restriction on their servants as "the serving youth will then pour out of the Country, to such places, where the freedom to dress for pleasure had been kept."<sup>985</sup> The parish vestry went on to note that they were already suffering from people leaving their region. Many of the 'leavers' came back to visit after spending time in the provinces of Västergötland and Bohuslän, where they had started dressing in the ostentatious dress of those provinces. This, they believed, tempted others to leave.<sup>986</sup> In the Halland parish of Tölö, the parish vestry stressed the ease with which they could get hold of foreign textiles from abroad. They explained that many seafarers lived in the parish, and while sailing they often had the opportunity to buy better clothes from abroad than they could ever get hold of at home. Despite this, they promised to only use clothes made from Swedish-made textiles in the future.<sup>987</sup> Distance from the coast and

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<sup>983</sup> Sigfrid Svensson, *Bygd Och Yttervärld*. p.80; Ulväng, *Klädekonomi Och Klädkultur. Böndernas Kläder i Härjedalen under 1800-Talet*. p.171

<sup>984</sup> Björkquist, *Jämtlands Folkliga Kvinnokläder*. p.218

<sup>985</sup> 'Frändefors, Brålanda, and Ryr Socken.', 1793 Kollegiers m fl, landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.27, Riksarkivet.

<sup>986</sup> Ibid.

<sup>987</sup> 'Tölö', 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, Ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 26, Riksarkivet.

the border did not provide immunity against the intruding worsteds. In Kides the parish representatives noted that they were situated 400 km from the nearest trading town, which had led them not to consume ‘urban’ goods. However, it was also noted that in more recent times, since the foundation of the town Kuopio only 200 km away, Russian merchants from Sordavala, less than 100 km from Kides, had started roaming the countryside with all sorts of silk wares.<sup>988</sup> In Liperi it was observed that since a yearly market had been founded in the parish the youth had increasingly started to buy silk.<sup>989</sup> Whether or not the locals were interested in, or could afford, buying these foreign luxuries, the opportunity to purchase them was nevertheless provided by an extensive network of pedlars traversing the country, and a comparison of the seized wares of the pedlars and the parish discussions shows a not altogether surprising overlap. Finally, while the parish questionnaire was supposed to be consultative for the creation of new sumptuary legislation, it appears from the replies to the questions that the parish representatives also decided to enforce their own decisions to abandon silk, worsted, pocket watches and whatever else they saw as superfluous. While such ‘prohibitions’ might not have been legally binding, they might still have been enforced with social pressure, although more research is necessary in order to establish if the local bans were actually imposed.

### *An Acceptable Luxury?*

Regardless of what the peasants themselves thought about worsteds, their use among the peasant classes was never considered particularly problematic by the state – in stark contrast to the consumption of silk, which the state treated much more severely. In his study of Norway, Björn Sverre Hol Haugen argues that the popularity of worsteds among the peasant population was linked to its visual similarity to prohibited silk.<sup>990</sup> In Sweden the idea that worsteds could replace silk also took root, and in 1769 an anonymous author optimistically noted that “our [worsted] stuffs-manufacturers will provide for the Nation’s need for Woollen-goods which will take the place of silk-goods as soon as their use is prohibited.”<sup>991</sup> In the sumptuary decree released in 1770 it was stipulated that farmers and those belonging to the common estate should use their traditional costume, as long as it did not conflict with the other prohibitions, primarily

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<sup>988</sup> ‘Kides’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl, landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt.. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>989</sup> ‘Liebelitz/Libelitz (Now Liperi)’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl, landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>990</sup> Hol Haugen, “Virkningsfulle Tekstiler.” pp. 142, 153, & 181.

<sup>991</sup> Anonymous, *Reflexioner Wid En Anonym Auctors Tankar Om Sättet Til Wåra Swenska Manufacturers Uphjelpande*. (Stockholm: Stockholm, tryckt hos Carl Stolpe, 1769), p. 5.



the prohibition against wearing silk.<sup>992</sup> It has been pointed out that the issue of recognisability was central in the Swedish debate about consumption in the eighteenth century.<sup>993</sup> The use of silk among the peasant classes was clearly perceived as a threat to the visual hierarchy.

The idea that worsted could be a viable substitute for silk proved long-lived. In the National Board of Trade discussions about the introduction of a new sumptuary decree in 1794, representatives from the worsted manufacturing industry were brought in to account for whether, in the case of a ban, they would be able to supply the necessary textiles to replace silk.<sup>994</sup> The issue with silk was not simply linked to status, it was also related to an idea of climate-appropriate clothing. In the eighteenth-century debates on clothing, ‘climate appropriateness’ played a central role, as wearing inappropriate fabrics, particularly silk, was thought to lead to disease and a weakening of the population. It was also discussed in the parish records in 1793. In one Finnish parish it was argued that it made no sense to buy foreign textiles like silk instead of robust domestic fabrics, as foreign textiles both drained money out of the country and were unsuited to the harsh Nordic climate.<sup>995</sup> Objecting to the usage of multiple silk scarves, the parish of Pyhäjoki noted that “nobody should tie several [scarves] on themselves at once, this will disfigure the neck and damage the health”.<sup>996</sup> The fear of silk did not recede. As late as 1812 the journal *Trompeten* argued that “[o]ur women..., are, through their too thin costume, which is altogether unsuited for our climate, afflicted with tuberculosis, gout and other chronic conditions.”<sup>997</sup> While this was a critique often launched against the not only too thin but generally also quintessentially foreign material – silk – similar concerns were seldom heard in regards to worsteds, a type of fabric both warmer and more solid, and thus believed to be better suited to the Swedish climate.

The discussions about silk and worsted were thus essentially concerned with the social perception of their respective materiality, rather than their physical place of production. Silks were seen as foreign as they were made from materials alien to the Swedish flora and fauna and

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<sup>992</sup> Kongl. Maj:ts Förnyade Förordning emot Yppighet och Öfverflöd. 15 Martii 1770.

<sup>993</sup> Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*. pp.37-43 & 239-250

<sup>994</sup> ‘27 & 30 Jan 1794.’, 1794, Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Handels- och manufaktur divisionens protokoll, A I fa, vol. 37a, Riksarkivet.

<sup>995</sup> ‘Rantasalmi’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl , landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.29, Riksarkivet. The same was observed in a parish on the other side of the Baltic Sea, in the county of Dalarna. See ‘Folkärna’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, Ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 28, Riksarkivet.

<sup>996</sup> ‘Pyhäjoki’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl , landshövdingars skrivelder till Kungl. Majt.. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.29, Riksarkivet.

<sup>997</sup> Leif Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*. p.87f

thus unsuited to the Swedish body, whereas wool, a known and familiar textile, was suitable. Thus, in the last sumptuary decree controlling dress, issued in 1794, it was foreign and domestic silks and cotton cambric that were targeted for prohibition.<sup>998</sup> By contrast, the worsteds appear to have represented a lesser evil in terms of the commoners' consumption. That being said, the foreignness of worsteds was recognised either way.

In newspaper advertisements for English worsteds, they were clearly identified as English, despite their illegality.<sup>999</sup> In 1780, an advertisement appeared in the Stockholm-based newspaper *Dagligt Allehanda*, announcing that “[a] jacket, a waistcoat and a skirt of mixed grey English camlet, with taffeta lining, lacing and high buttons completely new, are for sale and can be used by a tall woman... at the clothes stall at Regeringsgatan from Norrmalms square.”<sup>1000</sup> Examples of buying and selling English camlet appear until the end of the century. The English worsteds seem to represent a combination of key characteristics such as high quality, fashionableness and a cheap price. In 1783, for example, a woman advertised a request to buy “Two pairs of women's dresses for a cheap price preferably of English camlet”.<sup>1001</sup>

Indeed, the shortage of domestic worsted productions and a laxity towards foreign illegal worsteds indicate that the material's appropriateness trumped its foreignness. Maxine Berg has insisted that it is vital to connect a knowledge of what was consumed to attitudes regarding its consumption.<sup>1002</sup> In terms of the worsteds, their ‘making’ should be considered in relation to their origin as foreign manufactures, but also in terms of them being illegal contraband. Berg has argued that “[o]ur recent historical concern with ‘identity’ - personal, social, and national - may be anachronistic, more a concern of present preoccupations than of eighteenth-century ways of looking at the world, but there is no doubt that goods from Britain came with particular associations.”<sup>1003</sup> The same can certainly also be said of English goods in Sweden, where the foreignness of the textiles was a significant feature of their identity and saleability, something which continued to be of importance throughout their life. Yet, as the case of the worsteds illustrates, they were never seen as so different as to be ill-suited for the Swedish consumers.

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<sup>998</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Hämmande Af Yppighet Och Öfwerflöd. Gifwen Stockholms Slott Den 1 Januarii 1794’ (1794).

<sup>999</sup> See for example, *Bihang til Dagligt Allehanda*, 28 January 1783, 22 edition. p.1 ; *Dagligt Allehanda*, 5 April 1792, 81 edition, p. 2 ; *Dagligt Allehanda*, 30 June 1798, 147 edition, p.5

<sup>1000</sup> *Dagligt Allehanda*, 15 July 1780, 158 edition, p. 3

<sup>1001</sup> *Bihang til Dagligt Allehanda*, 28 January 1783, 22 edition, p.1

<sup>1002</sup> Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.16

<sup>1003</sup> Berg, pp.8-9

## Concluding Remarks on Worsted

The contraband trade in worsteds to Sweden can be seen as the convergence of two parallel developments, which in separate ways were triggered by the rise of global trade. First, there was the need of the British wool manufacturers to expand their business beyond the British Isles, in order to sustain production in the face of the expansion of cotton consumption, and secondly, Sweden's attempts to boost their own manufacturing industry with market restrictions and import prohibitions. While English worsted might have been prohibited, Swedish demand exceeded the output capacity of Swedish worsted manufacturers. As a consequence, worsteds became a particularly lucrative item to smuggle. Because of shortages of worsteds on the Swedish market, legislators not only tolerated the existence of these textiles, they even reintroduced seized contraband worsted to the market. In that way, and without having to resort to the removal of import prohibitions, the authorities were able to cover for the domestic shortfall. Consequently, despite the ban on foreign worsteds, they appear to have been widely available, both in towns and in the countryside. Worsteds thus spread to a wide range of consumers, including commoners, notwithstanding Gustav III's claim that they did not partake of foreign manufactures.

How did these consumers then view the smuggled worsteds? Through their relocation to Sweden, the worsteds came to be disconnected from their English status as unpopular or old-fashioned goods, and became perceived in new ways. Most commoners who purchased the textiles appear to have recognised them as something from the outside world, but being unfamiliar with the old associations attached to them they created new ones. However, there is no uniform answer as to how the worsteds were viewed, as each community appears to have interpreted them differently, as the textiles were rejected, accepted, adapted, appropriated and used on a varying local basis. This also meant that the identity of the worsteds was not stagnant, but changed both with and through geographical relocation.

Commoner consumers, at least to some extent, appear to have been thinking in terms of patriotic consumption, although exactly what qualified as patriotic purchases varied. While some communities of consumers rejected worsteds as foreign, others saw them as an acceptable alternative to silk. The majority of the parishes discussed in this chapter appeared to agree that worsteds were more acceptable than silk. Indeed, the appropriation of foreign worsteds was

probably aided by the fact that they were seen as 'appropriate', both for the climate and the consumers, a fact which was related to the existing Swedish familiarity with the material.

## Exotica – Coffee

Coffee is something that most people are familiar with today, but in the eighteenth century the drink was reasonably new to consumers. Coffee had first arrived in Sweden in 1680, but it was not until the eighteenth century that a consumer culture emerged around it. Some historians have argued that its popularity was linked to its addictive properties.<sup>1004</sup> At the same time as the popularity of coffee grew, knowledge about coffee and its properties was evolving.<sup>1005</sup> There were numerous types of coffee, including Mocha, Antillean, Bourbon, and Levantine, in addition to other similar coffee products such as wild coffee and adulterated coffee; what should be defined as ‘true’ coffee remained uncertain to contemporaries.<sup>1006</sup> Attempts were also made to find a substitute ‘coffee’ closer to home. Such efforts were particularly interesting to Carl Linnaeus, who expressed a dislike for the imported coffee which he considered a damaging French influence.<sup>1007</sup>

In the eighteenth century the the definition of coffee was changing and so was its social role. Upon its arrival coffee had first been consumed in coffee houses, which meant that it was consumed in male public spaces. As the eighteenth century progressed, however, coffee increasingly came to be considered a domestic, and eventually also a female, luxury.<sup>1008</sup> By 1761 Linnaeus was arguing in his academic treaty *Potus Coffeæ* that

This kind of beverage, alas a novelty... has particularly won the favour of the female sex, as it is not intoxicating, and can be compared to tea, although coffee is seen as more genteel, maybe because it is more expensive than tea... if [a woman] goes to call on another lady, she will be insulted not to be received with the temptations of the coffee table, and believe me, [a person] will be considered most unrefined, if they do not offer their guests coffee after a meal.<sup>1009</sup>

Even though it was described as a novelty in 1761, a role and an identity for coffee were clearly

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<sup>1004</sup> David T. Courtwright, *Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp.19-20

<sup>1005</sup> Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment. Food and Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760*. See chapter two ‘From Curiosi to Consumers’

<sup>1006</sup> Spary. p.87, see also pp.88-90 for discussion on various coffees.

<sup>1007</sup> Lisbet Koerner, ‘Linnaeus’ Floral Transplants’, *Representations* 47 (Summer 1994).p.157

<sup>1008</sup> For a brief discussion about Swedish coffee houses see: Dag Lindström, ‘Leisure Culture, Entrepreneurs and Urban Space: Swedish Towns in a European Perspective, Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries’, in *Leisure Cultures in Urban Europe, C. 1700-1870: A Transnational Perspective*, ed. Peter Borsay and Jan Hein Furnée (Oxford University Press, 2016).pp.149-150

<sup>1009</sup> Carl von Linné, *Kaffedrycken (Postus Coffeæ)*, 1761, trans. Ejnar Haglund (Ekenäs, 1966). p.13

being demarcated, as well as a distinct set of social practices surrounding its consumption.

### *A Threat to the National Finances – the Ban on Coffee*

The popularity of coffee as a new component of social life soon made the authorities aware of it as a potentially problematic addition to the Swedish market. The dangers of coffee were, as Pia Lundqvist has pointed out, conceived both in terms of economy and of public health.<sup>1010</sup> In economic terms it was seen as incompatible with the protectionist policies that Sweden strove to uphold, the argument being that the import of coffee drained the country of its much-needed silver. It also made Sweden dependent on other nations, their trade networks and colonies. Coffee consumption was thus linked to poverty and infringements on independence. During the second half of the eighteenth century, coffee import and consumption therefore were intermittently prohibited. The years of the prohibitions were: 1756-61, 1766-69, 1794-96, 1799-1802, and 1817-1822. While it should be noted that normally the prohibitions were part of more general sumptuary decrees, the coffee prohibitions were, unlike other prohibitions, repeatedly introduced and cancelled. The regulation of coffee started back in 1747, when a proclamation announced that coffee, tea, and chocolate should henceforth be accompanied by an additional consumption tax intended to eventually suppress the use of these goods. The fines were determined by the consumer's place of residence. For example, in large cities the consumer had to pay 8 D kmt to consume coffee, in towns 6 D kmt, in small towns 4 D kmt, and in the countryside along with the smallest towns the tax would be only 2 D kmt.<sup>1011</sup> While this might indicate that there was a greater tolerance for these wares in the countryside, it is more likely a reflection of where the goods were consumed in any significant quantity at the middle of the century.

The first direct coffee prohibition was launched in the sumptuary decree of 1756, overseen by the members of the riksdag Carl Gustav Löwenhielm (1701-1768) and Carl Lagerberg (1708-1767). The launch was fraught with conflict, and had far from unanimous support. During the riksdag of 1755/56 Löwenhielm had propagated his anti-luxury stance (including the ban on coffee) but failed to gain sufficient support among his fellow members of the riksdag. When the issue passed to the Secret Committee (*Sekretä Utskottet*) for evaluation there was again a

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<sup>1010</sup> Pia Lundqvist, 'Taste for Hot Drinks'. p.4

<sup>1011</sup> 'Påbud Angående En Consumtions-Accis Erläggande Af Thé, Caffé, Rök- Och Snus-Tobak, Samt Puder' (1747).

fierce debate, but the prohibitionists failed to gain adequate support and it was even decided that the import toll on coffee should be reduced, to combat smuggling. However, when Löwenhielm and Lagerberg came to be tasked with producing lists of the goods to be banned in the new sumptuary decree, they took the opportunity to pursue Löwenhielm's anti-luxury agenda. Coffee was thus added to the list of prohibited goods, despite the fact that its ban lacked the support of the riksdag.<sup>1012</sup>

In reaction to the first coffee ban a poem was published in Stockholm. In it, the author, Jacob Röding (1725-1782), mused that they were now going back to the time when both the *Jarl* and the Fieldworker had the same food on their tables, a time when cookbooks were easy to write, and the produce came from the Swedish nature.<sup>1013</sup> For this poet coffee consumption was primarily an elite concern. The association of coffee with elite consumption was also stressed by one Petter Olofsson, standing for the Peasant Estate during the riksdag of 1756. He argued that members of the Peasant Estate were only willing to give up their home-distilled grain spirits if the other Estates gave up *their* imported luxury commodities, like coffee, tea, and wine.<sup>1014</sup> At the next riksdag, in 1769/70, the Peasant Estate launched another attack on the other estates, arguing that when it came to the consumption of luxury goods, coffee was far more harmful than their grain spirits as it depended on foreign imports.<sup>1015</sup> The problem with coffee was made worse by the fact that the consumption of coffee also required sugar, another imported good.

The second prohibition in 1766 was also overseen by the notorious anti-luxury proponent Löwenhielm, who had now risen to the position of President of the Chancery Department. Not only financial gains were to be had from a ban on coffee but also health benefits, he argued, claiming that “many doctors are advising against the use of coffee, which is now a beverage spread through the whole country... it has even started being used among the peasants”.<sup>1016</sup> Löwenhielm posited that the social pressures of emulation had highly adverse economic, physical and moral effects.

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<sup>1012</sup> Carl Gustaf Malmström, *Sveriges Politiska Historia Från Konung Karl XII:S Död till Statshvälfningen 1772*, 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1899), pp.254-255, & 287

<sup>1013</sup> Jacob Röding, *Tankar Om De År 1756 Förbudne Waror, i Synnerhet Caffë* (Stockholm: Jör. Nyström, 1756).

<sup>1014</sup> *Bondeståndets Riksdagsprotokoll, 7, 1751-56*, (Stockholm: 1963), p.831

<sup>1015</sup> *Bondeståndets Riksdagsprotokoll, 11, 1769*, (Stockholm: 1975), p.171

<sup>1016</sup> Bo Peterson, “‘Yppighetens Nyttan Och Torftighets Fägnad’, Pamflettdebatten Om 1766 års överflödsförordning”, *Historisk Tidskrift*, no. 1 (1981). p. 16

The dangers of coffee to health was one of many lines of attack which were repeatedly voiced throughout the eighteenth century, both by domestic writers and in translated works.<sup>1017</sup> In the Swedish riksdag, by contrast, the dietary and health arguments do not appear to have had a significant impact, and failed to persuade most members of the riksdag.<sup>1018</sup> Regardless, in 1766, largely due to the economic crisis, a new sumptuary decree was issued, which once again prohibited the use of coffee.

The third coffee prohibition, issued in 1794, was preceded in 1793 by a committee appointed by the Duke Regent Carl tasked with exploring the causes of, and solutions for, the increasing luxury consumption. The same year Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, the wife of the Duke Regent, observed:

As luxury and sumptuousness had increased immensely here in the land in recent times, the duke considered it necessary to implement measures for its suppression.... I hope that these decrees will not seem ridiculous. It must always be considered a sign of weakness, when the government is forced to issue prohibitions.<sup>1019</sup>

The committee noted both that large sums of money were being drained from “our poor Country” through the use of coffee, but also that a healthier “coffee”, made from chicory root, could be produced within Sweden itself.<sup>1020</sup> An alternative to the imported coffee was thus offered in the shape of ‘Swedish coffee’, which included substitutes of various descriptions, such as toasted rye. Surrogates like ‘Swedish coffee’ were clearly used already during the earlier prohibition periods, however the term first entered the newspapers in the 1780s.<sup>1021</sup> In a newspaper article from 1797 a writer observed, “I remember that before the prohibition there

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<sup>1017</sup> Nicolas F. J. Eloy, *Af En Medicinsk, Så Wäl Som Politisk Fråga: Om Dägeliga Bruket at Dricka Caffé Är Nyttigt Eller Åtminstone Oskylldigt i Anseende Til Hälsan; Om Det Kan Förenas Med Statens Bästa, Eller Om Det i Alla Fall Är Skadeligt?*, trans. Unknown (Stockholm: Stolpiska Tryckeriet, 1783).; ‘Om Caffé’, *Fahlu Weckoblad*, 25 August 1787, 4 edition; ‘Om Caffé (Ur En Tysk Journal)’, *Stockholms Posten*, 15 May 1800, 109 edition.

<sup>1018</sup> Bo Peterson, “‘Yppighetens Nytt och Torftighets Fägnad’”, *Pamflettdebatten Om 1766 års överflödsförordning*, *Historisk Tidskrift*, no. 1 (1981). p. 16

<sup>1019</sup> Hedvig Elisabet Charlotta, *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok*, ed. Carl Carlson Bonde, vol. IV (P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1920). p. 28

<sup>1020</sup> ‘Sammanträde Protocoll, 7 Juni 1793’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, *Skrivelser från landshövdingar, Ämnesordnade handlingar*, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.25, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1021</sup> For early uses of surrogates see for example: ‘4 March 1768, H. J. Jung’ 1768, *Justitierevisionen, Besvärsoch Ansökningsmål, Utslagshandlingar*, 1768 Mars, No 1/2-32, Riksarkivet.; The first mention in a newspaper I have encountered occurred in *Götheborgs Allehanda*, 22 February 1782, 16 edition, p.3



was in the market Swedish Coffee with a Royal Privilege, prepared by Eric Ekerman, for a small price.”<sup>1022</sup> Later on, some of the surrogate producers were even issued with a privilege from the National Board of Trade. The spice dealer Carl Gustav Kihlstedt, for example, explained that his coffee differed little from the foreign one in taste and appearance, but was better for the health.<sup>1023</sup> Despite attempts to launch ‘Swedish coffee’ as a viable alternative to imported coffee, it never took off during this period. Moreover, coffee substitutions were also banned during the last two prohibition periods.<sup>1024</sup> The reason behind this was a 1768 Supreme Court case, which came to redefine coffee. H. J. Jung had been arrested when selling a substitution coffee in Stockholm made from burnt rye bread. During his trial, an apothecary had been called in to identify the beverage, which had also been confiscated. While the apothecary confirmed that Jung’s coffee was indeed brewed with rye bread rather than imported beans, the court decided that that all types of coffee should henceforth be considered equal in the eyes of the law. The reason for this was that the existence of alternatives made it too difficult for the police, and consequently for the court, to implement and uphold the prohibitions.<sup>1025</sup> Before the Jung case the courts had been forced to rely on oath swearing, as the accused was asked to swear an oath on whether the substance seized from them was ‘real’ coffee or not – an approach with certain shortcomings.<sup>1026</sup> The 1768 case thus set a new legislative landmark for coffee, as the definition of it expanded. It also explains the reasoning behind the royal decree issued six months after the 1794 coffee prohibition, which explicitly prohibited the use of Swedish Coffee.<sup>1027</sup>

When the fourth coffee ban was issued in 1799, the main reason was the bad state of the Swedish finances.<sup>1028</sup> On the occasion the British ambassador made the following observation:

I noticed the increasing embarrassment in the finances of this Country, occasioned in great part, by the very unfavourable balance of its Trade. I now

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<sup>1022</sup> *Inrikes Tidningar*, 5 July 1797, 78 edition, p.1

<sup>1023</sup> *Bihang till Dagligt Allehanda*, 1 February 1799, 27 edition; *Bihang till Dagligt Allehanda*, 18 April 1799, 88 edition, p. 8

<sup>1024</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til hämmande af Yppighet och Öfwerflöd. Gifwen Stockholms Slott den 1 Januarii 1794.’

<sup>1025</sup> 4 March 1768, H. J. Jung’ 1768, Justitierevisionen, Besvärs- och Ansökningsmål, Utslagshandlingar, 1768 Mars, No 1/2-32, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1026</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1027</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Och Riksens Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Förbud Emot Så Kallat Swenskt Caffé. Gifwen Stockholm Den 19 Junii 1794.’ (1794).

<sup>1028</sup> ‘Kong. Maj:ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Förnyande Af Det Uti Förordningen under Den 1 Januarii 1794 Stadgade Förbud Emot Caffés Införsel Och Bruk’ (1799).

learn that several persons, the most versed in Affairs of that nature, having been consulted by the Government, all the schemes proposed by them have been uniformly accompanied with the opinion of the necessity of convocing [sic] the States. The Court still averse to such a measure, and determined not to adopt untill [sic] the last extremity, has come to a resolution not only of prohibiting the importation of Coffee... but also of renewing the prohibition of all the foreign articles which were before declared to be contraband, under heavier ... penalties. ...The public is much alive to these regulations; but doubt seems to be entertained whether they will produce the desired effect.<sup>1029</sup>

In the ambassador's rendition, the coffee ban is portrayed as an emergency measure used by the government as an attempt to rescue its finances, without having to call in the Estates. Throughout the period the coffee prohibition and the sumptuary legislation at large appear to be tools to provide a quick fix, an immediate stop to the silver drainage, during particularly dire financial situations, with a minimum of political involvement.

Not everyone agreed that prohibition was the right way to improve financial affairs. In 1776, in his call to establish colonies, *Afhandling om Nyttan för Sverige af Handel och Nybyggen i Indierna och på Africa*, Ulric Nordensköld, a member of the Swedish Patriotic Society (Patriotiska Sällskapet), had already asked: “[are] Coffee, Sugar etc. necessary wares in Sweden? Why could they not be produced by a Swedish hand?” He thus suggested that coffee and sugar ought to be produced in Sweden's own colonies, which it ought to acquire.<sup>1030</sup> Johan Liljencrantz (1730-1815), the State Secretary of the Trade and Finance Office, was also a great proponent of acquiring colonies in order to combat the unfavourable trade balance, however the project to acquire colonies turned out to be a disappointment.<sup>1031</sup> In 1784, Sweden finally acquired the colony Saint Barthélemy from France, but, as the British ambassador noted, some Swedes were doubtful of the benefits of such a colony:

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<sup>1029</sup> ‘Letter to Lord Grenville, from David Hailes, Stockholm 3 May 1799’, FO 73, vol.27, British National Archives.

<sup>1030</sup> Ulric Nordensköld, *Afhandling Om Nyttan För Sverige Af Handel Och Nybyggen i Indierna Och På Africa* (Stockholm: Peter Hesselberg, 1776). p.3, See also Eric Schnakenbourg, ‘Sweden and the Atlantic: The Dynamism of Sweden's Colonial Projects in the Eighteenth Century.’, in *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity. Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology*, ed. Naum M. Nordin and et al. (New York: Springer, 2013).

<sup>1031</sup> Åke Essén, *Johan Liljencrantz Som Handelspolitiker: Studier i Sveriges Yttre Handelspolitik 1773-1786* (Lund: Gleerup, 1928). p.6

It is the opinion of the best informed people here, that for the present at least, Sweden will derive a very small advantage from this Island [St Barthélemy], considering that the whole of it's [sic] product consists only of about 20,000 Pound weight of Cotton, and tho' it be conveniently situated to carry on a smuggling Trade, no real and lasting profit could be expected from it but by planting Sugar.<sup>1032</sup>

Indeed, while St Barthélemy turned out to be a great contraband centre for sugar in the West Indies, it does not appear to have provided Sweden with any greater quantities of coffee.<sup>1033</sup> The 1793 committee charged with discussing the new sumptuary decree noted that the coffee importation from St Barthélemy remained small and, “as the [import] from this island far from corresponds to the recent Consumption, Coffee cannot be considered a plant [existing] in the Dominions of the Kingdom”.<sup>1034</sup> They argued that, as coffee could not be produced at a profit, it could not be considered a Swedish crop. Sweden was thus never able to support its own coffee needs through its colony, and instead had to rely on importation from the Netherlands throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>1035</sup>

Various solutions were suggested to deal with the problem of coffee consumption, but none of them were as enduring as the coffee ban. In contrast to the coffee legislation adopted in Denmark, a country that possessed exotic colonies with a strong agriculture, but where coffee drinking still came to be banned among the peasants in 1783, the Swedish coffee prohibitions were egalitarian.<sup>1036</sup> While distinctions between those who could and those who should not be drinking coffee were made in Swedish debates concerned with health effects, the Swedish bans eventually tarred everyone with the same brush. This stands in sharp contrast to many other types of goods in the sumptuary decrees, most prominently silk, which could only be worn by very specific social groups during the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>1037</sup> It confirms that the main motivation for the coffee prohibitions was to safeguard the economy, and that health

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<sup>1032</sup> ‘Letter to Marquis of Carmarthen, from Charles Keene, 31 Aug 1784, Stockholm’ 1784, FO 73, vol.4, British National Archives.

<sup>1033</sup> Schnakenbourg, ‘Sweden and the Atlantic: The Dynamism of Sweden’s Colonial Projects in the Eighteenth Century.’, pp.239-240f

<sup>1034</sup> ‘Kommittée Ang Förordning Mot Yppighet Och Överflöd, 1793’. ÅK 817, v. 1, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1035</sup> Leos Müller, ‘Kolonialprodukter i Sveriges Handel Och Konsumtionskultur, 1700–1800’, *Historisk Tidskrift* 124, no. 2 (2004). p.245

<sup>1036</sup> Annette Hoff, *Den Danske Kaffehistorie* (Højbjerg & Århus: Wormianum & Den Gamle By, 2015).p.108

<sup>1037</sup> ‘Påbud Angående En Consumtions-Accis Erläggande Af Thé, Caffé, Rök- Och Snus-Tobak, Samt Puder’ (1747).

and propriety arguments were used by the government to prop up this more vital motive. While some countries might have been able to remove their sumptuary decrees and instead shape their colonial policies and production to serve domestic tastes and demands, this was impossible for Sweden.<sup>1038</sup>

### *Coffee Smuggling to Sweden*

Despite the prohibitions, coffee could still enter the Swedish realm through smuggling. Swedish import statistics suggest that coffee prohibitions affected the *legal* import of coffee. (See Table 5.2.) Declines in import took place during the prohibition periods although, as can be seen in the 1790s, some import was still maintained, probably for entrepôt trade. During the prohibition periods there were also ‘coffee-clearances’, such as the re-export of stocks of coffee imported earlier in the 1790s.<sup>1039</sup> Nonetheless, despite prohibition the statistics show a considerable increase in coffee importation in the second half of the century, compared to the prohibition-free first half of the century.<sup>1040</sup> Not only is this indicative of the popularity of coffee, but also that it was spreading to new consumers. While the intention of the ban on coffee importation was to stop the import of coffee, its effect was to push the trade underground. Already by 1756 the Burgher Estate was observing that even a slight increase in the import tax generated smuggling.<sup>1041</sup> With the introduction of complete import and consumption bans, most coffee consumed in Sweden during the prohibition years arrived through illicit trade.<sup>1042</sup>

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<sup>1038</sup> Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment. Food and Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760*.p.94

<sup>1039</sup> In July 1799, 12 453 pounds of coffee beans (c. 5292.5 kg) were exported to Hamburg and a few months later an additional 3 457 pounds (1455kg) followed. See: '19 Aug 1799' & '30 Sep 1799', Allm. verks skrivelser till Kungl. Majt, Generaltulldirektionen, vol. 249, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1040</sup> Leos Müller, ‘Kolonialprodukter I Sveriges Handel Och Konsumtionskultur, 1700–1800’, *Historisk Tidskrift* 124, no. 2 (2004). p.241

<sup>1041</sup> *Borgarståndets Riksdagsprotokoll, 11 1755-1756, Första delen*, (Stockholm: Riksdagstryckeriet, 2013), p.359

<sup>1042</sup> A small reservation should be made about the continued retailing in coffee imported before the prohibition, which was also illegal to sell during the prohibition periods.

Table 5.2.



Source: *Historisk Statistik För Sverige. Del 3. Utrikeshandel 1732-1970* (Stockholm: Statistiska Centralbyrån, 1972).

While it is impossible to calculate the extent of illegal importation, some general observations can nevertheless be made. In the confiscation lists from the Maritime Customs Court, coffee beans appear as the second most common contraband ware, behind textiles. Looking at the 95 cases of smuggling being processed in the Stockholm Customs Court between June and December 1769, 47 of the confiscation hoards contained coffee.<sup>1043</sup> (See appendix 1.) In total 5 257 pounds (2 234 kg) of contraband coffee was seized during this period. The lifting of the coffee prohibition in September appears to have had a limited effect on the smuggling, as 26 confiscations took place during the prohibition period and 21 after. Most confiscations were small; the largest seizure was 1 000 pounds (425 kg), but the median seizure contained only 40 pounds (17 kg). In the same year, 1769, 5 537 pounds (2 368.5 kg) of coffee beans were confiscated in eight separate seizures in Gothenburg.<sup>1044</sup> These seizures were considerably larger than those in Stockholm, which is probably related to the fact that several of them were seized during house searches, a method which usually generated larger confiscations.

<sup>1043</sup> Database based on 1769 Customs Court Records, Stockholm. 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjtullen, Protokoll, A, v.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv..

<sup>1044</sup> Database based on 1769 Customs Court Records, Gothenburg. 'Dombok Göteborg', 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjtullen, Protokoll, A, v.22, Kommerskollegium, advokatfiskalskontoret, Rättsprotokoll, D. Sjtullsrätten Göteborg, Riksarkivet.

The 1769 Stockholm seizures indicate a pattern of smaller shipments, which appear to mainly have been private endeavours by sailors, mostly from Wismar (15 ships), Danzig (10), and various German provinces including Pillau and Kiel.<sup>1045</sup> Some insight from these small-scale business projects can be gained with the help of witness statements relating to a case from November 1769. On trial was the Belgian envoy's cook, Ellers, who was on trial for buying smuggled coffee. During the proceedings he described how he was first enticed to buy contraband coffee. Ellers had been visited in his kitchen and offered coffee for sale by a man who "by the looks of him was a sailor".<sup>1046</sup> The sailor charged him 6 D kmt per pound, a considerable mark-up in comparison to the Maritime Customs Court valuation of 1.5 D kmt per pound. As Ellers himself could neither pay nor collect the goods, he asked the Sugar Refinery Master Lyberg and his wife for help. They supplied both the money and a workman, Jonas Öberg, who was normally employed at the refinery, to assist in the transportation of the contraband. In court Öberg, who was new to Stockholm, recounted how he had gone to "a yellow house" between Östra Långgatan and Skeppsbron to collect the coffee beans. Furthermore, he recounted that upon his arrival he had met many people, all of whom appeared to be German sailors. Almost immediately after leaving the yellow house he was stopped and searched on Slottsbacken, just outside the Royal Castle.<sup>1047</sup> Öberg and Ellers' accounts support the idea that German sailors were involved in coffee smuggling in this period, and the fact that they were selling the beans independently suggests that the trade was not part of a larger scheme but organic.

A comparison between the Stockholm statistics from 1769 and the end of the century suggests a distinct shift in the composition of the trade. During the six-month period from June to December 1800, there were only 43 smuggling cases processed by the Maritime Customs Court in Stockholm.<sup>1048</sup> (See appendix 2.) Only 15 of these contained coffee, considerably fewer than in the earlier period. At the same time, however, the amount of coffee seized amounted to 10 619 pounds (4 513 kg), which is more than double that seized during the same period in 1769. This calculation excludes the several barrels of coffee confiscated from a sailor from St

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<sup>1045</sup> See Appendix 1, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, v.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>1046</sup> Ibid. pp. 665-666

<sup>1047</sup> Ibid. pp. 625-627, 665-666

<sup>1048</sup> 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1800, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.23, Stockholms Stadsarkiv

Ybes, which were never weighed.<sup>1049</sup> Extending the survey by another month (December), an additional 10 smuggling cases can be added, four of which concerned coffee smuggling, involving an additional 15 440 pounds (6 562 kg) of beans. The largest seizure took place on Christmas Eve and concerned a hoard of 13 050 pounds (c. 5 200 kg).<sup>1050</sup> In contrast to the earlier period, in other words, the seized contraband coffee stashes were fewer, but considerably larger. During the seven-month period from June to January 1800, around 26 060 pounds (11 075 kg) of beans were confiscated in Stockholm. This corresponds to roughly 60% of the entire Swedish import in 1755, the year prior to the first importation ban.<sup>1051</sup> As earlier noted, coffee surrogates also became illegal during the prohibition periods in the 1790s, and there are also seizures of substitutes recorded in the customs records, such as the chicory coffee seized in Kungälv in 1795, but these confiscations are insignificant compared to those of 'real' coffee.<sup>1052</sup>

It is impossible to say how large the actual contraband trade in coffee was, but the increasing quantities individually seized suggest that it had expanded between 1769 and 1800. Furthermore, it should be noted that there was no guarantee that the seized coffee would remain confiscated. For example, after a confiscation at Hagalund's Tavern in Stockholm in 1800, the confiscator absconded with the goods.<sup>1053</sup> The high black market value of the beans made them an attractive commodity. Even after seizure confiscated coffee had to be guarded in order to prevent theft and the reintroduction of the goods on the market.<sup>1054</sup> Thus the demand for coffee

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<sup>1049</sup> 23 Juli 1800, 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1800, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.23, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.p.398

<sup>1050</sup> This seizure was made on the estate Rosenvik in Kongl. Djurgården. At the time of the confiscation it is unclear who the owner of the property was, as various sources give different owners. The same thing can also be said for the coffee beans, and eventually it was decided that the owner was Johanna Elfving, daughter of the previous owner of Rosenvik and wife of the current owner Abraham Elfving, as discussed in Chapter Four. However, in the accounts and later also in the newspapers, she went under the pseudonym Jeanette Hedengren. Johanna confessed that the beans had arrived at the estate by sea and it is possible to speculate that it was her husband who had arranged the shipping from abroad. See: 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok'.1800, p.1029; Arvid Ahnfelt, *Ur Svenska Hofvets Och Aristokratiens Lif. Skildringar Hemtade i Arkiven På Säfstaholm, Eriksberg Och Sjöholm m. Fl. Enskilda Och Offentliga Samlingar*, vol. 3, 7 vols (Norrköping, 1880). p.216; 'Till Underdånigste Följe Af Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Förordning till Förekommade Af Lurendrägerier Och Tullförnillning Af d n 6 April 1799'.

<sup>1051</sup> 'Stora Siötulls Rättens Dombok', 1769, Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, v.22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv

<sup>1052</sup> '1795 Berättelse' Äldre centrala arkiv, Överdirektören vid sjötullen, Huvudarkiv Liggare över föredragna mål D1, vol.7, Riksarkivet. p.58

<sup>1053</sup> *Dagligt Allehanda*, 1 March 1800, 50 edition.

<sup>1054</sup> For other examples of stolen coffee contraband see f ex.: Engström, 'Rapport, Mahlung, 29 April 1803, Engström', 1803, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteternas fullmäktige, m. fl., kansliet, Resefiskaler, E9, vol.1, Riksarkivet.

appears to have remained high even during the prohibitions, and it was ultimately this demand that brought the prohibition periods to an end.

### *The Government Responds to the Contraband*

Along with the prohibitions came a slow realisation that such measures did not always fill their intended function. When the first prohibition was lifted in 1761 the reason given was “concerns for the kingdom”.<sup>1055</sup> To the legislators it was clear that the continued smuggling made hollow the prohibition. When the second prohibition was lifted in 1769, it was explained that “a large amount [of coffee beans] have illegally been introduced, to a significant loss for the Crown”.<sup>1056</sup> In other words, while prohibition did not hinder the introduction of coffee it did strip the state of the import duties, which meant that it was more financially damaging to retain the ban than to remove it.<sup>1057</sup>

Similar arguments can be observed during the later prohibition periods. In July 1795, a year before the lifting of the third prohibition, a pamphlet was issued by the government, urging that the coffee prohibition to be respected, and a month later the warning was also published in the press.<sup>1058</sup> Despite such attempts the coffee prohibition had to be revoked again in 1796. The proclamation that announced the cancellation of the coffee ban suggested that a change of circumstances no longer made the prohibition necessary. However, it was also stated that the taste for coffee in the country made it the most sought-after consumer good.<sup>1059</sup> Furthermore, a hope was expressed that if the ban were ever needed again the Swedish population would respect it. News of the cancellation was published widely and caused some to speculate about

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<sup>1055</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådige Förordning Angående Wißa Utrikes Warors Sa Wäl Lösfigwande Ifrån Förbud Til Införsel Som Beläggande Med Mindre Manufactur Fonds Och Andre Afgifter’ (1761).

<sup>1056</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Bref Til Hof-Rätterne, Commerce-Collegium Och Gen. Tull-Direction, at Förordningen Af d. 26 Julii 1766, Rörande Yppighets Och Öfwerflöds Hämmande, Tils Widare Mätte Hwila, i Den Del, Som Angår Införande Och Förtullande Af Caffé-Bönor i Riket, 23 Oct 1769’ (1769).

<sup>1057</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:ts Bref til Hof-Rätterne, Commerce-Collegium och Gen. Tull-Direction, at Förordningen af d. 26 Julii 1766, rörande Yppighets och Öfwerflöds hämmande, tils widare mätte hwila, i den del, som angår införande och Förtullande af Caffé-bönor i Riket, 23 Oct 1769’ (1769).

<sup>1058</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Warning, Emot Öfwerträdelser Af Deå Den 1 Januarii 1794 Utfärdade Förordning Til Hämmande Af Yppighet Och Öfwerflöd. Gifwen Drottningholms Slott Den 9 Julii 1795’ (1795), *Fahlu Weckoblad*, 22 August 1795, 23 edition.

<sup>1059</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Caffes Införande Och Nyttjande Tils Widare. Gifwen Stockholms Slott d 24 Nov 1796’ (1796).



the intent.<sup>1060</sup> Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739-1804), a Finnish university teacher and commentator, reflected:

The decree is so funnily phrased; it seems to me that its content is something like this: as you, my subjects, are such lousy dogs [*svinhundar*], that you cannot keep away from coffee, I will, for the sake of your hardened hearts, allow you this drink, for now...<sup>1061</sup>

When the final prohibition was lifted in April 1802, the announcement again referred to a “change of circumstances”.<sup>1062</sup> There is little doubt, however, that the extensive dislike for coffee prohibition played a part. In her diary, Duchess Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta noted: “[t]he king has in silence prepared some measures regarding the toll on certain goods. The importation of f.ex. coffee has been prohibited, but when hardly any single person can do without this beverage, coffee has been smuggled in, in large quantities.”<sup>1063</sup> She also observed that by allowing coffee to be imported, the State would at least gain some money from this trade.

The prohibitions against coffee were intended to safeguard the state finances. As Runefelt has pointed out, the consumption of coffee was seen as bad economy in a double sense, both for the individual and the state, leading to the ruin of the individual consumer and the public treasury.<sup>1064</sup> However, the continued smuggling and consumption of coffee meant that, instead of helping the state economy, prohibitions could be more financially damaging than no bans at all, since the state also lost out on potential import duties. The disconnect between motivation and reality also helps to explain why prohibitions were issued and withdrawn repeatedly during the eighteenth century.

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<sup>1060</sup> See for example ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Caffes Införande Och Nyttjande Tils Widare’, *Fahlu Weckoblad*, 10 December 1796, 43 edition; ‘Utdrag Af Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Caffes Införande Och Nyttjande Tils Widare’, *Göteborgs Tidningar*, 13 December 1796, 143 edition; ‘Utdrag Af Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Caffes Införande Och Nyttjande Tils Widare’, *Norrköpings Tidningar*, 21 December 1796, 101 edition; ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Caffès Införande Och Nyttjande Tils Widare’, *Carlscronas Weckoblad*, 17 December 1796, 50 edition.

<sup>1061</sup> Henrik Gabriel Porthans, Henrik Gabriel Porthans Bref till Mathias Calonius, vol. 1, *Skrifter Utgifna Af Svenska Literatursällskapet i Finland* (Helsinki: Tidnings- & Tryckeri-Aktiebolagets Tryckeri, 1886). pp.337-338

<sup>1062</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:Ts Nådiga Kungörelse Om Caffès Införsel Och Bruk. Gifwen Stockholms Slott Den 6 April 1802.’ (1802). Although it should be noted that there was a final coffee prohibition period 1817-1823, which lies outside of the scope of this thesis.

<sup>1063</sup> Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas Dagbok.*, ed. Cecilia af Klercker, vol. 7 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1936). p.172

<sup>1064</sup> Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*. p.223

## *Consumer Adoption and Adaption of Coffee*

What effect did the prohibitions have on consumers, and their ability to get their hands on the beans and consume coffee? How people went about acquiring coffee during the prohibition periods is a matter often overlooked in Swedish studies of these phases, and it deserves further exploration.<sup>1065</sup>

It appears to have been possible to buy coffee from a range of different retailers. One, probably less common, approach was to have an in-house smuggler. In her diary, Märta Helena Reenstierna explained that her son's former tutor Kindberg turned to coffee smuggling during the 1799 prohibition period. In February 1801, he turned up at Reenstierna's home, Årsta, after escaping from his residence where customs officers had just confiscated four sacks (*tunnsäckar*) of coffee beans. He was offered shelter at Årsta but only a few months later was involved in yet another failed smuggling venture, this time after hiding his contraband in a local barn, from where it was stolen.<sup>1066</sup> Having an in-house coffee smuggler was by no means necessary, however, as many grocers and spice dealers (*kryddkramhandlare*) appear to have indulged in the illicit trade during the prohibition periods. In the six-month period from October 1794 to March 1795, 29 cases of illegal coffee handling were reported by the Stockholm Police, 11 of these concerning illegal sales in grocery shops.<sup>1067</sup> Indeed, in the shop of spice dealer Joh. Gottfried Rothermund, on Fredsgatan 13, it was reported that the police had come across illegal coffee sales on at least two separate occasions in 1795.<sup>1068</sup> Retailing in contraband coffee was not unique to Stockholm, as indicated by a letter to J. A. Lindblom from 1805. In the letter, the sender, a certain Mr. Wallenberg, announced that “[t]omorrow I am going to travel out to the smuggling quarters [in Lund] in order to acquire Coffee for Her Grace”.<sup>1069</sup> While it is uncertain whether this referred to a particular area where contraband runners lived, or if it referred to a general area occupied by merchants – and thus was a comment on the corruption of that

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<sup>1065</sup> Due to the availability of material the following discussion looks primarily at material from the 1790s.

<sup>1066</sup> Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*, pp. 240, 246

<sup>1067</sup> ‘Diarium’, 1794, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, CIa1, vol 21, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, pp. 914, 935, 083, 995, 1019, & 1049; ‘Diarium’, 1795, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, CIa1, vol 22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. pp.23, 29, 61, 61, & 112

<sup>1068</sup> ‘Diarium’, 1795, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, CIa1, vol 22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, pp. 61, & 565

<sup>1069</sup> ‘Brev till J. A. Lindblom, Brev Nr 39, Lund 8 Augusti 1805’, 8 August 1805, Lindblomska samlingen, Lindblomska brevsamlingen, vol.15, Lindköpings stadsbibliotek.

profession – it nevertheless shows that spaces existed in which smuggled wares could be accessed relatively freely.<sup>1070</sup>

Coffee could be purchased in regular shops but also acquired from miscellaneous people, like the merchant widow Maria Alèn from Sundsvall, or the sailor's wife Lisa Wennman.<sup>1071</sup> It was also available, at least to some extent, in the countryside. In 1801, for example, the former travelling fiscal Nils Peter Högberg was prosecuted for the “transport and sale of Coffee beans in the provinces”.<sup>1072</sup> Coffee was thus available through a variety of different retailing channels in the 1790s, both regular and covert.

While most of the material concerning coffee consumption originates from Gothenburg and Stockholm, which are in focus here, it is worth mentioning that smaller towns were also partaking in the circulation and illegal consumption of coffee. An intriguing example of this can be found in a list of sumptuary crimes from Linköping submitted to the Customs Office. It lists 12 crimes recorded between 1799 and 1802, the majority of which refer to the years 1800 and 1801. Coffee takes pride of place in this report, and it is the focus in 10 of the 12 cases. Some of these cases concern considerable quantities, including the 900 pounds (c. 382.5 kg) of coffee seized from a coachman in the service of the Director Makell at Liljestad Manor in August of 1800, and the 814 pounds (c. 346 kg) taken from the peasant Anders Andersson in January 1801, or the 100 pounds (42 kg) confiscated from the high bailiff Ramklou from Kalmar around the same time.<sup>1073</sup> To put this in perspective, Linköping was in 1800 a town of 2 680 inhabitants, which means that the coffee seized solely in these three confiscations corresponded roughly to 0.3 kg per person.<sup>1074</sup> This indicates that coffee must have been available for purchase also in some of the larger Swedish towns outside of Stockholm and Gothenburg.

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<sup>1070</sup> Porthans relates that in Åbo someone had divided the burghers into three classes, the smugglers, the cheaters and the tracteurs - Henrik Gabriel Porthans, Henrik Gabriel Porthans Bref till Mathias Calonius, vol. 1, *Skrifter Utgifna Af Svenska Literatursällskapet I Finland*, p.291

<sup>1071</sup> ‘Diarium’, 1795, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, C1a1, vol 22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv, p. 539e f; ‘Diarium’, 1799, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, C1a1, vol 26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. p. 714

<sup>1072</sup> ‘Enligt Höglöflige Kongl. Commerce=Collegii Til Sköfdes Stads Accis=Rätt...’, *Inrikes Tidningar*, 1 September 1801, 95 edition.

<sup>1073</sup> ‘Linköping 1799-1802’, 1799-1803, Kommerskollegium, advokatfiskalskontoret, Årsberättelser luredrejerimål, Cb4, vol. 1, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1074</sup> This figure has been retrieved from <https://ortshistoria.se>, Accessed 11 October 2018

It was not only the import and purchase of coffee that was prohibited; brewing and drinking coffee were also banned. How did the consumers view the prohibitions and what social responses did they provoke? In 1768, a fictional letter was published in *Posten*, a satirical newspaper. In it ‘Sly-fox’ (Lurifax) writes to ‘Mr Sneaky’ (Bakslug),

My dear Brother, You ask a funny question...Do you mean that Coffee is not drunk as freely as before; Yes, you can smell it in the air. Never before in the ‘free time’ did you smell such a scent of coffee burners, all through the nights, on all streets. Sometimes it smells like fire, but this is only because they burn woollen patches, the smoke of which cancels out the coffee smell. God willing, the flavour [of coffee] was familiar when the aspiration was fired up in the Smuggler to profit from the [prohibitions]: Otherwise instead of the Smuggler, the Crown would have had an indisputable benefit. The all too low price of sugar teases the palette and the taste demands: The Law might say what it will...This is the History of Coffee; and it resembles many other stories.<sup>1075</sup>

The prohibitions did not just affect how coffee was acquired but also how, and in what context, it was consumed. As previously discussed, coffee came to play an increasingly important role in a specific type of primarily female social interaction in the second half of the eighteenth century. Coffee thus became tightly interlinked with the idea of femininity and was often described in these terms in the poems and pamphlets published during periods of prohibition. In the ironic poem named ‘Elegy when the Goddess Cofféa Fled from the Swedish Lands the 31 July 1794’ (*Sorge-tal Då Gudinnan Cofféa Flygtade ur Svea Land den 31 Julii 1794*), performed at a spa resort in Stockholm in 1794, just after the prohibition was introduced, coffee was equated with female godliness. It should, however, be noted that people of both sexes were present to lament her departure. In one particularly interesting stanza, the fall of the goddess is related to her selfishness and her associations with, and favouritism of, smugglers.<sup>1076</sup> This highlights the popular perception of the relationship between coffee and smuggling. Along with the gender aspect, there is a class dimension to the poem. It repeatedly laments that Cofféa has

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<sup>1075</sup> Lurifax (Fictional), ‘Til Herr Bakslug’, *Posten*, 20 August 1768. p.77

<sup>1076</sup> C.J. Hellman, *Sorge-Tal Då Gudinnan Cofféa Flygtade Ur Svea Land Den 31 Julii 1794. Hället Vid Kongl. Djurgårds Helso-Frunnen I En Talrik Samling Af Bägge Könen, Samma Dag* (Stockholm: And Jacobson Nordström, 1794). p.17

taken the clothes and food from the needy and reduced their lives to suffering. This poem was part of an interactive performance in commemoration of coffee that took place on 31<sup>st</sup> July 1794 at the Royal Djurgård's Spa (*Helso Brunn*). This was not the only event of its kind, and the disappearance of coffee in the 1790s was lamented, or greeted, at various staged rituals. In Åbo, in the Finnish provinces, H.G. Porthan observed that, "The new sumptuary decree still occupies the people's attention, we will see about the observance especially when certain Articles are concerned. ... no article is so much opposed as the Coffee-prohibition."<sup>1077</sup> Nevertheless, a newspaper reported that just outside of Åbo, the ban was celebrated and people of all varieties had been invited to Sundholm's Manor on 31<sup>st</sup> July, where coffee had been served until the whole store had been emptied. Music and the firing of cannons accompanied the event, which ended with the coffee equipment being ceremoniously covered in crape and buried in the ground to the sound of eight cannon salutes.<sup>1078</sup>

Similar events took place again in 1799, just before the fourth prohibition. A particularly tantalising story, told by Jonas af Nordin and reported in his court chronicle, illustrates how high culture appears to have been summoned to arms in the lamentation for coffee. He describes how a solemn farewell and burial procession for coffee utensils was to be performed outside of Stockholm. In order to make the scene more touching and imposing the "musical art- and perspective painter Mr Abbé Vogler [would] in his inimitable orchestration perform a, for the grievous topic, well suited lamentation music".<sup>1079</sup> Vogler's music was to be divided up into three parts: the sound of the bubbling coffee's goodbye, the ladies' goodbye to the delicious coffee, and the ladies and the coffee's mumbling, shrieking and crying during the burial. The tickets for this spectacle would be free but solely handed to the "amateurs of coffee and the real connoisseurs of musical paintings."<sup>1080</sup> These types of events suggest that coffee was not only a component of genteel society, but that the prohibitions gave rise to new cultural expressions and gathering points. Coffee became something to gather around, as the bans were grieved and lamented as part of a refined culture. It is telling that only the "amateurs of coffee", or the lovers of coffee, were welcome to this display of musical invention. Af Nordin further notes, "[o]ur present so called coffeeists (*kaffetister*) and anti-coffeeists (*antikaffetister*) are daily

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<sup>1077</sup> Henrik Gabriel Porthans, Henrik Gabriel Porthans Bref till Mathias Calonius, vol. 1, *Skrifter Utgifna Af Svenska Literatursällskapet I Finland* (Helsinki: Tidnings- & Tryckeri-Aktiebolagets Tryckeri, 1886). p. 61

<sup>1078</sup> "-", *Stockholms Posten*, 26 August 1794, 193 edition, p.4.

<sup>1079</sup> Arvid Ahnfelt, *Ur Svenska Hofvets Och Aristokratiens Lif. Skildringar Hemtade I Arkiven På Säfstaholm, Eriksberg Och Sjöholm M. Fl. Enskilda Och Offentliga Samlingar*, vol. 3, p.120

<sup>1080</sup> Ahnfelt, p.120; Unfortunately, it has so far not been possible to confirm if this spectacular event took place.

passionately arguing for or against this soon to be eclipsed beverage's harmfulness or excellency, it is everywhere an almost daily discussion topic now, in all our larger and smaller circles and societies."<sup>1081</sup> Whether celebrating or lamenting the bans, it is clear that the events triggered a highly emotional and engaged response. This type of social interaction lay the foundations for the rejectionist culture that developed around coffee and which kept challenging the prohibitions through continued coffee consumption.

#### Coffee-Drinking Diarists

Rejection and protest, or acceptance and rejoicing (visual, audible and performed) were part of the female social interaction surrounding the prohibitions. Smaller, more intimate ceremonies were also performed at home, as revealed by Märta Helena Reenstierna's diary. Reenstierna, a keen coffee drinker, wrote on the day of the prohibition:

Thursday. Helen's name day and the last moment of the beloved Coffee in the Swedish World. In the afternoon we drank Coffee from the small beautiful and new Coffee pot for the first and the last time down in the Solitude [a small grove on her estate], when some verses authored by Molin about Helen and the Coffee were also read.<sup>1082</sup>

These elaborate ceremonies appear to have been intended to mark a definite end to coffee consumption, but instead these ritualistic farewells were sometimes followed by transgression rather than abstention. As Christina Juliana Wargetin noted in her diary “[f]rom this day coffee was forbidden but was used secretly everywhere until its use was liberated 2.5 years later by the accession of the king”.<sup>1083</sup> Reenstierna's diary reveals that she kept drinking coffee during the prohibition although she masked the consumption behind coded terms such as ‘bonbon’, and ‘bean drink’. Initially she chose to drink her coffee alone, and even out in the grounds to avoid scents giving rise to suspicion.<sup>1084</sup> At the same time, tea replaced coffee as the drink of choice during social gatherings.<sup>1085</sup> A similar phenomenon can be observed in the diary of Lisa

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<sup>1081</sup> Ahnfelt, p.120

<sup>1082</sup> Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*, p. 75

<sup>1083</sup> 1 Aug 1794, ‘Christina Juliana Wargetin dagbok’ 1794, in

<https://stockholmskällan.stockholm.se/post/10064>, *Stockholmskällan*, Accessed 11 December 2018,

<sup>1084</sup> Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*, p. 75

<sup>1085</sup> Reenstierna, see for example pp. 75, 100, 107, 111, 120 for coffee and 86, 117 for tea.

Mullberg, as tea immediately replaced coffee at social occasions.<sup>1086</sup> Mullberg lamented though: “Mrs Hamm:st arrived with her girls, and stayed until the evening. We spoke of coffee the whole day but never got a cup, my oh my”.<sup>1087</sup> In both of these diaries it is, however, possible to discern a growing presence of people from outside the household as they consumed their coffee, presumably as the knowledge of who else disobeyed the decree spread. Mullberg thus started to consume coffee with some of her friends again, and on her 54<sup>th</sup> birthday she relates drinking several cups of coffee while making preparations for an upcoming wedding with a group of friends.<sup>1088</sup> Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelm also notes that she was drinking coffee while helping to prepare a bride for her wedding.<sup>1089</sup> It is possible that such festive occasions were popularly conceived to be exempted from the ban, although no such exemption was made in the prohibitions.

When the ban was renewed in 1799 Märta Helena Reenstierna no longer bothered to use code words but instead could simply announce: “Left home at 3 and drank coffee with Mr Vesterstråle”.<sup>1090</sup> During Pentecost in 1801 she related that she attended a large gathering, which included the Royal Secretary Schoerbing and his wife, at the home of tradesman Mazza, where both coffee and punch were available in abundance.<sup>1091</sup> Coffee appears to have retained its role as a signifier of polite company, and to an extent it maintained its position as the beverage of choice at least in some ‘open’ social situations, despite the prohibitions. This can be observed also in the diary of Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelm. In June 1799, Munsterhjelm related that she drank coffee “for the very last time”.<sup>1092</sup> Nevertheless, by the following spring she was consuming coffee again, although only in small domestic settings. During the summer months Munsterhjelm travelled to a spa town to take the waters and there coffee drinking featured as a regular and important part of social interaction.<sup>1093</sup> In these diary accounts it is possible to observe the tentative transgressions during the early prohibitions being replaced by an

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<sup>1086</sup> 15, 23 Aug, 14, 18 Sep 1, 22 Oct, 1794 ‘Fru Lisa Mullbergs Dagbok’ 1794, Ämnessamlingen, Dagböcker, vol.9, Nordiska Museets Arkiv.

<sup>1087</sup> 23 Sep 1794, ‘Fru Lisa Mullbergs Dagbok’.

<sup>1088</sup> 15 Dec 1794, 19 Feb 1795 and 22 Aug 1796, ‘Fru Lisa Mullbergs Dagbok’.

<sup>1089</sup> Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelm, *Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelm's Dagböcker 1799-1801 Dagbok*, ed. Bo Lönnqvist (Helsingfors: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1970). p.81

<sup>1090</sup> Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*.p. 199

<sup>1091</sup> Reenstierna.p. 248; ‘handelsman Mazza’, probably refers to the Italian trader Joseph Mazza, who was based in Rosenadlerska huset on Mynttorget together with J. A. Théel, discussed in the previous chapter.

<sup>1092</sup> Munsterhjelm, *Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelm's Dagböcker 1799-1801 Dagbok*.p. 29

<sup>1093</sup> Munsterhjelm. pp. 71, 72, & 73

increasingly brazen coffee consumption in the later period, as illegal coffee consumption moved from open fields and private chambers to reception parlours.

Munsterhjelm also recounts that coffee was served to the servants at various festive occasions. On her father's name day, for example, coffee was served to the maids of the household.<sup>1094</sup> The practice of supplying coffee to the staff during festivities was not unique for the Munsterhjelm household, as Reenstierna relates similar occurrences in her diary. She notes that coffee, wine, and claret were served to her maids at a ball she organised in January 1802.<sup>1095</sup> Runefelt has argued that coffee was an important instrument of urban and rural refined culture, and played a central role in genteel social interaction.<sup>1096</sup> However, as the diaries indicate, it also appears as a tool to create trust and show appreciation for people of *other* classes, including servants. Coffee thus appears to have been a means to create cohesion not just within social groups but also between them. This use of coffee would have been particularly poignant during the prohibition periods, when joint coffee consumption also meant engaging in an illegal pursuit together. A particularly potent example of coffee being used as a way to create trust and acceptance comes from another entry in Reenstierna's diary from 1802.

I baked gingerbread, wheat- and ryebread and then I travelled to Town to a Sea-Captain by the name Klingström, where I bought *Mousselin* for a dress, and carelessly I had not brought Money but I was allowed to take the fabric home. I was also given Coffee and they showed me an indescribable politeness, for a person completely unknown to them.<sup>1097</sup>

Coffee appears here as a means not only to show respect, but also to signify a shared trust between consumer and vendor. Klingström was likely captain Carl Johan Klingström, who sailed extensively between London and Stockholm between 1785 and 1801 and often brought back goods, including manufactured goods.<sup>1098</sup> While the diaries offer good insight into how the

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<sup>1094</sup> Munsterhjelm. p.84

<sup>1095</sup> Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*, p.264

<sup>1096</sup> Leif Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*, pp. 146-147; Christer Ahlberger and Magnus Mörner, 'Betydelsen Av Några Latinamerikanska Produkter För Sverige Före 1810', *Historisk Tidskrift*, no. 1 (1993). p. 102

<sup>1097</sup> Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*.p. 264

<sup>1098</sup> Klingström's trips are recorded both in the newspapers: '-'. *Dagligt Allehanda*, 25 June 1788, '-'. *Inrikes Tidningar*, 3 December 1792 and in the Sound Toll Records, <http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/names.php?order=&volg=1&lname=Klingstr%C3%B8m>, accessed 12 Dec 2018 which record 34 passages for Klingström, 32 of which were between London and Stockholm.



consumption of coffee developed during the prohibition periods and how consumers reacted to the prohibitions, they only shed light on one particular type of consumer group, the landed gentry, and their servants.

#### Police Convictions

In order to get to other types of consumers it is necessary to consult other sources, such as the criminal records. In the legislation a shift occurred between the 1760s and the 1790s which suggests that coffee drinking reached new consumer groups. In 1766 the fine for coffee consumption was 100 Dal smt, a considerable sum.<sup>1099</sup> By the 1790s the crime had been divided into three parts, each with a different fine; to drink coffee was punished with a fine of 2 Rdr, the punishment for making or preparing coffee was 10 Rdr, however the fine was doubled to 20 Rdr, if you aimed to sell the beverage. Intriguingly, the prohibition also featured the introduction of triple fines for those consuming coffee in ‘open social gatherings’ (*öppna samqwäm*).<sup>1100</sup> The sale of contraband coffee beans, which was categorised as a smuggling crime rather than a consumer crime, was punished by a considerably higher fine, particularly after 1799 when the minimum fine for smuggling was set to 50 Rdr. While the regulations in the 1790s were considerably more complex, it should not distract from the stark contrast in coffee drinking fines, which had decreased drastically between the 1760s and 1790s.<sup>1101</sup> While most monetary fines for smuggling were increasing, those for coffee consumption were plummeting. It could be interpreted as an indication that the perceived seriousness of the crime had decreased, but might also suggest that the fines were collected from poorer culprits.

This interpretation is supported by a study of the people charged with the consumption of illegal coffee. Coffee consumption cases from the 1760s can be difficult to track down as they were administered by local courts and unlike in the 1790s there are no police records to consult. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court cases from 1768 to 1770 (where cases can be easily found), are mainly concerned with the matter of definitions: what should be covered by the coffee ban; who was covered by the ban.<sup>1102</sup> However, one Supreme Court case from 1770 does offer some

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<sup>1099</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, emot Yppighet och Öfwerflöd, Gifwen Stockholm i Råd-Cammaren then 26 Junii 1766’ (1766).

<sup>1100</sup> ‘Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Hämmande af Yppighet och Öfwerflöd. Gifwen Stockholms Slott den 1 Januarii 1794.’ (1794) §10

<sup>1101</sup> 100 Dal smt in 1766 corresponds roughly to 33 Rdr in 1799. See:

<http://historicalstatistics.org/Jamforelsepris.htm>, Accessed 12 December 2018

<sup>1102</sup> ‘14 Jan Inga Brita Stake & Eva Lisa Christernin’, 1768, Justitierevisionen, Besvärs- och Ansökningsmål, Utslagshandlingar, 1768 January, no 4, Riksarkivet; ‘4 March 1768, H. J. Jung’, 1768, Justitierevisionen,

insight into why the fines might have been reduced. This case relates to Britta Svensdotter, who had been convicted for coffee drinking in Varberg some years previously, but appealed the conviction. In her description of the events she confessed to drinking coffee but objected to the harsh penalty.

[I was] sentenced to a 100 D smt fine, because I one single time for 4 öre bought and made coffee. Most merciful King! I confess my transgression... I have numerous children and have fallen into the gravest poverty which means that I could only pay the considerable fines given to me through physical labour, which due to my weak health and constitution I could not endure, but would lead to death.<sup>1103</sup>

Unfortunately, the Supreme Court verdict is missing, but Britta Svensdotter's plea points to the difficulty of enforcing such a harsh punishment for drinking coffee as more, and poorer, consumer groups turned to coffee drinking. With an increasing number of poorer consumers, the fines were found to be disproportionate and unsuited to the task. In the 1790s, when convictions are more accessible, it is precisely this group of poor women that features most frequently in the police material and the newspapers.

During the third prohibition period of 1794 to 1796 there were attempts at modernising the punishment for people sentenced for sumptuary crimes by introducing the practice of publishing their names in the newspapers. Unlike the later attempts to systematically name and shame smugglers, these sumptuary shamings appear not to have taken off and lists appear only in two newspapers, in 1794 and 1795.<sup>1104</sup> While the lists contained all kinds of sumptuary crimes, coffee convictions dominate. In the first list all eight people named had been convicted of various coffee-related crimes (brewing, selling, and drinking). Similarly, in 1795, 14 out of the 16 convictions listed related to coffee crimes, although a closer study of the Stockholm police

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Besvär- och Ansökningsmål, Utslagshandlingar, 1768 Mars, No 1/2-32, Riksarkivet; '28 Jun 1769, Jean Rajmond Laurier', 1769, Justitierevisionen, Besvär- och Ansökningsmål, Utslagshandlingar, 1769 June, no 19, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1103</sup> '21 Feb 1770, Britta Svensdotter & Börje Svenson', 1770, Justitierevisionen, Besvär- och Ansökningsmål, Utslagshandlingar, 1770 Feb, no 45, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1104</sup> 'Förteckning På Personer Som Förbrutit Sig Mot Yppighet Och Överflöds Förordningen', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 8 November 1794, 256 edition.; 'Förteckning På de Personer, Hvilka Hos Öfwer=Ståthållare=Embetet I Stockholm Ytterligare Blifwit Sakfällde För Förbrytelser Emot Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning Emot Yppighet Och Öfwerflöd Af D. 1 Januarii 1794', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 1 August 1795, 172 edition.

records reveals that these published lists are far from complete and that many more were charged for coffee consumption. Before moving on to Stockholm it is however worthwhile to mention that this pattern of coffee consumers' convictions was not unique to Stockholm. In the list of sumptuary crimes from Linköping there are 10 coffee crimes. All of the culprits were female, mainly the wives of workers, including the wife of a coachman, a calico printer and a sailor.<sup>1105</sup>

As previously noted, 29 cases of illegal coffee consumption can be identified in the Stockholm police records during the six-month period from October 1794 to March 1795. Although the coffee prohibition applied from 1<sup>st</sup> September 1794, there are no cases recorded prior to October. Whether this was due to caution among the consumers or a delay in the practical implementation of the decree is uncertain. In 18 of the cases poor, primarily old, women were convicted of making or drinking coffee, while only one case contained a male offender.<sup>1106</sup> Of these 18 women, two were so poor that they were unable to pay their fines and were sent to prison for 8 and 12 days respectively on bread and water.<sup>1107</sup> Normally, the offences were discovered when the policemen were out on patrol or on some errand and walked into a house as the act of brewing or of drinking coffee took place.<sup>1108</sup> However, on a couple of occasions they were also tipped off by people wishing to cause harm. One woman was, for example, reported to the police after hitting someone over the arm with a coffeepot.<sup>1109</sup> The houses of the poorer inhabitants, who appear frequently in the police records, seem to have been relatively open as many coffee consumers were caught in the act – neither protected by the privacy of their homes, nor forewarned by the the police announcing their arrival.

The extent to which coffee consumption took place within a social context is evident in the police records. During the first six months of the fourth prohibition period, from August 1799 to January 1800, 20 coffee cases were recorded. Notably, out of the 14 cases that involved consumption rather than sale, ten involved the presence of a second offender. Normally this was a female acquaintance, presumably invited for coffee, but in one case the husband was

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<sup>1105</sup> 'Linköping 1799-1802'. 1799-1803, Kommerskollegium, advokatfiskalskontoret, Årsberättelser luredrejerimål, Cb4, vol. 1, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1106</sup> 'Diarium', 1794, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, C1a1, vol 21, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.; 'Diarium', 1795, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, C1a1, vol 22, Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<sup>1107</sup> 'Diarium', 1794. p. 900 ; 'Diarium', 1795. p.28

<sup>1108</sup> 'Diarium', 1794. pp. 898, 921, 938, 991, & 1051

<sup>1109</sup> 'Diarium' 1794. p. 837; 'Diarium', 1795. p.57

present and in another the offender's maid.<sup>1110</sup> Two women were even caught twice, the second time as the police officers came to inform them about the court's verdict in their previous trial.<sup>1111</sup> A husband and wife informed the police that they often made coffee and tried to bribe them to escape fines.<sup>1112</sup> In many of these cases coffee appears as part of a social intercourse and it is obvious that coffee was important for all manner of women in their social interactions, from high to low, at least in the city. It is noteworthy that these coffee meetings were never given the triple fine reserved for 'open social gatherings', which indicates that the *tête-à-tête* of poor urban women had a different status to the polite elite social gatherings, including in the eyes of the law. Although they tried to conceal their activities from the police when they could, coffee was nevertheless commonly and rather openly used, and it could be acquired in many shops and taverns.<sup>1113</sup>

Poor women are overrepresented in the police records, which contain a few middling consumers but no elite coffee consumers at all. The records also show that coffee was consumed by a wider range of consumers than those found in the elite diaries and that it had an important social role also for poorer consumers, even during the prohibition periods.

While the police records indicate that there was a wide consumer base for contraband coffee, they also show that the prohibitions were inconsistently enforced, something that gave rise to commentary early on. In 1770, for instance, one anonymous commentator complained:

A Law without Execution is more damaging than no Law. ... one could think, that during the past years, the Distinguished and Rich have been the most Law-abiding: for all my knowledge no one of a higher estate has been accused of a crime against the Sumptuary Decrees. ...Could the rich and great have been abstaining from Drinking Coffee and fine Wines? If they should err, their crime in all regards will have been more damaging, because they are Examples and can cause provocation; Does it not indicate a clear preferential treatment that they have gotten away unpunished? ...everyone knows how

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<sup>1110</sup> 'Diarium', 1799, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, CIa1, vol 26, Stockholms Stadsarkiv; 'Diarium', 1800, Överståthållarämbetet För Polisärenden 1, Äldre poliskammaren, Diarium, CIa1, vol 27, Stockholms Stadsarkiv. pp.987, 995, 1005

<sup>1111</sup> 'Diarium', 1799, pp. 807 & 987

<sup>1112</sup> 'Diarium'. 1799, p. 806

<sup>1113</sup> 'Diarium', 1794. pp. 914, 921, 935, 983, 995, 1019, 1049

difficult, not to say impossible it is to sue the whole gentry. The accusing party is such a small person, what can he accomplish, even if he wanted to when he has the entire Public against him... When the execution is quite difficult and hazardous, the Prohibitions should be cancelled.<sup>1114</sup>

Even though the legislation was theoretically egalitarian, its enforcement was not. Whether this was due to difficulties in enforcing legislation among the higher echelons of society, as suggested in the extract above, or whether it conformed to ideas, identified by Runefelt, according to which social standing determined whether someone's consumer behaviours were correct or not is uncertain.

This chapter has primarily focused on urban coffee-drinking habits. While there is some evidence that rural dwellers were coming in contact with coffee, it stems mainly from the diaries of the higher-ranking individuals discussed above. In the 1793 parish discussions about luxury mentions of coffee are rare, although not completely absent. In Folkärna, Dalarna, and Eds and Högsäter parishes in Dalsland, for example, the parish vestry promised to lay off the use of coffee, which was bad for the health.<sup>1115</sup> Some parishes explained that coffee was unknown in their regions, but the majority of parishes made no mention of coffee at all.<sup>1116</sup> Meanwhile, in Idensalmi in northern Savolax it was observed that coffee was becoming more common and that it would be sensible to prohibit it, although weddings, baptisms and catechetical meetings should be excluded from the ban.<sup>1117</sup> Coffee drinking thus appears to have been mainly, but by no means exclusively, a town phenomenon at this point. More prominently, coffee appears to have played an important part in meetings and social gatherings, whether these were between two individuals or in larger crowds, rich or poor. While it is possible that individual coffee consumption is underrepresented in diaries and police records, as the social gatherings were more notable events (known to more people and thus suffering a greater risk of exposure), the

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<sup>1114</sup> ‘-’, *Stockholms Oordentligheter*, vol.8 1770, pp.59-60

<sup>1115</sup> ‘Folkärna’ 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 28; ‘Eds, Håblo, Töftedal and Nössemark Socken’, 1792, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.27, Riksarkivet; ‘Högsäter’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, Ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol.27, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1116</sup> Among those who mention that it does not exist are: ‘Alingsås’, 1793, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, Ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 27, Riksarkivet; ‘Lena, Långared, Fullestad, Bergstena’, 1792, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kungl. Maj:t, Skrivelser från landshövdingar, Ämnesordnade handlingar, ang. Överflöd och yppighet, C, vol. 27, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1117</sup> ‘Idensalmi’, 1794, Kollegiers m fl , landshövdingars skrivelser till Kungl. Majt. Ämnesordnade, Handlingar ang. överflöd och yppighet, C. vol. 29, Riksarkivet.

social dimension of coffee consumption is undeniable. In the diaries, as well as in the trial and police records, the presence of multiple consumers or culprits indicate that coffee was something to gather around, and to enjoy together. For many consumers, drinking coffee appears to have been a social rather than a solitary act, even during the prohibition periods.

### The Club

While poor women clearly make up the main group of offenders in the Stockholm police records, they were not the only group to be reprimanded for their transgressions. In order to illustrate that poor consumers were not the sole target when the prohibitions were enforced it is useful to look at an event that took place in Stockholm in 1794. At a club in Stockholm, originally founded by foreign ministers in 1785, coffee could still be drunk by the members, who were both foreign representatives and Swedish nationals.<sup>1118</sup> It “[enjoyed] the immunities generally attached to the Diplomatic Character.”<sup>1119</sup> However, according to the British diplomat Henry John Spencer (1770-1795): “the general use of Coffee at the Club....was too publicly talked of and even toasted of in the presence of the Duke Regent”.<sup>1120</sup> The Duke Regent expressed his displeasure that Swedish nationals in particular were disobeying his wishes and he thus forbade the *maître d'hôtel* in the service of the ministers “to give Coffee to any person whatever at the Club, and threatened to shut the doors [of the Club] in case of disobedience”.<sup>1121</sup> The French Ambassador noted that this would probably be the end of the Club.<sup>1122</sup> While the Spanish, Portuguese, and British Ambassadors handed in a protest to the government, Spencer went so far as to request to be removed from his post in Sweden.<sup>1123</sup> As this episode shows, elite immunity from the Swedish laws only stretched so far and depended on goodwill from the establishment, in this case the Duke Regent. It indicates that even though the elite strove to find ways to circumvent the coffee prohibition, and the police were unwilling to charge them, the intention was nevertheless for the prohibitions to be universal, and that transgression could be interpreted as a critique of the state and the ruler.

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<sup>1118</sup> ‘Letter, n. 3, to Buchot Commissaire Des Relations Exterieur de La Republique, from J. Gummer, Stockholm 10 Brumaire, L’an 3 de La Republique’, 1794, Correspondance Consulaire, Stockholm 1792-Septembre 1799, vol. 3, La Courneuve, Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris. p.115

<sup>1119</sup> ‘Letter to Lord Grenville, from Henry John Spencer, Stockholm 31st Oct 1794’, FO 73, vol.18, British National Archives.

<sup>1120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1122</sup> ‘Letter, n. 3, to Buchot Commissaire Des Relations Exterieur de La Republique, from J. Gummer, Stockholm 10 Brumaire, L’an 3 de La Republique’.

<sup>1123</sup> ‘Letter to Lord Grenville, from Henry John Spencer, Stockholm 31st Oct 1794’.

## Concluding Remarks on Coffee

From the state's perspective, the primary problem with coffee was its exotic origin. Despite attempts to acquire colonies where it could be grown, Sweden never managed to produce coffee and was thus dependent on other countries for its coffee supply. Such trade fitted poorly with the protectionist agenda of self-sufficiency and independence. The import of coffee was seen to drain the country of money, and prohibitions against the import and consumption of coffee were introduced, particularly during periods of financial crisis, to alleviate the situation. Smuggling and the continued consumer demand made the prohibitions unworkable, however, and the government eventually cancelled the prohibitions at least at least partly so as to generate some income from import duties.

The continued illegal consumption of coffee, meanwhile, is a sign of its important role as a social glue and an individual luxury, and it seems likely that coffee's illegal status actually helped to build social trust and cement relationships, and probably also amplified its associations with exclusivity, as it was harder to acquire during the prohibition periods, although far from impossible. The fact that meeting across a cup of coffee meant being implicated in a crime together did not lessen its symbolic significance. At the same time, while the act of consuming coffee helped to create social cohesion within a social class, it was also a way of appreciating and creating trust between servants and masters. It might thus be useful to revisit Runefelt's idea that the coffee prohibitions were ignored due to coffee's crucial role in urban polite society, and explore what happens to that conclusion if we consider a larger multiplicity of offenders and social contexts.<sup>1124</sup>

Depending on which sources are consulted, the answer as to who consumed coffee during the prohibitions looks very different. Diaries show that elite women maintained their consumption, police records demonstrate that poorer women joined them in their appreciation for the beverage, and letters make it clear that men hidden away in clubs found enjoyment in coffee, in breach of the ban. Together these sources suggest that by the 1790s coffee consumption was something that people at most levels of society indulged in, particularly in towns. Unsurprisingly, the sources also point to a particular prominence of female consumers, which confirms the image conveyed in previous scholarship. While coffee appears to have had distinct

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<sup>1124</sup> Leif Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången*, pp.218-219

elite connotations in the 1760s, during the earlier prohibitions and riksdag discussions, this association appears weaker during the later prohibitions. This indicates not merely that coffee was spreading to new consumers but also that its definition and associations were changing, or perhaps rather expanding, as consumers drank it in an array of new social contexts. Emma Spary has suggested that it was precisely the novelty of coffee which made it possible to redefine its meaning and allowed different groups to lay claim to it.<sup>1125</sup>

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When considering the reception and consumption of contraband, it is crucial to consider the characteristics of the goods themselves, how they fit into the economy and social sphere of the destination market, as well as their eventual adaptation and use. This is exemplified by the cases of worsteds and coffee, two very different types of wares with somewhat overlapping consumer markets.

Both worsteds and coffee were brought to Sweden as a result of the globalization of trade and they were both prohibited on economic grounds. The economic grounds differed, however. While worsted was banned to protect a budding industry, coffee was prohibited to stem the flow of silver out of the kingdom for an unnecessary luxury good. Worsteds were in themselves not seen as problematic, but rather were considered to be materials suitable for Swedish consumers. The consumption of worsteds *per se* was thus not problematic, although it was clearly preferred that consumers would buy Swedish worsteds. Coffee, and its Swedish substitute ‘Swedish Coffee’, by contrast, never came to gain the same acceptance.

The different reasons for prohibiting worsteds and coffee are also reflected in the legislators’ reactions to trespass the law. Whereas contraband worsteds were used to prop up the Swedish market, coffee smuggling led to the dissolution of the prohibition itself, in order to at least salvage some state revenue. The difference lies in the expectations and the consequences of the prohibitions. In terms of worsteds, there was clearly an idea that the Swedish industry could eventually become competitive and be able to supply the domestic market; until then some additional, albeit illegally supplied textiles were not considered overly problematic. By contrast, coffee could never be supplied from within the country and therefore there was no real ‘solution’ to the issue, as import substitution was implausible. Attempts to stifle the very consumption of coffee recurred through the period, but when they failed the decrees were

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<sup>1125</sup> Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment. Food and Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760*.p.94



simply dropped. This was also related to the fact that coffee, along with sugar, wine and spirits, were the goods that contributed most to customs revenue at this time; they were the type of import wares Adam Smith referred to as “appropriate targets of taxation.”<sup>1126</sup> Contraband also affected the consumers and how they thought about their own consumption. The presence of foreign worsteds alerted the consumers to alternative cheaper options of higher quality than the textiles produced by domestic manufacturers. The illegality of coffee affected its consumption in a different way, as it appears to have been the basis of reinforcing relationships and trust. Further studies of other types of contraband would probably tell different stories, as different goods have their own specific roles in society. The cargoes hidden under the captain’s floorboards thus feed into multiple narratives of material cultural exchange and development.

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<sup>1126</sup> Quoted in Häggqvist, ‘On the Ocean of Protectionism. The Structure of Swedish Tariffs and Trade 1780-1830’, p.152



## Chapter 6

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### Smuggling and the Perpetual Trade War

The second half of the eighteenth century was a period of commercial rivalry between the European states, which led to a boom in global trade and evolving manufacturing industries. It also inspired states to take control over their domestic markets, to strengthen the commercial nation, and to make it impervious to unwanted foreign competition. This could involve the erection of trade barriers and the introduction of high import duties. Trade barriers were not the only move available, however, with previous research having shown that smuggling was actively used by rival states to counteract the effects of protectionist legislation during a war. As trade appears to have been perceived as a perpetual war, this chapter will not restrict its study to wartime smuggling but will look at it in times of both war and peace. So far this thesis has explored how smuggling manifested in Sweden and the various effects it had on domestic policy, society, and culture. In this final chapter the attention turns back to where it started, inter-state commercial competition, in order to consider how smuggling in and out of Sweden appears from an international perspective. Studying how Sweden was perceived by other states is all the more important in light of recent scholarship on the role and impact of small states on international trade competition.<sup>1127</sup> Three states in particular will be the focus of this chapter: Sweden, Great Britain and France. For all three states, it is difficult to comprehend their perceptions of the contraband trade without first understanding how they were involved in commercial competition.

Commercial rivalry did not just lead to the expansion of global trade and the pursuit of overseas colonies, but also had a more local European dimension. In 1994, Christopher J. French insisted upon the importance of remembering intra-European trade, that is the trade between European powers.<sup>1128</sup> More recent studies have also stressed the need to focus on short-distance trade when

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<sup>1127</sup> For a longer discussion see Chapter 1.

<sup>1128</sup> Christopher J. French, 'London's Overseas Trade with Europe 1700-1775', *Journal of European Economic History* 23, no. 3 (Winter 1994). pp.476 & 482

considering European economic expansion.<sup>1129</sup> Trade competition was thus not only ongoing in faraway places, but also in the direct trade between European states.

Great Britain and Sweden were very significant trading partners in the middle of the eighteenth century, although as will be discussed in this chapter the two countries had a strained relationship despite this extensive trade, something that hindered British opportunities for export to Sweden.<sup>1130</sup> Instead, Sweden's true loyalties lay with their old ally, France, another important trading partner, particularly from the 1770s onwards.<sup>1131</sup> At the same time, Great Britain and France were themselves involved in a particularly energetic trade rivalry.<sup>1132</sup> On both sides, the trade conflict was perceived as "a kind of warfare" or a "*guerre perpétuelle*".<sup>1133</sup> This Anglo-French trade rivalry also came to affect their various trading partners, amongst them Sweden.

Import regulation played an important role in intra-European trade competition. Whereas historians for a long time considered France to be a protectionist country par excellence, often in contrast to 'free trade' Britain, historian John Nye has nuanced this picture, arguing that Britain was an even more protectionist country than France due to its high import duties.<sup>1134</sup> Breaking down the idea of a distinction between duties put in place to generate revenue and duties for protecting domestic industry, Nye argues that it is necessary to look closer at the

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<sup>1129</sup> Patrick Verley, 'From One International Trade to Another: Changes in European Trade during the Nineteenth Century,' in *A Deus Ex Machina Revisited: Atlantic Colonial Trade and European Economic Development*, ed. P.C. Emmer, O. Pétré-Grenouilleau, and Jessica V. Roitman (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006); Gérard Bouëdec, 'Intra-European Coastal Shipping from 1400 to 1900: A Long-Forgotten Sector of Development,' in *A Deus Ex Machina Revisited: Atlantic Colonial Trade and European Economic Development*, ed. P.C. Emmer, O. Pétré-Grenouilleau, and Jessica V. Roitman (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006); Crouzet, 'Britain's Exports and Their Markets, 1701-1913'.

<sup>1130</sup> For Sweden's extensive trade with Britain see for example: Bertil Andersson, *Göteborgs Historia. Näringsliv Och Samhällsutveckling*, p. 196

<sup>1131</sup> Pourchasse, 'Trade between France and Sweden in the Eighteenth Century' pp.100-102

<sup>1132</sup> Charles M Andrews, 'Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry, 1700-1750: The Western Phase I,' *The American Historical Review* 20, no. 3 (April 1915); Coleman, 'Politics and Economics in the Age of Anne: The Case of the Anglo-French Trade Treaty of 1713'; John V. C. Nye, *War, Wine, and Taxes: The Political Economy of Anglo-French Trade, 1689-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); François Crouzet, *La Guerre Économique Franco-Anglaise Au XVIIIe Siècle* (Fayard, 2008); On commercial war see also: Edmond Silberner, *La guerre dans la pensée économique du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1939), pp. 117–18.; and more recently Ronald Findlay and Kevin H. O'Rourke, *Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 238–62; François Crouzet, *La guerre économique franco-anglaise au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2008), pp. 1–2; John Shovlin, 'War and Peace: Trade, International Competition, and Political Economy,' in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, ed. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>1133</sup> Coleman, 'Politics and Economics in the Age of Anne: The Case of the Anglo-French Trade Treaty of 1713' p.204

<sup>1134</sup> John Vincent Nye, 'The Myth of Free Trade Britain and Fortress France: Tariffs and Trade in the Nineteenth Century,' *Journal of Economic History* 51 (1991), 23–46; Nye, *War, Wine, and Taxes*.

motivations behind duties in order to understand how they fit into the ‘national’ economic strategy. If interpreted in this manner, all three countries that will be discussed in this chapter tried, in various ways, to protect their domestic markets from unwanted foreign influences through tariffs and prohibitions.

Sweden had in the 1780s joined the League of Armed Neutrality, which was set up as a way to sidestep the Anglo-French battle for hegemony.<sup>1135</sup> While this contributed to making Sweden an important shipping nation, Leos Müller has shown that Swedish carriers never managed to exploit neutrality fully due to Sweden’s relative isolation in international politics and its lack of “commercial interdependencies”.<sup>1136</sup> However, Sweden was still able to profit from the neutral trade during short periods.<sup>1137</sup> During the regency period of 1792 to 1796, between the murder of Gustav III and the coronation of his son Gustav IV Adolph, Swedish politics was infused with a certain level of pragmatism. This pragmatism developed into support for neutrality under the guidance of regency guardian Gustav Adolf Reuterholm (1756-1813), based on the fact that it had previously been profitable for Sweden during the 1780s.<sup>1138</sup> The recurring policy of Swedish neutrality is important to keep in mind when approaching its trade relationships, particularly during times of war, although as will be seen, neutrality in form did not always correspond to neutrality in content. Thus, while Sweden was in theory a neutral actor connecting two nations interlocked in a war, pre-existing alliances and associations affected how trade was conducted and what was seen as appropriate commercial behaviour.

Sweden was directly involved in European inter-state commercial competition, through both its neutral and normal trade activities. Meanwhile, Swedish trade also had an indirect effect on commercial competition due to the produce it exported: iron, tar, and timber materials used to expand manufacturing industries and trading fleets in other countries, and herring to feed the slave plantations in the Americas.<sup>1139</sup> These were goods that in various ways could be used to strengthen commercial competitiveness.

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<sup>1135</sup> Müller, ‘Swedish Merchant Shipping in Troubled Times: The French Revolutionary Wars and Sweden’s Neutrality 1793–1801’ *The International Journal of Maritime History* 28, no. 1 (2016).p.154

<sup>1136</sup> Müller, ‘Sweden’s Neutral Trade under Gustav III: The Ideal of Commercial Independence under the Predicament of Political Isolation’. p.160

<sup>1137</sup> Müller. ‘Sweden’s Neutral Trade under Gustav III’, p.160 ; Müller, ‘Swedish Merchant Shipping in Troubled Times’,p.148

<sup>1138</sup> Müller, ‘Swedish Merchant Shipping in Troubled Times’, p.154

<sup>1139</sup> For the importance of good quality iron in British manufacturing see: Maxine Berg, ‘In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century,’ *Past & Present* 182, no. 1 (February 1, 2004),.pp.131-132, and for a longer discussion about Swedish iron and the industrialisation in Britain see: B Boëthius, ‘Swedish Iron and Steel, 1600-1955,’ *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 6, no. 2 (1958).

Two branches of intra-European trade were becoming progressively more important in the eighteenth century: the export of industrial goods and the re-export of colonial products.<sup>1140</sup> These two types of merchandise were pursued through the improvement of manufacturing and the expansion of trade, and they were met in rival states with protectionist legislation and state monopolies. While the hope was that this would enable states to control their own manufacturing trade and import of global wares, the effect was to push these trades underground.<sup>1141</sup>

A prime example of this, drawn from existing research, is the re-export trade in tea. During the eighteenth century Britain tried to control the import of tea into the country through charging all but the English East India Company staggeringly high import duties, reaching as high as 119%.<sup>1142</sup> Meanwhile, Leos Müller has shown that tea, imported on royal chartered Swedish East India Company ships, was re-exported from Sweden to Britain illicitly to avoid the duties.<sup>1143</sup> This smuggling trade in tea to Britain was not merely an inter-state affair designed to expand the profits of the East India Company, however, but it involved various actors with private business interests. Both Derek Janes and Hanna Hodacs have in their studies of the illegal re-export of tea from Gothenburg highlighted the vital role that individual actors and networks played in enabling the smuggling of East India goods.<sup>1144</sup> Such observations stress the

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particularly pp.151-157; For a discussion on the tar trade see: H. S. K. Kent, *War and Trade in Northern Seas* p.82 ; For the importance of Swedish timber for the French fleet see: Pouchasse, 'Trade between France and Sweden in the Eighteenth Century' p.93; Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce. The Swedish Consular Service and Long-Distance Shipping, 1720-1815*.p.183

<sup>1140</sup>For the trade in industrial goods see for example: Maxine Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury', p.142; Crouzet, 'Britain's Exports and Their Markets, 1701-1913'.; For the re-export of colonial goods see: Jacob M. Price, 'What Did Merchants Do? Reflections on British Overseas Trade, 1660-1790,' *Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 2 (June 1989), p. 277; French, 'London's Overseas Trade with Europe 1700-1775.', p. 476; Rönnbäck, 'Balancing the Baltic Trade: Colonial Commodities in the Trade on the Baltic, 1773-1856' p.198; Häggqvist, 'On the Ocean of Protectionism. The Structure of Swedish Tariffs and Trade 1780-1830'., p.132

<sup>1141</sup> See for example: Mui and Mui, 'Smuggling and the British Tea Trade before 1784'; Mui and Mui, *The Management of Monopoly. A Study of the East India Company's Conduct of Its Tea Trade, 1784-1833*.; Müller, 'The Swedish East India Trade and International Markets: Re-Exports of Teas, 1731-1813'. ; Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*.pp. 355-358; Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling, and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760*., see particularly pp.136-138 & 53-55

<sup>1142</sup> Mui and Mui, 'Smuggling and the British Tea Trade before 1784'; Mui and Mui, *The Management of Monopoly. A Study of the East India Company's Conduct of Its Tea Trade, 1784-1833*.; Müller, 'The Swedish East India Trade and International Markets: Re-Exports of Teas, 1731-1813'. See also: Janes, 'Fine Gottenburgh Teas: The Import and Distribution of Smuggled Tea in Scotland and the North of England c. 1750-1780'; Janes, '...Of Which a Contraband Trade Makes the Basis of Their Profit': Tea Smuggling in the North Sea c.1750-1780'; Hodacs, 'Keeping It in the Family – the Swedish East India Company and the Irvine-Rose Family, 1733 to 1770'.

<sup>1143</sup> Müller, 'The Swedish East India Trade and International Markets: Re-Exports of Teas, 1731-1813'.

<sup>1144</sup> Janes, 'Fine Gottenburgh Teas: The Import and Distribution of Smuggled Tea in Scotland and the North of England c. 1750-1780'; Derek Janes, *The business of smuggling in SE Scotland c.1740-1796*., PhD, University

importance of considering the actors involved in imparting information on, and realising, the inter-state commercial competition.

One such crucial actor plays a central role in this chapter – the consul. The consul, who has received increasing attention from historians, was not only responsible for the transmission of knowledge about local trade conditions, but was also involved in the practical aspects of trade in the foreign harbour where he was posted.<sup>1145</sup> While the consuls were state actors, they were not solely motivated by state interests, but also by personal business concerns. This could affect their consular work, and as Samuel Fettah has argued, the depiction of smuggling in consular correspondence cannot be seen as a pure reflection of a political reality, but also as influenced by the consul's private interests. The consul could have personal reasons for overstating or downplaying smuggling in his reports.<sup>1146</sup> Recent research has shown that the consuls themselves often played an active role in the contraband trade and its concealment, either for their own profit or on behalf of the state.<sup>1147</sup> This did not mean that all consuls were involved in the contraband trade; indeed as Anne Mezin has shown, the consul could also distance himself from smuggling in order to promote better trade relations between his 'original' and his 'host' country.<sup>1148</sup> The consul's descriptions of, and interactions with, smuggling should therefore be considered not merely as a reflection of state interests but also on an individual and situational

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of Exeter, forthcoming; Hanna Hodac, 'Keeping it in the family – the Swedish East India Company and the Irvine-Rose family, 1733 to 1770', (forthcoming)

<sup>1145</sup> See for example: Samuel Fettah, 'Frontières et Fraudes. Les Consuls de France et La Contrebande Dans Leport Franc De Livourne à l'époque Du Risorgimento', *Revue d'histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 2, no. 48 (2001).; M. Aglietti, M. Herrero Sánchez, F. Zamora Rodríguez (eds), *Los cónsules de extranjeros en la Edad Moderna y a principios de la Edad Contemporanea*, Ediciones Doce Calles, Madrid 2013; S. Marzagalli (ed), *Les consuls en Méditerranée, agents d'information*, Garnier, Paris 2015; Le Gouic, 'Le Consulat de France à Cadix Face Aux Réformes Carolines (1765-1788)'.; For Sweden see Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce. The Swedish Consular Service and Long-Distance Shipping, 1720-1815*; Makko and Müller, *I Främmande Hamn. Den Svenska Och Svensk-Norska Konsultjänsten 1700-1985*.

<sup>1146</sup> Samuel Fettah, 'Frontières et Fraudes. Les Consuls de France et La Contrebande Dans Leport Franc De Livourne à l'époque Du Risorgimento', *Revue d'histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 2, no. 48 (2001).p.151

<sup>1147</sup> Ernst Pijning, 'Passive Resistance: Portuguese Diplomacy of Contraband Trade during King John V's Reign (1706-1750)', *Arquipélago História* 2, no. II : 1997. Fettah, 'Frontières et Fraudes. Les Consuls de France et La Contrebande Dans Leport Franc DeLivourne à l'époque Du Risorgimento'. ; M. Aglietti, M. Herrero Sánchez, F. Zamora Rodríguez (eds.), *Los cónsules de extranjeros en la Edad Moderna y a principios de la Edad Contemporanea*, (Madrid: Ediciones Doce Calles, 2013); S. Marzagalli (ed.), *Les consuls en Méditerranée, agents d'information*, (Paris: Garnier, 2015) ; Olivier Le Gouic, 'Le Consulat de France à Cadix Face Aux Réformes Carolines (1765-1788)', in *De l'utilité Commerciale Des Consuls. L'institution Consulaire et Les Marchands Dans Le Monde Méditerranéen (XVIIe-XXe Siècle)*, ed. Arnaud Bartolomei et al., Collection de l'École Française de Rome (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2017), <http://books.openedition.org/efr/3318>.

<sup>1148</sup> Anne Mézin, 'La Défense Des Intérêts Des Négociants Français de Cadix Dans La Première Moitié Du XVIIIe Siècle d'après La Correspondance Ministérielle', in *De l'utilité Commerciale Des Consuls. L'institution Consulaire et Les Marchands Dans Le Monde Méditerranéen (XVIIe-XXe Siècle)*, ed. Arnaud Bartolomei et al., Collection de l'École Française de Rome (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2017).

basis.

In the light of this discussion the following questions present themselves: How was smuggling in and out of Sweden perceived, by representatives of the Swedish government, and by Sweden's trading partners and how does it fit into the inter-state commercial narrative? Who were the transnational state actors who provided information about smuggling and how did they influence what information was passed on?

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In order to study British and French perceptions of smuggling in Sweden, this chapter looks at consular and ambassadorial correspondence. A significant part of the material for this chapter is derived from British and French foreign office correspondence. The British sources include State Papers (1772-1777), and Foreign Office Papers (1781, 1784-1789, 1791, 1794, 1796, and 1799) from the National Archives in Kew, London. The French material derives from a shorter time span, which is due to the fact that there were some obstacles to obtaining pre-1793 material. This is in part related to the moving of Foreign Affairs to the Département des affaires étrangères in 1793, from its previous home in La Marine. Today the pre-1793 material is housed in a different archive and was deemed too fragile for me to consult. This has left a gap in the research for which I have tried to compensate by using memorandum and correspondence summaries from later periods, particularly Mémoires et Documents, Suède, vol.6, 1632-1814 and Mémoires et Documents, Suède, vol.38, 1778-1808, from La Courneuve, Archives des Affaires étrangères, Paris. In addition, Swedish sources have been used, including trade commission records from the Swedish National Archives, along with various correspondence concerning trade. Some extracts from published trade manuals have also been included in order to help highlight attitudes and features of the trade between these three countries.

The initial section of this chapter deals with British descriptions of the contraband trade to and from Sweden. The attention then turns to French accounts of the contraband trade. These initial sections look at what aspects the ambassadorial and consular correspondence to the countries concerned highlight in regards to smuggling in Sweden and how the contraband trade is framed. This is followed by a discussion of the international smuggling trade from a Swedish perspective that looks at how smuggling *from* Sweden was considered. Finally, the chapter



looks closer at two consuls posted in Gothenburg, the British Thomas Erskine (1746-1828) and the French Jean Antoine Fournier (1761-1824) and their interactions with smuggling.

## Friends, Foes, and Trading Partners

### *The British Perspective – Pursuing the Fickle Trade Balance*

The country of Sweden has no considerable manufactures, and yet they have a very great trade, and are very strong in shipping; the reason is, the produce of their land, notwithstanding its northern situation and barren soil, is an immense treasure, and in a great measure, makes up for their want of manufactures. ... Their mines of copper and iron are very valuable indeed, ... and which will support Sweden, perhaps, to the end of time. ... Without this, Sweden... would not be able, on any terms, to import such great quantities of the manufactures and product of other countries as they now do: had they not copper and iron to pay with, they could never import such quantities of wine and brandy, wrought silks, and fine linens, from France and Holland; or of broad cloth, fine stuffs, wrought iron and brass, clock-work and watch-work, with other things, from England; but their copper and iron supply them with all things, and the ballance is always very much in their favour .... The interest of England, in the trade of Sweden, may be computed by the necessity of their commodities to us, and the vent of our's [sic] there. <sup>1149</sup>

Sweden and Britain had a longstanding trade relationship which became more intensive during the eighteenth century as exports to Britain came to dominate the Swedish trade. Two trade treaties signed in 1654 and 1661 respectively laid the foundations for these trade relations. The 1661 bilateral treaty in particular remained important into the 1790s.<sup>1150</sup> During the early eighteenth century the British cemented their control of the Baltic and North Sea, replacing the

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<sup>1149</sup> Malachy Postlethwayt et al., *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce : With Large Additions and Improvements, Adapting the Same to the Present State of British Affairs in America, since the Last Treaty of Peace Made in the Year 1763. With Great Variety of New Remarks and Illustrations Incorporated throughout the Whole: Together with Everything Essential That Is Contained in Savary's Dictionary; Also, All the Material Laws of Trade and Navigation Relating to These Kingdoms, and the Customs and Usages to Which All Traders Are Subject*, 4th ed., vol. 2 (London: Printed for W. Strahan, J. and F. Rivington ..., 1774), 'Sweden'

<sup>1150</sup> Müller, 'Swedish Merchant Shipping in Troubled Times'.p.152

former Dutch dominance.<sup>1151</sup> While Britain was establishing its control over the north, Sweden started to develop trade protection against Britain. Heavy duties had already been placed on the importation of British woollen goods in the 1680s. This was followed by the Swedish Navigation Act of 1724, which caused further disturbance as it regulated the shipping in Sweden's favour.<sup>1152</sup> Further duties were placed on manufactured goods in 1726-7 and 1734-5, but this was only the beginning of an increasingly restrictive import policy which naturally came to affect Britain in particular, as Sweden's greatest export partner. By the middle of the century nearly all British manufactures were prohibited for import in Sweden.<sup>1153</sup> Meanwhile, 88% of all Swedish iron export was sold to Britain. There was a decline from the middle of the century, but in 1800, 78% of the Swedish iron export still went to the UK.<sup>1154</sup> This naturally caused a highly irregular trade balance for both countries. Britain was suffering from a particularly poor trade balance against Sweden and discussed taking action against the Swedes at several points, but nothing was ever realised.<sup>1155</sup> At the end of the Seven Years' War Britain started to focus increasingly on iron imports from Russia and on developing iron extraction in the colonies but they never fully managed to escape their need for the high quality Swedish bar-iron.<sup>1156</sup> The end of the Seven Years' War also put a lot of the long-distance trade in exotic goods previously controlled by the French in the hands of the British. This included colonial exports such as sugar; coffee; spices such as ginger, pepper, and pimento; and dyes like indigo and cochineal – all wares in demand in Sweden.<sup>1157</sup> Regardless, the trade imbalance persisted and historian Michael Roberts has pointed out that in 1764 the adverse trade balance against Britain might have been as high as £224 000.<sup>1158</sup> During the 1760s Sir John Goodricke, the British Ambassador to Sweden, led an attempt aimed at securing a better trade treaty with Sweden which, it was hoped, would alleviate the situation. While Goodricke had hoped that with the Caps taking power in the Swedish riksdag in 1765/66 it might be possible to push through a more liberal trade policy, he quickly came to realise that this would be more difficult than he had originally envisioned.<sup>1159</sup> Sweden had for a long time been dependent on subsidies

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<sup>1151</sup> Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires. England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770*.pp.286-287

<sup>1152</sup> The Swedish Navigation Act was modelled on earlier British Navigation Acts.

<sup>1153</sup> Kent, *War and Trade in Northern Seas*.pp.4-5

<sup>1154</sup> Bertil Andersson, *Göteborgs Historia*. p. 196

<sup>1155</sup> Kent, *War and Trade in Northern Seas*.p.11; Michael Roberts, *British Diplomacy and Swedish Politics, 1758-1773*.p.127

<sup>1156</sup> Kent, *War and Trade in Northern Seas*.p.11

<sup>1157</sup> Kent.pp.101-102

<sup>1158</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy and Swedish Politics, 1758-1773*.p.128

<sup>1159</sup> Roberts.pp.129 & 135

from France which it would certainly lose if it negotiated a more favourable trade treaty with Britain. In order to secure a better trade deal with Sweden it would therefore be necessary for Britain to pay subsidies in lieu of those from France, something they were unwilling to do. The British further requested a deregulation of the protectionist legislation in place to protect the Swedish manufacturers. The British trade treaty was an unattractive offer to the Cap Party, who were struggling to remain in power while trying to impose their deflationary politics. Indeed, the financial situation made such a deal as good as impossible.<sup>1160</sup> This was not for lack of trying on Goodricke's part, and in 1765 he wrote back to Britain that his attempts to improve the British trade conditions had led to the situation whereby "[a]ll the French party and half of ours think I have a secret Design to ruin all their Manufactures."<sup>1161</sup> Roberts has argued that both for Goodricke and Lord Sandwich, who was in charge of the trade negotiations on the British side, the trade treaty was important primarily as a political tool rather than in its own right.<sup>1162</sup> While the liberation of regulation and a strengthening of Britain's position in Swedish trade might be desirable, particularly for Goodricke as a British ambassador in Sweden, it might not, strictly speaking, have been necessary, as what was lost in legal trade could at least in part be regained through smuggling.<sup>1163</sup> As Adam Smith would comment a few years later, the reduction of legal trade did not mean an end to trade but only that it was pushed underground.<sup>1164</sup>

#### The Inestimable Smuggling

The underground trade, particularly in British manufactured goods, can increasingly be observed in reports about the state of trade submitted to the British government by diplomats and ambassadors in Sweden. In 1773, two years after the introduction of Sweden's thus-far tightest import restrictions, a questionnaire was issued to Sir Goodricke about the role of British trade in the country. He was first asked to outline a general estimate of the imports and exports to Sweden and what articles they consisted of. In his reply, Goodricke observed:

The British Imports to Sweden are not to be learnt from any papers or accounts that can be procured in Sweden, because their [sic] manufactures which are prohibited

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<sup>1160</sup> Roberts.p.136

<sup>1161</sup> SP 95, vol.106, 251, British National Archives, cited in Roberts.p.135

<sup>1162</sup> Roberts.pp.129-136, & 257

<sup>1163</sup> Kent, *War and Trade in Northern Seas*.pp.106-109; Roberts, *British Diplomacy and Swedish Politics, 1758-1773*.p.128

<sup>1164</sup> Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, (1776), Book 3, Chapter 4 quoted in Coleman, 'Politics and Economics in the Age of Anne: The Case of the Anglo-French Trade Treaty of 1713'. p.187

are nevertheless Imported privately by Smuglers [sic] to a very great Value, In so much that a thousand Dozen of readymade Shirts were Smuggled into Gottenburg [sic] in one year (from Ireland) and the Swedish Ships that go from London to Stockholm are always full of contraband Goods!<sup>1165</sup>

He also took the opportunity to give reassurances that British merchandise that did not interfere with Swedish industry would soon be received with more openness, a promise that never came to fruition. In addition Goodricke assured the Government that “French Manufactures are equally prohibited with ours.”<sup>1166</sup> Goodricke was not the only one to supply the government with this type of report, as later in the same year Charles Tullman, the secretary of the legation, submitted several documents outlining the conditions of trade on the request of Henry Howard, 12<sup>th</sup> earl of Suffolk, usually referred to in the correspondence as Lord Suffolk.<sup>1167</sup> A little later in the period the consuls also started to include notes about the smuggling trade in their regular reports. In a letter from 20<sup>th</sup> January 1788 to the Marquis of Carmarthen, Thomas Erskine, consul at Gothenburg, pointed out some of the difficulties in performing his duties:

In complijance [sic] with your Lord-ships commands conveyed to me in your letter of the 18th... I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship an Account of the quantity of manufactured Tobacco imported from Great Britain to Gothenburg & Marstrand being the whole of the Imports in my district. Your Lordship will find it exceedingly inconsiderable, but I must at the same time observe that the duties being very high here, occasions a large quantity to be smuggled into the Country...<sup>1168</sup>

John Smith, secretary to Thomas Erskine, observed similarly in 1794, “Into this Country quantities [sic] of all kinds of British goods, or goods extended from Great Brittain [sic] are clandestinely landid [sic].”<sup>1169</sup> Five years later, after being named consul, Smith again noted that “Very considerable quantities of British Manufactures are annually consumed in this Country” but as they were illegal to import they were “clandestinely landid [sic].”<sup>1170</sup> These reports about

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<sup>1165</sup> ‘Heads of Observation Posed to Sr John Goodricke with Answers’, August 1773. SP 95, vol. 123, British National Archives, p. 178

<sup>1166</sup> Ibid. p. 178b

<sup>1167</sup> Ibid. p.198; Lord Suffolk was Secretary of State for the Northern Department 1771-1779

<sup>1168</sup> ‘Consular Report, Gothenburg 23 Jan 1788’ 1788., FO 73, vol.7, British National Archives.

<sup>1169</sup> ‘Letter to J.B. Burges, from Mr J. Smith, Gothenburg, 23 Sep 1794’, 1794, FO 73, vol.18, British National Archives.

<sup>1170</sup> ‘Consular Report, Gothenburg 26 Jan 1799’, 1799, FO 73, vol.27, British National Archives.

the British Swedish contraband trade are vague. They repeatedly stressed that, while smuggling was ongoing and might aid British trade, it was simply not possible to give a coherent image of the trade between the two nations and their trade balances: although the consuls were tasked with reporting on Britain's trade to Sweden, the ongoing smuggling made it impossible to give accurate assessments. According to the consuls this should inspire hope that the trade balance was not as bad as the official figures indicated.

#### Neutral Carriers during Times of War

Smuggling was not just something that could serve the British state, but it could also work to undermine it. This becomes particularly evident in times of war. In 1775, as the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) started to make itself felt, the consular reports from Sweden took on a new focus. At this time Sweden came to play an important role as a neutral carrier and a trader.<sup>1171</sup> Meanwhile, the British increasingly started to identify naval stores on these Swedish vessels as contraband of war. Leos Müller has therefore noted that “the Swedes became...innocent victims of the crackdown on abusive neutral trade by British maritime law.”<sup>1172</sup> The British attack on Swedish neutral vessels was most likely due to the fact that some British representatives suspected that the loyalties of the Swedes lay with their enemies – France, and the American colonies. As early as 7<sup>th</sup> February 1775, Lord Suffolk was writing to the new ambassador in Stockholm, Lewis De Visme, to instruct him to inform the Swedish ministers, but primarily the Swedish merchants, that any ship on route to the colonies suspected of carrying contraband of war would be seized.<sup>1173</sup> Espionage was also conducted on merchants based in Sweden who were suspected of being involved in illegal trade to the colonies.<sup>1174</sup> It was also at this point that Thomas Erskine came to be appointed consul in Gothenburg, charged with providing continuous reporting on the contraband trade to the colonies out of Gothenburg and Marstrand. The contraband trade between the free port of Marstrand and the colonies caused the British government particular consternation. ‘Contraband of war’ was vaguely defined in the 1661 trade treaty, a feature that Müller has argued was used by the British to justify seizures of a multitude of Swedish ships and goods.<sup>1175</sup> The line between neutral shipping

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<sup>1171</sup> Müller, ‘Sweden’s Neutral Trade under Gustav III’, p.144

<sup>1172</sup> Müller.p.146

<sup>1173</sup> ‘Letter to De Visme, from Lord Suffolk, St James’s 7th Feb 1775’, 1775, SP 95, vol. 125, British National Archives.

<sup>1174</sup> ‘Letter from Lord Suffolk to De Vismes, St James’s, 28th Feb 1775’, 1775, SP 95, vol.125, British National Archives. This concerns Mr Orr, a British merchant who was under particular scrutiny as evidence indicated that he had ingratiated himself with the Swedish court and was selling war contraband to the colonies.

<sup>1175</sup> Müller, ‘Sweden’s Neutral Trade under Gustav III’.pp. 146 & 148

and smuggling was to a certain extent a matter of definition, and many British state actors chose not to define it in Sweden's favour. This highlights how Sweden's perceived allegiances directly affected its treatment as a neutral carrier, although as will be discussed below, these suspicions against the 'Swedish' ships were not wholly unfounded.

### The Challenges of Tea Smuggling

During peacetime there was another type of smuggling from Sweden which preoccupied the British Government, namely the dispersion of illegal goods into the British Isles and particularly, albeit not exclusively, tea. This trade has received some attention from historians in recent years.<sup>1176</sup> Much material was published on the contraband trade in tea to Britain during the eighteenth century, with most of the leaflets and books identifying Sweden, and particularly Gothenburg, as the source of these illicit leaves.<sup>1177</sup> The Swedish contraband trade in tea had long been seen as a considerable threat to British trade in the foreign office reports, which claimed that it exacerbated the trade imbalance. In 1763 Sir John Goodricke himself calculated the illegal tea export from Sweden to Britain and the Channel Islands to be 800 000 pounds.<sup>1178</sup> The illicit "damnified teas imported from Gottenburgh" thus cost the British state considerable sums in lost revenue while stimulating the trade in the Swedish port city.<sup>1179</sup> Gothenburg and Marstrand were central in tea smuggling, as important transit harbours. As will be discussed in the following sections, these harbours were also understood as such by Britain's rivals, both French and Swedish. The reports on tea smuggling in Gothenburg will be further explored in the section on Thomas Erskine, however, for now it is enough to note that when the tea duty

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<sup>1176</sup> Müller, 'The Swedish East India Trade and International Markets: Re-Exports of Teas, 1731–1813'; Janes, 'Fine Gottenburgh Teas: The Import and Distribution of Smuggled Tea in Scotland and the North of England c. 1750–1780'; Janes, "'...Of Which a Contraband Trade Makes the Basis of Their Profit': Tea Smuggling in the North Sea c.1750–1780'.

<sup>1177</sup> See for example - *Seasonable advice to all smugglers of French cambricks and French lawns; with a brief state, from the honourable commissioners of his Majesty's customs, of smuggling in the year 1745; as also the destructive manner in which the smuggling trade is carried on at present; and a remedy propos'd totally to suppress it, and thereby to increase the revenue several hundred thousand pounds annually.* (London, 1751).; Stephen Theodore Janssen, *Smuggling laid open, in all its extensive and destructive branches; with proposals for the effectual remedy of that most iniquitous practice: comprehending among other particulars the parliamentary evidence of some of the most notorious smugglers; and a large sheet, shewing in one view, the whole state of the tea importation, consumption and revenue, from midsummer 1745, (when the reduction of two shillings per pound, took place) to new Christmas 1763.* (London, 1763.). p.32; *Observations on smuggling, humbly submitted to the consideration of the right honourable the House of Peers, and the honourable the House of Commons, in Parliament assembled.* [n.p.], [1779?].

<sup>1178</sup> John Goodricke, 'England and Wales: Admiralty, Navy Office and Victualling Office: Customs: Summary of Volume of Tea Smuggled into Britain from Sweden and Denmark, and Loss to Revenue Alleged by St John Goodricke' 23 August 1763, T 1, vol. 425/199-200, British National Archives.

<sup>1179</sup> Postlethwayt et al., *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*. See 'Smuggling'.

was reduced in 1784 through the Commutation Act, it was because the extensive smuggling made the protectionist duties untenable. The contraband trade in tea had led to a significant loss in state revenue, which had been exposed by the Eden Commission in 1783, and as it was deemed impossible to stop the smuggling, the only viable solution was to decrease the tea duty dramatically.<sup>1180</sup> In this way smuggling could undermine the integrity of economic policy to the extent of making it unsustainable.

The reports about Swedish smuggling submitted to the British foreign office were dominated by the issue of the trade imbalance. Both ambassadorial and consular reports suggested that smuggling to Sweden could alleviate Britain's trading disadvantages, whereas the smuggling of tea to Britain had the opposite effect. Consequently, the contraband trade was seen to further British interests through enabling a better trade balance, but it could also do the reverse, undermining British economic integrity. The ambassadors', envoys' and consuls' accounts depicted Sweden as underestimated, with latent potential to (clandestinely) expand British trade, but also as a significant threat to Britain's domestic market. Their accounts were also self-interested, however, as by raising such serious concerns they emphasised their own relevance and status while posted in that country.

### *The French Perspective – A Patriotic Endeavour*

The French government must energetically demand the execution of this convention [the right to an entrepôt in Gothenburg], because the motives it has dictated are the same. Indeed, the restoration of the navy requires great commercial relations with the North : The more materials of all kinds that we export to the country, the more it is in our interest to carry our merchandise and goods there... Sweden's interest commits it to the punctual execution of the convention : For its commerce, has it not, like that of France, as its mortal enemy the English commerce, which aspires to acquire a monopoly of the

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<sup>1180</sup> Mui and Mui, 'William Pitt and the Enforcement of the Commutation Act, 1784-1788'.p.448; See also the full report William Eden, 'First Report from the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Illicit Practices Used in Defrauding the Revenue. Reported by the Right Honourable William Eden, 24 December 1783,' in *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons Which Have Been Printed by Order of the House*, vol. 11 (House of Commons, 1803).

northern trade, a monopoly that only France can suppress through bringing Sweden all of the goods and merchandise that it lacks.<sup>1181</sup>

The trade relationship between Sweden and France looked quite different to that with Britain. Sweden had a longstanding trade relationship with France, reaching back to at least 1499, although despite these early beginnings the trade was slow to take off. During the reign of Louis XIV the trade eventually began to develop, as the demand for Swedish raw materials increased along with the king's desire to build a powerful navy.<sup>1182</sup> The trade started to take off particularly after the publication of the 1724 Navigation Act, with France buying pine, tar, and from the 1770s onwards also increased amounts of iron and copper.<sup>1183</sup> In return salt, brandy, and wine were exported from France to Sweden. Some colonial products like indigo, coffee, and sugar were also exported to Sweden but mainly in smaller quantities.<sup>1184</sup> As earlier touched upon, Sweden and France were also engaged in a subsidy alliance, whereby Sweden was tied to France not just economically but also politically and militarily.<sup>1185</sup> Sweden thus had a closer overall relationship to France but with considerably less ongoing trade than with Britain. Although this trade was increasing during the eighteenth century, the trade statistics from 1769 to 1771 indicate that just like with Britain, the balance of trade was in Sweden's favour – though only marginally so.<sup>1186</sup> While such trade statistics are notoriously unreliable, they give an indication of the nature of the trade.

Historian Pierrick Pourchasse has suggested that the underdeveloped trade between France and Sweden preoccupied the French authorities, and that this was the motivation behind a deal struck between the two governments in 1784. According to this deal, France would gift the Caribbean island of Saint Barthélemy to Sweden in exchange for a duty-free warehouse in Gothenburg. It was hoped that this would help France to expand its direct trade into the Baltic area and the north.<sup>1187</sup> This was not the first time France had received special trade privileges within the Swedish dominion; already in a treaty from France was granted rights to trade with the port in Wismar. However, while there might have existed an interest in securing trade deals

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<sup>1181</sup> 'Impôte' (undated but appears to be from the 1790s), *Mémoires et Documents, Suède*, vol.38, 1778-1808, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve.

<sup>1182</sup> Pourchasse, 'Trade between France and Sweden in the Eighteenth Century'.pp.92-93

<sup>1183</sup> Pourchasse.pp. 93, 94, 101 & 104

<sup>1184</sup> Pourchasse.pp.97, 99, & 106

<sup>1185</sup> The subsidy relationship and its effects on Sweden is currently being researched at Lund University in the project *Fransk-svensk subsidiepolitik 1631-1795: motiv och effekter*.

<sup>1186</sup> *Historisk Statistik För Sverige. Del 3. Utrikeshandel 1732-1970* (Stockholm: Statistiska Centralbyrån, 1972).

<sup>1187</sup> Pourchasse, 'Trade between France and Sweden in the Eighteenth Century'.p.109



in the north, the limited expansion of trade in Wismar, and later in Gothenburg, indicates that the French merchants made very little use of this privilege.<sup>1188</sup>

#### From Ignorance to Ambition

The reports on Franco-Swedish trade submitted to the French government were less substantial than those that reached the British foreign office, and the sources generally indicate less of an active concern with the state of Swedish trade.<sup>1189</sup> However, around 1797 the document *Notions qui résultent de l'examen de la correspondance de Suède* was submitted to the foreign office. This extensive document described the state of Swedish commerce and manufacturing along with other features related to the nature and the running of the kingdom. The document was in part based on material from the forthcoming trade manual *Système maritime et politique des Européens pendant le dix-huitième siècle* by Ambroise-Marie Arnould, eventually published in 1797, and in part on earlier correspondence from consuls and envoys. Intriguingly, the document contains a comparison between the trade of Great Britain and Sweden and that of France and Sweden. The author of the *Notions* observed that Sweden was engaged in a considerable trade with Britain, with whom they had a favourable balance of trade. This information derives from a letter sent to the foreign office in September 1773 by the French envoy Charles Gravier, Count of Vergennes (1717-1787). Quite contrary to how the British themselves perceived their trade, the French report noted that the British were treated very favourably both by the Swedish government and local port officials.<sup>1190</sup>

While the British pursued their trade with Sweden with ardour the French appeared to “have an unsurmountable repugnance for the Baltic Sea” according to a letter from the chargé d'affaires in Stockholm, Jean-Pierre-François de Gausson (1747-1845), from 1787.<sup>1191</sup> Indeed, as the *Notions* went on to observe, it took quite a long time for the French merchants actually to understand the benefits awarded to them through the Gothenburg warehouse and to start making use of the city.<sup>1192</sup>

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<sup>1188</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy and Swedish Politics, 1758-1773*.p.134; See also the forthcoming PhD of Gabriella Desideri, *Les traités commerciaux de royaume de Naples avec la Hollande, le Danemark et la Suède de (1740-1790) et leurs incidences économiques*, PhD, Università degli Studi di Parma, forthcoming.

<sup>1189</sup> This is of course also affected by the fact that the consular correspondence from the period prior to 1793 was unavailable for consultation.

<sup>1190</sup> ‘Notions Qui Résultent Del’examen de La Correspondance de Suède’, *Mémoires et Documents, Suède*, vol.6, 1632-1814, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve.

<sup>1191</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1192</sup> *Ibid.*

This apparent disinterest in Swedish trade appears to have been replaced by a growing interest around the turn of the century. In 1802 the French consul in Gothenburg, du Goutte, submitted a list of French goods in demand in Gothenburg and other important cities in Sweden. He explained that most French wares were prohibited in Sweden and the only things that were consumed to any great extent were: Bordeaux wine, olive oil, fruit (such as *reinettes*), olives, Marseille soap, and capers, along with colonial goods such as coffee, sugar, indigo, and anchovies, including almost anything from the Levant. According to du Goutte, salt could also be imported but as the French salt was too weak to salt herring it could only be used to salt meat, which meant that French salt was in less demand than Portuguese salt.<sup>1193</sup> In addition, du Goutte noted, there were also goods which could favourably be imported into Sweden illegally. These included French manufactures, particularly silk, and jewels, prohibited in Sweden but which the Swedes consumed all the same. This business was, as Goutte pointed out, of great advantage to the French.<sup>1194</sup> This trade is also described in Johan Christian Schedel's 1804 trade manual *Neues und vollständiges geographisches Lexikon für Kaufleute und Geschäftsmänner*, where he noted that while Sweden had a positive trade balance against almost all countries, the smuggling of French luxuries and fashionable goods hollowed out Sweden's potential gains.<sup>1195</sup> However, the French consular descriptions were not restricted to the contraband going to Sweden. In addition, a particular focus was given to the goods going *through* the country.

#### Eaux-de-vie Smuggling to and through Sweden

In their correspondence the French consuls and envoys especially noted that large quantities of brandy and tea were imported to Sweden only to later be smuggled to Ireland and Scotland. This had been observed by Vergennes back in 1773 and continued to be reiterated in later

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<sup>1193</sup> This statement stands in contrast to Leos Müller's supposition that it was customary preference rather than quality that motivated the Swedish preference of Portuguese salt to British and French. See: Leos Müller, 'Swedish-Portuguese Trade and Swedish Consular Service, 1700-1800,' in *A Articulação Do Sal Português Aos Circuitos Mundiais. Antigos e Novos Consumos. The Articulation of Portuguese Salt with Worldwide Routes. Past and New Consumption Trends* (Porto: Instituto de Historia Moderna. Universidad do Porto, 2008).p.94

<sup>1194</sup> 'Relation Extérieur, Priarial an 11, (May 1802) de Goutte', 1802, Mémoires et Documents, Suède, vol.38, 1778-1808, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve.

<sup>1195</sup> Johan Christian Schedel, *Neues Und Vollständiges Geographisches Lexikon Für Kaufleute Und Geschäftsmänner, Oder Alphabetisch Geordnete Beschreibung Aller Welttheile, Staaten, Länder, Plätze, Häfen, Gewässer Und Kanäle, Die Den Kaufmann Interessiren Und Wohin Gehandelt Und Verkehr Getrieben Wird*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1804).p.452

correspondence.<sup>1196</sup> In 1802 du Goutte noted that while tea smuggling to Britain had decreased after 1784, with the Commutation Act, the illicit importation of brandy from France continued. According to du Goutte the warehouse in Gothenburg played an important role in this transit trade as it allowed brandy to be imported to Sweden without duties and stored at the entrepôt warehouse, from whence it could be illegally exported to Scotland or England at a convenient time.<sup>1197</sup> A British investigation into tea smuggling had noted in 1733 that brandy and tea smuggling were often conducted together and that brandy was used to fill up the space in a cargo hold if there was a shortage of tea.<sup>1198</sup> In the decade preceding this enquiry it was estimated that half a million gallons of brandy and one quarter of a million pounds of tea had been seized by British customs officials.<sup>1199</sup> While tea smuggling might have suffered a severe setback in 1784 the brandy trade appears to have continued into the nineteenth century. Far from all French smuggling to Britain passed through Sweden: this was one route among many.<sup>1200</sup> However, in Sweden, France found willing abettors for their illicit trade, as will be discussed in the next section.

In the French foreign correspondence the trade with Sweden is continuously intertwined with concerns about Britain, its politics and trade. In these sources the importance of not allowing Britain to control trade in the north unchallenged becomes gradually more pressing towards the end of the century and the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars. This will be returned to in the section on the consul Jean Antoine Fournier. Undermining Britain is a central goal in the French correspondence, both through challenging their dominance of the Nordic markets and through compromising their economic jurisdiction at home. As Fournier noted in 1805: “Sweden offers us various ways, not only to restore our trade with the North, but to harm our enemy”.<sup>1201</sup> Just like in the British accounts, smuggling is bound up with ideas of trade competition. This competition was, however, not just between France and Britain, but also

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<sup>1196</sup> ‘Notions Qui Résultent Del’examen de La Correspondance de Suède’.; B3 vol.418, ‘Remarques relatives au commerce particulier de Gothembourg (undated)’, Archives Nationales de France, cited by Pourchasse, ‘Trade between France and Sweden in the Eighteenth Century’, p.100.

<sup>1197</sup> ‘Relation Extérieure, Priarial an 11, (May 1802) de Goutte’, 1802, Mémoires et Documents, Suède, vol.38, 1778-1808, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve.

<sup>1198</sup> *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, 1st series, vol I, frauds and abuses, (originally from 1733, printed 1803) p.610b cited in Kent, *War and Trade in Northern Seas*.p.114

<sup>1199</sup> Kent.p.115

<sup>1200</sup> A large part of this illegal trade was conducted directly across the English Channel. See for example: Morieux, *The Channel*.pp.248-282

<sup>1201</sup> Jean Antoine Fournier, ‘À Son Excellence Le Ministre de Relations Extérieure, Mémoire’ 15 January 1805, Mémoires et Documents, Suède, vol.6, 1632-1814, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve. ff. 193-201.

between different merchants on the ground in Sweden, many of whom also provided reports about the trade and who framed these according to their own interests. The effects of these reports will be further explored below, but first it is worthwhile to consider how this trade competition was viewed in Sweden.

### *The Swedish Perspective – Pragmatic Advancement*

At this point it is useful to consider how all this appeared from the Swedish perspective and how they viewed their trading partners and smuggling as a tool in international trade. A central character in the Swedish context was Johan Liljencrantz, often referred to as Gustav III's minister of finance. He has already been mentioned in regard to his project to set up a free port in Marstrand, but Liljencrantz's attempts to make Sweden into a competitive trading nation went even further. More specifically, he believed that Sweden's ticket to commercial success might lie in smuggling. Liljencrantz appears to have first found inspiration for this idea in a study trip he took around Europe in 1759. During this trip he submitted a report to the National Board of Trade in which he argued that in order to become a strong trading nation it was necessary for Sweden to adopt a more proactive approach.<sup>1202</sup> He suggested that the commercial success enjoyed by the Netherlands and Great Britain could be traced back to the illegal commerce which the two nations conducted with the Spanish colonies.<sup>1203</sup> Liljencrantz also suggested that such illicit trading would be favourable for Sweden. It was not necessary to look as far abroad as the Americas; there were other markets closer to home ready for exploitation most notably the British. Years later Liljencrantz returned to the issue in a memorandum where he pointed to the two most common solutions to Swedish economic hardships: saving or abstinence and the improvement of domestic products. In addition to these he also added that the smuggling of French brandy from Gothenburg to England and Scotland was one of the most profitable trades for Sweden and deserved to be supported.<sup>1204</sup> In linking these comments back to his earlier observations, Liljencrantz thus seems to be lobbying for a state-supported and active smuggling trade to help support Swedish finances. The smuggling itself could be left to the British smugglers and all Sweden needed to do was to provide the necessary storage and

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<sup>1202</sup> 'Liljencrantz rapport 4/5 1759', 1759, Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkiv, Acta privatorum, EXVIIIda, vol 3, Rikssarikivet.

<sup>1203</sup> For a discussion on this smuggling see: Scammell, 'British Smuggling in the Iberian Americas circa 1500-1750'.

<sup>1204</sup> Johan Liljencrants, 'Anteckningar Och Memorial Af Grefve Johan Liljencrantz,' in *Historiska Handlingar*, vol. 5, 8 (Stockholm: Central Tryckeriet, 1878).p.87

support for French imports. Further insight into how this trade worked can be gained from Volgarth (or Volrat) von Öltcken, a ship-owner and wholesale dealer in Gothenburg, who during the riksdag proceedings in 1769/70 discussed the issue of French brandy smuggling to Britain. Von Öltcken calculated the brandy smuggling to be 1000 hogsheads (*oxhuvud*) a year, and claimed that it was highly profitable for Sweden.<sup>1205</sup> This smuggling trade was not restricted to brandy: according to von Öltcken Gothenburg could be used as a smuggling centre for both French brandy and East India goods. Von Öltcken stressed that if the British traders could not get hold of these goods in Gothenburg they would go to Copenhagen instead. It was therefore much better if they could come directly to Gothenburg for both East India goods and French brandy. Furthermore, he added that it would be highly beneficial to have an entrepôt in Gothenburg which would boost this transit trade.<sup>1206</sup> The support for these smuggling ventures by both merchant MPs such as von Öltcken and political heavyweights like Liljencrantz suggests that these ideas did not only bear political weight but were transformed into real action. France thus found a willing abettor for their smuggling trade in Sweden. In other words, everything was ready when in 1784 France in 1784 received an entrepôt in Gothenburg.

While smuggling into Sweden itself was severely condemned in Sweden, encouraging smuggling through the country in order to gain a competitive advantage and improve the state finances does not appear to have been considered in the same negative light. In order to understand this difference, it is useful to consider the international trade as a mercantile power game which was, particularly in the north, dominated by the British. This dominance was seen as troubling in both France and Sweden. While many in Sweden saw the British trade as imposing on, and damaging to, Swedish interests, particularly through the contraband it brought in, encouraging smuggling *to* Britain to counteract the damage done by British imports was thus framed as a way of holding one's own against a mercantile empire.

#### British Antagonisers

A good illustration of Swedish attitudes towards British trade can be found in the discussions that took place in 1788. That year had brought with it a new development in the shape of a

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<sup>1205</sup> This corresponds roughly to 183 000 – 235 000 litres.

<sup>1206</sup> '25 Jan 1770', Handels- & Manuf & Tull Deputs Betänkande För Åren 1769-1770,' 1770, Borgareståndets arkiv, R1402, 1769-1770, vol. 6, Riksarkivet.

looming war. Since the previous year the Russo-Turkish wars (1787-1792) had caused consternation and anxiety about expanding Russian interests in the Orient. In March 1788, Prussia, the Netherlands and Great Britain began negotiations for an alliance to thwart Russian interests. Among other things, this led to increased support for a war in the north to distract from the southern campaigns. Gustav III, convinced that the British would support an invasion of Russia through subsidies, declared war on Russia.<sup>1207</sup> As part of these newly friendly overtures to Great Britain, in December 1788 Gustav III demanded that a commission be set up in order to explore potential changes to the trade relationship between Sweden and Britain, a move intended to show goodwill, as “none of us can foresee what connections might finally become indispensable for Us to make for the Safety of Sweden”.<sup>1208</sup> The committee addressed questions such as: can Swedish and British trade interests be aligned, and if so how? What trade benefits could Sweden give to England without damaging its own prosperity? In the ensuing debates it was maintained that the nature of trade in Sweden and Britain were very different; the Swedish trade being ‘passive’ and the British trade being ‘active’. It was suggested that in order to understand how Britain competed with other manufacturing countries it was useful to look at their 1786 trade treaty with France, a country whose industry was similar to that of Britain. The commission noted that this treaty had already proved to be in Britain’s favour. The reason behind the British dominance was deemed to be related to the strength of their trade, great capital, and seafaring skills but also due to the fact that:

in the Character of the English Nation, to make constant intrusions on the Trade and industry of other States and despite all anticipation of difficulties and losses in the beginning, they seek with an unflinching steadfastness to expand their Own; this mindset is not only prevailing among the reigning Power, but also extends to single individuals trade Enterprises.<sup>1209</sup>

Furthermore, the commission argued, the importation of most British wares would be detrimental to Swedish industry, and could therefore not be allowed in. However, exceptions were made for some raw materials from Britain and its colonies. The only manufactured British product that was deemed acceptable for import was porter, which “despite the prohibition

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<sup>1207</sup> E.G. Geijer, ed., *Konung Gustaf III:s efterlemnade och femtio år efter hans död öppnade papper*, vol. 3 (Uppsala: Wahlström & Låstbom, 1844).p.206

<sup>1208</sup> ‘Utredning Af Sveriges Och Englands Handelsförhållanden 1788-1789’, 1788. ÄK 559, vol.1. Riksarkivet.

<sup>1209</sup> Ibid

against its importation, has become more common in the Kingdom”.<sup>1210</sup> Porter was not considered a threat to Swedish beer production, however, as it was thought to replace the use of wine, another imported item. The commission thus suggested that its consumption and importation should be permitted.<sup>1211</sup> Even at this critical stage, when Sweden was seeking the support of Britain, it was clearly considered too big a sacrifice to open the market to British goods. The ‘active’ trade of the British was seen as something impossible to resist once the floodgates were open.

While Sweden’s distinctly different treatments of the two countries, France and Britain, might at first appear to be peculiar, it is worth referring back to Coleman’s observation, also voiced by Michael Roberts: policy was far from solely a matter of economic logic, but politics and alliances also influenced how trade was perceived and received by various countries. This is further indicated by the trade commission’s discussions in 1788. While the king might have had an interest in opening up trade, the commissioners adopted the well-established view that Britain’s trade was active, aggressive, and damaging. It was a persuasive notion that could not be overcome and was probably linked to old established ties of friendship and alliance as well as uncertainty about aligning themselves with a considerably more commercially driven and successful nation. These would not be overcome until the realignment of alliances in the wake of the French Revolution and the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>1212</sup>

#### Pragmatism and Circulation of Contraband

Before moving into a final discussion on consuls, it is worth highlighting the fact that attitudes towards the illicit circulation of contraband were not simply the product of political ambition. Indeed, while the negotiations about import and export were ongoing, a level of pragmatism was also needed to resolve temporary shortages, resulting in a re-interpretation of the goods in question. This short-term pragmatism highlights how various actors were able to move outside of the legislative boundaries to find new solutions to pressing new issues.

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<sup>1210</sup> ‘Utredning Af Sveriges Och Englands Handelsförhållanden 1788-1789’, 1788. ÄK 559, vol.1. Riksarkivet.

<sup>1211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1212</sup> For a discussion on Swedish-British trade after the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars see for example: Peter Hedberg and Henric Häggqvist, ‘Wartime Trade and Tariffs in Sweden from the Napoleonic Wars to World War,’ in *Small and Medium Powers in Global History: Trade, Conflicts, and Neutrality from the 18th to the 20th Centuries*, ed. Jari Eloranta et al. (New York: Routledge, 2018).

During the eighteenth century, the home distillation of spirits came to be repeatedly prohibited due to shortages of grain, particularly during years of bad harvest. The early 1770s was a particularly harsh period, with several crop failures resulting in extensive starvation. These bans on home distillation continued to be reissued throughout the remainder of the century. In 1779, following one such ban, the French ambassador in Sweden, Pierre Chrysostème d'Usson de Bonnac (1724-1782), submitted a dispatch in which he noted that after the prohibition "[t]he smuggling of brandy became enormous".<sup>1213</sup> Some years later, in 1786, the problem was yet again pressing and this time a rather intricate arrangement was orchestrated which illustrates how seized contraband could be used as a bargaining tool. The king, Gustav III, had during the winter of 1785 banned distillation due to the scarcity of corn following the crop failures of 1783-84. This resulted in an unmanageable shortage of alcohol among the commoners and a solution was urgently sought. Two cargo ships arrived in Gothenburg from Sète loaded with *eau-de-vie* and a third was expected. However, this would still not be enough and the British ambassador, seeing a business opportunity, hurriedly wrote a letter to Francis Osborne, fifth Duke of Leeds and Foreign Minister under William Pitt the Younger (1783-1791):

Having been informed that we have great quantities of these two Articles which have been seized on board Smugling [sic] Vessels [along the British coast], and now laying confiscated in His Majesty's Warehouses [in London], I thought that there might be a means of selling some of it to this Government, and yesterday I made an overture upon the Subject to Baron Liliencrants, the Minister of Finance, and who is charged with this department. I explained to Him the reason of our having these Articles in our possession, and my opinion that there might be a negotiation upon them much to the advantage of Both Parties. He seemed much pleased with the proposition, and promised to take the first opportunity of mentioning it to the King, not doubting in the least but it would meet with his Royal approbation.<sup>1214</sup>

Furthermore, Ambassador Wroughton explained that Baron Liljenkrantz was ready to send a ship from Gothenburg to collect an initial 'trial' instalment of 100 000 gallons of French

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<sup>1213</sup> 'Memoires et Documents, Suite de l'extraie Des Négocitations Entre La France et La Suede', Mémoires et Documents, Suède, vol.6, 1632-1814, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve.

<sup>1214</sup> 'Letter to Lord Carmarthen (Francis Osborne), from Thomas Wroughton, Stockholm 21 July 1786', 1786, FO 73, vol.5, British National Archives.



brandy.<sup>1215</sup> While the correspondence testifies to some difficulties over setting a price, the transaction appears to have gone ahead.<sup>1216</sup> It is also highly possible that some of the spirits sold to Sweden would have previously passed through Swedish harbours on their way to British shores before their seizure. This episode offers insight into both the movement of goods and the reconfiguration of their usage; it also shows how protectionist systems could both dismantle and create value. Moreover, it indicates a level of pragmatism in the interactions between the various countries, which allowed for a more flexible system than that officially in existence. Clearly contraband could be used as a tool in the competition between protectionist states.

All three countries discussed here can be considered protectionist in some respects, and while the aim of any protectionist system was to enforce control and dominance over the national economic space, and possibly to increase a competitive edge against other nations, it also offered an opportunity to undermine other nations' sovereignty. That smuggling was seen in this manner becomes particularly evident when comparing various states' views on smuggling in other countries. The protectionist system allowed smuggling to become a tool not only to strengthen a nation's own economic position but also to challenge the economic integrity of rival countries. Meanwhile, the people who reported on the smuggling trade and who lobbied for various projects also had their own personal objectives in doing so. In the next section the attention turns to the state actors themselves and the line between individual and state interests.

## **The Consuls – A Dubious State Agent**

In this final section of the thesis, the attention turns to the actors who supplied their respective governments with information about smuggling in Sweden, and the various interests they served. The consul is a central character in the sources discussed in this chapter: positioned in foreign trading centres, he was tasked with reporting on the business in these locations and occasionally intervening on behalf of his countrymen. However, as will be discussed in relation to the British consul Thomas Erskine and the French consul Jean Antoine Fournier, the nature of their work, half merchant and half border-transgressing state representative, can make it difficult to define what 'their country' actually was and where their loyalties lay. Both Erskine

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<sup>1215</sup> As there were several types of gallons in use at the time it is difficult to calculate a contemporary equivalent for this, but about 382 000 litres.

<sup>1216</sup> See also: 'Franske Skep Joseph de Le Fortrie Med Galeasen La Maire Inkommen Ifrån Havre de Grace Til Götheborg under No 206, d. 23 Majj 1791 Nederlagen Anl. Conventionen Af d. 26 Julii År 1784 - Uttagit Til Förtullning Af Cazimir Fournier', 1791, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteten, m. fl., kansliet, Skrivelser från tullfiskaler E8, vol.1.

and Fournier were based in Gothenburg and came into contact with contraband trade in various ways.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century Gothenburg had gained an international reputation for its smuggling trade.<sup>1217</sup> Contraband trade featured as an integral part of the economic life of Gothenburg according to both consular reports and trade manuals. This overwhelmingly British city had an extensive Scottish population with trade links to the British Isles. However, that did not mean that the inhabitants felt any particular allegiance to the English government. On the contrary, many of the Scottish-owned trading houses were founded by Jacobites who had moved to Sweden to escape English persecution, particularly after the 1746 Battle of Culloden.<sup>1218</sup> During the following decades, Gothenburg became an important base for escaped Scottish Jacobites and historian Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret has counted twelve Jacobite merchant houses in this town alone.<sup>1219</sup> Meanwhile, Paul Monod has argued that a link existed between the Jacobite diasporas around Europe and the British contraband trade. According to Monod, the Jacobite smuggling community was based on family ties, tradition and a drive for the common good through the liberalisation of trade.<sup>1220</sup> Indeed, this connection between Jacobite expatriates and smuggling can also be observed in Gothenburg.<sup>1221</sup> The Scottish expatriate community can consequently help to explain how the contraband trade to Britain came to gain traction in the town.

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<sup>1217</sup> See for example: Samuel Ricard, *Traité Général Du Commerce: Contenant Des Observations Sur Le Commerce Des Principaux Etats de l'Europe, Les Productions Naturelles, l'industrie de Chaque Païs*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: E. van Harrevelt, 1781).p.265; this same description can be seen recounted in the trade manuals: Bohn, *Gottfried Christian Bohns Wohlerfahrner Kaufmann Herausgegeben von C.D. Ebeling, Professor Am Gymnasium Zu Hamburg Und Mitvorsteher Der Handlungsakademie, Und P. H. C. Brodhagen, Lehrer Vei Der Handlungsakademie*.pp. 723-724; Johann Christian Herrmann, *Allgemeiner Contorist Welcher von Allen Und Jeden Gegenständen Der Handlung Aller in Und Außer Europa Belegenen Handelsplätze Die Neuesten Und Zuverlässigsten Nachrichten Ertheilet; Theils Nach Bewährten Quellen, Theils Auch, Und Insonderheit, Nach Eigener Erfahrung Und Correspondenz Entworfen Und in Alphabetische Ordnung Gebracht*, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Schwickertschen Verlage, 1792).p.375, see also the travel account: Drevon, *Voyage En Suède: Contenant Un État Détaillé de Sa Population de Son Agriculture, de Son Commerce, et de Ses Finances*.p.310

<sup>1218</sup> Göran Behre, 'Scots in "Little London". Scots Settlers and Cultural Development in Gothenburg in the Eighteenth Century,' *Northern Scotland* 7, no. 1 (February 2015).

<sup>1219</sup> Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, 'Une élite Insulaire Au Service de l'Europe: Les Jacobites Au XVIIIe Siècle', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 28, no. 5, pp.1110-1112

<sup>1220</sup> Paul Monod, 'Dangerous Merchandise: Smuggling, Jacobitism, and Commercial Culture in Southeast England, 1690-1760', *Journal of British Studies* 30, no. 2 (1991). p.153

<sup>1221</sup> Derek Charles Janes, 'Fine Gottenburgh Teas', p. 230

## Thomas Erskine

Thomas Erskine (1746-1828) was born into the Scottish lowland clan Erskine, an aristocratic family, impoverished by the forced seizure of their property following their support of the Stuart Pretender during the Jacobite risings. Erskine had consequently been sent to Gothenburg at an early age to learn a trade in order to secure an income.<sup>1222</sup> Erskine started working as an apprentice at the office of George Carnegie (1726-1799), a fellow Jacobite, in 1759.<sup>1223</sup> Carnegie, who had fought at Culloden in 1746, had fled to Gothenburg following the defeat. He was also involved in tea smuggling to Scotland, and his smuggling activities appear to have coincided with the period of Erskine's employment.<sup>1224</sup> After training under Carnegie, Erskine went on to work for his friends John and Benjamin Hall, before acquiring his own burghership in 1767. He eventually became part-owner in the trading company John Hall & Co., where he would remain as a partner for thirty years.<sup>1225</sup> This company became one of the most successful export companies in Gothenburg and focused on the export of iron and planks to the British market. They were also, to a lesser extent, involved in the import market, focusing on the import of salt, coal, glass, lead, and British colonial goods.<sup>1226</sup> Erskine thus established himself as a leading merchant in Gothenburg.

Meanwhile, Erskine also claimed an important role in the Gothenburg social scene as one of the founding members of the new Royal Bachelors' Club, which was set up in 1769 with the simple intention of allowing its members to play billiards.<sup>1227</sup> The club had very limited recruitment between 1770 and 1813.<sup>1228</sup> Despite their relatively small numbers, many of the members figure in Derek Janes' investigation of tea smuggling to Scotland.<sup>1229</sup> That the Royal Bachelor's Club was secretly a dedicated smuggling ring seems unlikely, but it is certain that

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<sup>1222</sup> Bengt Hildebrand, 'Thomas Erskine', *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, 1953, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/15455>, Accessed 25 June 2019.

<sup>1223</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1224</sup> Derek Janes, *The business of smuggling in SE Scotland c.1740-1796.*, PhD, University of Exeter, forthcoming

<sup>1225</sup> Bengt Hildebrand, 'Thomas Erskine', *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*,

<sup>1226</sup> Elsa-Britta Grage, 'John Hall', in <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/13548>, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* Accessed 18 January 2019.

<sup>1227</sup> See for example: 'Consular Report, Gothenburg 2 March 1781', 1781, FO 73, vol.1, British National Archives; 'Consular Report, Gothenburg 21 Jan 1786', 1786., FO 73, vol.5, British National Archives; 'Consular Report, Gothenburg 10 Feb 1787 & Consular Report, Gothenburg 27 Nov 1787', 1787, FO 73, vol.6, British National Archives.

<sup>1228</sup> Anders Simonsen, *Bland Hederligt Folk: Organiserat Sällskapsliv Och Borgerlig Formering I Göteborg 1755-1820* (Göteborg: Göteborg Universitet, 2001). p. 61

<sup>1229</sup> Derek Janes, *The business of smuggling in SE Scotland c.1740-1796.*, (forthcoming PhD)

such a society would help to reinforce networks and create a safe space for the development of trade plans and the exchange of contacts and knowledge. In his study of tea smuggling from Gothenburg to Britain, Derek Janes has noted that Freemasonic lodges also appear to have offered such opportunities, as some of the actors he investigates, including George Carnegie, signed into Scottish lodges while away from Sweden on illicit business.<sup>1230</sup> Thomas Erskine, who was also a freemason at the same lodge as Carnegie, was thus surrounded by expatriates who were involved in the contraband trade, both in his professional and social life.<sup>1231</sup>

In 1775 Thomas Erskine was appointed British consul in Gothenburg, Marstrand, and other ports along the west coast of Sweden.<sup>1232</sup> However, this appointment was accompanied by a discussion about Erskine's suitability for the post and his true loyalties. In February of that year the British ambassador Lewis de Visme wrote a letter to Lord Suffolk, in which he noted that the former ambassador Sir Goodricke had already been in contact with Erskine and promised to recommend him to the post of consul. De Visme, who had recently made Erskine's acquaintance, observed that he seemed to be "a Gentleman of a very good understanding and character".<sup>1233</sup> Troublingly, however, Erskine had also taken an oath of fidelity to the Swedish Government in order to become a burgher in Gothenburg. In his correspondence de Visme noted that this was a necessary procedure for merchants who wished to be competitive in Sweden as they would otherwise labour under highly disadvantageous conditions, due to the protectionist legislation that favoured Swedish traders. Further, he explained that the only two British merchant houses led by individuals who had not taken the oaths and become Swedish burghers "subsist by illicit Trade of Teas and India Goods carried on chiefly to the Coasts of Scotland and Ireland".<sup>1234</sup> He concluded his letter:

Your Lordship is best able to judge how far the two characters of Consul and Burgher are compatible. It is certain that merchants owe particular obedience and duty to the Government of the State in which they are settled, without renouncing their Allegiance to their natural Sovereign; and the British

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<sup>1230</sup> Derek Janes, *The business of smuggling in SE Scotland c.1740-1796.*, (forthcoming PhD), Chapter 8

<sup>1231</sup> For Erskine's Freemason membership See: Önnersfors, *Mystiskt Brödraskap – Mäktigt Nätverk Studier i Det Svenska 1700-Talsfrimureriet*.p.188

<sup>1232</sup> 'Thomas Erskine Consul Utnämning' 1775, Ämnessamlingar, Personarkiv, Biographica, vol. E 15, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1233</sup> 'Letter No 5 to Lord Suffolk, from De Visme, Stockholm, 14th Feb 1775', 1775, SP 95, vol.125, British National Archives.

<sup>1234</sup> Ibid.

Subjects at Gothenburg understand that their engagements towards Sweden imply no more.<sup>1235</sup>

Lord Suffolk was undisturbed by this news, observing:

The Oath of Fidelity to the Swedish Government which Mr Erskine has taken is certainly to be understood merely as a Promise to demean himself peaceably during his Residence in Sweden & not as affecting his natural Allegiance in any Degree.<sup>1236</sup>

Indeed, in this correspondence, the Swedish oath of fidelity is portrayed not as a hindrance but rather as a proof of Erskine's honourable character. Meanwhile, one feature is noticeably absent in this exchange, namely the effects that Jacobitism might have had on his "Allegiance to [his] natural Sovereign". While Erskine might not have been an active Jacobite himself, being born in the year of the last rising, he had still suffered from the persecution through his family, who had lost their property, and in Gothenburg he found himself surrounded by a large Jacobite expatriate community, many of whom had escaped from Scotland following the crushing of the rebellion. However, what this might have meant for Erskine's loyalties towards the English government is left without enquiry.

Erskine's appointment was finalised in April 1775 but it does not appear to have been announced in Sweden until December.<sup>1237</sup> Erskine's reports about the trade of Gothenburg started in late 1775 and contain information on exports and imports, details about the current state of the herring industry and new trading ventures such as the Greenland Scheme, and lists of all goods brought in by the East India ships. They also provided information on the latest

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<sup>1235</sup> 'Letter No 5 to Lord Suffolk, from De Visme, Stockholm, 14 February 1775', 1775, SP 95, vol.125, British National Archives.

<sup>1236</sup> 'Letter from Lord Suffolk to De Visme, St James's, 28 March 1775', 1775, SP 95, vol.125, British National Archives.

<sup>1237</sup> 'Letter 15, to Lord Suffolk, from De Visme, Stockholm, 14 April 1775', 1775, SP 95, vol.125, British National Archives.

'Thomas Erskine Consul Utnämning' 1775, Ämnessamlingar, Personarkiv, Biographica, vol. E15, Riksarkivet.

decrees and developments for trade.<sup>1238</sup> As part of this, Erskine reported on the contraband trade both in and out of Gothenburg and the other harbours under his surveillance.<sup>1239</sup>

Meanwhile, there were also pressures on the consuls to act on behalf of the state to look after British interests in Sweden. Exactly what the consuls could do in their capacity as representatives of the state was restricted, however. Erskine's successor John Smith thus noted to J.B. Burges in 1794 that the suggestion made by the Commissioners of the Customs in Scotland that the consul or someone appointed by him should visit and inspect ships was completely impracticable. This was due to the fact that the consul "has no right, nor will [he] be permitted to inspect goods of any denomination whatever imported on British vessels".<sup>1240</sup> While Smith insisted that the consuls only had limited power to act, much of the information available to the British government on the trade with the north originated from the consuls and therefore they played a crucial part in shaping the image of the smuggling trade to and from Sweden.

### *Return to Tea Smuggling*

One part of this trade was the illicit tea trade to Britain, which has been touched upon previously.<sup>1241</sup> This had long been seen as a considerable threat to British trade, which already suffered from a particularly poor trade balance against Sweden. In June 1784 the Foreign Secretary Francis Osborne, Marquis Carmarthen (1751-1799), wrote to Charles Keene, the chargé d'affaires in Stockholm, asking him to launch an investigation into the state of this contraband trade.

In his reply Keene noted:

the place from which the best information is to be procured upon this Subject is the Town of Gothenburg where the East India Ships arrive, where the Sales are made, and from whence all the exportation to foreign places is executed.

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<sup>1238</sup> See for example 'Charles Keene to William Fraser, Stockholm, 2 March 1787', 1787, FO 73, vol.6, British National Archives.

<sup>1239</sup> See for example 'Letter no 2, to Consul Erskine, from Suffolk, St James's, 4<sup>th</sup> November 1775', 1775, SP 95, vol.125, British National Archives; 'Letter No 2, to Lord Suffolk, from Erskine, Gothenburg, 30th March 1776', 1776, SP 95, vol.126, British National Archives.

<sup>1240</sup> 'Letter to J.B. Burges Esqr, [probably James Bland Burges, 1752-1824], from Mr. J. Smith Gothenburg, 27 sept 1794', 1794, FO 73, vol.18, British National Archives.

<sup>1241</sup> For a more thorough study see Derek Charles Janes, 'Fine Gottenburgh Teas'.

I have therefore wrote yesterday evening to our Consul to transmit me an Account of the quantities of Tea exported from thence and Marstrand, and to what places during the last Twelvemonth. ... It is proper however to inform Your Lordship that it is well known that much Contraband Trade is carried on between the City of Gothenburg and the Coast of Scotland, and I believe, or at least it is said that most of the British Subjects settled there are very deeply concerned in that dangerous tho' lucrative and illicit Commerce. I cannot suppose however that a House of such reputation as is that in which Mr. Erskine is concerned can be engaged in such dark and pernicious enterprizes [sic]<sup>1242</sup>

While Erskine was tasked with supplying reports on this illicit trade to the government, it is also clear that he was part of this scene himself. It remains unclear, however, in exactly what capacity he was involved. For example, it might have been that he was perfectly placed to report on his peers, or that his reports would be affected by other relationships and interests. It is almost certain that through his various contacts Erskine sat on more information than he was willing to divulge to the government, something which is further indicated by a letter he sent to Lord Carmarthen upon reading about the reduction of the tea duty, less than a month after the previous letter:

I observe by the News Papers that a Bill is about passing in Parliament for reducing the Duty on Teas, which undoubtedly will prove the most Efficacious step to prevent smuggling [sic] - I hope Your Lordship will not take amiss that I mention my Conjecture that the India Comp will not have a sufficient Quantity of Tea in London this Year to Supply Great Britain and Ireland - If they are allow'd to Import Teas from the Continent this will certainly be as good a Market as they can apply to. In which Case I take the liberty to Request that your Lordship will be pleased to do me the favour to Recomend [sic] me to the Directors of the Comps as a proper person for Executing their orders, and which should be done with all possible Integrity and Punctuality!<sup>1243</sup>

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<sup>1242</sup> 'Charles Keene to Lord Carmarthen, Stockholm 8 June 1784', 1784, FO 73, vol.4, British National Archives.

<sup>1243</sup> 'Thomas Erskine to Lord Carmarthen, Gothenburg 3 July 1784', 1784, FO 73, vol.4, British National Archives.

This letter indicates not only that Erskine had his own vested interest in the tea trade, but also that he was not shy of using his position as a consul to gain an edge. When the Commutation Act came into force in September 1784 the duty on tea plummeted from 119% to 12.5%.<sup>1244</sup> By January 1785 Erskine reported back to London that only a small amount of tea was still in the hands of private merchants and that smuggling had been reduced to a trifle of what it had once been.<sup>1245</sup>

Whether Erskine himself was involved in smuggling either in or out of Sweden is unknown. Despite close ties to known smugglers and the seizure of a contraband shipment at Erskine's harbour in Masthugget in 1786, no incident was ever tied directly to him.<sup>1246</sup> However, Erskine clearly swam in the space between the two nations, the one he inhabited and the one he served. This also means that it is difficult to establish which national space was being reinforced through Erskine's activities and reports, and which was being challenged.

## Jean Antoine and Casimir Fournier

Jean Antoine Fournier (1761-1824) was born in Grenoble, a town located at the foot of the French Alps, and arrived in Sweden in 1786 enticed by the 1784 agreement between France and Sweden which secured St Barthélemy as a Swedish colony and established a French entrepôt in Gothenburg.<sup>1247</sup> The benefits of this deal were jealously described by Thomas Erskine in July 1787:

I think it proper to inform your Lordship that the last Treaty or convention between France & Sweden is now first put in effect at this port. - Yesterday a French Ship *L'Espoir* Capt Louis Marai from Honfleur arrived with a Cargo of Rye, when their Consul Mr. de Lisle intimatid [sic] to the Custom house that this vessel must be admitted under all the privileges which the late treaty entitled

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<sup>1244</sup> See for example: Mui and Mui, 'William Pitt and the Enforcement of the Commutation Act, 1784-1788.', p.452; Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, 'The Commutation Act and the Tea Trade in Britain 1784-1793,' *The Economic History Review* 16, no. 2 (1963), p. 235; Janes, "...Of Which a Contraband Trade Makes the Basis of Their Profit": Tea Smuggling in the North Sea c.1750-1780', p.269

<sup>1245</sup> 'Thomas Erskine to Lord Carmarthen, Gothenburg 22 Jan 1785', 1785, FO 73, vol.4, British National Archives.

<sup>1246</sup> 8 Aug 1786, 'Dombok' 1786, Göteborgs Sjöfullsrätt, A1, vol.18, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>1247</sup> 'Réclamation de M. J. A. Fournier' 1808, Personnel, Première série nominative, 1700-1816, vol. 31, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve.



the ships of his nation to, Viz. Not to be subject to any visitation from the custom house neither on arrival, nor on departure... & not to be liable to any duties till delivered from their magazine...<sup>1248</sup>

Erskine added that a protest must be submitted to Stockholm.

However, if the idea was that a French trading community would flourish in Sweden, the fear was misplaced. In an undated letter from the early nineteenth century, Jean Antoine Fournier was described as “le seul français établi dans cette partie du Nord”.<sup>1249</sup> While the situation was not quite that severe, it did prove a challenge to attract French traders to the north, which according to historian Pierrick Pourchasse was due to a shortage of information, discouraging merchants from involving themselves in these markets.<sup>1250</sup>

French information about the trade in Gothenburg was provided by the longstanding consul de Lisle, but Jean Antoine Fournier was appointed vice-consul in 1788 and took over de Lisle’s duties when he was travelling.<sup>1251</sup> According to French regulations, as a representative for the king the consul must be a French national and a Catholic and under no circumstances a merchant. As French nationals could be difficult to come by in some of the remoter areas, however, this regulation could be swayed for the vice-consuls.<sup>1252</sup> When Fournier was eventually promoted to the post of consul in 1793, it can be presumed that the rules had changed along with the fall of the monarchy as, despite the legislation, he came to perform the duties of a consul alongside his day-to-day employment as a merchant.

One other French trader who managed to find his way to the north was Fournier's younger brother Casimir Fournier (1769-1841), who joined his brother in Gothenburg in 1788. While

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<sup>1248</sup> ‘Thomas Erskine to Marquis Carmarthen, Gothenburg 28 July 1787’, 1787, FO 73, vol.6, British National Archives.

<sup>1249</sup> ‘Rapport à son Altesse Sérénissime’ Personnel, Première série nominative, 1700-1816, vol. 31, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve. This was not a new description; he had been described in that way already in the 1796 travelogue *Voyage de deux Français* by de Piles and Boisgelin. See: Alphonse Fortia de Piles & M.Boisgelin, *Voyage de deux Français*, (Paris: Desenne, 1796),vol.II, p.17.

<sup>1250</sup> Pierrick Pourchasse, ‘The “Information Problem” for French Trade in the Northern Markets of the Eighteenth Century’, in *Information Flows. New Approaches in the Historical Study of Business Information*, ed. Leos Müller and Jari Ojala (Helsinki: SKS / Finnish Literature Society, 2007). p.241

<sup>1251</sup> Emile Tailleur, ‘Contribution D’un Grenoblois à L’histoire de La Suède’, *Bulletin Du Musée Bernadotte* 17 (1972). p.14

<sup>1252</sup> Pierrick Pourchasse, ‘The “Information Problem” for French Trade in the Northern Markets of the Eighteenth Century’, p.259

the brothers tried to benefit from the improved conditions for French merchants in the north they soon ran into difficulties. In a letter from September 1789 to Baron Ruuth, J. A. Fournier complained that, despite the early enticements of the St Barthélemy deal, heavy taxes were starting to hurt his business and make it unprofitable.<sup>1253</sup> The brothers appear to have overcome their troubles, however, and a couple of years later they founded the import and export company *Les Frères Fourniers*, bolstered both by Jean Antoine's right to use the French warehouse and Casimir's Swedish citizenship and *burskap*, acquired in 1791.<sup>1254</sup> This meant that not only could they use double privileges, but J. A. Fournier could avoid swearing loyalty to the Swedish state as Thomas Erskine had done some years previously. For both brothers this meant that they were able to mobilise and make use of various features of their identities in different situations, something that would become apparent throughout their time in Gothenburg.

The company, *Les Frères Fourniers*, focused mainly on importing wine and colonial goods of various types.<sup>1255</sup> This trade is reflected in newspaper advertisements for wares for sale in their shop in Domprosthuset from 1791 onwards and in their transactions with the French entrepôt warehouse, where they stored wine, champagne, coffee, and muscovado sugar in packages marked IAF.<sup>1256</sup> This is a detail that will later become relevant.

In only his first year as a burgher, Casimir Fournier found himself before the Maritime Customs Court facing smuggling charges.<sup>1257</sup> The case against the Fournier brothers was related to a sleigh that had been stopped on its way from the river Nordre Elf to Gothenburg in December 1791. The two peasant brothers driving the sleigh were arrested on the spot, but an investigation of the goods revealed that at least four of the packages were addressed to "J.A. Fournier à Gothenbourg", and a further four simply marked "IAF". The court had called in Casimir

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<sup>1253</sup> Hugo Fröding, *Biografiska Studier Från Skilda Tider* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners förlag, 1905). p.186

<sup>1254</sup> HCA 34, vol. 61, British National Archives, (Thank you to Pierrick Pouchasse for this reference); Hugo Fröding, *Biografiska Studier Från Skilda Tider*. p.185

<sup>1255</sup> Nils Holm, 'Jean Antoine Fournier', in <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/14412>, *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, 1964, Accessed 24 June 2019.

<sup>1256</sup> See for example: 'Kungörelser (Fournier)', *Göteborgs Tidningar*, November 5, 1790, 129 edition; 'Til Salu Finnes (Fournier)', *Göteborgs Allehanda*, November 9, 1790, 90 edition. 'Franske Skep Joseph de Le Fortrie Med Galeasen La Maire Inkommen Ifrån Havre de Grace Til Göteborg under No 206, d. 23 Majj 1791 Nederlagen Anl. Conventionen Af d. 26 Julii År 1784 - Uttagit Til Förtullning Af Cazimir Fournier', 1784, Äldre centrala tullarkiv, Generaltullarrendesocieteten, m. fl., kansliet, Skrivelser från tullfiskaler E8, vol.1.

<sup>1257</sup> Casimir Fournier: 29 Dec 1791, 'Dombok' 1791, Göteborgs Sjötullsrätt, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Landsarkiv'; This was the first of at least five court cases the two brothers would face during the subsequent 12 years: 22 April 1793, 'Dombok' 1793, Göteborgs Sjötullsrätt, A1, vol.20, Göteborgs Landsarkiv; 'Kongl. Maj. Högsta Domstolens Utslag', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 26 April 1796. Jean Antoine Fournier: 'Konkurstvist', *Posttidningar*, 24 August 1803, 115 edition.

Fournier as his brother was abroad at the time. Fournier stated that many people had the initials “IAF” in the kingdom and that this was hardly incriminating. In regards to the packets addressed directly to his brother, Casimir Fournier stated that some of their enemies must have addressed them thus in order to damage their business. The total amount of contraband was calculated at 2673 Rdr Specie, and included many luxury goods which appeared to be French in origin, including, among other things: black serge de reine, silk moire in various colours, black ostrich plumes, silk scarves, earrings, necklace crosses of glass, muslin scarves, gold rings, clocks, women’s silk hats and French flowers.<sup>1258</sup> Casimir Fournier was asked to swear an oath (*wärjemåls ed*) on his and his brother’s innocence (17 Cap, 30§, Swea Lag). However, Fournier refused to do so and appealed to the National Board of Trade. In May 1792 they released their verdict, which reinforced the decision of the Customs Court and renewed the demand for Casimir Fournier to swear the oath. By November 1792 Fournier explained that even though he had nothing to do with the seized goods and could swear an oath with good conscience, he was not willing to do so as it might awake suspicion. Due to his repeated resistance to taking the oath, the court had no option but to fine him according to (1 Art, 5§, 1770). As he could only be tied to the four packages addressed directly to his brother the fine landed on a mere 122 Rdr Specie.<sup>1259</sup> While the Fournier brothers contested their involvement in this smuggling trade it seems likely that J. A. Fournier, at least, was directly involved in the contraband trade to Sweden – the same lucrative trade described by Fournier’s colleague du Goutte in 1802 as a good trade opportunity for France.<sup>1260</sup>

### *Competition in the North*

Two years later, in 1794, during the French Revolutionary Wars, an event would take place which would see the end of Casimir Fournier’s presence in Gothenburg and would also be a severe blow to Jean Antoine. On 14<sup>th</sup> May 1794 Thomas Erskine filed a report to the British government telling of some disturbing new developments in Gothenburg. He had recently discovered that 2000-3000 casks of gunpowder had been purchased from private mills in Sweden by ‘French Agents’, “[w]ho intend to smugle [sic] it out of the Country, by puting [sic] it on board of unsuspected Ships, without entry or in such a manner as not to be known to be

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<sup>1258</sup> Berit Eldvik, Private Communication, 30 January 2017.

<sup>1259</sup> 29 Dec 1791, ‘Dombok’ 1791, Göteborgs Sjö tullsrätt, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Landsarkiv; 3 Jan 1792, 5 Jan 1792, 22 Mar 1792, 26 Apr 1792, 3 Maj 1792, 22 Nov 1792, ‘Dombok’ 1792, Göteborgs Sjö tullsrätt, A1, vol.19, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

<sup>1260</sup> ‘Relation Extérieure, Prairial an 11, (May 1802) de Goutte’.

Powder”.<sup>1261</sup> However, Erskine, who was well acquainted with one of the manufacturers, offered to purchase the powder himself on behalf of the British government. “The quallity is good, as the price is so low and to Prevent this parcel [of gunpowder] from going to France.”<sup>1262</sup> Erskine also noted that the French agents were loading their ships with herring, corn and hemp as a diversion. When Erskine failed to convince the British government to purchase the Swedish gunpowder, the sale to the French agents went ahead.<sup>1263</sup> This did not mean the British were willing to sit idly by, however. Instead the ships were seized on route to France, and were quickly identified as belonging to Casimir Fournier. Shortly after the seizure, the Swedish envoy in London, Laurent Engeström, wrote a letter to the foreign office noting that the failure of the British government to return the ships to Fournier appeared to be directly linked to ill will against him personally. Engeström explained that the Court of Admiralty should not be misled by his French-sounding name: Casimir Fournier was a Swedish subject and a long-time merchant of Gothenburg.<sup>1264</sup> The case was not pursued further but the vessels were still not released and in November 1794 Casimir wrote to the Swedish government to complain about the situation, noting that the goods that had been seized were *propriété neutre* but had been treated as enemy cargo.<sup>1265</sup> A letter from the Burgomaster of Gothenburg was consequently submitted to the British government, explaining Casimir’s status as a Swedish burgher. It was explicitly pointed out that:

Likewise that he ... neither at the time of the loading of the said Cargo nor at the time of the Capture thereof nor at the present time was or is a Partner in any Mercantile House belonging to any person or persons being Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain or Inhabiting within the Territories of France... And that he is not nor ever has been a French Consul or in any other Service under the Government of France at Gothenburg.<sup>1266</sup>

This case is also mentioned by Leos Müller, who discusses it in the context of the British treatment of Swedish neutral shipping. The situation is, however, complicated both by the fact

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<sup>1261</sup> ‘Letter to Lord Grenville, from Thomas Erskine, Gothenburg 17 May 1794’, 1794, FO 73, vol.17, British National Archives.

<sup>1262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1263</sup> ‘Letter to B. Burghess Downing Street, from R M Crew, Office of Ordnance, 17 June 1794’, 1794, FO 73, vol.17, British National Archives.

<sup>1264</sup> ‘Letter from Laurent Engeström, 19 June 1794’, 1794, FO 73, vol.18, British National Archives.

<sup>1265</sup> ‘Fournier’ Ämnessamlingar, Personarkiv, Biographica, vol. F II 3, Riksarkivet.

<sup>1266</sup> ‘Letter dated 4th of April 1795’, HCA 34, vol. 61, British National Archives.

that Erskine had alerted the British government to the fact that large gunpowder shipments were smuggled out of Gothenburg by French agents, and by the fact that Casimir's own brother, despite the reassurances of the burgomasters, was a French state agent.<sup>1267</sup> According to the nineteenth century historian Hugo Fröding, J.A. Fournier claimed that he had agreed with the Swedish government that a cargo of gunpowder would be shipped from Gothenburg to France but that the ship would sail under Swedish colours with a claimed destination of St Barthélemy. In addition, the Swedish government was supposed to have taken it upon themselves to reclaim the cargo as Swedish in the case of it being seized. However, Swedish attempts to reclaim the ship in question continued for years without success.<sup>1268</sup> It is, however, not clear whether this ship was among the around twenty ships seized belonging to Casimir Fournier.

These cases illustrate how both of the Fournier brothers were actively using their contrasting identities, the French Jean Antoine and the Swedish Casimir, not only to advance their own trade but to help their native country. However, Casimir's use of his 'Swedishness' ended around the same time as the seizure of his cargoes. Both brothers also disappeared from Gothenburg at this time.<sup>1269</sup> While Jean Antoine would return again in 1799, Casimir Fournier never returned.<sup>1270</sup>

### *An 'entreprise patriotique'*

During his second bout in Sweden J. A. Fournier returned to his merchant trade, but this time he made no attempts to hide his work for France. On 28<sup>th</sup> March 1800 he put an advertisement in *Göteborgs Allehanda*, a daily newspaper in Gothenburg, announcing that the French Republic's laws and legislations regarding neutral shipping were now available at the Exchange, produced "by the Only and Indivisible French Republic".<sup>1271</sup> In doing so, while he made his allegiances clear he also appealed to the Swedish interest in neutral shipping.

By 1804 Fournier had been called away from Sweden due to a breakdown of French-Swedish relations, abandoning his house and stock in the process. Only a few days after his departure these were completely destroyed in the fire that destroyed large parts of Gothenburg. In

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<sup>1267</sup> Müller, 'Swedish Merchant Shipping in Troubled Times' p.155

<sup>1268</sup> Hugo Fröding, *Biografiska Studier Från Skilda Tider*, pp.187-188

<sup>1269</sup> 'Fournier' 1794, Åmnessamlingar, Personarkiv, Biographica, vol. F II 3, Riksarkivet.; Hugo Fröding, *Biografiska Studier Från Skilda Tider*, pp.187-188

<sup>1270</sup> 'Passagerare', *Inrikes Tidningar*, 17 July 1799, 83 edition.

<sup>1271</sup> Jean Antoine Fournier, '-', *Göteborgs Allehanda*, March 28, 1800.

subsequent years Fournier fought for compensation from Napoleon, which he probably never received.<sup>1272</sup> After his return to France Fournier continued his attempts to promote a greater French interest in Sweden and in 1805 he submitted a report about the benefits of developing trade with Sweden. In it Fournier outlined the potential to develop this trade as a way to undermine Britain, and argued that Sweden would be open to it as they were traditional enemies of the British and had often been mistreated by Britain in the past. Through exercising increased control over the trade in the north, Fournier argued that it would be possible to combat British dominance and advance the French political agenda. He highlighted the importance of focusing French trading efforts in Sweden on products such as eau-de-vie, sugar, coffee and luxury goods, for which there was a particular market in the north.<sup>1273</sup> The significance of establishing a trading base in the north remained an important theme in Fournier's correspondence during these years, with competition with the British being a central focus. Fournier used the need to control northern trade as an argument not only for an increased French investment in Sweden but also to strengthen his own trading ventures.

Finally, after the Treaty of Paris in 1810, Fournier returned to Sweden and helped secure Marshal Jean Bernadotte as heir to the Swedish throne at the diet in Örebro.<sup>1274</sup> This happened after a chance meeting with the Marshal in Hannover during his return trip from Gothenburg to Paris in 1804.<sup>1275</sup> Fournier can thus not be accused of the *laissez-faire* attitude common among many other French consuls in the north.<sup>1276</sup> He often referred to his stay in the north as his “entreprise patriotique”.<sup>1277</sup> Establishing a trading base and competing for the Swedish market was challenging, but according to Fournier it was worthwhile in order to combat the influence of the British. Through his trading activities in Gothenburg it is clear that he was also actively trying to undermine the British position in the town. Being both a merchant and a consul created a situation where self-interest and the national interest could be difficult to separate, and for

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<sup>1272</sup> ‘Réclamation de M. J. A. Fournier’ 1808, Personnel, Première série nominative, 1700-1816, vol. 31, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve.

<sup>1273</sup> Jean Antoine Fournier, ‘À Son Excellence Le Ministre de Relations Extérieure, Mémoire’ 15 January 1805, Mémoires et Documents, Suède, vol.6, 1632-1814, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve. ff. 193-201

<sup>1274</sup> Nils Holm, ‘Jean Antoine Fournier’. In *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*. Vol. 16, 1964.

<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/15455>, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Accessed 25 June 2019.

<sup>1275</sup> Ibid.; Emile Taillefer, ‘Contribution D’un Grenoblois à L’histoire de La Suède’, *Bulletin Du Musée Bernadotte* 17 (1972)

<sup>1276</sup> Pierrick Pourchasse, ‘The “Information Problem” for French Trade in the Northern Markets of the Eighteenth Century’, p.253

<sup>1277</sup> ‘Réclamation de M. J. A. Fournier’ 1808, Personnel, Première série nominative, 1700-1816, vol. 31, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve.

someone like Fournier the two appear to be interlinked. Although Fournier argued in 1805 that the Swedes were open to seeing British mercantile dominance challenged by the French, by the early nineteenth century Swedish relations with Britain had improved as a consequence of the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>1278</sup> This precipitated a recalibration in the political and trade relations between Sweden, Britain, and France, and can clearly be seen during the continental blockade of 1806 to 1814, when the smuggling hub of Gothenburg started to be used by the British to introduce their manufactures and colonial wares into the European market.<sup>1279</sup>

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Smuggling was not only a domestic concern but also a feature of international trade competition, which could offset the effects of protectionist policy. Ultimately, Swedish smuggling was relevant to both Britain and France because Sweden played an integral part in international trade, as a neutral carrier, and as an exporter of wares crucial to building up commercial empires, most notably high-quality iron. This meant that it was necessary for Britain, and increasingly also for France, to figure out ways to relate to the Swedish market and its restrictions.

The views on smuggling reflected in the foreign office correspondence were directly linked to the states' distinct trade interests and concerns. Consequently, British correspondence focused on smuggling in relation to the Anglo-Swedish trade balance, which was of great concern due to Britain's large iron imports from Sweden and their limited ability to export their own manufactures. Smuggling in this context came to be described as a tool to counteract a negative trade balance. At the same time, smuggling from Sweden to Britain was seen as a threat to the British market and as worsening the trade balance even further. In the French correspondence, meanwhile, smuggling was described as a way to challenge British dominance in the north, and to undermine Britain's control over its own market. This was an extension of the Anglo-Franco trade rivalry, ongoing throughout the eighteenth century, and aiming to secure a French commercial advantage at the expense of the British. Swedish portrayals of international

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<sup>1278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1279</sup> Some studies that deal with this (if only briefly) include: Marzagalli, *Boulevards de La Fraude*.pp. 164-170; See also Häggqvist, 'On the Ocean of Protectionism. The Structure of Swedish Tariffs and Trade 1780-1830'.pp.155 & 157

smuggling also focused on gaining a commercial advantage, but they concentrated more on extending Swedish trade than damaging that of other states. At the same time, it should be noted that Britain was seen in Sweden as an appropriate 'victim' because of its own aggressive trading tactics. Smuggling thus appears to have been considered an important part of the inter-state commercial competition. The contraband trade was related to more general political and trade relationships, but as these changed with time so did inter-state smuggling, as new rivals appeared and alliances were struck.

Foreign office correspondence cannot merely be seen as an expression of state interests, however, and it is also necessary to consider the individuals who wrote it. The ambassadors, envoys, and consuls responsible for much of the reporting on the contraband trade were transnational state actors, and while they were meant to represent the state it is clear that their own private interests affected the way they portrayed smuggling, in particular the consuls who were also merchants. This means that it is difficult to make a clear distinction between national political interests and that of the individual, as arguments framed around the national interest might actually disguise personal concerns. In order to analyse information about the contraband trade it is therefore necessary to consider personal motivations, shifting allegiances, and business interests that might have affected what information about the contraband trade was passed on and how it was portrayed. Through looking closer at the individual consuls it becomes clear that personal concerns could lead consuls to conceal information about smuggling, or exaggerate the potential for it.

At the same time it is evident that smuggling could be an effective tool to counteract the protectionist policies of other states. The British Commutation Act of 1784 is one example of the effectiveness of this tool, and the repeated failures of the Swedish coffee prohibitions are another. Examples can also be found in other countries, including the removal of the French ban on calico in 1759. Smuggling could thus be an effective way of undermining a state's sovereignty over its own trade, and in the long run it contributed to changing the economic system itself.



## Chapter 7

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### Conclusion: Globalisation, State Formation, and Consumption Revisited

This thesis has explored smuggling in Sweden during the forty-year period 1766-1806 from five different vantage points. Together they enable us to extend our understanding of the multifaceted and changing role that smuggling played in early modern Sweden. Rather than being a fringe phenomenon, this study demonstrates that smuggling permeated many aspects of Swedish politics, culture, and society. As the chapter conclusions show, smuggling can be used as a prism through which we can observe numerous elements central in shaping late eighteenth-century Sweden: changing views on economy and citizenship, the reach of state authority, smuggling as a source of revenue, social attitudes towards contraband retailers, the impact of contraband, and international perceptions of smuggling as an aspect of inter-state competition. In this final chapter, attention returns to the three historical processes identified by Michael Kwass as the cause of smuggling in the eighteenth century – globalisation, state formation, and consumption – to consider what smuggling can tell us about these three processes in Sweden during the period studied.

#### Globalisation

One of the first conclusions that can be drawn is that protectionism was, at least in part, a result of globalisation. In the eighteenth century, global trade and manufacturing fuelled by inter-state competition was pursued with increasing rigour, leading to a growing volume of wares entering and circulating around Europe. These global wares were not solely imported for domestic consumption, but were also supposed to be sold in rival European states through re-export, arriving there either as legal and correspondingly taxed goods, or undercover and with no official duties attached to them. In pursuit of a positive trade balance many European

countries, including Sweden, introduced protectionist policies and trade barriers to stave off this unwanted trade.

As discussed throughout this thesis, the erection of trade barriers did not ensure that the market was closed to foreign influences. Smuggling enabled a continued supply of wares to enter Sweden. In examining how porous borders and limited state authority allowed goods to circulate, it has become clear that the spread of global wares needs to be considered in relation to neighbouring territories and trading partners. In Sweden's case the most significant foreign contraband depots appear to be Denmark-Norway, which from the 1770s onwards was undergoing a trade boom known in Denmark as the period of "efflorescent trade", a boom further reinforced by the lifting of many of its trade restrictions in 1797; Pomerania, which also developed extensive long-distance trade in the 1770s and eased its protectionist legislation in 1786; and finally England, which was at the forefront of the European pursuit of global trade and manufacturing.<sup>1280</sup> Meanwhile, contraband was also entering over the eastern borders from Russia, a country that was participating increasingly in European trade in the eighteenth century, a development that followed its turn towards Europe and the conquest and establishment of Baltic harbours. In order to understand smuggling into Sweden it is thus necessary to look both at entrepôt trade and neighbouring states with different economic legislation.

The central question, then, is perhaps not so much *when* Sweden was globalised, nor is it *whether or not* globalisation took place in eighteenth-century Sweden. Instead, globalisation should be seen as a worldwide, ongoing and unfolding process, fuelled by commercial state interests that triggered a range of various responses, reactions and counteractions shaped by dynamic national conditions. Rather than interpreting protectionism as a lack of globalisation, it should be seen as a product of the globalisation process, albeit the result of complex chains of cause and effect. Protectionism is a case in point, as a national response to globalisation intended to ward off the new challenges posed by global trade. Yet the introduction of protectionist measures did not hamper the consumers' desire for global wares. The continued consumer demand fuelled smuggling, causing the effects of protectionism to be more diverse

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<sup>1280</sup> In addition to these there was also the important Baltic city of Danzig, which it unfortunately has not been possible to include as much as it appears to deserve in this study; further research is therefore necessary to establish the features of the Danzig contraband trade.

than might have been intended. In short, there was no smuggling without consumers, and no protectionism without effects on state formation.

## **State Formation**

In the eighteenth century, protectionism intensified in Sweden. While protectionist measures had been in use before this time, this period saw both an expansion and a multiplication of the protectionist legislation, particularly during the second half of the century. The intensification of protectionist policy was not merely a reaction to the expansion of global trade but also a step towards making Sweden into a homogenised economic unit, a commercial nation-state that could keep up with the challenges of increased international competition. However, as protectionism escalated so did the dangers of smuggling, not merely because bans and duty hikes increased the incentives for smuggling but also because the supporters of protectionism defined smuggling as a threat against the state. In this way smuggling came to highlight the limits of state authority, and its inchoate state apparatus, particularly the customs office. In the end the state proved incapable of stamping out smuggling; Swedish protectionism was thus aspirational rather than absolute.

While smuggling challenged the state's authority and undermined its control over its own territory, inhabitants, and economy, it also came to play an important role in the development of the Swedish state. The continued access to prohibited goods led to the cancellation of certain unworkable prohibitions, most notably that on coffee, thus having a direct effect on state policy. Remarkably, contraband also allowed protectionist legislations to persist, through covering gaps in the market created by import bans and sluggishly developing domestic manufacturing. In addition, smuggling and the continued access to illegal wares also led to the mobilisation of patriotism to dissuade Swedish consumers from buying contraband, and patriotic protectionism came to dominate the state's economic discourse. Through looking at smuggling it becomes evident that the Swedish state made many attempts to enforce economic control over its territory in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but also that these attempts had mixed results, and that the state never succeeded in its attempts to isolate Sweden from unwanted imports.

At the same time, smuggling could also be used as a weapon against other states: to undermine their regulations and to expand export trade towards countries shielded by protectionist legislation. Indeed, if protectionist legislation was one gambit which could be used to gain an upper hand in a trade relationship, then smuggling was another. The Swedish state also appears to have used smuggling in this way to further its own trade, particularly against Britain. In this way, Sweden also contributed to the development of the British state, which eventually had to drop its extortionate tea duty as a result of the contraband trade. Smuggling could effectively both undermine and strengthen trade, and appears to have been an integrated part of domestic state formation as well as international trade relations during the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. It should be noted that smuggling was not merely a sign of the failure of the protectionist trade, as many contemporaries posited, but should rather be seen as another feature of it.

## Consumption

Smuggling also came to affect the development of Swedish consumption practices. It provided Swedish consumers from all social levels with access to foreign, exclusive items and to cheap but high-quality products. Access to these types of goods made consumers aware of what they could be consuming, increasing at once the demand on the manufactories to adapt and for legislation to be dropped, developments which not only show a rise in consumer awareness but also that the consumers used this knowledge to try to influence supply.

This thesis shows that, when studying the influence of foreign wares, attention should be paid not only to quantity, i.e. the number of imported goods, but also to the impact that these wares had on culture and society. Like other kinds of cultural transfers, some of the contraband wares came to have formative effects on Sweden and the fabrication of Swedish identity, effects which are still lingering today. Worsteds, with their superior quality, had long lives, and kept being recycled and re-circulated, some for as long as a century. During this time, they became an integral part of Swedish regional and eventually national material culture, with copies of Norwich worsteds turning up, for example, in the present-day folk costume of Dala-Floda, in the Swedish heartlands of Dalarna. Coffee, meanwhile, evolved from being a Turkish-French elite luxury good in the early eighteenth century to a crucial component of popular Swedish consumer culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both of these

banned global goods eventually transformed into important elements of national identity, as symbolic markers of Swedishness, both as material expressions like the “authentic” *folkdräkt*, and as social practices such as “Swedish fika”.

Smuggling mirrors its own time, its global processes, state concerns, and consumer demands, as well as the changing political role of borders. Both the quantity of smuggling and what is being smuggled thus give insights into shifting international and national conditions and concerns. While the eighteenth century saw exotic produce and European manufactures clandestinely passing across the Swedish borders, during the twentieth century the same borders were illicitly crossed both by individuals fleeing Nazi persecution and by prohibited alcohol, and today customs officers seize drugs, alcohol, and tobacco. Recent introductions of sugar taxes in Norway and Denmark have also led to the increasing smuggling of sweets from Sweden. At the same time, the smuggling routes remain largely the same as they were during the eighteenth century. The archipelagos around Stockholm and Gothenburg, the southern coastline, and the Norwegian borderland all still play vital parts in the contraband trade, both organised and private.

While the western and southern borders are the same today as in the eighteenth century, the eastern one permanently changed in 1809 when Finland was incorporated into the larger Russian Empire, and again when in 1917 it became an independent state. Today Sweden no longer borders on Russia but on Finland, and the border between the two countries is roughly located where the boundary between the Western and Eastern parts of the country once lay. This has also affected smuggling, as smuggling communities developed along this new border benefitted from the meeting between two different economic jurisdictions. Indeed, until the 1960s smuggling was referred to in the border language Meänkieli as ‘joppari’, which derives from the Swedish word ‘to work’ (*jobba*).<sup>1281</sup> A recent addition to these border smuggling activities is the extensive smuggling of ‘snus’, oral tobacco, from Sweden to Finland, where it is prohibited under EU regulation. In Sweden, exempted from this ban, snus can still be

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<sup>1281</sup> Meänkielen sanakirja, <http://meankielensanakirja.com/sana/id/79880>, Accessed 25 June 2019; Juhani Kenttämää, ‘Jopparin jokilaakso – Oliko salakuljetus järjestäytyntä rikollisuutta vai välttämätöntä kansanhuoltoa?’, *Yle Dokumentit*, <https://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2019/06/05/jopparin-jokilaakso-oligo-salakuljetus-jarjestaytynta-rikollisuutta-vai>, Accessed 25 June 2019.

produced and sold.<sup>1282</sup> Smuggling is thus influenced both by the *longue durée* and by immediate political shifts and changes.

This thesis has studied smuggling in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It has concluded that smuggling became more important in Sweden during this period as the Swedish state reacted to increased globalisation with expanding protectionism. This legislation was intended to secure economic control over Sweden's own territory, a step towards consolidating state power. Meanwhile, a domestic consumer demand for the prohibited goods meant that smuggling flourished, and this illicit trade came to be formative for Swedish politics, society and culture. The thesis has highlighted the need to understand how smaller, protectionist, and less commercially advanced states, like Sweden, reacted to and interacted with the processes of globalisation. Far from being disconnected, these states were affected by and contributed to the forces that shaped eighteenth-century Europe.

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<sup>1282</sup>European Commission Memo, Questions & Answers: New rules for tobacco products, 26 February 2014, [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-14-134\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-134_en.htm), Accessed 25 June 2019.

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Kongl. Commerce=Collegii Circulair til samtelige Tull=Rätter, angående widtagne anstalter emot mißbruk af den Allmogen i wißa Händer af Elfsborgs Län tillåtne gårdfari=handel (1792).

Kongl. Maj:ts Bref til Hof-Rätterne, Commerce-Collegium och Gen. Tull-Direction, at Förordningen af d. 26 Julii 1766, rörande Yppighets och Öfwerflöds hämmande, tils vidare måtte hwila, i den del, som angår införande och Förtullande af Caffé-bönor i Riket, 23 Oct 1769 (1769).

Kongl. Maj:ts Förnyade Förordning emot Yppighet och Öfwerflöd. 15 Martii 1770 (1770).

Kongl. Maj:ts Förnyade Land-Tulls och Accis Stadga, 19 Sep 1776 (1776).

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Kongl. Maj:ts Förordning emot Lurendrägerier eller förbudne Utrikes Warors införsel i Riket (1770).

Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förbud Emot Hus=Visitationer, Gifwit Ekolsund then 16 Julii 1776 (1776).

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Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning til Hämmande af Lurendrägerier, Gifwen Stockholms Slott then 14 Martii 1785 (1785).

Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning, Til Förekommande af Lurendrägeri och Tullförsnillning Gifwen Haga Slott den 6 April 1799 (1799).

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Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Afgifterne til Medelhafs=Handelns och Sjöfartens beskydd. Gifwen Stockholms Slott den 30 Martii 1802 (1802).

Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Caffes införande och nyttjande tils vidare. Gifwen Stockholms Slott d 24 Nov 1796 (1796).

- Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Förbud emot oloflig Handel och Uplag af Lurendrögade waror i Rikets Skärgårdar. Gifwen Stockholms Slott den 19 Junii 1798. (1798).
- Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Warning och Förbud, Emot Gemenskap och handel med Utländske Kapare. Gifwen Drottningholms Slott den 16 Julii 1799 (1799).
- Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning angående wiße Utrikes warors sa wäl lösgifwande ifrån Förbud til införsel som beläggande med mindre Manufactur Fonds och andre afgifter. 21 September 1761. (1761).
- Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, Angående Wiße öfwerflöds Wahrors förbiudande til införsel i Riket (4 Nov 1756),
- Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, emot Yppighet och Öfwerflöd, Gifwen Stockholm i Råd-Cammaren then 26 Junii 1766 (1766).
- Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning, Til Lurendrägeriers Hämmande. (1766).
- Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Kungörelse, Angående Dels Förbud emot Införsel af wiße Utländske Waror, dels ock högre Tull-Afgifter derå, 1 Januari 1794. (1794).
- Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Kundgörelse, Angående Förbud emot Ost-Indiske Sidentygers införsel och försäljande här i Riket, ifrån 1755. års början, 19 Februari 1754. (1754).
- Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Kungörelse, Angående Lindring i Tullen m. m. å Americanske och Westindiske Waror, som med Swenska Skepp hitföras. Gifwen Stockholm Slott then 6 Martii 1783. (1783).
- Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Resolution och Förklaring, uppå de allmänna beswär, som...Städerne i Sverige och Finland... andragit. 1762, (1762).
- Kongl. Maj:ts Och Rikets Commerce-Collegii Förnyade Kungörelse, Angående Wästgöthe Allmogens Gårdfarihandel Med Hwad Derwid i Akt Tagas Bör. Gifwen Stockholm Den 8 Martii 1803. Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1803.
- Kongl. Maj:ts och Rikets Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Förklaring af 5. Art. 2. §. uti Kongl. Maj:ts under den 6 April 1799 utfärdade Nådiga Förordning til Förkommande af Lurendrägeri och Tull=försnillning. Gifwen Stockholm den 27 Julii 1801 (1801).
- Kongl. Maj:ts och Rikets Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Förbud för obehörige Personer af Judiske Nationen, och Italianare at til Handels Idkande resa omkring Landet. Gifwen Stockholm den 8 Februarii 1802 (1802).
- Kongl. Maj:ts och Rikets Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Segelfarten på Utländske orter ifrån Götheborgs och Bohus, samt Hallands=Läns Skärgårdar. (1798).
- Kongl. Maj:ts och Riksens commerce collegii REGLEMENTE, för them af Judeska Nationen, som wilja hit i Riket inflytta och sig här nedsätta, 27 Maj 1782 (1782).
- Kongl. Maj:ts och Riksens Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Förbud emot så kallat Swenskt Caffé. Gifwen Stockholm den 19 Junii 1794. (1794).
- Kongl. Maj:ts och Riksens Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Förbud emot utländskt Kamulls=Garns införsel. Gifwen Stockholm then 11 April 1785 (1785).
- Kongl. Maj:ts och Riksens Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, Angående Wiße omständigheter rörande Marstrands Fri=hamn; Gifwen Stockholm then 20 Junii 1782 (1782).
- 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. (24 Sep 1776),
- Kongl. Maj:ts Taxa, hwarefter Stora Sjö=Tullen uppå alla inkommande Waror Beräknas och Erlägges. Gifwen Stockholm Slott den 17 April 1799 (1799).

Kongl. Maj:ts Taxa, hwarefter Stora Sjö=Tullen uppå alla inkommande Waror bör erläggas och upbäras, 6 Jun 1782 (1782).

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Kongl. Maj:ts Ytterligare Nådiga Förordning, till Lurendrägeriers hämmande. Gifwen i Råd-Cammaren then 18 April 1768 (1768).

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Kongl. Maj. Giästgifware=Ordning, Öfwersedd, förnyad och förbättrad wid Riksdagen uti Stockholm (1734).

Kongl. Maj:ts Kungörelse, angående inrättandet af en så kallad Porto-Franco uti Marstrand. Den 15 Augusti 1775 (1775).

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Påbud angående en Consumtions-accis erläggande af Thé, Caffé, Rök- och Snus-tobak, samt Puder (1747).

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Taxa, hwarefter, Ifrån then 1 September 1747, the på thenne Förteckning upförde Utrikes ifrån Inkommande Waror, komma at betala Afgift Til Manufactur Fonden (30 Jun 1747),

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1.

### Registered Cases in Stockholms Stora Sjötulls Dombok 1769, June-November.

Source: Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.22. Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

1769	Page	Offender	Location	Wares
June 03	175	Captain Peter Radloff's crew Jurgen Barndt, Johan Ekhoﬀ, Carpar Frey, Sinkfot	from Wismar	35 pounds of coffee, wax pearls, glass pearls, calico, camleteen, worsted socks, cotton nightcaps, plain silk neckerchiefs, scarves, blue half silk, black silk, black silk taffeta...
	180	A Boat by kodjupet		35 pounds of coffee, men's worsted socks, camlet, calico, Greifburger linen
June 06	184	Johan Sundbeck aka Carl Holm		Various textiles
	187	First mate Carl Kron on Captain Jacob Harloff's ship	from Pernaw	20 pounds of chocolate
	189	Captain Frederic Seele	from Riga	10 pounds of coffee, gloves
	192	First mate Hans Nausch and able seaman Peter Scheele on Captain Peter Neiman's ship	from Riga	20 pounds of coffee, linings of cat fur, Russian soap, cotton and linen textiles
	194	Able seaman Sune Edlund on Captain Hans Andersson's ship	From Danzig	Silk cloth and silk ribbons
June 13	205	Johan N Billborg on Captain Johan Wising's ship	From Dantzig	Penknives, glass pearls
	207	First mate David Funck on Captain Christer Herzen's ship	From Danzig	390 pounds of coffee, Dutch linen, socks
	211	Captain Johan J Scharpenberg's crew	From Wismar	28 pounds of coffee, silk socks, camleteens, wood boxes
	215	Same as above		Calico, worsted socks, imitation gold
	220	Ship's cook Reinhold Hindricsson on		28 pounds of coffee, calico, camleteen

		Captain David Schön's ship		
June 19	224	Captain Albrecht Wallis	From England	Various manufactures
June 23	232	Carpenter Longström on Captain Peter Drakström's ship	From Cagliari	Calamancoes, napkins
	234	First mate Johan Sidin on Captain Jesper Biörkwall's ship	From Arensburg	16 pounds of coffee
June 27	236	Captain Johan Gebbhardt		55 pounds of coffee, tea, Chinese chintz
	239	First mates Fredric Lund and Carl Åberg on Captain Magnus Paulin's ship	From Windaw	290 pounds of coffee
July 05	245	Able seaman Anth Luckin on (previous?) Michaillof's ship	From St Petersburg	Thread, curtain cloth
	247	Able seamen Carlström and Runström on David Hindric Richter's ship	From Danzig	Knives, glass pearls
	249	Able seamen Dahlman and Bertel Hindricsson on J. G. Wiman's ship	From Danzig	2 pounds of coffee, women's worsted socks
	252	Captain Matt Smith's crew	From England	148 pound of coffee, camleteen,
July 07	257	Captain Magnus Örn	From England	Manufactures of metal and textile
	267	Able seaman Eric Böttcher on Captain Neuenkirk's ship	From Wismar	48 pounds of coffee
	269	First mate Lars Lilliewal living on Kongl. Djurgården		110 pounds of coffee
July 08	271	First mate Eric Ström on Captain Peter Ström's ship	From St Petersburg	11 pounds of coffee, Russian linen, sheep skins, Russian soap
July 11	283	Able seaman Peter Sundström on J. D. Schultzes ship	From Wismar	Striped cotton with flower bouquets, black woolen camlet

July 17	290	Able seamen P. Tunberg, Boreng, Sommarlund, Lagerberg, Klein	From Gothenburg	East India wares, private import
	296	Peter Östergren & Lars Stenberg on Captain Bagge's ship		Wine
July 18	299	Carpenter Anders Öhman	From Gothenburg	Nankin, bedcover of printed cotton
	302	Håkan Öman on Captain Peter Ifvarsson's ship	From Danzig	50 pounds of coffee, tobacco, gilded crystal bottles
July 19	304	Able seaman Hans Schlör on Captain Ernst Peter's ship	From Stralsund	42 pound of coffee
	306	Captain Samuel Loberg	From Cagliari	55 pounds of coffee, tobacco, women's cotton socks, silk neckerchiefs, chocolate, dried confect, Venetian soap
	309	Able seaman Erland Gustafsson on Captain Johan Lundgren's ship	From Danzig	95 pounds of coffee
	311	First mate Anders Erson Hjelmström on Captain Thore Pet. Grell's ship	From St Petersburg	32 pounds of coffee, burlap
July 25	324	Unknown		
	330	Captain Jöns Lundqvist	From Simrishamn	70 pounds of coffee
July 28	343	Able seaman Peter Rosing		4 pounds of coffee, blue woolen cloth
	347	Merchant assistant Johan Ekman, assistant to the merchant Anders Brockman		900 pounds of coffee
Aug 02	350	Captain William Jackson and crew	From Colchester	Socks, cotton, velvet
	362	English Captain Johan Bruck		Tar
	364	Captain Johan Husfeldt's crew	From Wismar	262 pounds of coffee
Aug 11	383	Able seaman Hindric Möller on Johan Anton Beren's ship	From Wismar	150 pounds of coffee, camlet

	386	Captain Robert Burns	From London	Coffee pots, milk jugs, teapots, butter dishes with lids, terrines, cups and saucers...
Aug 19	389	Captain Anders Knabe	From Narva	Linen
	401	Carl Wecher	Italian	A basket of violin strings (freed against payment of import duty)
	405	Unknown man		Basket of porcelain teapots, milk jugs, sauce dispensers
	407	Captain James Harrison	From England	Wheat flour and sweet cheese
Aug 22	418	Unknown sailors		Blue cotton velvet, black cotton velvet
Aug 26	418	Able seaman Rob Taylor on Captain James Harris' ship	From London with ballast	Black plain wool satin, wool camlet in numerous colours, cotton velvet, worsted socks
	421	Able seaman on Captain Thomas Laws' ship		Large assortment of buttons, brass and coat
	426	Carl Siöberg on Captain Ratkin's ship	From Danzig	200 pounds of coffee, glass pearls, 13 000 sewing pins
Sep 01	432	Captain Jacob Ahlin	From Wisby	29 pounds of coffee, Dutch linen
Sep 15	455	Thomas Halley on Captain Maccartney's ship	From Hull	Cotton velvet
	457	Thomas Hoald on Captain Joshua Knuscher's ship	From Lancaster	Worsted socks
	459	Captain Wilhelm Gottfried Dahl and Peter Mattson	From Danzig	1000 pounds of coffee, textiles
	463	Captain Christ Stephase	From Wolgast	Various textiles, several worsteds
Sep 18	470	Blomberg	In the archipelago	Suspected smuggling
Sep 22	494	Captain Olof Strömstedt	From Cagliari	Wine
	-	Able seaman John Joy on Captain Stephen Beiston's ship	From Hull	Socks
Oct 03	507	Able seaman Wahlberg on Captain Johan Beckman's ship	From Pillau	15 pounds of coffee, cloth

	515	Captain Eric Ahlberg's crew and J. Glasberg	From Danzig till Gävle	Calico, Wahrendorfer linen, silk gloves, flowered silk cap cloth, black wool satin, Grisenberger linen..
	522	Peter Mattson on Dahl's ship again		30 000 sewing pins
Oct 13	527	Vice amanuensis in the Royal Antiquity Collection Pehr Hellman onboard Captain Knabe's ship	From Reval	Textiles and buttons (received from a relative)
	531	Captain Anders Knabe	From Reval	9 pounds of coffee
	533	Captain Peter Brandenburg's crew	From Danzig	11 pounds of coffee, cotton, glass pearls
	535	Carpenter Peter Liung on Captain Samuel Dixon's ship	From London	English silver pocket watches, Spanish canes, razors, tobacco, various textiles
Oct 21	544	Able seaman Magnus Hallberg		English silver pocket watches
Nov 04	566	Captain Olof Collander	From Wisby	8 pounds of coffee, calico and various other printed textiles
	571	Captain Magnus Törner	From Wisby	35 pounds of coffee, blue speckled calico, women's gloves, glass pearl bands, various other textiles
	573	Captain Jacobsson	From Gothenburg	18 pounds of coffee, silk ribbons and neckerchiefs, red nankins, torn East Indian paper wallpapers
Nov 07	577	Captain Skog		Curtain cloth
Nov 10	586	Captain Zickerman	From Amsterdam	Acquitted
Nov 11	592	Captain Joachim H. Sattaw	From Wismar	95 pounds of coffee, worsted socks, cotton caps, taffeta, calico, fans, camleteen, etamin
	596	First mate Anders Liberg on Captain Jacob Lindstedh's ship	From Gothenburg	East Indian damask, bought from East Indian ship in Gothenburg
	598	Captain Dawid Fredric Hacker	From Wismar	Silk socks
	600	Able seaman Casper Grandell on Captain Christ. Rud. Neuenkircken's ship	From Wismar	40 pounds of coffee, calico (various), silk ribbons



	603	Able seaman Daniel Hertig on Captain Johan G. Husfeldt's ship	From Wismar	70 pounds of coffee
Nov 15	605	Sailor Peter Det. Möller on Captain Tram's ship (seized on Köpmanstorget)	From Kiel	40 pounds of coffee
	612	Sailor Peter Det. Möller on Captain Tram's ship (seized on Skeppsbyggan)	From Kiel	Tobacco
Nov 15 & 17	614-619	Captain Casper Jacobsson	From Gothenburg	165 pounds of coffee, 6 pots of Chinese soy
Nov 17	621	Captain Peter Gardman	From Kungelv	230 pounds of coffee
Nov 20	623	Gardner Peter Sterlandtsson	Årstad trädgård	Had buried an unknown quantity of coffee in Årstad garden
Nov 21	625	Sugar refinery worker Jonas Öberg	Skeppsbron	37 pounds of coffee
	631	Cabin boy Johan Haut, on Captain Johan David Schönbeck's ship	From Wismar	28 pounds of coffee, papier-mâché boxes
	634	Able seaman Casper Grandell on Captain Christ. Rud Neuenkircken's ship	From Wismar	60 pounds of coffee, 30 lacquer snuff boxes, cotton night caps (water damaged)
	636	Captain Carl Fr. Edberg	From Amsterdam	Various packages addressed to various individuals containing sewing pins, snuff boxes, glasses, razors, East Indian padlocks, shoe buckles, jackknives, silk stockings and silk neckerchiefs
	642	Captain Carl Fr. Edberg	From Amsterdam	36 pounds of coffee
	644	Captain J. M. Schmidt	From Wismar	136 wax candles
Nov 24	671	Unknown sailors (escaped)		Tobacco
	675	Captain Martin Wallis	From Stralsund	Damask various
	679	Able seaman Christ. Maas	From Wismar	Buttons, silver buttons, silk taffeta, calico chintz (various)

Nov 28	683	Unknown men	At Hästholmen in boat	170 pounds of coffee
	686	Able seaman Hindric Rostman on Captain Asmus Möller's ship	From Kiel	75 pounds of coffee
	688	Able seaman John. Swanström on Captain Jonas Öhman's ship	From Amsterdam till Gelfe	Dutch linen, cambric
Nov 30	694	Able seamen Jacob Brandt, Johan Höfvel and Joh. Zingerman on Captain Gabrien J. Machaus' ship	From Wismar	(unknown)

## Appendix 2.

### Registered Cases in Stockholms Stora Sjötulls Dombok 1800, June-November (and December).

Source: Stockholms rådhusrätt, Stora Sjötullen, Protokoll, A, vol.23. Stockholms Stadsarkiv.

<b>1800</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Offender</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Wares</b>
Jun 04	223	First mate Hans Jönsson		Russian corn spirits
Jun 28	274	Skipper M Schmidt	from London	Barrell English Porter
Jul 09	283	Ship carpenter Robert Falkus onboard Skipper Thomas Dean's Ship	England	1 dozen porcelain plates
	288	Sailors with blue sweaters and white trousers		526 pounds coffee
	294	Skipper Aron Timan		French spirits
	298	Skipper A. F. Muchau		Pipe clay
	312	Skipper Bolin	from Kalmar (Sweden)	2359 pounds coffee (33 sacks)
Jul 18	371	Skipper Vagt	from Hamburg	Sugar rats and moulds from manufacturer Haas in Hamburg
Jul 18	376	Skipper Lundgren and Birgersson etc. owners		2.5 pounds Vanilla, cheese, raisings, yellow ochre, musical instruments, a barrel of cinnabar, wine from the Rhine valley, wine from the Mosel valley
Jul 23	398	Skipper Björkman	from St Ybes	Barrels of coffee (no amount given)
Jul 30	408	Skipper Högsten	from Stockholm to Lybeck	6 barrels pitch oil
	417	Skipper C. M Jancke		Pipe clay
	427	Skipper Zach Fenger	from Wismar	Rum
Aug 06	432	unknown	discovered on Skeppsbron	Foreign spirits
Aug 13	445	Skipper Ch. Ohms	from Greifswald	70 pounds coffee
Aug 27	462	Skipper M. Ullern	from Hamburg	5 pounds coffee, 2.5 pounds vanilla, 6 pounds snuff
Sep 02	474	Gardner Sven Frilander (freed asisstant convicted)	Tanto Lake	169 foreign calico shawls
	489	Westgothian pedlar H. Hamberg		89 pounds coffee
Sep 03	501	Skipper Peter Österlund		4549 pounds coffee

Sep 10	622	Wholesale dealer C. Fyrberg		
Sep 17	641	Skipper O. P. Sifvertzson	at Waxholm	nails
	660	Farmhand Jöns Tungren		7 calico sheets (280 ells)
Sep 24	664	Wood driver J. Bejer	Horns tull 3 in the morning	1104 pounds coffee
	678	Hatmaker Reusell	House visitation	Silk socks, trouser cloth, worsted, pocket watch chains, necklaces, snuffboxes, ribbons, waistcoat cloth.
	688	Farmhand Pet Järnström	Norr tull	4 pounds coffee
Sep 26	691	Unknown men	outside Skans tull on the main road	17 silk textiles (321 ells black) and 745 ells grey taffeta.
Oct 01	705	First mate Joh Ytterstedt on Skipper A. C. Callissendorff's Ship	from Amsterdam	64 pounds coffee
	713	Merchant Erik J. Ek		35 pieces and ribbons of silk, 15 pieces of coloured silk (primarily Swedish see p.721)
Oct 08	727	Merchants Sundin and Brasch	Örebro	foreign stockings, and linen neckerchiefs
Oct 15	736	First mate Rundberg on Skipper E. Uneru's Ship	from Pillau	169 pounds coffee
	744	Westgothian pedlar assistant Sven Larsson to Westgothian pedlar Håkan Andersson	Horns Tull	a piece of worsted satin
Oct 15	748	Skipper Smith	From St Ybes	Sewing baskets
	753	Traveller A. Storm	Horns Tull coming from Denmark	113 pounds coffee, 18 pairs of silk socks, 3 sunscreens, 71 East Indian handkerchiefs, 83 ells <i>bast de bome</i> , 1 piece of East Indian black taffeta, 3 ells black canvas, 4 1/2 ells cashmere black, 3 ells tixett (?), 31 1/2 ells twill, 128 ells calico, 149 1/2 ells printed muslin + various goods which were legal.
Oct-29	784	Skipper Caliseddorff		Grey paper
	788	Worker Lindgren	Kungsholms Tull	338 pounds coffee
Nov 05	802	Skipper Ekedahl	from Hamburg (p.761)	1 barrel of wine
	808	Skipper C. J. Hammerberg	from Bordeaux	24 bottles oil, two baskets French anchovies

Nov 12	830	Able seaman Anders Andersson on Skipper Krook's Ship	from Ystad (Sweden)	35 pounds coffee
	834	Peasant Petter Lind	in Kumla Gård, Bokyrka Parish	215 silk ribbons, 129 do, 285 do, 24 do, 6 veil cloth with fringe (40 1/4 ells together), 159 Satin taffeta, 108 silkes handkerchiefs? + allowed cotton wares
Nov 15	844	Able seaman Sandberg and Skipper Schmidt		7 200 foreign metal buttons , 120 dozen smaller clockglass (?)
	849	Skipper Browell	from London	Stone china
	857	Peasant Joh. Andersson from Sälem Parish	Horns Tull	4 pounds coffee
Nov 19	876	Accountant Johan Johansson	Horns Tull	370 ells silk ribbon
	879	Tailor Olof Lundell & Norström		
Nov 26	839	Skipper Nilsson	from Carlsrona (Sweden)	1190 pounds coffee
	897	Butcher widow Christina Berg		5 coloured silk ribbons (103 3/4 ells), two pairs knee-buckles and one pair shoe-buckles.

## Appendix 3.

### Textile Samples from the Confiscation of Wool from Captain Nystrand in Nyköping, 1778.

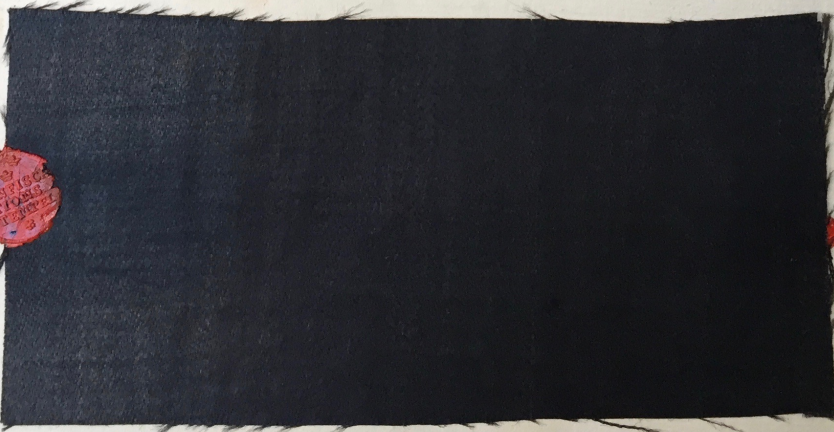
Source: Tygprover, 9 June 1778, Kollegiers m fl skrivelser till Kongl Mayt, skrivelser från Kommerskollegium,  
9, v. 205., Riksarkivet.

Profver  
Af de icke Niskoping, Siftte Junij Manad,  
Confiscerade Gulle, Tigger.

*Etamine*



*Sattin*



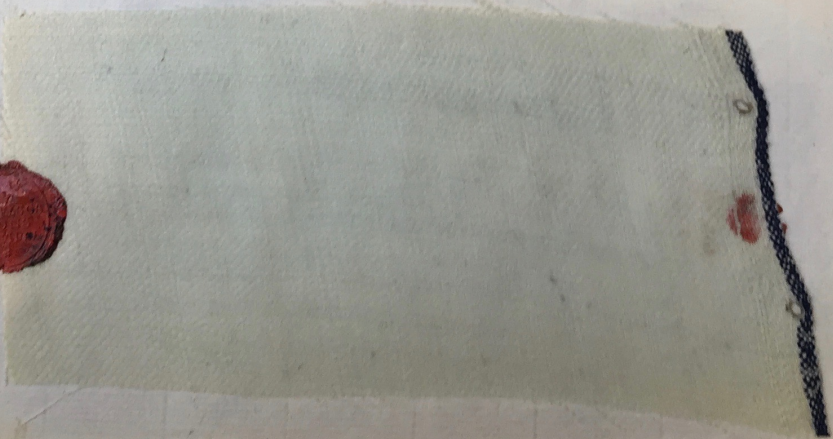




*Satin*



*Chalon*



*Chalon*



*Camlot*



*Pannlöttnier*



Att för kändan Professor af Disorse  
ylla. Uaxen äro af de i Nyköpings ligger  
Högskolan J. Nystrands Lantbruk utgjellva  
skivan, samt förmed utlygd.

Stockholms Confiscations Magazin

N. 20. Augusti 1778.

J. A. Malmgren