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## ARTICLES

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### *Aspects of Baltic Sea-borne Trade in the Eighteenth Century: the Trade Relations between Sweden, Poland, Russia and Prussia*

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Sweden provides the best starting-point for an investigation of the structure of sea-borne trade in the Baltic area in the eighteenth century. At that time Sweden dominated the whole northern coast of the Baltic and until the beginning of the nineteenth century Finland remained not only in close political dependence on Sweden, but also directed most of its trade to Swedish ports, mainly Stockholm.<sup>1</sup>

The economies of the south coast Baltic states — Poland, Russia and Prussia — were competitors because of their similar structure of production/export of raw materials and unprocessed products, yet the Swedish economy itself was complementary to them. This was because Sweden was a major purchaser of foodstuffs, mainly grain, but also an important supplier of industrial products, chiefly iron. The sea-borne trade of the Baltic states was characterised on one hand by strong and well developed

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<sup>1</sup> *Svensk handelsstatistik 1637-1737 utgiven av B. BOETHIUS OCH E.E. HECKSCHER*, Stockholm 1938, p. LVII; C.E. OLIM, *Åbo sjöfarts historia*, I. Intill branden 1827, Åbo 1927, p. 39, 67 ff.; *Helsingfors stads historia*, 2 delen, Helsingfors 1950, p. 114 ff.

trade with Western Europe, on the other hand by frequent maritime and trade contacts within the Baltic area, mainly between the North and the South. The latter direction — for Poland especially — acquired importance in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> This situation resulted first of all from the complementary economic relationship between Sweden and the south coast Baltic states.

Were these two main maritime routes linking the Baltic states — from east to west, and from north to south — marked by distinctive features? It is often argued that the trade with Western Europe employed much bigger ships than for inter-Baltic commerce. The first part of this statement is supported by much evidence, but for the second part no extensive documentary evidence was available, and without some idea of the average tonnage of the ships employed in the inter Baltic trade it is very difficult to make a comparison with the ships engaged in the shipping with Western Europe and to draw any distinctions.

Walter Vogel<sup>3</sup> tried to reconstruct Baltic shipping in the middle of the eighteenth century, but his study concerned only the traffic between Gdańsk and Lübeck and was based on limited data for only one year (1752). But the rich resources of the Public Record Office (*Riksarkivet*) in Stockholm make it possible to study this problem on a larger scale and on the basis of much richer information (chiefly from the second half of the eighteenth century).<sup>4</sup> The statistical data for a twenty-two year pe-

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<sup>2</sup> See S. HOSZOWSKI, *Handel Gdańska w okresie XV-XVIII wieku*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Ekonomicznej w Krakowie", Nr 11, 1960, p. 48 ff., 62; *Id.*, *The Polish Baltic Trade in the 15th-18th Centuries* (in:) Poland at the XIth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm, Warszawa 1960, p. 146, 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Beiträge zur Statistik der deutschen Seeschiffahrt im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Fortsetzung), II. Danzig, "Hansische Geschichtsblätter", Jg. 57, 1933, p. 87 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For more information on the holdings of this Record Office see R. VALLERÖ, *Svensk handels och sjöfarts-statistik 1637-1813. En tillkomsthistorisk undersökning*, Urval Skriftserie utgiven av statistiska centralbyran, Nr 1, (Stockholm 1969), p. 69 ff.; E. CIEŚLAK, *Polsko-szwedzki handel morski w XVIII w.* (Materialy w archiwach szwedzkich), "Zapiski Historyczne", vol. 45, 1980, z. 4, p. 119 ff.

riod permit us to confirm that the ships employed in the traffic between the Swedish and Polish sea-ports were generally of small tonnage. The annual average tonnage oscillated between 18 and 25-26 *lasts*. The average tonnage was generally about 20 *lasts* (see table 1). The data for these twenty-two years taken as a basis for this calculation are sufficiently extensive to establish that these averages were characteristic of shipping between Sweden and Poland in the second half of the eighteenth century. The

TABLE 1

MARITIME TRAFFIC BETWEEN SWEDEN AND POLAND

Year	From Poland to Sweden			From Sweden to Poland		
	number of ships	tonnage in <i>lasts</i>	average tonnage in <i>lasts</i>	number of ships	tonnage in <i>lasts</i>	average tonnage in <i>lasts</i>
1769	294	7156	24.3	293	7240	24.7
1770	287	6551	22.8	253	5826	23.0
1771	206	4874	23.7	192	4741	24.7
1774	117	2354	20.1	79	1699	21.5
1775	45	945	21.0	92	1685	18.3
1776	129	2699	20.9	91	2058	22.6
1777	125	2663	21.3	108	2675	24.8
1778	103	1958	19.0	67	1515	22.6
1779	104	1864	17.9	54	977	18.1
1780	100	2098	21.0	79	1978	25.0
1781	143	2809	19.6	98	2120	21.6
1782	101	2252	22.3	86	1850	21.5
1783	223	4460	20.0	150	3133	20.9
1784	278	6141	22.1	113	2750	24.3
1785	219	5251	24.0	107	2629	24.6
1786	292	6310	21.6	148	3271	22.1
1787	235	6189	26.3	119	3051	25.6
1788	84	2954	35.2	61	2116	34.7
1790	75	1450	19.3	30	729	24.3
1791	91	2222	24.4	79	2471	31.3
1792	83	1755	21.1	38	1143	30.1
1793	112	2832	25.3	32	956	29.9

Calculated from: Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium Kammarkontoret, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 3: Handelsbalance för År 1769-1771, 1774-1782, 1787-1788, 1790-1793 Sammandrag som visar tilstandet at svenska coopvaerdie siofarten til och fran Sverige; Lunds Universitets-Bibliotek, De la Gardieska Samlingen, Cod. VII b: 6-9: Handelsbalance för År 1783-1786.

conclusions formulated on this basis can be extended to the earlier period as well, since the structure of shipping could not have changed quickly.

There were major variations on these averages in certain years. In 1788 the average tonnage of ships sailing between the Swedish ports and Gdańsk amounted to 35 *lasts*, and this was 75% higher than in the other years. Likewise ships coming from Swedish ports to Gdańsk had a tonnage of about 30 *lasts*, again 50% higher than in other years. These variations were caused by foreign (non-Swedish) ships of larger tonnage intervening in trade between Sweden and Poland, as is shown by the data below:

	Swedish Ships			Foreign Ships		
	Quantity	Tonnage	Average tonnage in <i>lasts</i>	Quantity	Tonnage	Average tonnage in <i>lasts</i>
shipping from Gdańsk to Sweden:						
1788	66	1570½	23.8	18	1383½	76.9
shipping from Sweden to Gdańsk:						
1788	41	985¼	24.0	20	1130½	56.5
1791	62	1551¼	25.0	17	919¾	54.1
1792	30	628¾	21.0	8	514	64.3
1793	26	593½	22.8	6	362¼	60.4

For sources see note to table 1.

Although in these years the average tonnage of ships sailing under the Swedish flag between the Swedish ports and Gdańsk remained within the limits of the average for the whole period, the tonnage of foreign ships engaged in this traffic exceeded the average by two or three times.

This raises the question of the national flags used for the maritime trade between Poland and Sweden. The records distinguish only Swedish and foreign, that is non-Swedish, flags, and show (see table 2) that the Swedish flag predominated in Swedish-Polish trade in the second half of the eighteenth cen-

TABLE 2

## SHARES OF NATIONAL FLAGS IN MARITIME TRAFFIC BETWEEN SWEDEN AND POLAND

Year	from Poland to Sweden								From Sweden to Poland							
	number of ships				tonnage of ships				number of ships				tonnage of ships			
	Swedish		foreign		Swedish		foreign		Swedish		foreign		Swedish		foreign	
	number	%	number	%	lasts	%	lasts	%	number	%	number	%	lasts	%	lasts	%
1769	287	97.6	7	2.4	7003 $\frac{1}{2}$	97.9	152 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.1	283	96.6	10	3.4	6946 $\frac{3}{4}$	96.0	293	4.0
1770	281	97.9	6	2.1	6366 $\frac{1}{2}$	97.2	184 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.8	251	99.2	2	0.8	5662 $\frac{3}{4}$	97.2	163 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.8
1771	203	98.5	3	1.5	4812	98.7	62	1.3	186	96.9	6	3.1	4526 $\frac{3}{4}$	95.5	214 $\frac{1}{4}$	4.5
1774	115	98.3	2	1.7	2213 $\frac{1}{2}$	94.0	140	6.0	78	98.7	1	1.3	1666	98.1	33	1.9
1775	43	95.6	2	4.4	913	96.6	32	3.4	88	95.7	4	4.3	1528	90.7	157	9.3
1776	129	100	0	0.0	2699 $\frac{1}{4}$	100	0	0.0	90	98.9	1	1.1	2006 $\frac{3}{4}$	97.5	51	2.5
1777	125	100	0	0.0	2663	100	0	0.0	105	97.2	3	2.8	2547 $\frac{5}{8}$	95.2	127	4.8
1778	102	99	1	1.0	1948 $\frac{1}{2}$	99.5	9	0.5	66	98.5	1	1.5	1450 $\frac{1}{4}$	95.7	65	4.3
1779	104	100	0	0.0	1863 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	0	0.0	53	98.1	1	1.9	944	96.6	33	3.4
1780	100	100	0	0.0	2097 $\frac{3}{4}$	100	0	0.0	79	100	0	0.0	1977 $\frac{3}{4}$	100	0	0.0
1781	141	98.6	2	1.4	2720 $\frac{1}{2}$	96.8	88 $\frac{3}{4}$	3.2	97	99.0	1	1.0	2104	99.2	16	0.8
1782	96	95.0	5	5.0	2095 $\frac{1}{2}$	93.1	156 $\frac{1}{2}$	6.9	85	98.8	1	1.2	1812 $\frac{1}{8}$	98.0	38	2.0
1783	220	98.7	3	1.3	4408 $\frac{5}{8}$	98.8	51 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.2	147	98.0	3	2.0	3039 $\frac{1}{8}$	97.0	93 $\frac{1}{2}$	3.0
1784	261	93.9	17	6.1	5674	92.4	466 $\frac{3}{4}$	7.6	109	96.5	4	3.5	2600 $\frac{1}{8}$	94.6	149 $\frac{1}{2}$	5.4
1785	217	99.1	2	0.9	5221 $\frac{1}{8}$	99.4	29 $\frac{3}{4}$	0.6	105	98.1	2	1.9	2548 $\frac{7}{8}$	97.0	79 $\frac{3}{4}$	3.0
1786	281	96.2	11	3.8	5719 $\frac{1}{2}$	90.6	590 $\frac{3}{4}$	9.4	145	98.0	3	2.0	3205 $\frac{1}{4}$	98.0	65 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.0
1787	217	92.3	18	7.7	5234 $\frac{1}{4}$	84.6	954 $\frac{1}{2}$	15.4	118	99.2	1	0.8	2992 $\frac{1}{2}$	98.1	58	1.9
1788	66	78.6	18	21.4	1570 $\frac{1}{2}$	53.2	1383 $\frac{1}{2}$	46.8	41	67.2	20	32.8	985 $\frac{1}{4}$	46.6	1130 $\frac{1}{2}$	53.4
1790	6	8.0	69	92.0	124 $\frac{1}{2}$	8.6	1325 $\frac{3}{4}$	91.4	0	0.0	30	100	0	0.0	729	100
1791	68	74.7	23	25.3	1523 $\frac{1}{2}$	68.6	698 $\frac{1}{2}$	31.4	62	78.5	17	21.5	1551 $\frac{1}{4}$	62.8	919 $\frac{3}{4}$	37.2
1792	66	79.5	17	20.5	1307 $\frac{1}{2}$	74.5	447 $\frac{1}{2}$	25.5	30	78.9	8	21.1	628 $\frac{1}{3}$	55.0	514	45.0
1793	102	91.1	10	8.9	2570 $\frac{1}{4}$	90.8	262	9.2	26	81.3	6	18.7	593 $\frac{1}{2}$	62.1	362 $\frac{1}{4}$	37.9

For sources see note to table 1.

ture, amounting to 90-100% of the ships employed in this traffic. The data refer both to the number of ships and to their tonnage. The main causes of the predominance of the Swedish flag were both on the Polish side: the small size of the Gdańsk fleet, its traditional engagement in the trade with Western Europe and the relatively high average tonnage of the ships<sup>5</sup> used for this traffic. On the Swedish side it was also due to the proclamation in 1724 of *Produktplakatet* (corresponding to the English Navigation Act) which protected the interests of the Swedish flag in trade with foreign countries. This forbade foreign ships to carry to Sweden those commodities which were not produced in their own country or its colonies. That is why ships of the great sea trading nations — Holland and England — could not, for example, transport grain from the Baltic countries to Sweden except in exceptional circumstances.<sup>6</sup>

This situation was changed by the Swedish-Russian war from summer 1788 to the peace treaty in Värälä of 14th August 1790.<sup>7</sup> This caused a significant decrease in commerce and as a consequence a decline in maritime traffic between Sweden and Poland. It also created numerous difficulties for Swedish ships, thus contributing to the changing ratios of Swedish and foreign shipping in the trade between Poland and Sweden. In the first year of the war alone the foreign flag (non-Swedish) represented more than half of the tonnage engaged in the trade between Sweden and Gdańsk. In the last year of the war it reached over 91% of the entrance traffic to Swedish ports from Poland and

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<sup>5</sup> C. BIERNAT, *Materialy do dziejów floty gdańskiej w latach 1694-1850*, "Rocznik Gdański", vol. 14, 1955, p. 428; S. GIERSZEWSKI, *Statystyka żeglugi Gdańska w latach 1670-1815*, "Zróżdła do dziejów handlu i żeglugi Gdańska", edited by S. Hoszowski, 2, Warszawa 1963, p. 266 ff.; A. GROTH, *Rozwój floty i żeglugi gdańskiej w latach 1660-1700*, Gdańsk 1974, p. 129 ff., table 34.

<sup>6</sup> S. HÖGBERG, *Utrikeshandel och sjöfart på 1700-talet*. Stapelvaror i svensk export och import 1738-1807, Lund 1972, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> I. ANDERSON, *Dzieje Szwecji*, Warszawa 1967, p. 229 ff.; A. KERSTEN, *Historia Szwecji*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1973, p. 283 ff.

100% of the outgoing traffic. Obviously during the war many Swedish ships sailed under foreign flag, and after the war the share of foreign flags in the trade between Sweden and Poland in the years 1791-1793 diminished, but it still remained on a relatively high level especially in the traffic between the Swedish ports to Gdańsk (37-45%) (see table 2).

Returning to the question of the average tonnage of merchant ships sailing within the Baltic sea, these investigations may be extended on the basis of Swedish archival documents to other countries or Baltic regions. First of all it is worth examining this problem in connection with maritime traffic between Sweden and — as it is defined in the sources — “Königberg and certain other places belonging to the Kingdom of Prussia” (*Königsberg och flera Orter hörande under Preussiska Kronan*), that is with the closest neighbour of Poland and at the same time — as it will be shown in this paper — its competitor on the Swedish market.

The average tonnage of ships sailing between the ports of Sweden and Prussia was — as it is evident from table 3 — relatively low, though it was a little higher than for the shipping between Polish and Swedish ports. The average tonnage of ships sailing from Prussia to Swedish ports amounted to about 25-30 *lasts* until the year 1785 (except the year 1784) and during the Swedish-Russian war it was 35 *lasts*, but in the years 1792-1793 it totalled again 25-30 *lasts*. For traffic from Sweden to Prussia these figures are higher: the average tonnage of 22-30 *lasts* prevailed to 1776, then it remained constant (except the year 1779) over 30 *lasts*, reaching 40 *lasts* in the years 1788-1791, but in the following two years declined. The share of foreign (non-Swedish) ships in Swedish-Prussian trade was higher than in Swedish-Polish trade and had a major influence on the situation. In some years it totalled a few per cent, but as a rule it reached over ten or even over twenty per cent. In the first year of the Swedish-Russian war it exceeded 40% and in the final year of the war even 90%. It also remained on a high level in other years: for shipping from

TABLE 3

## MARITIME TRAFFIC BETWEEN SWEDEN AND KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA

Year	From Prussia to Sweden			From Sweden to Prussia		
	number of ships	tonnage in lasts	average tonnage in lasts	number of ships	tonnage in lasts	average tonnage in lasts
1769	208	5575	26.8	184	5174	28.1
1770	162	3988	24.6	152	3578	23.5
1771	108	2899	26.8	119	2794	23.5
1774	94	2323	24.7	113	2517	22.3
1775	126	3576	28.4	138	4010	29.1
1776	118	3389	28.7	115	2994	26.0
1777	170	4286	25.2	129	3923	30.4
1778	188	5216	27.7	138	4439	32.2
1779	154	4272	27.7	129	3389	26.3
1780	146	4448	30.5	136	4725	34.7
1781	229	6317	27.6	165	5459	33.1
1782	236	6307	26.7	178	5660	31.8
1783	614	18766	30.6	472	16614	35.2
1784	724	24013	33.2	449	15516	34.6
1785	611	18175	29.7	390	14611	37.5
1786	587	18579	31.7	327	13064	40.0
1787	414	13151	31.8	208	6347	30.5
1788	212	7565	35.7	150	5265	35.1
1790	183	6718	36.7	121	4350	36.0
1791	199	6135	30.8	167	6041	36.2
1792	222	6388	28.8	187	5847	31.3
1793	227	6052	26.7	133	3863	29.1

For sources see note to table 1.

Prussian to Swedish ports between 30% and 40% in the years 1791-1793; from Swedish ports to Prussia between 40% and 45% in the years 1784, 1791; or 30%-35% in the years 1778, 1782, 1783. In the trade between the countries mentioned above the non-Swedish ships often had a much higher tonnage than the average (see table 4).

A very important participant in Swedish trade and in Baltic shipping was Russia, or as defined then in the sources "Russia,

TABLE 4

SHARE AND AVERAGE TONNAGE OF FOREIGN (NON-SWEDISH) SHIPS  
IN THE TRAFFIC BETWEEN SWEDEN AND KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA

Year	From Prussia to Sweden		From Sweden to Prussia	
	% share in global tonnage	average tonnage of ship in lasts	% share in global tonnage	average tonnage of ship in lasts
1769	5.4	33.4	10.1	47.5
1770	3.9	31.2	4.1	48.3
1771	2.3	33.0	14.8	31.7
1774	13.9	46.1	8.6	43.2
1775	29.1	45.2	29.7	47.6
1776	4.2	47.7	7.8	78.3
1777	13.7	45.2	21.2	39.6
1778	20.0	52.2	30.5	52.1
1779	7.1	43.3	9.3	45.1
1780	11.5	42.8	18.6	48.8
1781	3.5	44.0	14.4	56.1
1782	17.8	65.9	32.9	60.1
1783	27.6	66.4	34.2	69.2
1784	29.3	54.1	41.5	58.0
1785	18.8	53.3	26.1	57.9
1786	19.6	54.4	29.0	56.5
1787	20.6	55.2	15.3	51.2
1788	47.5	66.5	44.8	56.1
1790	94.5	38.0	95.6	37.1
1791	37.9	38.8	43.7	56.2
1792	31.0	35.3	23.2	54.2
1793	33.4	33.6	24.2	66.8

Calculated from: see note to table 1.

Livland and Kurland". Vessels engaged in this trade were characterised by a higher average tonnage than ships engaged in Sweden's trade with Poland or Prussia. The average tonnage of ships in the trade between Sweden and Russia on the whole totalled from 30 to 40 *lasts*. There were rare cases of lower averages. Not taking into account the average figures for ships sailing from Russia to Swedish ports in the years 1778 and 1779 (the average figures were 29.1 and 29.4), there were only two years when the average was lower than 30 *lasts*, that is in the inward traffic to Sweden in

the year 1780 with an average 27.5 *lasts*, and in the outgoing traffic to Russia in 1771 with an average 18.6 *lasts*. However, the years with an average higher than 40 *lasts* were numerous: in the inward traffic from Russia to Sweden in the years 1783-1786 and in 1788, with an average 63.2 *lasts*. In the outgoing traffic from Sweden to Russian ports the average was over 40 *lasts* in the years 1785, 1786 and 1788, in the years 1782-1784 and 1791 it totalled from 50-55 *lasts* (see table 5).

As in the case of shipping from Poland and Prussia, we should

TABLE 5

## MARITIME TRAFFIC BETWEEN SWEDEN AND RUSSIA

Year	From Russia to Sweden			From Sweden to Russia		
	number of ships	tonnage in <i>lasts</i>	average tonnage in <i>lasts</i>	number of ships	tonnage in <i>lasts</i>	average tonnage in <i>lasts</i>
1769	227	7449	32.8	256	8390	32.8
1770	201	6603	32.8	227	7284	32.1
1771	231	7510	32.5	260	4846	18.6
1774	192	5915	30.8	213	6710	31.5
1775	170	5995	35.3	181	5613	31.0
1776	259	7925	30.6	255	8381	32.9
1777	286	8820	30.8	256	8794	34.3
1778	287	8365	29.1	245	8132	33.2
1779	331	9716	29.4	302	10403	34.4
1780	254	6975	27.5	182	7012	38.5
1781	519	16000	30.8	543	17892	32.9
1782	513	16804	32.8	401	21578	53.8
1783	592	26501	44.8	417	22647	54.3
1784	536	25921	48.4	425	21561	50.7
1785	381	16972	44.5	316	14355	45.4
1786	320	13119	41.0	248	10099	40.7
1787	232	8571	36.9	150	5745	38.3
1788	133	8408	63.2	84	3572	42.5
1790	105	4045	38.5	94	3558	37.8
1791	196	7160	36.5	180	9287	51.6
1792	167	5512	33.0	137	4975	36.3
1793	162	4985	30.8	171	6814	39.8

For sources see note to table 1.

ask if the cause of this was the increased share of foreign flag (non-Swedish) ships of higher tonnage. It appears that foreign ships had a tonnage higher than the average also in Swedish-Russian trade. Only in 1771 in entry traffic from Russia to the Swedish ports was the average tonnage of foreign ships lower by one third (21.9 *lasts*) than the average for the total entry traffic to these ports (32.5 *lasts*). In all the other years it was much higher.

The proportional share of foreign shipping in trade between Sweden and Russia was higher than in trade with Poland (see table 6, cf. table 1). In shipping from Russia to Sweden it amount-

TABLE 6

SHARE AND AVERAGE TONNAGE OF FOREIGN (NON SWEDISH) SHIPS  
IN THE TRAFFIC BETWEEN SWEDEN AND RUSSIA

Year	From Russia to Sweden		From Sweden to Russia	
	% share in global tonnage	average tonnage of ship in <i>lasts</i>	% share in global tonnage	average tonnage of ship in <i>lasts</i>
1769	6.4	36.6	14.1	45.4
1770	4.2	55.6	12.1	46.4
1771	1.2	21.9	23.1	51.0
1774	8.2	44.1	14.1	49.7
1775	9.4	51.0	14.8	49.0
1776	8.0	48.6	14.7	65.0
1777	5.8	46.2	10.4	54.0
1778	6.5	60.6	10.0	47.9
1779	8.3	50.6	14.3	64.7
1780	7.4	57.0	9.4	41.3
1781	4.3	69.1	7.4	69.9
1782	7.5	57.5	13.6	73.5
1783	8.0	75.5	10.8	69.8
1784	13.4	75.6	22.5	88.1
1785	12.9	84.0	14.0	83.8
1786	10.5	65.9	22.1	60.2
1787	11.3	60.3	24.3	53.7
1788	67.0	98.8	49.1	51.6
1790	93.1	38.8	93.0	38.5
1791	62.3	48.0	26.0	63.6
1792	53.3	42.6	34.1	60.6
1793	47.2	42.8	27.9	65.6

For sources see note to table 1.

ted to only a few per cent before 1783, then it increased to over a dozen per cent, and to several dozen during the years of the Swedish-Russian war (in the years 1788 67% and 1790 93.1%). This shows that trade relations between the belligerent countries had not been stopped, but the ships sailed under foreign flags. After the end of the war the proportion of foreign flag shipping still remained at a high level (about 47-63%). In shipping from Swedish ports to Russia it was more evident: up to the year 1783 it amounted to a few per cent as a general rule (up to 23.9% in 1771, down to 9.4 and 7.4% in 1780 and 1781), later over 20% (the year 1785 — 14% was exceptional), it was very high during the Swedish-Russian war (1788 — 49.1% and 1790 — 93% then it fell to 23-34%), (see table 6).

Shipping between the Baltic ports of Denmark and Sweden was similar to shipping between Polish and the Swedish ports as far as average tonnage was concerned: it generally amounted to anywhere between 10 to 20 or over 20 *lasts*. At the same time it was lower than the average tonnage of ships employed in trade between Sweden and Prussia or Russia. The share of foreign ships, mainly Danish, in this trade did not influence the increase in the average tonnage and often lowered it (see tables 7, 8). Evidently not only ships but also a great number of both Swedish and Danish smaller boats sailed between Swedish and Danish ports. The closeness of both countries made possible such a solution.

To summarize, the maritime trade between Sweden and the rest of the Baltic countries was carried on mainly by ships that were small in comparison with the ships sailing to Western European countries. Due to the fact that the main trade within the Baltic was between Sweden and the other Baltic countries, this must have been true for maritime trade in the Baltic as a whole. A second feature should also be noted; the high share of Swedish shipping, except for the period of Sweden's participation in the war. However, shipping between Sweden

TABLE 7

MARITIME TRAFFIC BETWEEN SWEDEN AND DENMARK

Year	From Denmark to Sweden			From Sweden to Denmark		
	number of ships	tonnage in lasts	average tonnage in lasts	number of ships	tonnage in lasts	average tonnage in lasts
1769	535	9181	17.2	524	8585	16.4
1770	738	9947	13.5	652	8669	13.3
1771	858	9423	11.0	883	8901	10.1
1774	318	6604	20.8	370	7537	20.4
1775	409	8504	20.8	357	7984	22.4
1776	491	11510	23.4	377	10145	26.9
1777	425	9021	21.2	342	9505	27.8
1778	510	11607	22.8	388	9657	24.9
1779	383	8508	22.2	419	10018	23.9
1780	467	10345	22.2	428	10581	24.7
1781	376	8742	23.2	379	8382	22.1
1782	376	8665	23.0	395	10279	26.0
1787	350	8022	22.9	459	10090	22.0
1788	270	7603	28.2	273	6180	22.6
1790	407	7667	18.8	232	5164	22.3
1791	419	10093	24.1	340	9243	27.2
1792	380	8249	21.7	353	9128	25.8
1793	628	10025	16.0	544	8751	16.1

For sources see note to table 1.

and the Western European countries was similar to the shipping between other Baltic and western European countries, and higher-tonnage ships were engaged.<sup>8</sup>

Passing to the problem of internal Baltic trade, there are some important questions connected with the complementary relationship between the Swedish economy and the rest of the Baltic countries and the consequent concentration of Baltic internal

<sup>8</sup> Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium Kammarkontoret, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, serie 3; Lunds Universitets-Bibliotek, De la Gardieska Samlingen Cod. VII b: 6-9; TH. LINDBLAD, *Swedish Shipping with the Netherlands in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, "The Scandinavian Economic History Review", vol. XXVII, No. 2, 1979, p. 150 ff., 160 ff.

TABLE 8

SHARE AND AVERAGE TONNAGE OF FOREIGN (NON-SWEDISH) SHIPS  
IN THE TRAFFIC BETWEEN SWEDEN AND DENMARK

Year	From Denmark to Sweden		From Sweden to Denmark	
	% share in global tonnage	average tonnage of ship in <i>lasts</i>	% share in global tonnage	average tonnage of ship in <i>lasts</i>
1769	18.2	19.2	14.2	16.3
1770	25.8	10.7	11.3	5.1
1771	16.6	7.2	5.1	2.9
1774	9.7	25.7	4.8	19.2
1775	18.3	15.9	3.8	14.3
1776	10.1	23.2	5.6	21.7
1777	8.2	23.8	6.9	23.3
1778	4.2	17.5	2.5	12.2
1779	9.1	21.4	8.3	27.8
1780	7.4	21.2	4.8	17.7
1781	3.3	15.2	2.0	15.3
1782	8.0	19.9	13.0	27.3
1787	15.5	17.8	23.0	27.3
1788	43.5	33.1	21.6	19.9
1790	83.9	22.1	95.8	23.1
1791	27.6	28.7	16.1	35.3
1792	24.1	36.8	9.9	47.4
1793	28.0	10.7	10.7	4.6

For sources see note to table 1.

trade to the Swedish ports. These include the share of particular Baltic countries — including Poland — in global Swedish turnover, their respective contributions to meeting Swedish corn demand and their importance as the buyers of Sweden's chief export commodity — iron.

The participation of Poland, Prussia and Russia in Sweden's maritime trade can be traced from the quinquennial figures, but the most important data are not absolute numbers, but the values designating the proportional share of each of the three mentioned countries in Sweden's turnover. The method is imperfect, but it gives an approximate picture of relations and the proportional indicators ensure a synthetic and clear picture of a given country's

share in Sweden's imports or exports. The weakness of this method is that percentages from different years have different values when expressed in silver *riksdallars*, as the total value of Sweden's trade with the three countries discussed in this paper changed from year to year. Without embarking on a particular analysis of the values of total trade expressed in silver *riksdallars*, it should be noted that as a rule Sweden had a negative balance of trade with the three countries of the Southern Baltic coast, although generally enjoying a positive total balance of trade.<sup>9</sup>

Of the Swedish imports from the three Baltic countries analysed in this paper those from Russia were of the greatest importance. They totalled — excluding the years 1750 and 1790 — twelve or so and even twenty per cent (1756, 1763, 1785) of the total imports to Sweden. Poland, which accounted for between 5% to nearly 14% of Sweden's imports, was in the second position up to the year 1770. After 1770 Poland was exceeded by Prussia, which by 1790 outdistanced even Russia as a supplier of goods to Sweden. In 1785 and 1790 there were particularly high deliveries of Prussian commodities, representing the following quotas: 17% and 13.5%.

In Swedish exports Poland, Prussia and Russia played a much smaller role than imports. It is difficult to talk about the distinct superiority of one of these countries. In general their individual share in Swedish exports constituted from 2% to 6% of total export values. It is worth mentioning a distinct declining trend in Poland's share in Swedish exports after the first partition of Poland (see table 9).

We have mentioned that as a rule the Swedish balance of trade with the three countries of the southern Baltic coast was negative. It is worth verifying this by reference to Poland.

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<sup>9</sup> For annual balances of trade with Poland, Prussia and Russia and the global balances of Swedish trade see: Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium Kammar-skontoret, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 3: Handelsbalance; Lunds Universitets-Bibliotek, De la Gardieska Samlingen, Cod. VII b: 6-9, Handels-Balance uträkningar.

TABLE 9

SHARE OF POLAND, PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA  
IN SWEDEN'S SEA-BORNE TRADE TURNOVER  
(data every five years, imports to Sweden = 100, exports from Sweden = 100)

Year	Poland		Prussia		Russia	
	imports from Poland	exports to Poland	imports from Prussia	exports to Prussia	imports from Russia	exports to Russia
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1740	5.75	2.97	3.04	2.94	10.75	3.49
1745	7.57	2.20	5.68	2.27	15.91	3.95
1750	5.31	2.45	5.42	2.64	8.15	2.62
1756 *	14.75	3.07	4.90	2.73	23.32	2.60
1759 *	6.76	5.63	2.60	2.63	13.19	3.51
1763 *	9.66	4.46	5.60	3.84	20.37	4.09
1770	10.24	5.45	5.05	3.52	17.86	3.18
1775	2.59	2.14	4.79	4.20	14.58	4.08
1780	2.06	1.31	4.87	3.55	18.10	3.63
1785	4.71	1.24	17.03	5.33	21.54	3.26
1790	4.36	0.89	13.53	4.10	7.40	1.49
1793	3.32	0.71	7.34	3.38	10.64	3.27

\* There is no data for five years.  
For sources see note to table 1.

We shall not use the quinquennial figures since they contain a certain degree of randomness, but annual averages for five year periods, which illustrate the situation more completely. However it should be noted that this way of estimating blurs the annual variations. The annual averages in the five year periods show the constant Swedish negative balance of trade with Poland. At the same time there were some years when the balance was positive: <sup>10</sup>

1759	63,610 silver riksdallars
1774	41,814 " "
1775	15,035 " "
1776	434 " "
1778	8,156 " "

<sup>10</sup> Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium Kammarskontoret, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 3: Sveriges Handels Rörelse med Dantzich och Polska Preussen.

But over the 44 years studied, only in five years did Sweden have a positive balance of trade with Poland, and in the other years it was negative. After the end of the 1730s — there are no data for the earlier period — Sweden's negative balance of trade with Poland increased; in the second half of the 1740s and in the first five years of the 1750s the average negative balance of trade amounted to 450-500 thousand *riksdallars* yearly, in the second part of the 1750s it rose to 772 thousand. In 1763 it reached its maximum value at about one million one hundred thousand *riksdallars*. Because of the lack of data it is not known whether Sweden's high negative balance of trade with Poland was characteristic of the whole first five years of 1760s, but at the end of the 1760s the tendency to diminish the negative balance of trade appeared. In the years 1771-1780 and 1791-1793 it was not big, but generally the trade between both countries decreased after the first partition of Poland (see table 10).

TABLE 10  
TRADE BETWEEN SWEDEN AND POLAND  
(annual average, in *riksdallar*)

Period	Imports to Sweden from Poland	Exports from Sweden to Poland	Balance
1738-1740	265,232.7	149,784.0	— 115,448.7
1741-1745	475,506.0	228,593.6	— 246,912.4
1746-1750	745,308.8	251,673.6	— 493,635.2
1751-1753	720,275.3	271,743.0	— 448,532.3
1756-1759	1,272,552.7	500,635.8	— 771,916.9
1763	2,099,235.0	1,007,610.0	— 1,091,625.0
1769-1770	323,974.5	164,557.5	— 159,417.0
1771, 1774-1775	169,648.0	118,461.3	— 51,186.7
1776-1780	83,734.4	66,177.8	— 17,566.6
1781-1785	180,093.2	64,024.6	— 116,068.6
1786-1790	211,695.3	45,188.0	— 166,507.3
1791-1793	86,962.7	59,891.7	— 27,071.0

Calculated from: Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium Kammararkivet, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 2: Generalpersedleextraktkontoret vol. 1738-1750 del. III; Serie 3: Handelsbalance; Lunds Universitets Bibliotek, De la Gardieska Samlingen Cod. VII b: 6-9.

It must be noted that during the 50 year period the rate of the silver *riksdallar* oscillated.<sup>11</sup>

As far as the problem of corn exports from Poland, Prussia and Russia to Sweden is concerned, exports — in particular from Poland — had a long-standing tradition.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand in the peace treaty at Nystadt (Uuskaupunki) in 1721 Russia guaranteed particularly favourable conditions for corn exports from Livland to Sweden, exempting certain quantities from customs duties.<sup>13</sup> The three mentioned countries were major suppliers of grain to Sweden, and in general they met half of Sweden's demand for corn. There were exceptional years when the value of corn supplied by these countries amounted to 70% (1756, 1785) or even 80% (1783) of the total value of corn imports to Sweden. On the other hand, in other years corn from the three mentioned countries met only about twenty per cent of Swedish imports of this commodity (1750, 1755). It must be stressed that considerable quantities of corn from the territories in

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<sup>11</sup> For the adjustments to be made to the balances of trade taking into consideration the rates of silver dollars in the middle of eighteenth century see: Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium Kammarkontoret, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 3: Handelsbalance.

<sup>12</sup> M. BOGUĆKA, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1970, p. 61 ff. From the middle of the XVIIIth century Sweden had consular representatives at Gdańsk. Their principal duty was to depart about the possibilities of purchase and about the prices of food, mainly of grain in Gdańsk — Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium, Skrivelser fran konsular Danzig, E VIa: 82, 83. See K. SCHOTTMÜLLER, *Verzeichnis der bei der Stadt Danzig einst beglaubigten ständigen Geschäftssträger auswärtiger Mächte*, "Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins", Jg. 14, 1915, Nr 4, p. 72 f.

<sup>13</sup> According to W. NAUDÉ, *Die Getreidehandelspolitik der europäischen Staaten vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1896, p. 401 grain to a value of 100 thousand roubles annually was free of duty, in the period 1745-1790, later to 150 thousand roubles and then to 100 thousand roubles. According to other authors this exemption from duty amounted respectively to 50-100-50 thousand roubles. C.E. OLIM, *Åbo sjöfarts historia*, p. 84 ff.; O. NIKULA, *Åbo stads historia 1721-1809*, Andra Bandet, (Åbo 1972), p. 435 ff. See A.J. ALANEM, *Der Aussenhandel und die Schifffahrt Finnlands im 18. Jahrhundert*, Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Umbruchsperiode der Handelsfreiheit im Bottischen Meerbusen und der grossen Seekriege, Helsinki 1957, p. 278, 318; K. ÅMARE, *Spannmålshandel och spannmålspolitik i Sverige 1719-1830*, Stockholm 1915, p. 114.

West Pomerania, which remained in Sweden's possession in the eighteenth century, were sold on the Swedish market. These deliveries were really part of the domestic exchange within the territory of a single state, but they were included in Swedish sea-borne trade lists together with trade with foreign countries.<sup>14</sup> Some general ratios may be observed, and when in corn imports on the Swedish market the share of the three Baltic countries increased, the share of Western Pomerania declined and vice versa. It is worth noting that from 70 to nearly 100 per cent of corn transported Swedish ports came from southern Baltic coast territories (Poland, Prussia, Russia, Western Pomerania).<sup>15</sup>

TABLE 11

SHARES OF POLAND, PRUSSIA, RUSSIA AND WESTERN POMERANIA  
IN CORN DELIVERIES ON THE SWEDISH MARKET  
(data every five years)

Year	Poland, Prussia and Russia %	Western Pomerania %	Total
1740	50.19	43.33	93.52
1745	50.55	26.32	76.87
1750	24.34	65.15	89.49
1756 *	70.95	17.09	88.04
1759 *	44.02	38.50	82.52
1763 *	83.76	12.25	96.01
1770	61.29	36.96	98.25
1775	28.82	69.93	98.75
1780	43.67	54.95	98.62
1785	78.28	**	
1790	50.78	40.21	90.99
1793	49.68	47.34	97.02

\* There is no data for five years

\*\* There is no data

For sources: see note to table 10.

<sup>14</sup> In all the statistics on the sea-borne trade of Sweden, exchanges with West-Pomerania were included with foreign countries, and we have taken these figures in all the calculations in this paper.

<sup>15</sup> See table 11; A. J. ALANEN, *Der Aussenhandel*, p. 280 ff.; S. HÖGBERG, *Utrike-shandel*, p. 193; W. NAUDÉ, *Die Getreidehandelspolitik*, p. 402.

The deliveries of Polish corn constituted from 10 to 20 per cent of the total corn imports to Sweden in the pre-partition period. After the first partition corn deliveries from Poland declined to below 10% and only in 1785 did they reach 10% and in 1793 13% of the overall value of corn imports to Sweden. This was the result of the partition of Poland which deprived Gdańsk of a very important part of its hinterland — Royal Prussia — and a conscious discriminatory customs policy by Prussia which favoured Elbląg and shifted to this harbour a considerable part of Polish corn which had been exported by Gdańsk till then. Nevertheless a substantial increase in corn exports from Elbląg did not take place before the 1780s.<sup>16</sup> Swedish statistics of course added imports from Elbląg to imports from Prussia after 1772, and this was reflected in the increase of corn deliveries from the Kingdom of Prussia to the Swedish ports. In 1775 they still totalled only a few per cent and after 1780 the share of imports from Prussia increased considerably and totalled 30-35% of the total value of corn import to Sweden (see table 12).

The third big Baltic supplier of corn to the Swedish market — Russia — generally had a considerable share in meeting the corn demands of Sweden: from ten to twenty, often above twenty and even 36.5% (1756) or 42% (1763). However there were years when the share fell to only a few per cent (1790, 1793) or even declined almost totally (1750). The fall of deliveries in 1790 is explained mainly by the Russian-Swedish war which lasted up to August that year. Other factors also influenced the decline in 1750 and 1793. On the other hand — as has already been mentioned — a considerable share of corn deliveries from Russia to the Swedish market was facilitated by the peace treaty between Sweden and Russia in 1721 (see table 12).

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<sup>16</sup> S. HOSZOWSKI, *Handel Gdańska*, p. 31; *Id.*, *The Polish Baltic Trade*, p. 135; S. GIERSZEWSKI, *Statystyka handlu zbozowego Elbląga w latach 1642-1795*. "Zapiski Historyczne", vol. 23, 1957, z. 1-3, p. 171 ff.

TABLE 12

SHARES OF POLAND, PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA  
IN CORN DELIVERIES TO SWEDEN  
(data every five years, global corn import to Sweden = 100)

Year	Global	Imports from Poland		Imports from Prussia		Imports from Russia	
	imports to Sweden <i>Riksdallar</i>	Value <i>Riksdallar</i>	%	Value <i>Riksdallar</i>	%	Value <i>Riksdallar</i>	%
1740	1,182,893	174,754	14.77	120,311	10.17	298,734	25.25
1745	1,253,742	165,838	13.23	163,886	13.07	303,999	24.25
1750	2,238,456	215,441	9.62	298,088	13.32	31,319	1.40
1756 *	5,504,727	1,487,940	27.03	404,644	7.35	2,013,342	36.57
1759 *	1,400,980	273,813	19.54	153,786	10.98	189,186	13.50
1763 *	6,418,124	1,596,030	24.87	1,080,402	16.83	2,699,623	42.06
1770	783,008	176,277	22.51	117,849	15.05	185,774	23.73
1775	242,585	9,776	4.03	15,148	6.24	44,988	18.55
1780	858,026	45,223	5.27	91,025	10.61	238,451	27.79
1785	1,638,262	163,893	10.00	591,715	36.12	526,851	32.16
1790	999,902	91,355	9.14	346,654	34.67	69,707	6.97
1793	578,398	74,836	12.94	179,806	31.09	32,686	5.65

\* There is no data for five years.  
For sources see note to table 10.

These considerations only affect the proportional share of the three southern Baltic countries in corn supplies to Swedish ports. The same problem can also be studied in the light of temporary changes in these supplies both as far as value and quantity are concerned. Taking into account only the quinquennial data, there was a great discrepancy in Swedish demand for corn, from 242.5 thousand in the year 1775 to 6,418.1 thousand silver *riksdallars* in 1763, which gives a ratio of 1:26.5. Similarly imports of corn from Poland varied from 9776 silver *riksdallars* in 1775 to 1,596 thousand in 1763, a ratio of 1:163. The corn deliveries from Prussia to the Swedish market ranged from a little over 15 thousand in 1775 to 1,080.4 thousand silver *riksdallars* in 1763, (giving a ratio of minimum deliveries to maximum deliveries of 1:71) Similar data for Russia varied also: minimal deliveries

nearly 31 thousand in 1750, in 1763 the maximum 2,699.6 thousand silver *riksdallars*, so the ratio was 1:83. Deliveries of Polish corn indicated the greatest discrepancies, but one must remember that in the period 1740-1793 the amount of corn imported went down radically as a result of the first partition of Poland in 1772. For this reason it seems more prudent to investigate these variations in the pre-partition period. At that time the lowest deliveries of Polish corn to Sweden were in 1745 (165.8 thousand) the highest in 1763, 1,596.0 thousand silver *riksdallars*, which gives the ratio 1:9.6. This indicates a lower range of variations than over the whole period.<sup>17</sup> One must be cautious in analysing the above comparisons and not draw far-reaching conclusions. Economic historians rightly warn against comparing monetary values over long period of time because of the variations in monetary value, price changes etc. These phenomena also occurred in Sweden, particularly in the 1750s when attempts were made to adjust the value of these commodities and the exchange rate of Swedish currency.<sup>18</sup>

Sweden imported first of all rye, then malt, barley and wheat. Apart from this she also purchased abroad smaller amounts of different kinds of cereals, peas and flour.<sup>19</sup> Poland supplied the Swedish market with large quantities of rye and wheat, but did not play a big role as a supplier of other kinds of cereals.

Due to considerable information on the quantities of rye imported to Sweden, the annual average calculated for five-year periods will be used below. However, for these periods a different picture of rye imports both in general and from particular countries is obtained. Variations within the five-year periods were diffe-

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<sup>17</sup> For more data about the deliveries of grain from Poland, Prussia and Russia to Sweden see table 12.

<sup>18</sup> See *Historisk statistik för Svergie*, Del 3. *Utrikeshandel 1732-1970*, Statistiska Centralbyrån — Stockholm, (Lund 1972), p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> For detailed specification of the structure of grain imports to Sweden see: W. NAUDÉ, *Die Getreidehandelspolitik*, p. 402 ff.; K. ÅMARK, *Spannmålshandel*, p. 105 ff.

rent, and were considerable more than once. Sweden's demand for rye was stabilized, and in the five-years periods the maximum amount of yearly imports in relation to the minimal was generally less than 1:5, higher ratios (1:6,6 1756-1760 or even 1:11,5 1761-1765 and 1:12,6 1771-1775) also occurred. The quantity of rye imported from Poland to Sweden varied more in the five years periods than the total imports to the country. The maximum deliveries not only exceeded by as much as ten times the amount of minimum deliveries, but in certain periods were even twenty times greater (22.1 1771-1775) or thirty times greater (37.9 1761-1765). Similarly there were major variations in five-year periods for deliveries from Prussia and Russia to Sweden, and in the case of Prussia it even reached an increase of 54 fold (1746-1750) and Russia 35 fold (1751-1755) of the maximum amount of imports (more detailed data will be found in table 13).

In Sweden there was a constant rye shortage and she imported large amounts of this commodity. Generally the import of this commodity was about 100-200 thousand barrels yearly, periodically 200-300 thousand (1761-1770, 1776-1780), exceptionally it was nearly 340 thousand (1786-1790) and even totalled 600 thousand barrels annually (1781- 1785). The Swedish demand for rye to a great extent influenced the quantities imported from supplying countries, but border changes caused by the first partition of Poland were soon reflected, in the proportions of rye delivered to the Swedish market by Poland and Prussia. Up to the end of the 1770s — except for the period 1741-1750 — the biggest deliveries of rye came from Russia, where on an average from 47 to 143 thousand barrels were imported annually, that is 40-53% of Swedish rye imports. In the years 1741-1750 these proportions were different; in the first five-year period Prussia was in first position (46 thousand barrels, 23.8%), with Russia in second position (37 thousand barrels, 19.3%) and Poland in third (21 thousand barrels, 10.9%). Undoubtedly the negative influence of the Swedish-Russian war in the years 1741-1743 also had its

MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM QUANTITIES OF RYE DELIVERIES FROM POLAND, PRUSSIA  
AND RUSSIA TO THE SWEDISH MARKET (barrels)

Period	Imports to Sweden			Imports from Poland			Imports from Prussia			Imports from Russia		
	a) min.	b) max.	a:b	a) min.	b) max.	a:b	a) min.	b) max.	a:b	a) min.	b) max.	a:b
1738-1740	73,808	154,937	1:2.1	6	19,552		1,606	5,150	1:3.2	0	124,826	
1741-1745	84,496	275,310	1:3.3	7,886	49,571	1:6.3	10,218	84,718	1:8.3	17,350	62,696	1:3.6
1746-1750	92,619	159,301	1:1.7	9,185	52,218	1:5.7	839	45,243	1:53.9	1,856	37,226	1:20.1
1751-1755	65,622	273,421	1:4.2	3,766	58,108	1:15.4	2,383	10,734	1:4.5	4,825	168,269	1:34.9
1756-1760	36,456	239,319	1:6.6	5,949	82,900	1:13.9	1,906	13,004	1:6.8	10,519	131,680	1:12.5
1761-1765	40,526	465,360	1:11.5	4,947	187,562	1:37.9	4,153	59,467	1:14.3	30,653	189,459	1:6.2
1766-1770	226,107	388,453	1:1.7	59,310	127,119	1:2.1	31,700	77,990	1:2.5	77,315	151,698	1:2
1771-1775	26,187	328,884	1:12.6	2,184	48,314	1:22.1	2,283	58,331	1:25.6	17,920	196,843	1:11
1776-1780	153,719	267,413	1:1.7	6,082	24,331	1:4	17,365	36,406	1:2.1	90,745	145,009	1:1.6
1781-1785	429,698	799,221	1:1.9	19,986	81,727	1:4.1	59,959	246,041	1:4.1	247,502	401,133	1:1.6
1786-1790	252,522	503,698	1:2	10,547	90,932	1:8.5	42,435	232,785	1:5.5	6,985	167,817	1:24
1791-1793	115,670	168,691	1:1.5	14,878	15,371	1:1.03	37,659	67,924	1:1.8	12,612	66,851	1:5.3

Calculated from: Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium Kammararkivet, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 2: Generalpersedelextrakt Del I, II.

effect. In the second half of the 1740s Poland occupied first position as the supplier of rye to the Swedish market (23 thousand barrels, 18.3%), Prussia was second (about 21 thousand barrels and 16.9%) and Russia had the third position (14 thousand barrels, 10.9%). From the beginning of the 1750s up to the end of the 1760s Poland remained the second supplier of rye to Sweden, and Prussia was third. Particularly in the years 1756-1770 nearly one-third of the rye purchased abroad by Sweden came from Poland. Significant changes occurred after the first partition of Poland, and the total exports of rye from Poland fell by two-thirds. In the years 1765-1770 the annual average totalled a little over 28 thousand *lasts*, but in the next period always remained below 10 thousand *lasts* yearly.<sup>20</sup>

This decline was also reflected in exports to Sweden when in the 1770s deliveries of Polish rye fell between two-thirds and five-sixths. Although in the 1780s Sweden purchased about 50 thousand barrels of Polish rye annually, this was the result of a general increase in rye imports to Swedish ports. However, after the first partition Poland fell irrevocably to third place among the Baltic states exporting rye to Sweden. Russia still preserved its first position up to the mid 1780s and provided about half and periodically nearly two-thirds of the rye purchased by Sweden. Deliveries of Russian rye amounted to nearly 300 thousand barrels per year. However in the years 1786-1793 Prussia, previously occupying second position, took first place among rye suppliers to Sweden, and at that time a little more than one-third of the rye imported to Sweden came from Prussia<sup>21</sup> (more detailed data are given in table 14).

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<sup>20</sup> C. BIERNAT, *Statystyka obrotu towarowego Gdańska w latach 1651-1815*. "Zródła do dziejów handlu i żeglugi Gdańska" edited by S. Hoszowski, 1, Warszawa 1962, p. 286.

<sup>21</sup> For annual averages for ten year periods see S. HÖGBERG, *Utrikeshandel och sjöfart på 1700-talet*, p. 193; *Historisk statistik för Sverige*, p. 138; K. ÅMARK, *Spannmålshandel*, p. 113 ff., 116 ff.

TABLE 14

SHARES OF POLAND, PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA  
IN RYE DELIVERIES ON THE SWEDISH MARKET  
(annual average, barrels)

Period	Imports to Sweden	Imports from Poland number	Poland %	Imports from Prussia number	Prussia %	Imports from Russia number	Russia %
1738-1740	111,564	6,780	6.1	3,809	3.4	51,991	46.6
1741-1745	193,783	21,155	10.9	46,085	23.8	37,449	19.3
1746-1750	124,826	23,348	18.7	20,603	16.5	13,649	10.9
1751-1755	150,899	24,776	16.4	5,744	3.8	61,101	40.5
1756-1760	112,074	39,282	35.1	4,756	4.2	46,980	41.9
1761-1765	269,496	81,498	30.2	30,321	11.3	142,712	53.0
1766-1770	288,847	77,847	27.0	49,441	17.1	122,555	42.4
1771-1775	159,633	23,482	14.7	26,079	16.3	101,328	63.5
1776-1780	221,651	13,473	6.1	27,623	12.3	116,316	52.5
1781-1785	600,343	52,362	8.7	164,811	27.5	285,108	47.5
1786-1790	337,875	47,303	14.0	130,343	38.6	60,393	17.9
1791-1793	134,326	15,081	11.2	48,789	36.3	36,358	27.1

Calculated from: Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium Kammarkontoret, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 2: Generalpersedelextrakt Del I, II.

The division of roles among three countries of the Baltic southern coast in supplying wheat to Sweden was slightly different. In general terms and omitting the years 1738-1740, Sweden's demand for wheat was far more stable than for rye, and on the average over the quinquennial periods studied the ratio was 1:2 (20:40 thousand barrels) per year. As with the rye imports the Swedish possessions in Western Pomerania played a significant role in supplying wheat, but this again was a form of domestic trade although it was again officially included in the Swedish sea-borne trade statistics. In the case of wheat imports to Sweden, it is of great importance to note that Russia throughout the period analysed held last position among three countries of the Baltic southern coast. Russian wheat did not play a major role on the Swedish market and as a rule covered less than 10% of Swedish imports, and only in two five-year periods — 1771-

1775, 1781-1785 — did its share rise to 10-15%. From 1745 to 1775 Polish wheat dominated supplies to Sweden, and its share in imports ranged from two-fifths to over four-fifths and was undoubtedly greater than the amounts of wheat delivered from Prussia, which held second position among suppliers of this commodity. It is interesting that the first partition of Poland did not cause an immediate fall in Polish wheat exports to Sweden, because in the five-year period 1771-1775 63.6% of Swedish imports were still met from this source and the deliveries amounted to 16 thousand barrels per year. This was because total Polish rye exports in the years 1771-1775 in comparison with the period 1765-1770 fell by two thirds, while at the same time wheat exports decreased on an average by only one-fourth from 15,9 to 11,9 thousand *lasts* yearly.<sup>22</sup> It is only in the years 1776-1780 that wheat deliveries to Sweden from Poland — now with much smaller territory after the first partition — and Prussia were equalized. In the following decade Prussia became the most important exporter of wheat to Sweden. In the years 1791-1793 Poland again held this position, but its lead over Prussia was slight (see table 15).<sup>23</sup>

To sum up, Sweden provided a considerable market for cereals exported from Poland, Prussia and Russia, and grain was one of the most important products exported from these countries. But did these same countries figure among the principal customers of the main commodity exported by Sweden, iron? Undoubtedly iron played a similar role in exports and in Sweden's balance of trade as corn did in Poland's exports. Income from the sale of iron to other countries constituted the most important element

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<sup>22</sup> C. BIERNAT, *Statystyka obrotu towarowego*, p. 286. In general Gdańsk in the eighteenth century lost in importance as an exporter of rye, but held its place in the export of wheat — W.S. UNGER, *Trade through the Sound in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, "The Economic History Review", Second Series, vol. 12, 1959, No 2, p. 214.

<sup>23</sup> See *Historisk statistik för Sverige*, p. 138. Wheat was also imported from England — K. ÅMARK, *Spannmålshandel*, p. 108, 117.

SHARES OF POLAND, PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA  
IN WHEAT DELIVERIES ON THE SWEDISH MARKET  
(annual average, barrels)

Period	Imports to Sweden	Imports from number	Poland %	Imports from number	Prussia %	Imports from number	Russia %
1738-1740	9,388	1,494	15.9	2,509	26.7	677	7.2
1741-1745	30,915	7,271	23.5	6,188	20.0	553	1.8
1746-1750	31,931	13,808	43.2	2,704	8.5	232	0.7
1751-1755	40,255	20,319	50.5	2,639	6.6	261	0.6
1756-1760	27,550	17,415	63.2	2,367	8.6	2,488	9.0
1761-1765	22,375	19,555	87.4	1,082	4.8	605	2.7
1766-1770	28,991	23,821	82.2	1,244	4.3	652	2.2
1771-1775	25,137	15,980	63.6	3,716	14.8	3,609	14.4
1776-1780	17,757	3,779	21.3	3,812	21.5	534	3.0
1781-1785	38,939	6,113	15.7	16,112	41.4	4,561	11.7
1786-1790	36,099	10,088	27.9	13,307	36.9	1,605	4.4
1791-1793	30,698	8,907	29.0	7,877	25.7	713	2.3

Calculated from: see note to table 14.

in Sweden's balance of trade and no doubt exceeded all other goods.<sup>24</sup>

Swedish iron exports were directed mainly to the West. England, the most developed European state in the eighteenth century, was the largest customer for Swedish iron from the middle of the seventeenth century. Most Swedish iron was sent there directly, although up to the mid-seventeenth century Gdańsk imported a considerable part which after processing was re-exported to the West.<sup>25</sup> Poland, Prussia and Russia were not among the more important purchasers of Swedish iron. Up

<sup>24</sup> See Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium Kammarskontoret, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 2, del III; Serie 3; Lunds Universitets-Bibliotek, De la Gardieska Samlingen, Cod. VIIb: 6-9, Handels-Balance uträkningar; *Svensk handelsstatistik 1637-1737* utgiven av B. BOÉTHIUS och E.E. HECKSCHER, p. 457, 593, 621.

<sup>25</sup> S. HÖGBERG, *Utrikeshandel*, p. 66 ff.; S.E. ÅSTRÖM, *From cloth to iron. The Anglo-Baltic trade in the late Seventeenth Century*, part I: The growth, structure and organization of the trade, Helsingfor 1963, p. 31 ff., 54 ff., 133 ff.

to the 1770s Poland and Prussia bought iron in Sweden, and one or the other held first position in these purchases. It can be concluded from the five yearly data that their exports to Poland constituted from 2.4 to 5.2% of total iron exports from Sweden, and Prussia's from 2.9 to 5.5%. Russian purchases were less stable than the Polish and Prussian, and oscillated between 1.4 to 3.7% of total Swedish iron export values. After the mid 1770s important changes took place in iron purchases in Sweden by the Baltic states, and there was a considerable increase in Prussia's share, which in 1775 amounted to 3.76% and then remained permanently over 4% of the total value of iron export from Sweden. However as far as the two other countries — Poland and Russia — were concerned, their share decreased considerably for various reasons. The importance of Poland, territorially smaller after the first partition, as a purchaser of Swedish iron fell considerably. Thereafter purchases of iron goods by Poland amounted to less than 1 per cent of the total value of Swedish iron exports. However, Russian purchases oscillated around 1 per cent (see table 16), and the development of domestic production of iron and steel both for the domestic market, and for export as well, was the cause of this. After the 1730s Russia became Sweden's principal competitor on the English market, the most important iron market in Europe, and by the end of the 1760s deliveries of Russian iron to England exceeded Swedish exports to this market.<sup>26</sup>

In view of the problems posed in making long-term comparisons we have limited ourselves to calculations of proportional changes. However sources in the Swedish record offices enable us to study Swedish iron exports on a quantitative basis. This investigation is limited to Swedish exports to Poland and only of iron bars, which was the principal iron commodity exported from

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<sup>26</sup> A.J. ALANEN, *Der Aussenhandel*, p. 216 f.; S. HÖGBERG, *Utrikeshandel*, p. 78 ff.; W.S. UNGER, *Trade through the Sound*, p. 217; K.G. HILDEBRAND, *Foreign Markets for Swedish Iron in the 18th Century*, "The Scandinavian Economic History Review", vol. VI/1, 1958, p. 10 ff.

POLAND, PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA AS PURCHASERS OF SWEDISH IRON  
(data every five years)

TABLE 16

Year	Global exports from Sweden		Exports to Poland		Exports to Prussia		Exports to Russia	
	<i>Riksdallar</i>	%	<i>Riksdallar</i>	%	<i>Riksdallar</i>	%	<i>Riksdallar</i>	%
1740	4,401,029	100	139,933	3.18	146,138	3.32	110,236	2.5
1745	5,682,513	100	141,090	2.48	162,793	2.86	208,702	3.67
1750	6,255,219	100	151,480	2.42	202,820	3.24	115,014	1.84
1756 *	7,579,827	100	268,769	3.55	264,962	3.50	186,826	2.46
1759 *	8,642,764	100	451,936	5.23	252,003	2.92	116,667	1.35
1763 *	15,290,379	100	458,164	3.00	511,220	3.34	365,594	2.39
1770	1,994,411	100	59,466	2.98	57,691	2.89	29,045	1.46
1775	2,502,516	100	23,373	0.9	94,079	3.76	27,324	1.09
1780	2,282,993	100	20,305	0.89	105,026	4.6	30,168	1.32
1785	2,967,412	100	13,369	0.45	141,342	4.76	29,460	0.99
1790	3,358,434	100	17,223	0.51	158,572	4.72	20,499	0.61
1793	3,174,633	100	18,247	0.57	127,121	4.00	36,791	1.16

\* There is no data for five years.

Calculated from: Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerkollegium Kammarkontoret, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 3: Handelsbalance; Lunds Universitets Bibliotek, De la Gardieska Samlingen Cod. VII b: 6-9.

Sweden and also the most important iron product exported from this country to Poland. Annual average data for five-year periods will be used. Although other kinds of iron such as anchors, rolled iron (*band järn*), iron plates (*järn plåtar*), iron bundles (*Knipp järn*), iron for making screws (*bult järn*) were exported to Polish ports, these kinds of iron were exported to Poland in only small amounts and sporadically.<sup>27</sup>

Poland was not an important consumer of Swedish iron bars, and the 1770s also marked a certain turning point in this respect. Until that time Sweden had exported to Poland from 6.5 thousand to nearly 13 thousand ship's pounds<sup>28</sup> of iron bars annually. This totalled between 2.2% to 4.1% of the overall export of this kind of iron from Sweden. The peak period of deliveries was in the second half of the 1750s, and was preceded by a fifteen-year period of a very stable exports of Swedish iron bars to Poland: 9.3 thousand ship's pounds yearly, equal to about 3% of the total export of this sort of iron from Sweden. The decade after the peak period was also characterized by a level amount of exports, about 10 thousand ship's pounds yearly and a share of 3.5% in the total iron bars export from Sweden. Although in the first five years of the 1770s there was a relatively moderate decline, about 30% in comparison with the previous quinquennium, in the second half of the 1770s a further decline by 45% in comparison with the first half followed. This tendency lasted until 1793, and in the second half of the 1770s exports of iron bars constituted only 1.2% of the global export of this commodity from Sweden and after 1780s it fell below 1% (see table 17).

The fact that neither Poland, Prussia nor Russia became considerable purchasers of iron, the most important Swedish

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<sup>27</sup> Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommerskollegium Kammarskontoret, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 2: Generalpersedelextrakt, del I, II. The Gdańsk statistics only cover the imports of anchors and iron bars — C. BIERNAT, *Statystyka*, p. 192.

<sup>28</sup> The ship's pound of iron was a changeable unit in Sweden — like the bushel of grain in Poland — and the size diminished proportionally to the distance from production place — W.S. UNGER, *Trade through the Sound*, p. 216 note 1.

IRON BAR EXPORTS FROM SWEDEN TO POLAND  
(annual average, ship's pounds)

Period	Global exports from Sweden		Exports to Poland	
	amount	%	amount	%
1738-1740	291,272	100	6,519	2.2
1741-1745	321,229	100	9,225	2.9
1746-1750	308,567	100	9,383	3.0
1751-1755	309,897	100	9,383	3.0
1756-1760	306,929	100	12,710	4.1
1761-1765	333,322	100	10,718	3.2
1766-1770	293,017	100	10,143	3.5
1771-1775	331,736	100	7,227	2.2
1776-1780	321,199	100	3,947	1.2
1781-1785	344,517	100	2,647	0.8
1786-1790	380,229	100	2,109	0.6
1791-1793	231,245	100	2,010	0.9

Calculated from: Riksarkivet Stockholm, Kommararskollegium Kammararkontoret, Årsberättelser utrikes handel, Serie 2: Generalperseddelextrakt, Del I, II.

export commodity, must be considered as one of the chief sources of the positive balance of trade these countries enjoyed with Sweden. On the other hand Sweden constantly purchased large quantities of corn in Poland, Prussia and Russia every year, because its own corn production was not sufficient to feed the population. Although as we underlined at the beginning of this article, the economies of the three southern Baltic coast states and Sweden were complementary, the balance of trade among them was not equal and was unfavourable for Sweden. Poland and Prussia, the countries with predominantly agricultural economies could not become major purchasers of Swedish iron, whereas Russia gradually became an important exporter of iron to the West in the eighteenth century.