RUSSIAN FOREIGN TRADE, 1680 - 1780:
THE BRITISH CONTRIBUTION

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This study aims to establish the development of foreign trade in the Muscovite lands, the Baltic provinces and in the areas which were newly settled in the mid eighteenth century with particular reference to the role of British merchants in these changes. This has required an analysis of the structure of trade through the 'Russian' Baltic and White Sea ports and an investigation of the changing patterns of commercial acitivity caused by fluctuations in the boundaries of their supply areas and of internal and external markets for the goods they handled. Detailed consideration has been given to the commodities handled in the import, export and re-export trades utilising data from the Sound Toll accounts together with British and Russian customs statistics.

Having established a wide framework for the investigation of Russian foreign trade, detailed consideration has been given to the role of the British commercial community. In order to do so it has been necessary to reconstruct the methods used by British merchants in Russia in organising their commercial activities: this includes examining the structure of the British mercantile 'houses' in all the Russian ports, but especially in St. Petersburg; the patterns of recruitment of young men into the trade and their style of life in Russia; the network of contacts which they established among their compatriots, whether involved in commerce or other professions, with other foreign merchants and also with their aristocratic clients and their Russian counterparts involved in internal trade. Merchants in the Russia trade faced changing costs to their business for freight, insurance and customs duties and the fluctuations in these charges and their responses to them have been assessed. One of the most important aspects of their activities was the way in which they financed their trade. Decision-making in this matter was influenced by events throughout Europe as well as in Russia, for account had to be taken of the relative value in silver of the commodities which the Russia merchant handled in that country and elsewhere. Thus, during the late seventeenth century, they paid for Russian goods in specie whilst increasingly in the eighteenth century it made better economic sense to deal in imported commodities as far as the market allowed and finance the balance with trade surpluses accumulated elsewhere, thereby causing the emergence of a close co-operation between the British and Dutch communities in Russia in financing their trade, with the Dutch lending the proceeds of their import surplus to the British in return for bills of exchange on Amsterdam. The costs arising from the movement of the rate of exchange and interest rates within the financial network so formed, have been fully investigated and their effect on the trade explored.

The effects of these changes on Russia's overseas trade and the internal impact of the development of this external commercial sector to the Russian economy receives especial consideration with particular emphasis being placed on the response of the aristocracy in both their changing patterns of consumption of imported goods and in the development of their estates to provide raw materials for export or supplying Russian merchant and serf manufacturers who were at this time responding to growing overseas markets for their products.

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Abbreviations

Add MS	Additional Manuscripts, British Library
BL	British Library, British Museum, London
BLC	British Linen Company
CME	Chancery Masters Exhibits
CRO	Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle
Customs 3	Ledgers of the Inspector General, Imports and Exports, England and Wales, Public Record Office, Kew.
Customs 14	Ledgers of the Inspector General, Imports and Exports, Scotland, Register House
FO	Foreign Office
HRO	Hampshire Record Office, Winchester
HUL	Hull University Library
KRO	Kent Record Office, Maidstone
NRO	Northumberland Record Office, Newcastle-upon-Tyne
PRO	Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London
RH	Register House, Edinburgh
SIRIO	Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obstchestva
SP	State Papers, Public Record Office
SRO	Somerset Record Office, Taunton
WRH	West Register House, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

1 shippound	=	2.67 cwt	Iron	
	=	3.25 cwt	Flax and Hemp	
	=	3.25 cwt	Potash	
	=	1 berkovits	= 10 poods	
1 last	=	6 shippounds	= 0.8 tons Iron, Flax and Hemp	
1 ton	=	63 poods		
1 last sea salt	=	18 tonnes		
1 last Luneberger salt	=	12 tonnes		
1 last grain	=	24 tonnes		
1 last herring	=	12 tonnes		
1 last	=	22.4 chetvert		
1 chaldron	=	36 bushells	= 6 chetverts = 2.5 tons	Coal

Liquid Measures

Cask	=	1 tun
Pipe/Both	=	.5 tun
Hogshead	=	.25 tun
Ohm	=	.167 tun

Linear Measures

1 arshin	=	28" English	=	0.711 m
1 sayen	=	7ft English		
1 skok	=	60 pieces		
1 dekker	=	10 pieces		

INTRODUCTION

The original aim of this research was to prepare a study of the British mercantile community in Russia in the first sixty years of the eighteenth century. It was planned to establish the structure and behaviour of this group by investigating the financial, transport and commercial networks they utilised, the market structure in which they operated in Russia and the wider professional and social links they created both within Russia and beyond. Having built up a picture of the strategies adopted by the British factory for the prosecution of its trade, it was necessary that the commercial activities be fitted into a wider canvas of the function and development of the overall trade of Russia.

About half way through the initial stage of the research it became clear that although there was an abundance of primary material about the British factory, there were no general studies of Russian foreign trade or of the state of the economy for much of the eighteenth century. The trade of the Baltic States from 1680 to 1710 has been widely and ably researched by Soviet and Finnish scholars and Archangel's trade between 1700 and 1720 has also attracted much attention in the U.S.S.R. The period from Peter I's death to Catherine II's accession has, however, been regarded as a dead area by both Soviet and western writers with the notable exception of the late Professor Arcadius Kahan. Unfortunately, Professor Kahan's published work on the subject comprises only three articles. There are, in addition, some extremely valuable sectoral studies of the economy covering agricultural development, the textile industries, trade and customs statistics and tariff policy as well as detailed research on various indigenous and foreign merchant groups. It was, therefore, decided that a general study of Russian foreign trade between 1680 and 1780 was required as a first step. I was fortunate enough to be able to discuss my work with Professor Kahan when he visited Edinburgh and was greatly encouraged when he endorsed this decision.

One of the pleasures of postgraduate study has been the opportunity it has provided for meeting and learning from scholars from this country and overseas. I count myself most fortunate in having had as my supervisor, Dr. Ian Blanchard, who first introduced me to Russian economic history as an undergraduate. His unfailing interest in my research has encouraged me at even the most depressing times while his unerring ability to put his finger on a weak link in an argument and his own high standards of research ensured that I did not become complacent. Professor Michael Anderson and the members of the Economic History Department of Edinburgh University (both present and past) have been unfailingly generous with their time and encouragement. Professor T.C. Smout introduced me to the Sound Toll accounts and Professor H.C. Johansen was kind and patient enough to sort out many problems for me in interpreting them. I am deeply indebted to Sir Ralph Carr-Ellison, who allowed me to borrow the letter books of his ancestor, Ralph Carr, and to the archivists at the Northumberland Record Office and the National Library of Scotland who made the transfer possible. My sincere thanks are also due to Dr Emma Harris of the University of Warsaw, who was kind enough to translate from Polish several articles with which I was struggling unsuccessfully. I have benefited greatly from discussions about merchant sources and Russian trade with Dr. Gordon Jackson, Christian Ahlström, P. de Buck and other members of the Association Internationale d'Histoire des Mers Nordiques. I would like to express my gratitude for the financial support given to me by the Carnegie Trust in 1982 which made possible a visit to Dutch archives and by the directors of A. Ahlström Osakeyhtiö in 1984 which allowed me to work in archives in Finland. I am most grateful to Paul Newman who prepared all the maps, to Martin White who guided me through the maze of computerised graphing and to Dorothy Harcus and my children for their unstinting assistance in checking the script.

PART I

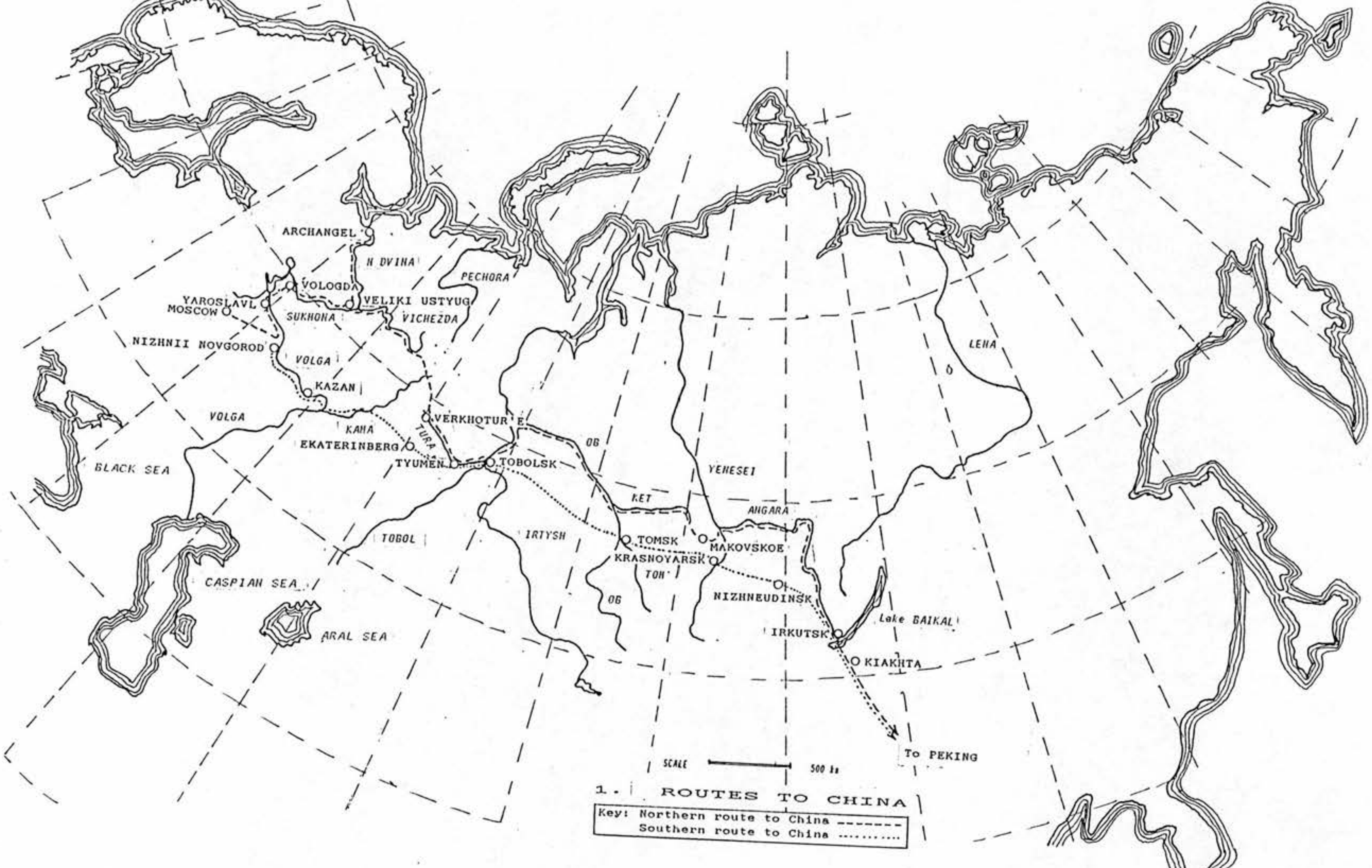
Russian Foreign Trade, 1680 - 1780

CHAPTER 1

THE NORTHERN RUSSIAN PORTS AND THEIR HINTERLANDS

In the century from 1680 Russian foreign trade with Europe blossomed on the basis of the development of a communications network which had been gradually established in the previous two hundred years. The impetus for the expansion and consolidation of these links at this time came with the increasing economic interaction between Russia and the countries of western Europe and was facilitated by the territorial gains on the Baltic made at the expense of Sweden in the early eighteenth century. It was not until the last quarter of the century that alternate routes for parts of this trade were opened through the Mediterranean as a result of Russia's acquisition of the former Turkish provinces bordering the Black Sea. Russian interest in the development of trade westwards through the Baltic did not lead to a neglect of the long established trade links which she already had with China, Turkey, Persia and the Khanates East of the Caspian Sea. Indeed, quite the reverse was true for in the late seventeenth century both Alexis and Peter moved to put new life into the sadly disrupted trades to the East and South.

The late sixteenth century had seen the extension and consolidation of the routes across Siberia, which became at that time the primary link between Muscovy and the Orient. For reasons of safety, the earliest trans-Siberian route from Moscow was through Yaroslavl up the Northern Dvina to Veliki Ustyug and thence along the Vichegda and over the Urals to the customs post of Verhkotur'e (see map 1). From there the route continued along the Tobol to Tobolsk, down the Irtysh to join the Ob and then the Ket to Makovskoe. Here it was necessary to transfer to carts and sledges for the portage to the Yenisei. On reaching the Yenisei water transport was again available down the river to join the Angara to Irkutsk. The Angara section of the journey was extremely dangerous for the river was full of rapids. An alternative route

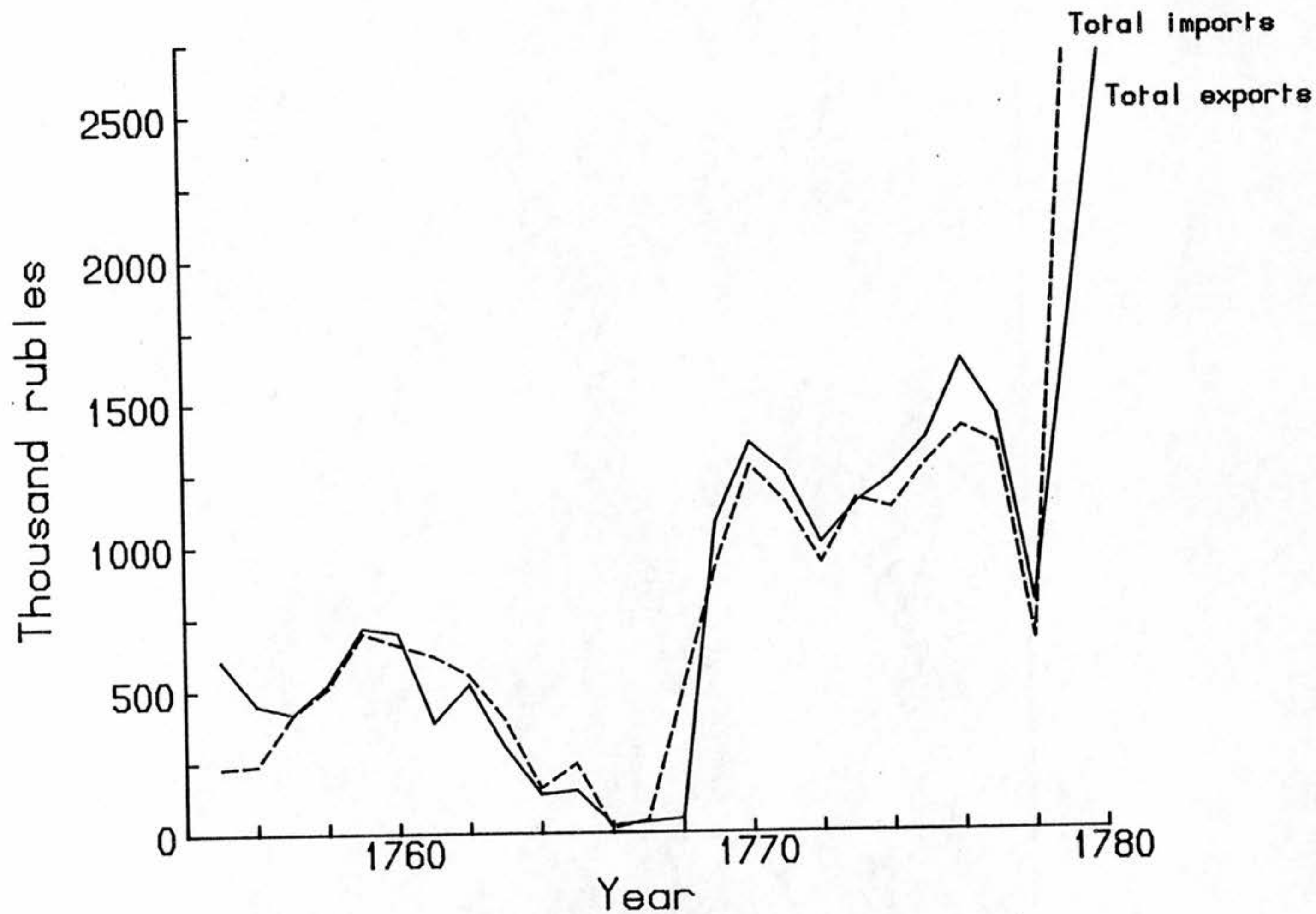


1. ROUTES TO CHINA

Key: Northern route to China -------
Southern route to China ....

was available on the Yenisei to Krasnoyarsk and thence overland to Irkutsk. From Irkutsk the journey continued across Lake Baikal, in suitable weather, or round it in bad conditions, up the Selenga and on to Kiakhta.[1] In the period from 1620 to 1680, trade via the Siberian route was almost totally in abeyance due to incursions by the warlike Bashkir tribes to the South and also as a result of border disputes with the Chinese.[2] For the next sixty or more years alternative access to China was achieved via Astrakhan to the Khanates and through the mountain passes to China, until this in turn became unsafe as a result of the depredations of tartar tribes. The Siberian link once again came into its own only in the late seventeenth century as more peaceful conditions returned to the region and, with the accession of Peter I, changing attitudes to commercial contacts with China resulted in partial settlement of the border dispute in the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689 and these problems were finally solved with the delineation of the border in the Treaty of Kiakhta in 1727. Peter's enthusiasm for Sino-Russian commerce led him gradually to remove restrictions on both state and private trade and to send two embassies to Peking, one in 1719 and another in 1725.[3] More regular trade with China began after 1730 and activity appears to have remained fairly stable until the 1760s when, after three years of disruption from 1765-8, there was a substantial growth in trade until the end of the century (see figure 1). In this period, with more peaceful conditions in Siberia, the trade route began to move southwards: early in the century it followed the Volga/Kama waterway through Nizhnii Novgorod, Kazan and Ekaterinberg to Tiumen and then joined the old route at Tobolsk.[4] By the 1760s, however, it was possible to travel by land from Tobolsk over the Steppe to Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk and Nizhneudinsk and on to Irkutsk. The overland route was 3000 miles and was only possible when hardened by the sun in summer or frozen in winter. It seems hardly surprising that this journey could take anything from one to three years.[5] The level of activity on Russian's trade links southwards is even more difficult to

Figure 1. Volume of Russian-Chinese Trade at Kiakhta 1755-1780 (thousand rubles)

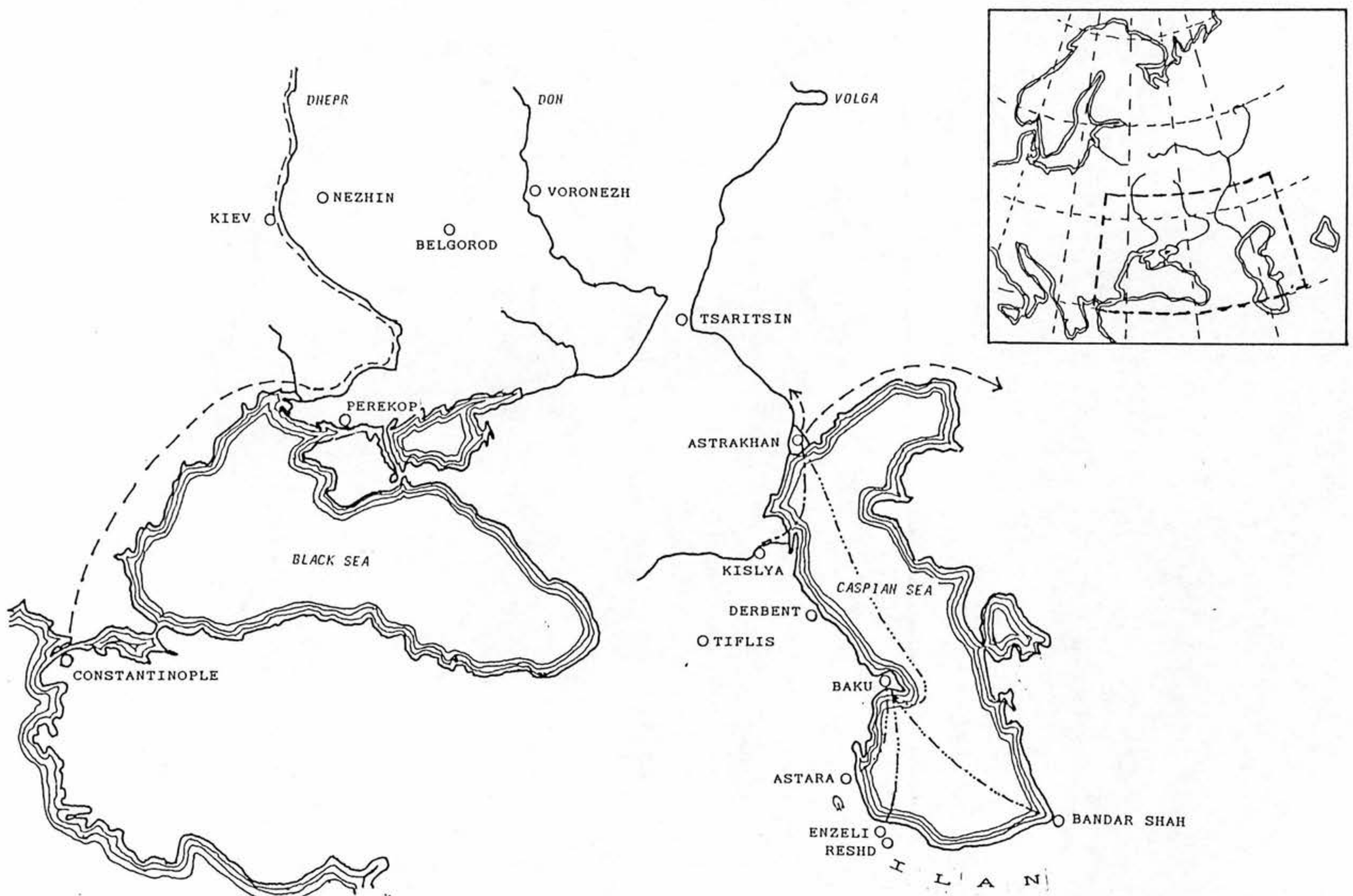


Source: Clifford M. Foust, <u>Muscovite and Mandarin</u> (Chapel Hill, 1696) assess than those to China. There was little commerce with the Tartar tribes to the south, the nomadic tribes of the Steppe having few goods to offer. Indeed contact between the Russians and the Tartars was generally military and designed to stop their incursions into Russian lands or to curtail their raids on the caravans passing southwards. There were two separate routes for trade to the South: firstly to the south west to the Turkish empire, goods which had been purchased at the fairs in White Russia or at Nezhin near Kiev, were carried overland through Moldavia to Constantinople.[6] By the eighteenth century, the trade on this route was in a state of decline.

The second route was to the south east and channelled trade along the Volga to Astrakhan which was a multi-national port for merchants from the lands surrounding the Caspian and beyond (see map 2). Those trading to Persia generally sailed from Astrakhan along the western coast of the Caspian, leapfrogging from port to port via Derbent and Baku to Gilan or Reshd.[7]

The land route through the Caucasus was blocked to Russian trade in the seventeenth century as a result of tartar occupation and even Astrakhan was briefly in Tartar hands, but was recaptured during Alexis' reign.[8] Peter extended Russian occupation as far as Derbent making it possible to use the land route to Kisliar and beyond. Though the border receded again in Anna's reign, Russian links with Persia became increasingly secure as the eighteenth century progressed and the borders of the Empire moved gradually southwards.[9]

Fluctuations in trade with Persia in the eighteenth century were largely a result of internal disruptions caused by warring factions attempting to acquire power and the Persian throne. Until the 1760s, Russo-Persian trade remained at a relatively low level but it was clearly regarded as a market with considerable potential for it was the only area into which foreign merchants attempted to penetrate on their own account. The upsurge of commercial activity in the 1740s was due to English entry into this market but their

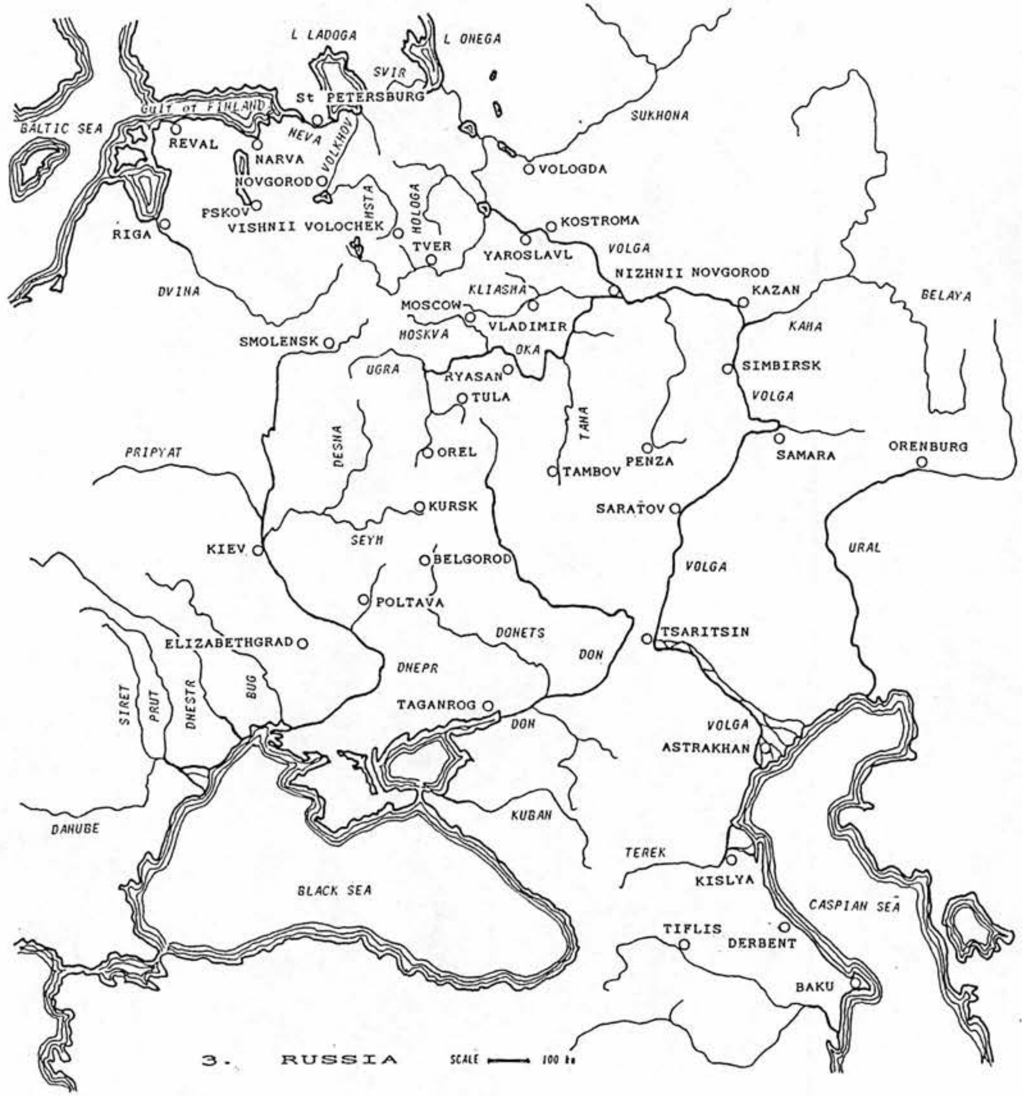


2. BLACK SEA / CASPIAN

involvement was brief and trade once more returned to the Russians and Armenians who traditionally handled the goods on all the routes to the south.[10] In the 1760s, however, trade with Persia, as with that to China and the West, began to expand and this route enjoyed a new period of prosperity.[11]

The northern networks giving access to the West were, like those already described, based on a series of linkages which had been created over a long period, and which continued to develop despite the political changes in the region (see map 3). New political orientation might obstruct routes for a short period but, in the end, economic reality overcame other considerations. Although Archangel was the only northern port actually on Russian territory in 1680, the pattern of linkages from the Baltic ports to their hinterlands was almost consistent with that to be found in the sixteenth century when Narva was part of Russia and during the next hundred years these networks showed no radical changes but simply extended their outreach as new supply areas became available.[12]

The section of the network which handled Muscovite goods was directed, whenever possible towards the Baltic and predominantly to Narva. In the mid sixteenth century Narva was part of Muscovy and the focus of internal trade networks. The occupation of the port by the Swedes in 1581 cut off this direct route to overseas markets and Muscovite exports now had to be channelled northwards on the long and hazardous trail to Archangel on the White Sea, which normally handled the trade in goods from Siberia and the northern provinces. The desire of Sweden to encourage trade through her territory led her in 1643 to abolish duties on commodities in transit through Narva and Nyen (later to become St. Petersburg), thereby restoring the previous Baltic orientation of Muscovite trade. Except for a short interruption during the Northern War when the Baltic became unsafe to foreign shipping and Archangel enjoyed a brief period of unprecedented activity, the Baltic routes achieved a supremacy which they maintained throughout the eighteenth century.


L LADOGA
L ONEGA
SVIR
BALTIC SEA
Gulf of FINLAND
St PETERSBURG
REVAL
NEVA
VOLKHOV
NARVA
NOVGOROD
PSKOV
VISHNII VOLOCHEK
MSTA
MOLOGA
RIGA
TVER
SUKHONA
VOLOGDA
KOSTROMA
YAROSLAVL
VOLGA
NIZHNII NOVGOROD
KAZAN
BELAYA
KAMA
DVINA
KLIASMA
MOSCOW
VLADIMIR
MOSKVA
SMOLENSK
OKA
UGRA
RYASAN
TULA
SIMBIRSK
VOLGA
TANA
DESNA
PRIPYAT
OREL
TAMBOV
PENZA
SAMARA
ORENBURG
KURSK
SARATOV
SEYM
KIEV
BELGOROD
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VOLGA
POLTAVA
DONETS
TSARITSIN
ELIZABETHGRAD
DNEPR
DON
SIRET
PRUT
DNESTR
BUG
TAGANROG
DON
VOLGA
ASTRAKHAN
DANUBE
KUBAN
TEREK
KISLYA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
TIFLIS
DERBENT
BAKU
SCALE 100 m

3. RUSSIA

Developments within the other section of the network also led to increased activity on the Baltic routes. This was centred on Riga and Reval and had only the most tenuous links with Russia itself, for their hinterlands were based on the areas of Lithuania and White Russia which were predominantly under Polish rule or Livonia and Estonia which were controlled by Sweden. The absorption of these lands into the Russian Empire had at first little impact on their commercial networks and there was only a gradual reorientation towards the possibilities of the production areas and markets within Russia.

By 1710 Russia had acquired four Baltic ports which with Archangel, formed her main outlets for trade in the North West.[13] The change of rule, however, did nothing to alter the patterns of commercial activity already outlined which were well established in 1680 and which effectively divided the network into two parts - the western section with a Polish and Baltic hinterland, the eastern section serving the Russian heartland. It is as parts of these two sections that detailed consideration will be given to the individual ports.

Riga

Of all the Baltic cities later acquired by Peter I, Riga was the most prosperous and important in 1680. It was a Hanse town which had been established in the twelfth century and which managed, under both Swedish rule from 1617 -1710 and under Russian domination from 1710 onwards, to retain many of its ancient privileges. The town was governed by its magistrates and the burghers had complete control over trade within it, maintaining a braak, or inspection system, of goods which was the envy of many other Baltic ports and which earned Riga an international reputation for quality and reliability.[14]

Riga is situated at the mouth of the Dvina (Düna) "very advantageously for commerce" as the river and its tributaries stretch deep into Polish Lithuania and White Russia.[15] The harbour was a large one, able to accommodate up to 300 ships but the bar at the mouth of the river hindered ships with more than a 9 ft. draught from entering. Providentially there was a deep water creek beyond the bar which could be used by larger ships. The river was closed by ice from the end of November to the middle of March.[16] The town itself was situated on the eastern bank of the Dvina with the warehouses on the other side. These had to be protected from innundation during the high spring tides when the ice melted.[17] As the banks of the Dvina were scoured by the annual spring floodtides, a permanent bridge was not possible and the two parts of the town were linked by a wooden bridge "of rafts and boards" during the summer.[18] The buildings in the town were constructed to withstand the severe winter weather, having very steep roofs to allow snow to melt quickly. Every inch of the two-storey houses in the narrow streets was put to use:

> "The cellars are used as magazines for flax, and other goods, and the entrance, or first appartment, in most houses, is the coach-house, by which you must pass to the parlour and dining-room."

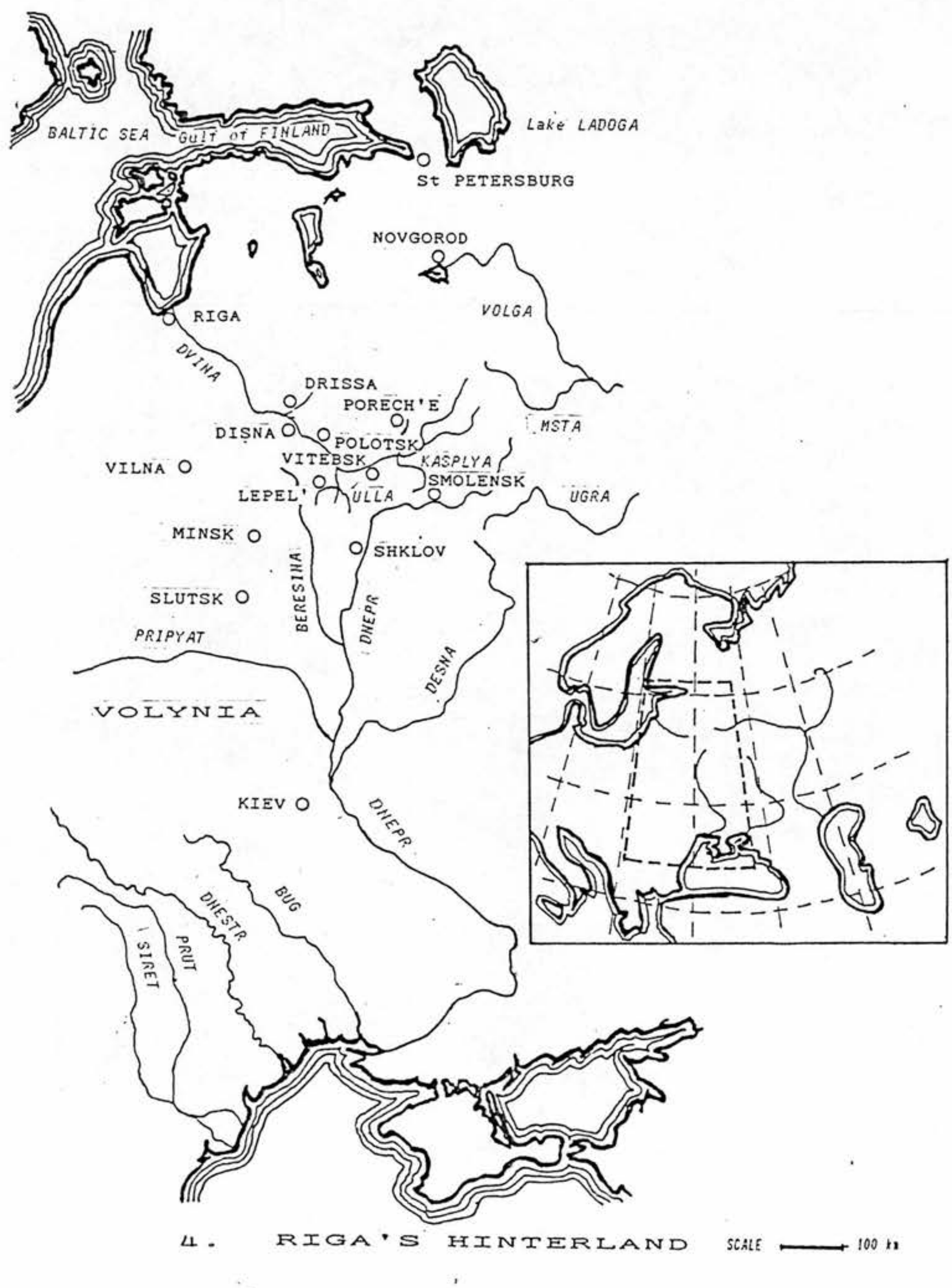
Despite their "excessive high living", the Riga burghers did not appear to have felt it necessary to separate their commercial activities from their social life.[19]

The tight control exercised by the Riga burghers over commerce in the town altered the position of the foreign merchants from that in other Russian ports. Foreigners never met the producers or handlers of the goods which they despatched home: nor did they have any contact with the merchants who carried their imports to the customers for whom they were destined. The Riga merchants were always the middlemen, imposing a physical divide between producer and exporter by requiring their suppliers to lodge outside the town while the foreign merchants lived within.[21] The result of this system was that a small number of resident foreign merchants could handle the imports from a large number of ships and could also provide export cargoes for an even larger number, with maximum despatch and without the need ever to set foot outside the town. In the late seventeenth century foreign merchants faced many restrictions: not only did they have to trade through the local burghers but the period for which they could be resident was limited and religious freedom was denied them.[22] Trade with Riga was, however, important enough to ensure that, despite complaints about the treatment they received, their presence there continued. The largest group of foreign merchants in the town in the late seventeenth century were the Dutch who, with the Swedes, were the only foreigners who enjoyed any exemption from the restrictions imposed by the Council and the Swedish government.[23] The English factory was the next in importance, though considerably smaller than the Dutch. This pattern continued in the eighteenth century when many of the restrictions on foreign merchants were removed and the Dutch were even successful at times in circumventing the indigenous middlemen, much to their chagrin.[24]

The Riga burghers not only attempted to maintain their influence over the western merchants resident in the city, they also sought to safeguard their supply networks in the hinterland by providing a financial structure which would draw both growers and merchant carriers to Riga and maintain their orientation in that direction year after year. With the inadvertent assistance of the foreign consumers of their exports and purveyors of their imports, they were able to offer part payment in advance for export commodities, the balance being paid on delivery, and also long credit on imports bought in the port and carried inland.[25]

The hinterland on which Riga's prosperity was based can be divided into two parts: firstly that linked to the coast by the Dvina and its tributaries and, secondly, the more local area which had overland routes to the port (see map 4). The Dvina rises in the Valdai Hills near the sources of the Volga and the Dnepr and, by Russian standards, is not a long river. In its upper reaches it has several tributaries, the most important of which is the Kasplya which flows South towards Smolensk and the Dnepr basin. The Dvina, therefore, gave Riga access to a number of distinct production areas. The immediate area was that of Polish Lithuania and White Russia through part of which it flowed and the rest of which was accessible by land routes or by the Beresina, a tributary of the Dnepr.[26] Until the 1770s this area was part of Poland but political boundaries did not affect the economic realities of the area. Beyond White Russia, via the Dnepr route, trade links extended into the Ukraine, parts of which had been acquired by Russia during the reign of Alexis and other parts of which came into the Russian lands in the eighteenth century during Elizabeth and Catherine's reigns. The Dnepr, via the Pripet and other tributaries, also allowed Riga to tap the produce of Polish Volynia and Podolia.[27]

Apart from the areas which had direct overland access to the Dvina by the routes from Vilna and Minsk, the hub of Riga's hinterland was Smolensk: this city was the long-established centre in which were exchanged export



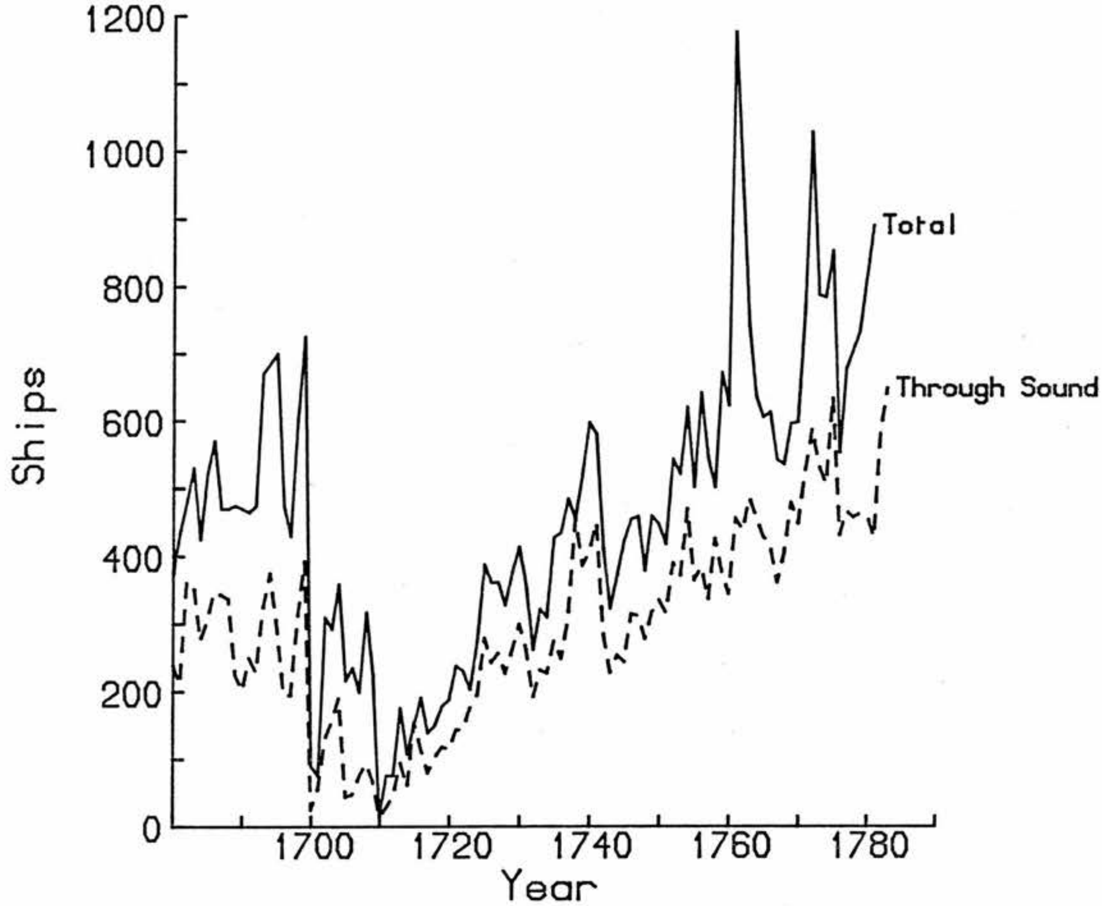
4. RIGA'S HINTERLAND SCALE 100 km

goods from the South (via the Dnepr and its tributaries) and imported goods from the Baltic (via the Dvina and the Kasplya). This was its prime importance in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as far as Riga was concerned, but it also had a lesser function as it was the market at which merchants from the Dvina towns, and especially from Vitebsk, could make contact with the production areas of the East and North East. Here they acquired manufactured goods from the Moscow region and raw materials or semi-manufactured goods from the borders of the Volga and beyond into the nothern provinces and Siberia.[28] Trade between the Russian provinces and Riga remained of much lesser importance than that with Poland until well into the eighteenth century. Despite the political changes in 1721, little attempt was made by the Russian administration to link Riga more closely to the Russian production areas. Trade links grew spontaneously for economic reasons after the mid eighteenth century: as sources of wood products and especially masts, began to be exhausted in her Polish hinterland, merchants in Riga and along her supply network began to look eastwards towards the central Russian provinces and the Volga area. In the second half of the eighteenth century Riga was tapping supplies from Kazan, Tambov, Orel, Tula and Volinsk gubernii.[29]

This, then, was the extensive hinterland of waterways and land routes which was linked to Riga by the Dvina. To gather resources from such a wide area required considerable organization, which was handled primarily by merchants from the towns on the lower Dvina, together with Russian merchants who journeyed to the market centres like Smolensk or Pskov and Byelorussian merchants who travelled to Moscow and the Volga towns.[30] The climate of the area presented merchants with many problems in moving their goods: waterways were at their best in the spring when the snow melted and there was plenty of water, though up-river journeys were better after the spring tides had subsided somewhat; land routes, however, were at their best in the winter when they were frozen and suitable for sledges, or in the summer when they had baked dry and were passable to carts. Spring and autumn were to be avoided whenever possible as these were the times of highest rainfall. The favourite time for collecting goods at the Dvina towns was in the winter, when there was much free time available to peasant carters. Goods were taken on the sledgeways to Vitebsk, Polotsk, Drissa, Dissna and Shurazh on the Dvina, as well as to Lepel' on the Ulla and Porech'e on the Kasplya. Here they were sorted and made ready for shipment in the spring.[31] Transport down river was made in flat-bottomed boats, called struse, which were built locally. They were propelled by the current and were steered by two end oars. At the end of the journey, the boats were either loaded with a return cargo and pulled upstream by men or horses, or they were sold for firewood and the boatmen walked home. Masts and other types of wood were formed into rafts and floated down river. Merchants and professional boatmen were not the only carriers using the river - landowners with riverside estates used their peasants to transport goods on their own account down to Riga for sale.[32]

The second part of Riga's hinterland was that of the Baltic provinces - Lithuania, Livonia (Latvia) and Estonia.[33] These areas were geographically much closer to the port which made possible the more expensive use of land transport as journeys were short. Most supplies of raw materials from these provinces came via the sledgeways in the winter though by the late eighteenth century, new canals allowed movement by water in the spring and summer. As was the case with the rest of Riga's hinterland, this network of trade was long-established by the seventeenth century and continued in the eighteenth.[34] Although the Baltic provinces added an important element to Riga's trade, their contribution was a specialist one dictated by climatic and geographical conditions and limited in size compared with the vast hinterland to the South.

Figure 2. Shipping from Riga, 1680-1783



Sources: see Appendix 1, Table 1.1

In the late seventeenth century Riga had established a secure and prosperous position in Baltic trade. In the period from 1680-1700 between 400 and 700 ships used the port each year indicating a high level of commercial activity with some growth in the last seven years of the century (see figure 2). During this time, about 40% of ships from Riga remained in the Baltic though this rose to over 50% in some years. Within the Baltic, the most active importers of goods from Riga were Sweden (for her own consumption) and Lübeck (largely for re-export within Europe down the Elbe). The most important shippers of goods through the Sound were the Dutch and the English. In the late seventeenth century, a large proportion of Dutch shipping went direct to the Netherlands but the Dutch also acted as carriers of Baltic products for the French. Virtually all English shipping sailed to the English East Coast ports, with the majority docking in London.

The beginning of the great Northern War in 1700 bought a complete change in Riga's fortunes. Until the early 1720s, Riga experienced unprecedented fluctuations in her commerce: in the 1700s shipping was cut almost by half due to a large decline in ships coming from western Europe, while intra-Baltic traffic was much less seriously affected. The Russian seige of the town in 1710 caused an almost complete cessation of trade and the ramifications of the war had a long-term effect on Riga and her hinterland, which is most noticeable in the 1710s but continued even thereafter. The English Envoy, Charles Whitworth, reported to his government on the state of Riga in 1711:

> "so low has this once famous town been reduced by plague and disasters of the war both before and since they are come under the yoak of Russia, their trade this last autumn having been supplied by the old stores of former years and some more are still lying up in the country".[35]

With her own population and that of her hinterland reduced by plague and supply networks disrupted in the war zones, it is unlikely that Riga would have been able to provide cargoes for more than the small number of ships which arrived at the port in the next ten years. As it was, the unsettled state of the Baltic provided a distinct disincentive to merchants in the Netherlands and England to risk their ships and the new political situation severed Riga's trade links with Sweden with the result that shipping remained at a low level until the early 1720s.

Although Riga's trade began to re-establish itself from 1725 onwards, there was a long period with slow growth, with the average number of ships which had been normal in the pre-war period not being reached until the early 1740s and not consistently maintained until 1750 onwards. From the late 1750s, the rate of growth quickened with the port enjoying an extremely prosperous period in the early 1770s. Despite the fact that links with Sweden had been greatly reduced and Lübeck shipping had totally reorientated itself to St. Petersburg, the composition of traffic remained virtually in the same proportions as they had been before the war. In the 1740s and 1750s, however, contacts with Baltic markets declined and only 25-30% of ships from Riga had destinations within the Baltic. The balance was made up of growing numbers of vessels coming to the port through the Sound. Dutch shipping remained numerically the most important for the port but gradually the number of English and Scottish ships began to increase from the 1730s onwards, though never reaching the Dutch level. The French market continued to be supplied predominantly by Dutch shipping which also established a steadily growing carrying trade to Portugal and Spain. By contrast, British shipping continued to specialise on the home market which had now been extended to include Scotland. With the extension of Riga's supply network in the 1770s, activity at the port grew rapidly, with the number of vessels going through the Sound increasing in number, but decreasing slightly in relative terms as there was once again a growth of traffic to ports within the Baltic.

The first half of the eighteenth century must have been a period of dislocation and upheaval for the merchants of Riga who had been able to enjoy so much prosperity in the late seventeenth century. Their city suffered severely as a result of being in an area which was the arena for war. Recovery would probably have been much more rapid, however, had just the town itself been affected but the disruption to the supply areas of the Baltic states and Byelorussiya and their trade networks could only be reversed over many years. Population had been severely reduced by plague and war and only increased again slowly. Riga was also beginning to experience the effects of exhaustion of some resources in her traditional hinterland and had to go through a slow reorientation of part of her trade networks. The period of sustained growth from the 1760s reflects not only growing production in the old supply areas but also the results of diversification and enlargement of her supply system. Despite this apparently fruitful outcome after the problems following the war, commentators viewing Riga later in the century describe her position as being less important than it had once been.[36] This may be due to the fact that she was by then always being compared, to her disadvantage, with St. Petersburg but there may also have been an impression that she had enjoyed her golden age in the previous century. However, while Riga managed to overcome the problems which beset her in the early eighteenth century and to regain much of her former prosperity, the other port in the western section of Russia's trade network, was not so fortunate.

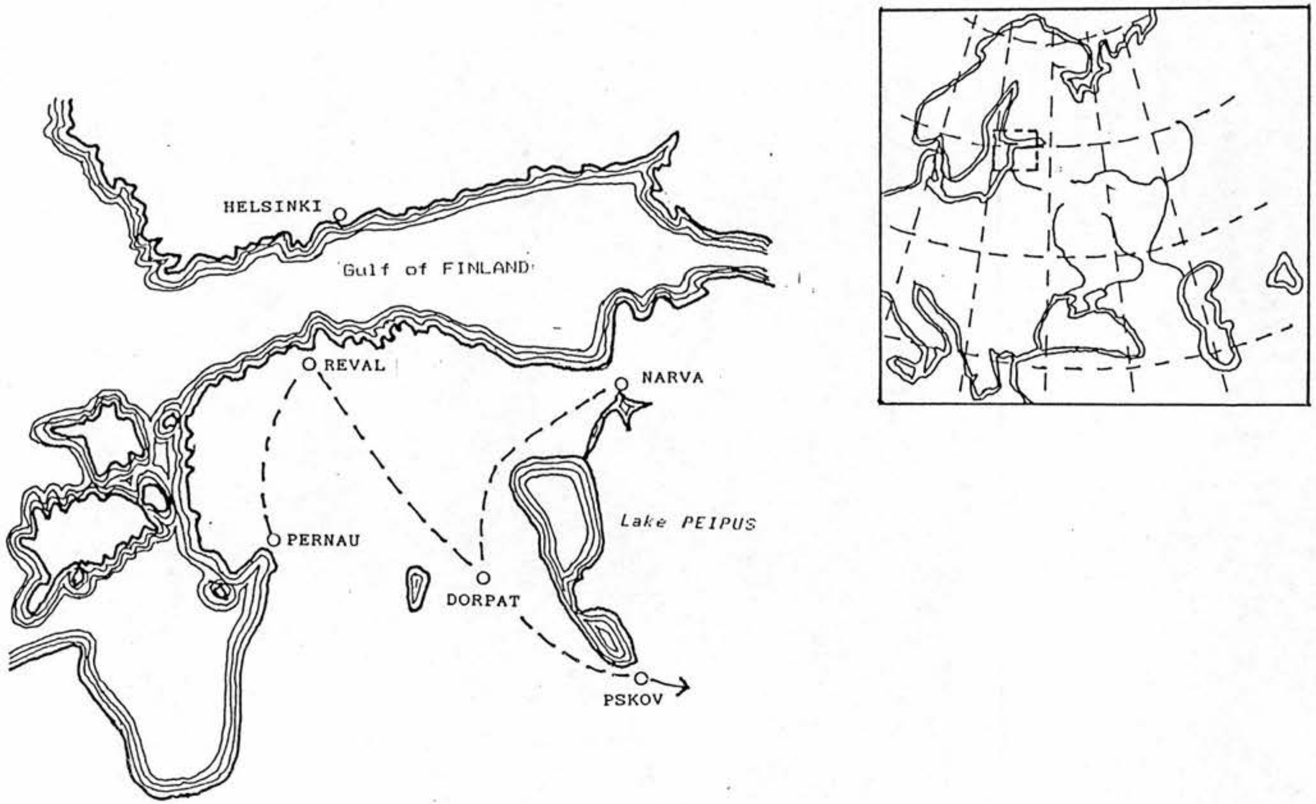
Reval

Originally a free Hanse city, Reval had been "one of the greatest ports in the Baltic" early in the sixteenth century with its prosperity based on its trade with Novgorod.[37] A large part of this trade was lost after 1558 when Narva became a Russian possession and exports from Russia were re-routed to that port. Even when both Reval and Narva were captured by the Swedes in the 1580s, the former level of affluence was not regained for Muscovite trade was reorientated towards Archangel. The Swedish government made treaties with the Russians at Vallisaari in 1658 and Kardis in 1661 by which it was agreed that Russian goods should be exported via Stockholm, Riga, Narva and Reval but Reval gained little by this means. Riga had only a minor interest in the trade in Russian goods so Reval's real competitor in these products was Narva which enjoyed better communications with the Russian production areas and a more recent network of commercial links. From the 1650s, Reval was put at a further disadvantage when the restrictions on foreigners trading in the Swedish ports were upheld there but were removed at Narva, and Reval was not included in the preferential tariffs available to those trading with her rival.[38]

Reval is situated on the Estonian coast looking out on the Gulf of Finland. It has a very deep harbour which ices up more slowly than the other Baltic ports because it has "no fresh water falling into it".[39] This meant that it could be used as a haven for ships wanting to go to ports further East but being unable to do so because of the ice. The town was built on an eminence, giving a wide vista over the sea and was protected by an ancient, thick city wall inside which were clustered tall, steep-roofed houses bordering narrow streets. As in Riga, the houses served both commercial and domestic purposes: on the ground floor, the room at the front acted as a warehouse and the upper storeys as living quarters. There was one feature of Reval which left much to be desired, however: the dead were buried in vaults under the streets, covered with large stones. Many of the stones were broken and the presence of the previous inhabitants could not be avoided by the still active population who "had a very sensible proof, in the offensive stench that arose from the pavements".[40]

Reval's position on the Estonian coast, with no river connections meant that contact with her hinterland was totally dependent on land routes (see map 5). This put the town at a financial disadvantage as far as long distance transport was concerned. By the late seventeenth century Reval's trade area was predominantly concentrated on the immediate provinces of Estonia and Livonia which minimised the distance over which goods had to be transported by cart and sledge. The most important links were with Pernau, on the Gulf of Riga, and its surrounding area; with Dorpat; and with the production area South and West of Lake Peipus which sent its goods north via Dorpat.[41] The exports of Russian goods which still went out through Reval came on the route from Novgorod and Pskov and then North through Dorpat to the coast.[42] In the eighteenth century this network showed no alteration whatsoever, despite the political changes which resulted in Reval and its hinterland becoming notionally part of Russia.

In the face of serious competition from the other Baltic ports under Swedish rule and in view of the advantages enjoyed especially by Narva, its closest rival, the merchants of Reval adopted several strategies in an attempt to maintain their position. Firstly they established themselves as an entrepôt for goods imported from western Europe which they distributed by the land routes to their supply areas and in coastal vessels, many of which were owned by citizens of the port, to the ports of Finland and Sweden ranging in importance from Helsingfors and Stockholm downwards.[43] Secondly, they became extremely specialist in the commodities in which they dealt - even more specialist than would be expected from the limitations of their hinterland. In the period up to 1700, 50 - 80% of their exports were made up



5. REVAL'S HINTERLAND

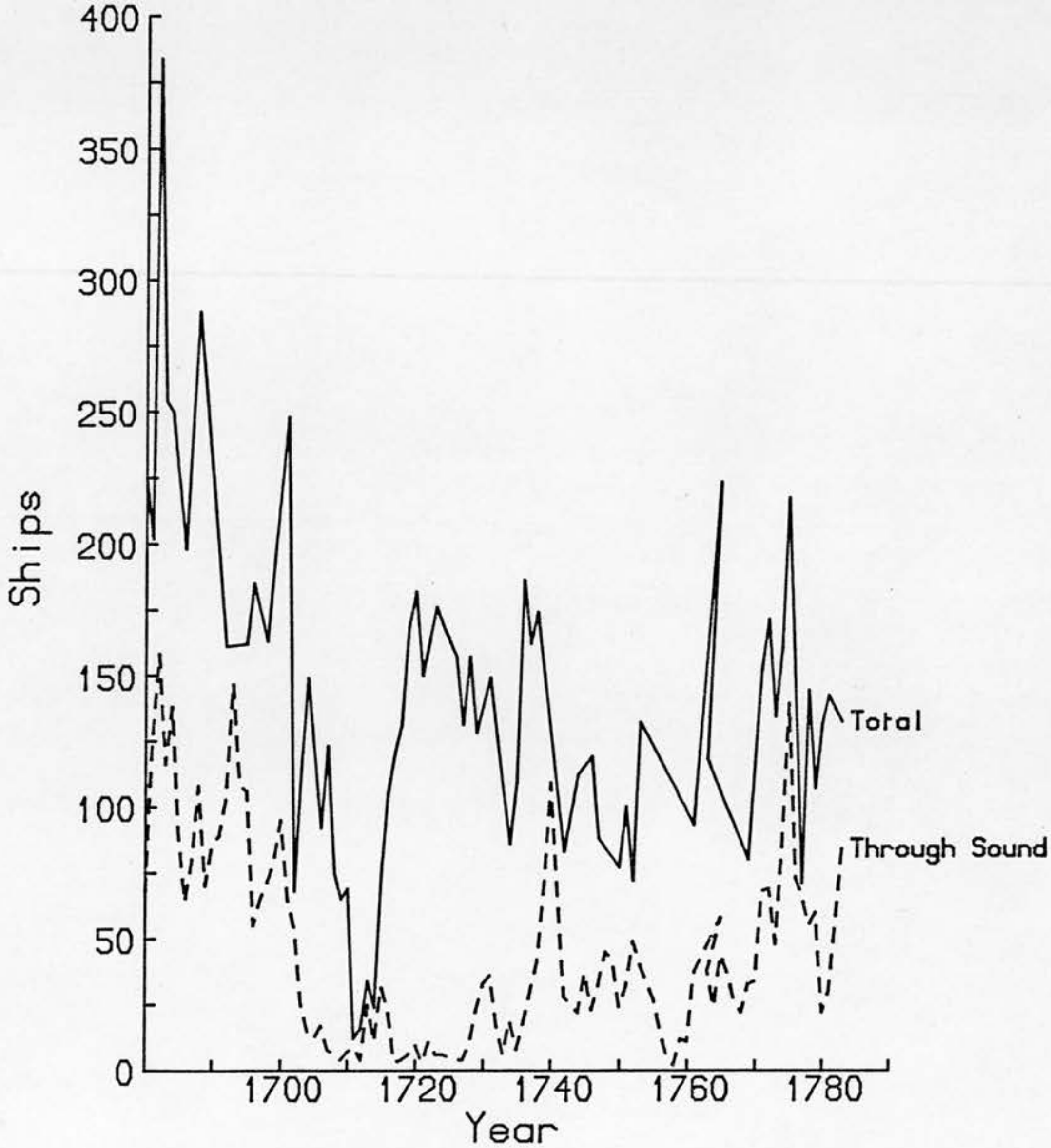
SCALE 100 km

of grain and it is, therefore, evident that all other commodities were of minor importance.[44] The range of export markets with which they were associated was also extremely limited: the most important consumers of agricultural products were Sweden and Finland to which they also supplied re-exports, with Lübeck losing the pre-eminent place it had had earlier in the century, though it remained closely linked with Reval. The proportion of exports which went to the Netherlands increased in the 1680s and 1690s and at the end of the century England was also entering the market for exports from Reval but it remained of much lesser importance.[45] The third way in which Reval protected its trade was by using Narva as an export outlet, taking advantage of the lower export duties there and the direct contact with foreign merchants. Reval merchants exported a wider range of goods through Narva than they did through their own port but they collected them from their normal hinterland and from Russia and moved them direct to the port.[46]

This was then the basis of Reval's trade from 1680 until the early 1700s. The figures for shipping show that in most years in the 1680s 200 or more ships were using the port but this number decreased in the 1690s by at least a third (see figure 3). The proportion of intra Baltic shipping fluctuated wildly from 60% to 30% in this period with the majority coming from Sweden and the Finnish part of the Swedish Empire.[47] A very large proportion of the shipping to western Europe was Dutch, sailing direct to the Netherlands and there was a small, but regular group of British vessels about two thirds of which unloaded part of their import cargoes at the port and then sailed on to Narva to pick up their export goods for the home journey. Some Swedish shipping was also going through the Sound, a few ships to Sweden's western ports but the majority sailing to the Netherlands.

Uncertainty due to the Northern Wars began to affect long-distance shipping to Reval in 1703 and the number of ships through the Sound remained at a very low level until 1715. Shipping from the Baltic ports remained quite

Figure 3. Shipping from Reval, 1680-1783



Sources: see Appendix 1, Tables 1.1 and 1.3

stable until the port fell to the Russians in 1710 when shipping from Sweden and Finland ceased not only as a result of political changes but also because the town was seriously affected by the plague which swept through Estonia and Livonia. When Reval capitulated to the Russians, the conquering army made no attempt to enter the town because the plague was so severe there. Hanway reports that out of a population of 50,000 only 4,000 were left alive.[48]

In the post war period Reval merchants were faced with entirely new obstacles to their commercial activities and the strategies which they had adopted in the late seventeenth century largely had to be abandoned. The most immediate problem facing them was the reduction, due to the effects of war and plague, in the supply of grain for export.[49] When grain again came on to the market in larger quantities, little went into the old trade channels for Peter imposed high tariffs on grain exports in 1722, at the same time allowing supplies to be shipped duty free to Russia itself.[50] The chief reason for this legislation was the need to provision St. Petersburgh and in the 1720s and early 1730s ships from Reval carried grain to the new capital.[51] However it is clear that the largest part of the surplus grain did not reach the port at all but were transported overland direct from the production areas to the new capital, such expensive transport being possible thanks to the high prices paid at this market in the 1720s.

As Dutch shipping had primarily been engaged in carrying grain in the pre-war period, their trading patterns were bound to change after 1715: although the number of ships from the Netherlands only declined slightly in the 1720s and rose again in the late 1730s their reason for stopping at Reval was now primarily to drop off import commodities and they then, like the British, sailed east to collect cargoes for the homeward journey from other Russian Baltic ports. In the Dutch case, Narva was their destination but the British moved further east to St. Petersburg for their export commoditities. When they again passed through the Sound, these vessels would, of course, be listed as having come from their last port of call not from Reval. Reval's close relationship with Sweden was also at an end with the new political situation and because this link too had largely been dependent on grain supplies. From the 1730s, however, the number of ships sailing to Swedish ports again increased to roughly the same level as 1700-1710. This together with a similar growth in Dutch shipping suggests that the newly established internal supply routes to St. Petersburg were making it possible for larger quantities of Livonian and Estonian grain to be channelled back into the old supply network to Reval for export.

In contrast to the gloomy picture of Reval's commercial weakness in the 1720s, one avenue for trade remained intact and that was her position as a local entrepôt. Supplies of goods from western Europe were again available after 1715 and the marked rise in voyages to Finland from that date indicates that there was an eager local market for the basic essentials which made up this trade. Though declining somewhat from the mid 1730s when other trade links were re-established, the Finnish market continued to play an important role in Reval's trading activities and must have done much to compensate for other problems which faced her merchants, especially in the immediate post-war period. Shipping figures for the period after 1730, though incomplete for those remaining in the Baltic, indicate a somewhat stable level of activity at the port. Increased grain supplies assisted in re-establishing links with Sweden and increased exports to western Europe and the western Baltic. The Dutch, as earlier, were still the predominant shippers using Reval but ships from Norway and Slesvig-Holstein were increasing in number. Portugal had become an important market for Baltic grain and supplies were carried on Dutch and Slesvig-Holstein vessels. In the Baltic, Lübeck again played a more important role in Reval's trade and began to use her position to charge high freight rates. This led the Reval merchants to increase their own fleet and even to carry goods beyond the Baltic.[52] Reval's entrepôt trade continued to thrive and her links with the other Russian Baltic ports grew as the century progressed. Even by the end of the eighteenth century, Reval's integration into Russia's commercial networks was minimal, but her role as a Russian port was emphasised late in the century when a second naval dockyard was required to supplement the facilities at Kronstadt, and Reval was chosen because of her deep harbour and the late arrival of ice.[53]

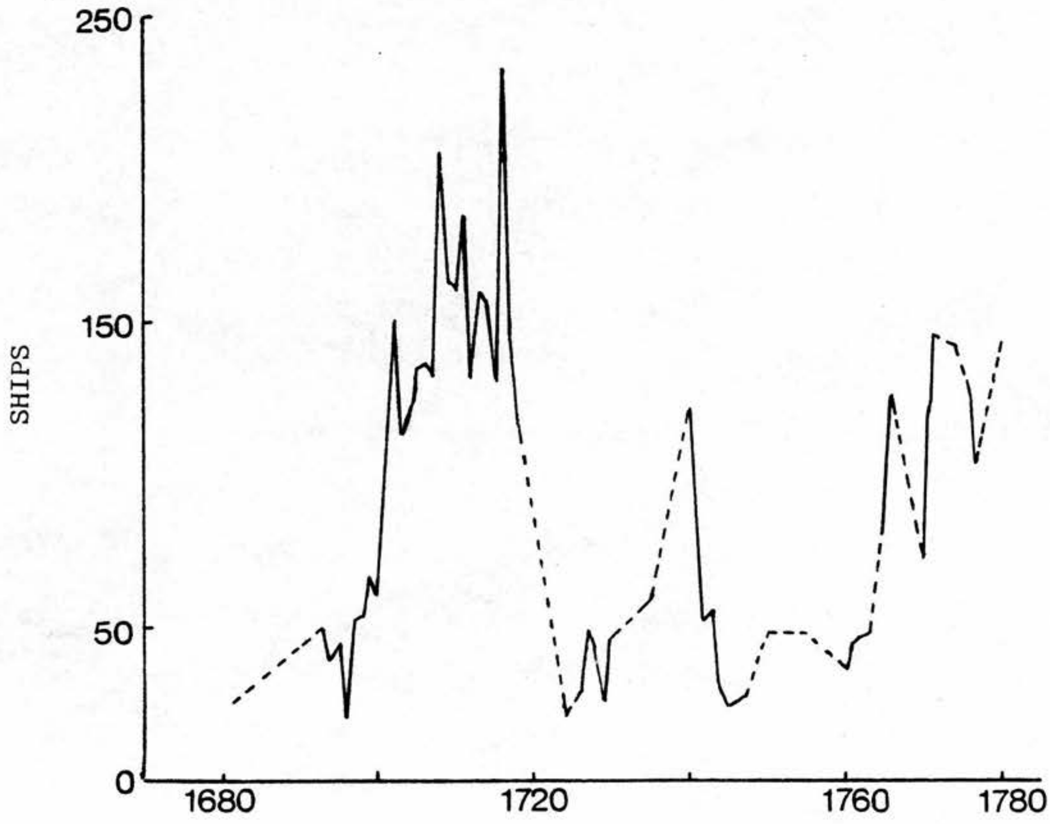
Even in the seventeenth century, Reval could not match Riga in commercial activity and prosperity and, in the eighteenth century, she became predominantly a distribution centre for the Gulf of Finland while Riga continued to enjoy much international prestige. Nevertheless there are some similarities in the organisation of their supply networks and in the problems with which both these town were faced after 1700. Russia proper played only a minor role as a production area and as a market for both ports: their hinterlands were already established and remained virtually unchanged until the mid eighteenth century and, in Reval's case, even then there was no extension of supply networks into the Russian provinces.

In the early 1700s these cities suffered greatly as a result of the effects of war, both being ravaged by plague and Riga suffering from a long siege. Both had their production areas and supply networks disrupted by the depredations of two warring armies and suffered the results for many years thereafter. Riga, however, with a much larger hinterland and a more diverse trade base was gradually able to re-establish herself as a force in trade from the Baltic. As far as shipping activity was concerned, Reval reverted to earlier levels of incoming vessels very quickly but the disruption in the supply of her predominant export commodity left her with little to offer on the international market and further weakened the links with her main market in Sweden already partially severed by political changes. Her only resource in the 1720s lay in the convenience of her position for local trade, but her previous role was to some extent restored from the late 1730s onwards. The Russian territorial gains of the early eighteenth century, though having little immediate effect on either Riga or Reval, brought with them a long-term threat to the commercial position of both ports for they made possible the establishment of a very formidable trading rival in the form of St. Petersburg, and it is the development of this port and the others which served the Russian production areas which will now be examined.

Archangel

Throughout the seventeenth century Archangel was the only port actually on Russian soil with direct access to western Europe, but its fortunes were inextricably interwoven with events in the Baltic. At periods when there was easy access through Narva, Archangel's role declined to being the port of exit for exports from the North and Siberia, but when links with Narva were severed Archangel throve. Between 1680 and 1700 the northern port's commerce was, accordingly, at a low ebb. Only when the Baltic route became unsafe, as it was during the years 1700 -1720, did foreign shippers prefer to use the longer White Sea route so that literally from one shipping season to the next, the number of vessels reaching the port doubled. When hostilities ceased, there was an equally abrupt decline as trade reverted to its normal pattern and Archangel then settled back to being a provincial backwater once more. It was not until the 1760s that there was again a sustained growth in activity at the port and this time it was not based on trade diverted from the Baltic but on the exploitation and export of the timber resources of the northern provinces bordering the White Sea. Figures for shipping from Archangel are somewhat fragmentary but those which are available are shown in figure 4. From a very low level in 1681, the number of ships to Archangel appears to be increasing in the late 1690s. One element of this increase was the rise in the number of ships from England.[54] With the declaration of war between Russia and Sweden, and the risk involved in sending shipping into the Baltic, Archangel experienced a boom in the number of ships which used her facilities. This commercial activity petered out from 1718 onwards as maritime freedom was restored to the Baltic and government legislation divided exports from central Russia between Archangel and St. Petersburg in the ratio of 1:2, and differential internal tariffs were imposed on goods going to Archangel.[55] Shipping reverted to its pre-war level after 1718 but the removal of the adverse tariffs in Catherine I's reign led to a slight increase in

FIGURE 4
SHIPPING AT ARCHANGEL, 1680-1780

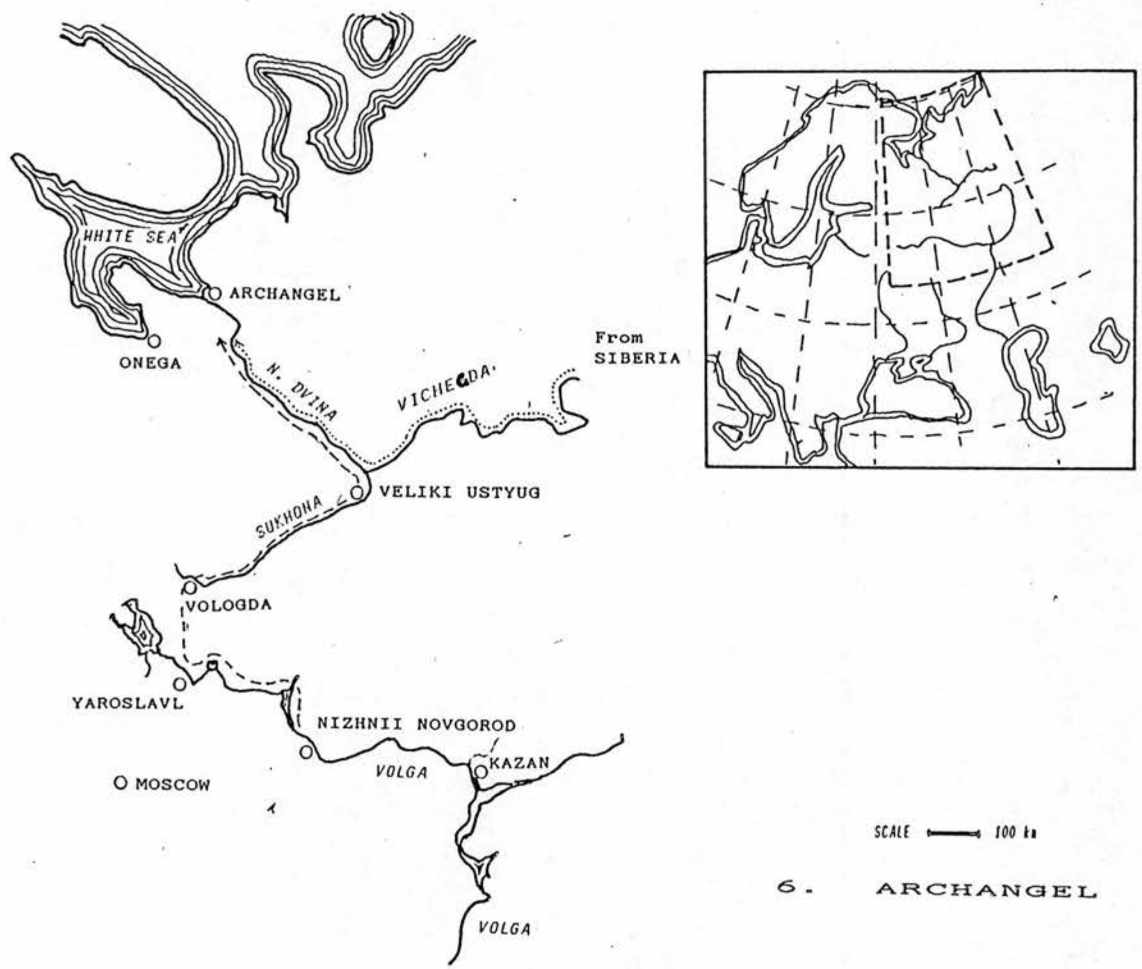


Source: see Appendix 1, Table 1.1

maritime activity. Except for a brief boom in 1741 and 1742, Archangel's trade remained relatively stable until it began to experience the expansion of the late 1750s and 1760s which was common to all Russian ports.[56] The proportion contributed by the Dutch to total shipping to Archangel remained fairly steady at 50-60% and followed the general fluctuations quite closely. When shipping almost doubled in 1740-1, for example, Dutch numbers moved in sympathy. This trend was not followed, however, from the mid 1760s when total shipping increased but the numbers of vessels from the Netherlands remained relatively static at a level of approximately one third of the total.[57]

Archangel's hinterland expanded and contracted with the rythm of her trade fluctuations but her most usual supply area was made up of the immediate provinces bordering the White Sea, and Siberia (see map 6). The communications network which linked Archangel to its production areas was based on the rivers Dvina and Sukhona, the port itself being situated at the mouth of the Northern Dvina, "which river is very broad, and deep, and forms an excellent harbour".[58] These rivers gave access to the new settlements in Siberia by two different routes: firstly through the market at Veliki Ustyug, which was the focus of the most northerly Siberian route across the Urals from the waterway of the Vichezda; and secondly by the Sukhona to the later Volga route through Nizhnii Novgorod and Kazan (see map 1). Ustyug was not only a centre for Siberian products but, in addition, collected the wares of its immediate neighbourhood for transportation to Archangel and provided an outlet for foreign goods imported over the White Sea. By the eighteenth century the fairs at Nizhnii Novgorod and Kazan attracted increasing amounts of Siberian products as the southern routes became more secure and in exchange supplies of manufactured goods were provided from the central provinces and overseas.[59]

At times of prosperity Archangel added to her traditional hinterland, the whole of the central Muscovite provinces and beyond (see map 3). Supplies


WHITE SEA
ARCHANGEL
ONEGA
N. DVINA
VICHEGDA
From
SIBERIA
VELIKI USTYUG
SUKHONA
VOLOGDA
YAROSLAVL
NIZHNII NOVGOROD
KAZAN
VOLGA
O MOSCOW
VOLGA
SCALE 100 km

6. ARCHANGEL

from this vast area were collected at Vologda which is situated close to the source of the Dvina which provided direct water transport to the White Sea. To reach Vologda, the Volga was used as the main supply route for goods from the provinces bordering it and also for the commodities imported from Persia, over the Caspian to Astrakhan and up the river to Nizhnii Novgorod.[60] In addition, the products of the central provinces around Moscow were transported by the Volga route, using the other linking waterways to Nizhnii Novgorod. From Moscow trade links stretched westwards to Smolensk, giving access to goods from White Russia and the Ukraine. Once on the Volga, the boats wended their roundabout course to Yaroslavl where the cargoes were transferred in the winter to the sledges which took them to Vologda to await transportation up the river in the spring.[61] Yaroslavl also had links westwards, again via the Volga and the Msta (and the portage at Vishnei Volochek which joined them) to the area around Novgorod and Pskov.[62]

Despite the possibilities of the vast communications network which could be linked to Archangel, its situation on the White Sea made it far from ideal. The port was only free from ice for about five months each year which seriously restricted the leeway available to shipping to unload and collect their return cargoes. The journey round the North Cape was extremely long and could be hazardous and the turn round time at Archangel could be as long as 60 days or even more if the ships stayed until the end of the market.[63] Besides the climatic problems of its northern situation and long sea link, there were inherent problems in its internal trade networks: the periods when the whole of the hinterland, described above, were orientated towards Archangel were those when outside restrictions forced trade to deviate from the norm. At other times the areas South and West of Yaroslavl naturally organized their trade towards the Baltic, that is to Narva in the late seventeenth century and to Narva and St. Petersburg in the eighteenth century. Once St. Petersburg's communications networks were securely established a large part of the Volga trade was directed westwards rather than to the North and as the trans-Siberian routes moved southwards even the products of that area flowed more readily to the Baltic. From 1720 onwards, therefore, Archangel's trade reverted to the local products from the area surrounding the Dvina and its tributaries and whatever Siberian goods were channelled to Veliki Ustyug. The appearance of the port, of course, reflected its changing fortunes: in the first half of the seventeenth century and first quarter of the eighteenth century there was quite a large settlement but as its importance decreased it contracted in size until, in the mid 1760s, there were only 5000 inhabitants and it had become " a poor place; the buildings containing nothing that is at all worthy of notice ... everything looks much on the decline".[64] Though very much smaller by the 1760s, the dismal appearance of Archangel was somewhat misleading for, together with Onega and other settlements on the White Sea, it was at the beginning of a period of heightened activity as the resources of the region were providing the basis of increased exports of pine timber and the growth of the local shipbuilding industry.[65]

The organization of trade at Archangel and within its hinterland was unique when compared with that at the Russian Baltic ports in that it was shared between Russian and foreign merchants, with the foreigners having freedom to move inland and to act as retailers as well as wholesale suppliers. From the sixteenth century, foreign merchants from Europe had been granted special rights by the Tsars to trade through Archangel. At that time the English had been the privileged group who could live at Archangel and travel inland to establish residences at certain specified towns in the interior, such as Moscow and Yaroslavl.[66] In the seventeenth century, the English presence in Archangel decreased as they became more involved in trade with the Baltic ports and Alexis rescinded their special privileges, favouring the Dutch instead, but a few English ships still arrived regularly at the port and a group of factors remained in the country.[67] For the remainder of the seventeenth century, however, the Netherlands and Hamburg were the predominant users of the White Sea route.

With the disruption of Baltic trade from 1700-1720, Archangel experienced an upsurge in commercial activity which led to the establishment of a thriving community dealing in the products of a greatly extended supply network. The number of foreign merchants, and especially the English, grew and it is from this period that detailed descriptions of the unique aspects of Archangel's trade organisation are available.[68] The foreign merchants were resident in Archangel from May to December when they were co-ordinating the unloading of imports from the newly arrived ships and the reloading with export goods, some of which they had ordered from their Russian counterparts the previous winter. Imports were either sold to local merchants at Archangel or were transported inland to the towns where the foreigners had their warehouses. Here they acted as wholesalers to the Russian merchants who handled internal trade or to the Armenians who controlled trade with Persia. In January, they travelled inland, the majority going to Moscow: "What drives us to Moscow is $\frac{1}{2}$ business, $\frac{1}{4}$ cold and $\frac{1}{4}$ pleasure".[69] Here they remained until early May, selling their imported wares and ordering goods for the summer's shipping. The organisation of the transportation of goods was left in the hands of the Russian merchants.

A graphic description of the return journey from Moscow to Archangel was sent in 1703 by Thomas Hale to his brother in London:

> "Our Journey to Archang^{ll} is first 500 mile by land: the English generally depart alltogether... Our whole company making upmaybe 40 wagons, Vittles and drink we carry with us and when we stand to rest our horses we Eat in th^{e} fields Generally near some Village for th^{e} convenience of Milk and Eggs and allways by a river side. Our wagons standing in a ring all round us for fortifications, fires are presently made and as many companys are there are soe many tents are pitched with table stools kitchen stuff and Everything necessary with Us. When wee have eat and drunk as much as we can loose sheat Anchor and sayle wth pipes in our mouths we have each of us a spare horse to ride on in day tyme whilst th^{e} Ser.^{t} sleeps in th^{e} wagon w^{ch} are only made for one to

> lye in for you cant sit, in the Night he rides on the horse whilst his master sleeps. At a town half way to Vologda there lives a friend who takes his leave of Us ... whilst our wagons are ferrying over the famous river Tanais now calld the Volga, wch runs 3 thousd miles in his Majesty's dominions and Ends in the Caspian Sea: wee carry Cellars of ice along wth us to preserve our vittles and drink wch otherwise would presently spoile: About 7 hours in 24 we stand to Eat and drink and rest the horses and our selves sleep whilst we travail. You may see Eating and drinking is the main diversion wee have on the way. We are by this tyme got to Velliki Vologda where we stay a day or two (if we hant wrote before hand) to provide our selves with boats for Archangll wch is 1000 mile farther here we get all fresh provisions and as many boats as we have companys sound boats have 20 men to row one besides their own servt. (We) keep all ways going forward and visiting one another aboard, the Cursed flyes are intollerable we wear leather stockings to secure our legs gause hoods loose about our faces and sleep under a linnen mat ..."[70]

Even after 1721 merchants involved in the Archangel trade continued to be more mobile than their counterparts at the other Russian ports, though their numbers had plummeted once normal access to the Baltic was restored. The Dutch made up the majority of those who remained at Archangel, the English moving <u>en masse</u> to St. Petersburg.[71]

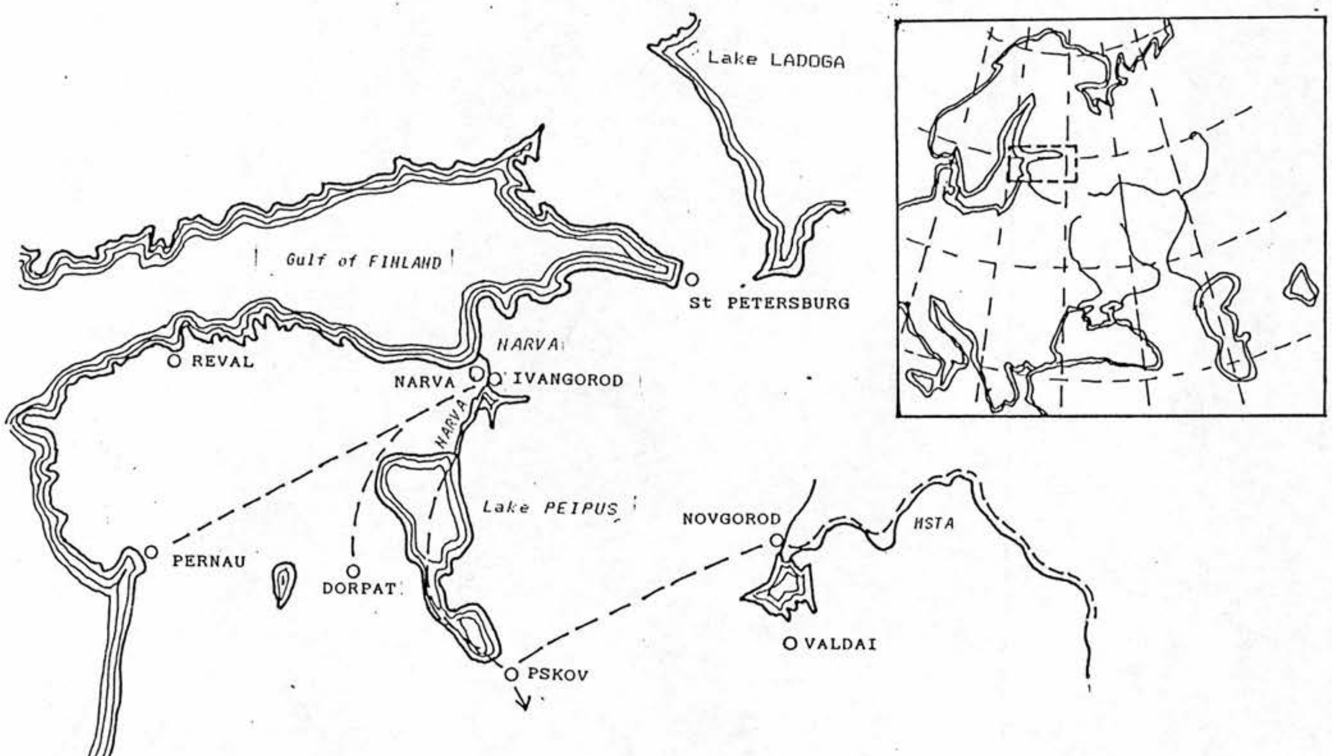
The abundant sources describing the prosperous trade at Archangel during the Northern Wars can lead to a misrepresentation of her true position in overall Russian commerce. However, her real importance is revealed when compared with that of Narva or St. Petersburg in the periods when those Baltic rivals were able to function in more normal conditions. On the basis of this comparison, the first twenty years of the eighteenth century were exceptional for Archangel and for the rest of the period she functioned as a provincial port with hardly more than local importance. In contrast, the port with major significance for the trade networks of central Russia for most of the period from 1680-1780 was Narva.

Narva

Situated on the left bank of the river which shares her name, Narva "stands on rising-ground, is clean, and well fortified".[72] The port had a good harbour but, as was the case at Riga, the bar at the mouth denied access to the largest ships which had to lie out in the roads at the mercy of the northerly gales.[73] Narva remained a relatively small town despite the fact that in the late seventeenth century she experienced an "economic golden age" and her prosperity was reflected in the expenditure lavished on impressive public buildings and luxurious houses for the merchants.[74]

The province which formed Narva's immediate hinterland was Ingria (Ingermanland) which was largely unproductive and scantily populated, and her prospects for active trade would have been extremely poor if she had been dependent on that area alone (see map 7). However, she was also situated close to the border of Estonia, with which there were adequate land communications and through which access could be gained to Livonia. By overland transport (especially on the sledgeways in winter), Narva could then draw on the products of the areas round Dorpat and Pernau, as did Reval.[75] Goods from the Dorpat region could alternatively be moved by barge over nearby Lake Peipus, out of which the river Narva flowed to the coast. Because of the cataracts on the river two versts below the town, goods were unloaded there and transported the remaining distance by carters from Narva.

The lake and river route was the real key to Narva's prosperity because, situated at the southernmost point of Lake Peipus was the ancient town of Pskov. The role which was played by Smolensk in Riga's hinterland, was taken by Pskov where Narva was concerned: it was the market centre through which several different production areas could be reached. The supply area of primary importance was that of the oblasts of Pskov itself and Novgorod, with which it had been linked commercially for centuries. Close economic ties between Narva and Pskov/Novgorod had been developed in the second half of



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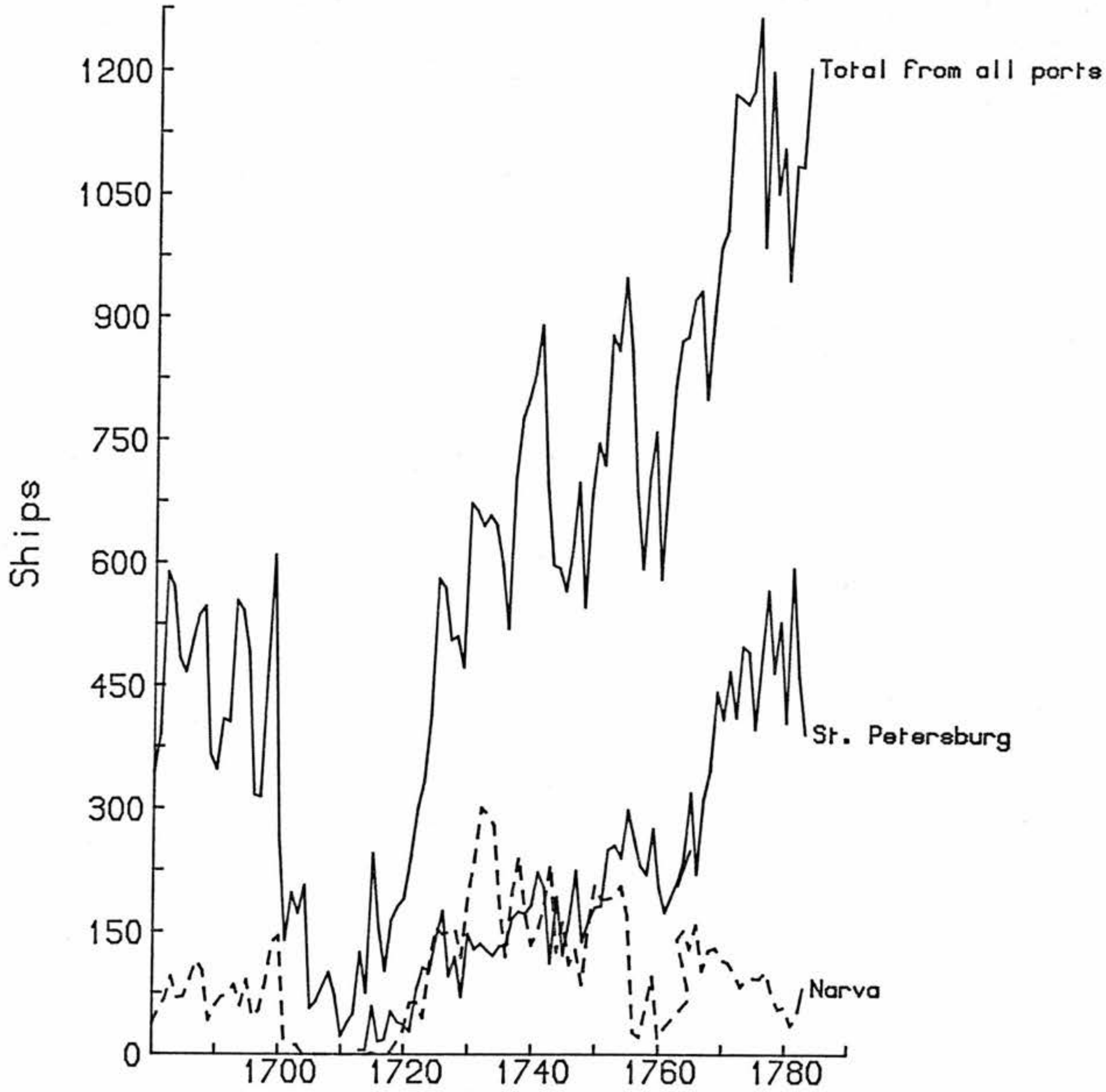
the sixteenth century when the port had been captured by the Russians and, although the importance of this trade had declined somewhat in the intervening period, it developed again in the later seventeenth century and continued into the eighteenth.[76] By way of Pskov and Novgorod, Narva was also linked with Msta-Volga waterway which made it possible for her to trade in the products of the central provinces round Moscow as well as those from Yaroslavl and Kostroma regions. Even small quantities of goods from Siberia could reach Narva by way of the fairs held at Nizhnii Novgorod and Kazan. This route was also used in reverse for merchants from Pskov to supply imported foreign wares to the capital, for distribution in the interior provinces and to the Volga centres where merchants from the East bought their supplies.[77] Finally, through Pskov, goods from Byelorussiya and Polish Lithuania also came in to Narva's sphere for Pskov had overland links with Polotsk, Vitebsk and Mogilev and even as far as Vilna. While the greatest proportion of the trade of these towns was via the Dvina to Riga, their merchants nevertheless found it worthwhile to carry some of their goods to the market at Pskov.[78]

In the seventeenth century, the Swedish rulers of the Baltic provinces became preoccupied with the aim of attracting as much Russian trade as possible to the Baltic ports and away from the White Sea route. Because of her existing links with Russia, Narva was the port which was chosen for this role and the Swedes attempted to create an economic infrastructure which would attract both the Russian and western European merchants. Financial inducements were offered on goods passing through Narva: from 1648 transit goods to and from all the Swedish Baltic ports paid only 2% in value and Russian goods to Narva and Nyen had already been exempted in 1643; the tariffs on seaborne goods, which most affected the European merchants, were also lowered.[79] Besides cheaper duties, foreign merchants were allowed more relaxed conditions for trade in the town itself. Controls over periods of residence did not apply at Narva nor were niggling restrictions on personal liberty retained there. In addition, despite the objections of the Narva burghers, western merchants could meet and bargain freely among themselves and their Russian counterparts so long as a broker was present. Foreign merchants were able to organize their trade in the manner which most suited them. The Dutch left their trade in the hands of the Narva burghers who acted as agents for their clients in Amsterdam, making up cargoes of goods on order. The English, however, established their agents in the town where they dealt either with the Narva burghers or with the Russian merchants direct. In some cases, they also used the services of the Swedes who had an active trade network in Russia with agents at Pskov and Moscow.[80]

On the Russian side, the movement of goods to and from the port and Russia was largely handled by merchants from Pskov and few merchants from Moscow appear to have traded there in person, preferring to supply their Pskov brethren or the Swedes. Goods from the Dorpat region also appear to have been handled by the Swedish and Pskov merchants, while Reval merchants sent supplies from other parts of Estonia and Livonia.[81] The trading methods established in the seventeenth century appear also to have applied in the eighteenth - in fact it seems unlikely that Narva's trade could have re-established itself so rapidly at the end of the Northern Wars if a new system had had to be established. The only readjustment which would have been required, would be the replacement of the Swedish merchants who lost the privileged position they had had before 1700.

In the period from 1680 to 1700 approximately 150 ships per annum were sailing from Narva of which just over half went through the Sound to western Europe (see figure 5). In the 1680s the largest proportion of these ships was English taking cargoes directly home. In the next decade the English and the Dutch had an almost equal share of Narva's shipping, but cargoes to England were increased by those carried on ships belonging to Sweden, Reval and Narva itself.

Figure 5. Shipping through the Sound from Narva and St. Petersburg, 1680-1783



Source: see Appendix 1, Table 1.1

As Narva was captured by the Russians in 1700, lost again and recaptured in 1704, the disruption to her trade is apparent very early in the war. From 1704 until 1717 no shipping from western Europe used the port, except for two ships in 1715, and the Lübeck shipping figures indicate that her intra-Baltic trade was similarly affected. Once peace returned to the Baltic, however, the number of vessels using Narva very quickly regained and surpassed the pre-war level. As far as commerce through the Sound is concerned, shipping activity in the port reached its highest peak in the early 1730s and from then until the early 1750s there is a slow decline though the number of ships involved was still higher than that in the late seventeenth century. Apart from the period from 1756-61 when government restrictions caused a slump in Narva's trade, the same rate of decline in extra-Baltic shipping still continued to the early 1780s. The key to this period of growth and slow decline in shipping activity lay not with the English, whose numbers rapidly regained their pre-war level and thereafter remained almost static, but with the Dutch who played a very much larger part in Narva's commerce after 1720. The importance of Dutch shipping through the Sound was such that its fluctuations had an influence which could not be counter-balanced by that of other nations.[82] The impact of Dutch involvement on Narva's overall trade was even greater than at first appears for the proportion of intra-Baltic shipping using the port, as indicated by the scanty details available, had declined from being approximately half of total shipping before the war to roughly one quarter in the 1760s and 1770s.

In the late seventeenth century and from 1720 until about 1750, Narva had a secure niche in Baltic trade as an important outlet for Russian goods which could be used as an alternative to the route through Archangel and the White Sea. The status quo was altered in the eighteenth century with the founding of St. Petersburg and although it took some time for the new port to become well established, it was evident that Narva must eventually be the loser in the competition for there were so many counters stacked in the favour of the newcomer. However, though decline began around 1750, it was not until the 1770s that the pressure of St Petersburg's growth really began to tighten on its smaller neighbour.

St. Petersburg

> "The united magnificence of all the cities of Europe could but equal Petersburgh. There is nothing little or mean to offend the eye: all is grand, extensive, large, and open. The streets, which are wide and straight, seem to consist entirely of palaces."[83]

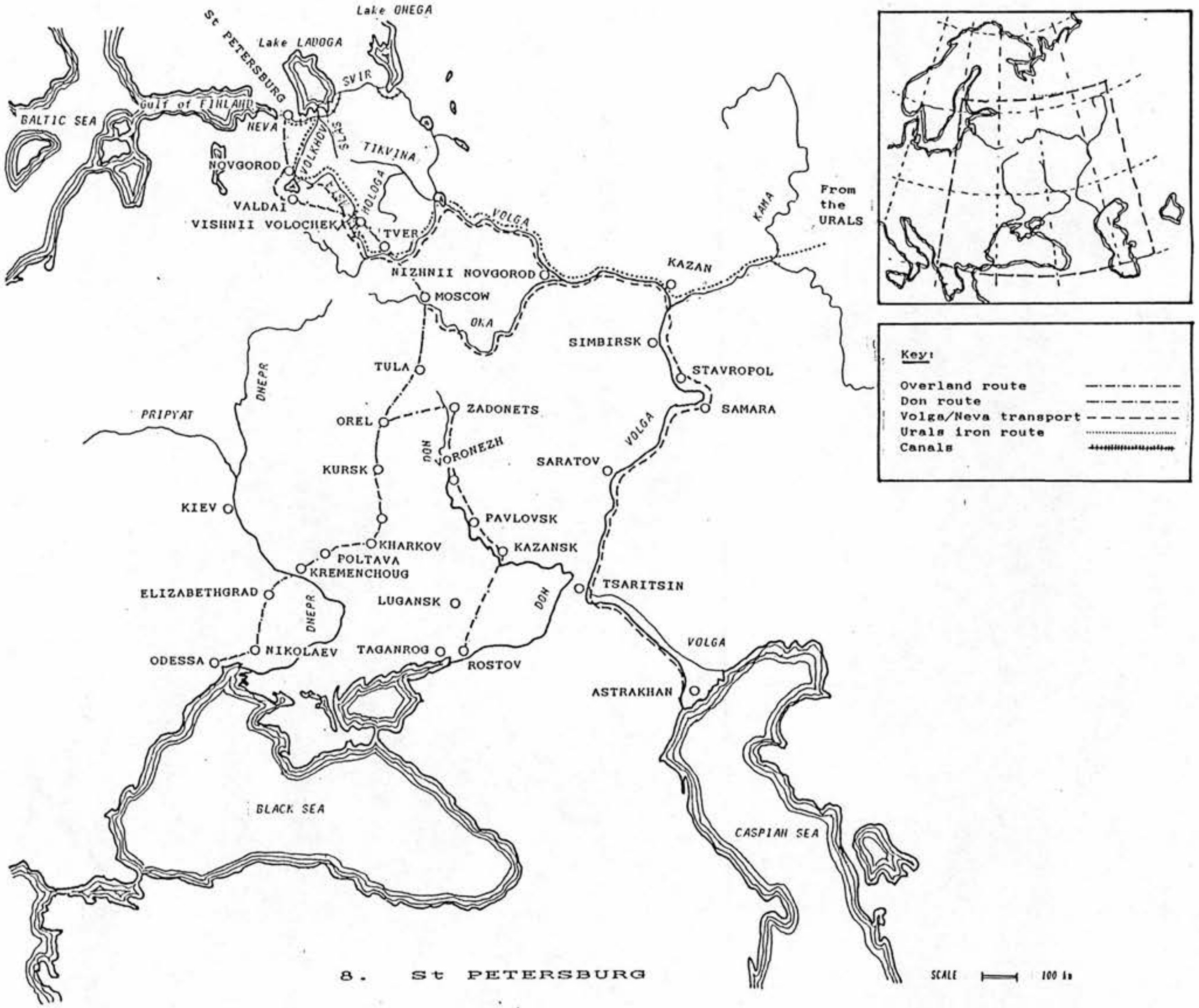
This eulogistic description of Peter's beloved city would have astounded anyone, except perhaps the founder himself, who was constrained to live there at any time from its founding in 1703 until at least the middle of the eighteenth century. To establish the new capital of Russia on a group of islands and an area of marshy ground which were subject to frequent inundation, infested with mosquitos, roamed by wolves and had only the sketchiest communications systems with the rest of the country, required either a high degree of faith or a somewhat perverted sense of humour. Having chosen this site, however, Peter set about with his usual enthusiasm to make a city there. One advantage of starting in virgin territory was that the development of the city could be planned.[84] It was laid out in three main sections: St. Petersburg Island on which was built the Peter and Paul fortress; Vassili Island which was designated the commercial part of the city; and the Admiralty quarter where the Admiralty was build and the Imperial Summer and Winter palaces. Despite the resources diverted to its construction up to 1725, the terrain presented such enormous problems to the builders that growth was slow and many buildings were unstable. As one early resident wryly commented: "ruins make themselves in other places, but they are built at Petersburg".[85] The development of the city was further hampered by the fact that it was largely built of wood and was, therefore, very vulnerable to fire which could devastate whole sections in a short time. However, the most important factor was the distaste for the city felt by many of the aristocracy and some of Peter's successors, which expressed itself in passive resistance to living there.[86] Even as late as 1741, Edward Finch, the English Resident, reported that "the nobility ... are ... in a uniform way of thinking ... for there is not one of them who would not wish St. Petersburg at the bottom of the sea, and all the conquered provinces at the devil so they could remove to Moscow ..."[87] Nevertheless the city grew steadily in Anna and Elizabeth's reigns though it was not until Catherine II came to the throne that the granite quays were constructed and many of the most lavish palaces built.

As a port and commercial centre St. Petersburg had some immediate advantages, but these were outweighed by its many disadvantages. In effect Kronstadt acted as the port for the city because the bar at the mouth of the Neva would not allow entry to large ships. Early in the century, water camels were used to lift bigger ships over the bar and by the late 1760s a canal had been built to give access, but even then restrictions had to be imposed on vessels of more than 8½ft. draught because, when the prevailing wind was from the East, the water level fell dangerously, while strong westerly winds could cause severe flooding in St. Petersburg and Kronstadt. Goods were, therefore, generally unloaded at Kronstadt and carried up to St. Petersburg in galliotes.[88] On Vassili Island warehouses were built in Peter's reign but as they were constructed of wood, they were destroyed in fires on several occasions. However, they were rebuilt on the same site and, late in the century, one had been replaced by a stone edifice. The island situation allowed easy movement of goods into the warehouses for the galliotes and small ships moored close alongside.[89] By the 1730s the exchange, customs house, market and College of Commerce had all been built on the island but the merchants, in general, lived elsewhere.[90] Communications within St. Petersburg itself were not easy: there was only one bridge, made of pontoons, which linked Vassili Island to the Admiralty. In the summer boats were used for crossing but movement was easiest in winter when the Neva was frozen. The most hazardous periods were in the autumn and spring before the ice was safe or when it was breaking up, and many accidents took place.[91]

One of St. Petersburg's most serious disadvantages, from a commercial point of view, was the poor communications system it had with its potential hinterland (see map 8). Land carriage was possible for short hauls but, because of the expense involved, it was a poor alternative to water transport. Early in the eighteenth century riverine links between St. Petersburg and the interior were poor "by reason of the Tediousness of the Way, the being obliged to wait for Floods and Rains at several shallow Places and the Vessels and Floats being often dash'd and staved to pieces against the Rocks and Falls that are by the way, and the Goods often lost and spoiled ..."[92]

The survey of waterways which Perry carried out for Peter was used as the basis for the canal system which was constructed over the next three decades to link St. Petersburg to the Volga waterway network. Canals were built from Schlusselburg, where the Neva flows into Lake Ladoga, round the southern edge of the lake to join the Volkhov. These were completed in 1732 and allowed the barges to avoid the turbulent conditions on Ladoga and, in joining the Neva to the Volkhov, linked St. Petersburg to Novgorod which was situated on Lake Ilmen, out of which flowed the Msta. In the closing years of Peter's reign the Msta waterway had been improved by the construction of canals at Vishnii Volochek which eliminated the portage there and joined the Msta to the Volga. With the completion of this entire network in the mid 1730s the difficulty and expense of provisioning St. Petersburg was greatly eased as was the cost of maintaining a flow of goods for export from the port, and a return supply of imported goods.[93]

In the early eighteenth century while the improvements outlined above were being made to St. Petersburg's waterway system, the emphasis of her supply networks had to be on the provinces nearest to her. This meant that links were strongest through Ingria to the oblasts of Novgorod and Pskov and southwards towards White Russia and the Ukraine. The Ukraine remained an extremely important supply area for St. Petersburg throughout the century



8. St PETERSBURG

and the city also drew on the belt of black earth provinces which formed an arc from the Dnepr to the Volga. Thereafter, land acquisitions in New Russia and eastwards towards the Don, gave St. Petersburg an even larger area to exploit. Goods from the Ukraine could be moved partially by water up the Dnepr and its tributaries, and then overland to the Novgorod waterway system, but land carriage from the central provinces appears to have been a viable proposition probably because return loads were readily available.[94] St. Petersburg also drew on supplies from the Baltic provinces to a limited extent in the early part of the century and, to the north, raw materials came for export from St. Petersburg province and from Karelia, parts of which were acquired in the peace treaty in 1721.[95]

Once the Neva-Volga waterway network was established, St. Petersburg was able to consolidate a hinderland which covered large areas of central Russia. From her foundation, supplies had reached her from the provinces which bordered the Volga and its tributaries, but these swelled as movement became easier and cheaper. As settlement expanded round the lower Volga in Simbirsk, Saratov and the neighbouring province of Penza, goods from these areas were also sent by water to St. Petersburg.[96] Imports from Persia, via Astrakhan, now began to be exported from St. Petersburg rather than Archangel, as were some of the commodities from the Urals and Siberia. These were brought westwards to Kazan to join the main water route and in addition goods from China reached St. Petersburg through the fair at Kazan.[97] The Volga also gave access to the Oka/Moskva waterways which allowed St. Petersburg to deal in the raw materials and manufactured goods of the central provinces round Moscow. Supplies from this area were not dependent on water transport, however: with the continual movement of the Court and officials between the two capitals, the roads between St. Petersburg and Moscow became the best maintained in the country and less bulky, higher value commodities which could bear greater transport costs, could take advantage of the improved land routes, especially in the winter when sledges could be used.[98]

The organisation of trade in St. Petersburg's hinterland was very similar to that already described at Narva. Russian merchants handled the organisation and movement of good to the city, having taken orders from the foreign export merchants in the previous autumn and winter. Part payment was made when the order was placed and the balance was paid the following year when delivery was made. Raw materials were moved to the city either overland in the winter or by water in the spring. Once they arrived, they were braaked and were ready for export.[99] During the summer while he disposed of his export orders and the extra supplies he had available, the Russian merchant also stocked up on the imported manufactured goods which he carried inland either to sell in Moscow or to distribute to the provinces through the local markets. As the supply of goods for the export market became an increasingly important factor in the economies of the aristrocratic estates, foreign export merchants were able to bypass the Russian middlemen and deal direct with the estate owner or his agent in St. Petersburg. Some aristocratic families whose income depended heavily on foreign trade, established kontors in the city where western European merchants could place their orders.[100] This system was acceptable to both sides as the factor knew what quantity of goods would be required and the merchant had a more reliable bulk supply over which he could exercise a degree of control because he had avenues of approach to the estate owner himself. The foreign importer was less fortunate for, although he could partly sell direct to aristocratic customers in St. Petersburg this was a mixed blessing as they were often very slow to settle their debts, and he also relied heavily on the Russian merchants who conducted the inland trade. Besides, in his area of trade, the level of competition was extremely intense forcing him to sell at the lowest possible price and on very long credit.[101]

Despite Peter's attempts to encourage foreign merchants to send ships to his new port, the unsettled situation in the Baltic during the Northern Wars made regular shipping to St. Petersburg unacceptably risky until 1713 onwards (see figure 5). For the five years after the Peace of Nystadt in 1721, shipping activity at St. Petersburg increased markedly and then settled into a pattern of slow growth until 1760 when the rate of increase became more rapid and this trend continued until the early 1780s. Figures for intra-Baltic shipping are not complete until after 1750 but they indicate that in the 1710s and early 1720s the proportion of shipping which remained in the Baltic fluctuated wildly but was on average close to 50%. In later years intra-Baltic shipping played a declining role, falling to 30-40% between 1740 and 1765 and to about 25% in the 1770s, while, at the same time, the number of ships from Lübeck using the port grew steadily from the mid century. From 1717 onwards the English were the pre-eminent foreign group using the new port: they annually despatched more ships there than any other nationality and the merchant community living in the city expanded steadily. As the century progressed this emphasis on trade at St. Petersburg developed, and though English shipping remained predominantly committed to the direct home run, a regular number of ships, from the mid century, sailed to Italy, Portugal and Spain. Second in importance was Dutch shipping but the Dutch remained much more involved in trade at the other Russian Baltic ports than at St. Petersburg. Dutch shipping from St. Petersburg direct to the Netherlands declined during the century as the carrying of goods to France, Iberia and Italy grew in importance.

There is a remarkable similarity in the development of all the foreign trade networks in Russia between 1680 and 1780 regardless of the direction in which they were orientated. In the first twenty years of that period, 1680-1700, the Baltic ports enjoyed two decades of prosperity and the extension of acquisitions to the South East suggests that trade to Persia may also have been expanding. Only in the Sino-Russian trade is the situation unclear, as this branch of commerce underwent a reorientation, the Siberian route coming to the fore once more as local disruptions began to interrupt the previously important route through the Khanates. Prosperity was, however, followed by major disorder occasioned by the Great Northern Wars, which gave Archangel a brief period of importance and only in the 1720s did commerce to the East and West begin a period of slow growth, with more rapid expansion from the 1760s as markets in western Europe, China and Persia attracted increasing quantities of goods from Russia, and the internal Russian market drew a growing supply of imports from her trading partners.

Examining the communications networks on which this pattern of commercial activity was based, the predominant impression is one of continuity. Even in the case of the trans-Siberian link to China where the use of the northern route declined and was replaced by two alternatives to the South, this was more a matter of extension rather than alteration for these additions linked into the old communications system in central Siberia. In the North West, despite the upheavals of more than twenty years of war and the changed national boundaries which were confirmed by the peace treaty in 1721, the network of routes which linked the Baltic ports to their hinterlands remained virtually the same as that which had existed in the second half of the seventeenth century. Though this firm foundation continued throughout the eighteenth century, some extensions were made. In the 1730s the first stage of improvements to the waterway system linking St. Petersburg to the central provinces was completed, allowing her to tap the resources of the lands bordering the Volga. The Volga route gained in importance as Russian control and settlement of Siberia continued making possible the movement southwards of trade routes which linked, via the Kama, to the Volga system and thence to St. Petersburg.

Though transport links altered little between 1680 and 1780, there were two structural shifts in the pattern of trade of the Baltic ports. Prior to 1700, the volume of trade through Riga and Reval overshadowed that of Narva (and Archangel) thanks to the greater productivity of their hinterlands in Lithuania, White Russia and the Baltic states. From 1720 onwards, however, the Russian provinces gained in importance as production was reorganised and extended, encouraging a shift in trade to St. Petersburg and Narva. The re-emergence of Riga after 1740 was also the result of this phenomenon, for it was only when her hinterland extended into the newly settled areas of the Steppe that an increasing flow of export products began to reach the port. This reorganisation led to two particularly noticeable changes in patterns of shipping: the first is the considerable decrease in Dutch shipping to Riga and Reval with a commensurate increase predominantly at Narva but with a small number annually at St. Petersburg; and, secondly, the marked decrease in English ships at Archangel and a small reduction at Reval and Narva while English shipping at St. Petersburg grew steadily. While the total number of Dutch vessels remained steady during this period, the number from England was already beginning to climb.

The ability of St. Petersburg and Narva to gain at the expense of their western neighbours between 1720 and 1740 is a reflection of the consequences of the war. While Russian production areas had remained largely untouched by the hostilities, the Baltic provinces and Byelorussia had been the field of battle year after year and the privations suffered by the population had left them particularly vulnerable to the plague epidemics which had swept through these areas in the wake of war. The consequent disruption and loss of production allowed Russian producers an entry into foreign markets in which they had previously been at a disadvantage when competing with their more highly advanced neighbours who traded through the western section of the trade network.

After 1740, with the revitalisation of her supply areas, Riga began to win back the markets which she had lost to St. Petersburg and Narva in the previous twenty years. This period of growth was, however, not based solely on her traditional hinterland for, from the mid century, she also began to draw on parts of the newly settled lands in the west of the northern steppe and later even extended her network to some supplies from the Volga region. With an increasingly strong rival in Riga, St. Petersburg's trade would have been extremely vulnerable had it not been for the new possibilities available to her as a result of the waterway system which had been opened in the 1730s. This gave her access to the Volga provinces and subsequently through them to the new Siberian trade routes. Besides this she has easy links to the Central provinces and to the new lands south of Moscow which were remote from Riga's communications network.

By the integration of this new network St. Petersburg was able to withstand the threat from Riga but Narva, unfortunately, was not endowed with similar alternatives. She increasingly found herself trapped between two relative giants, tied to a production area whose resources were declining and with no means of breaking out of this straightjacket. In 1756 the final blow fell in the form of government restrictions on her timber exports and despite the lifting of these restrictions a few years later, Narva's trade continued to decline as Dutch shipping moved away to Riga and her more abundant supplies.

The period from 1740 to 1780 thus saw the development of St. Petersburg's trade network and the re-emergence of Riga with an extended supply system while the other three northern Russian ports settled into a minor role as outlets for the products of a strictly local region. Russian trade was, however, entering a period of rapid growth which from 1760 onwards brought an absolute increase in shipping to all the ports, though relatively most favouring St. Petersburg and Riga. This growth, with its associated readjustment of sources of supply of exports, took place alongside another change - this time in the markets to which these products were despatched. The predominance of trade to ports within the Baltic before 1720 was undermined thereafter as western European markets expanded. In actual terms shipping from Russian ports remaining in the Baltic was quite stable, except for a reduction between 1720 and 1740, but relative to that coming through the Sound, it declined from one half of total shipping in 1680 to one quarter between 1740 and 1780. The growth of shipping through the Sound resulted from increasing direct trade with England and the expansion of Dutch commercial activity partly directly to Holland but with a marked development of the Dutch carrying trade to France, the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER 2

Exports from Russia

The commoditiies which were transported along the communications networks which have already been outlined for export at the Baltic and White Sea ports can be divided into two types: firstly the products from the agricultural sector and, secondly, those from the forest and river economies. The largest part of exports consisted of raw materials in their natural state which constituted large volume and low value cargoes, but there was a trend, in the second half of the eighteenth century, towards larger quantities of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods whose value was considerably higher in relation to their volume.

Throughout the seventeenth century surplus supplies of grain, most of which consisted of rye, with small quantities of wheat, barley and oats, were exported from the Baltic ports and in exceptional circumstances small amounts of Russian rye were also exported from the White Sea. When, after a long period of decline, grain exports again grew in the mid eighteenth century, wheat supplies made up a much greater part of the total for new production areas, more suitable to that crop, had been opened up in the intervening years. Flax and hemp played an extremely important role in exports in both centuries for they were grown over ever wider areas from the Baltic provinces eastwards and southwards. The raw fibres of both crops made up the largest part of exports but the seeds were also sold in considerable quantities for later refining to produce oil.

Exports of products from the forests and rivers included a wide variety of goods ranging from furs and skins to caviar, wax and honey, but the most important commodity was timber, principally pine and spruce with small quantities of oak.[1] This was produced in all shapes and sizes ranging down from the largest masts through planks and balks, to staves, battens, handles and even firewood. The timber resources of the Russian lands were vast and largely untouched in the seventeenth century but economic changes in the eighteenth century led to the tapping of the most accessible of these sources for export. The other natural resource which had hardly been utilised before the eighteenth century was the rich deposits of iron ore in the Urals and, as with timber, overseas demand and rising prices provided the real trigger for sustained expansion of iron production from the 1740s onwards.

While the demands of overseas markets in the mid eighteenth century encouraged the export of raw materials, they also stimulated the expansion of production of semi-manufactured and finished products. Bar iron was, of course, the most important of these commodities but there were many others. Areas remote from the ports were able to overcome the problems of expensive carriage by exporting timber in a less bulky and more valuable form by converting it into potash.[2] The ready market for canvas and sailcloth for the western European navies and merchant shipping and for coarse linens, such as diaper and duck worn by seamen and plantation workers, encouraged the processing of flax and hemp and the development of manufacturies in the central provinces to supply these products. Animal products had always been exported in a semi-processed state and exports of the special Russian 'leather jufts' and tallow remained important, especially from St. Petersburg and Archangel.

Faced with such a large range of exports, it is only possible to follow the development of the most important commodities handled by the Baltic and White Sea ports and those which will be given detailed consideration are grain, flax and hemp, timber and iron.[3]

Grain

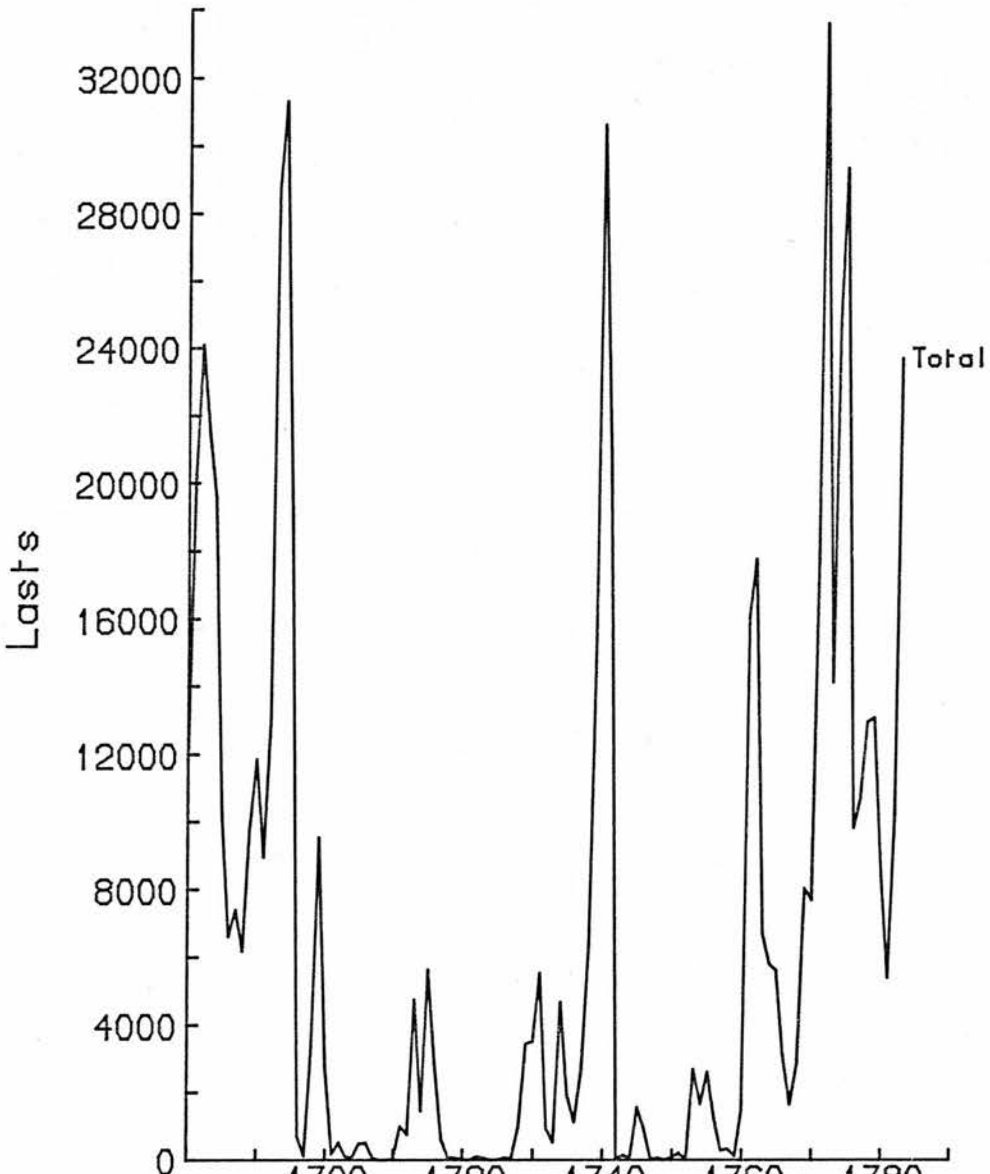
The grain growing areas which were able to respond in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the stimulus of an active overseas demand for their surplus, were those within easy reach of the Baltic ports or the riverine systems which extended to those ports and, as a result, the bulk of exports came from Poland, White Russia, Livonia and Estonia. The aristocratic estates in Poland were producing a regular surplus of grain from the late fifteenth century and estates in White Russia in the seventeenth century. The largest part of Polish production was exported through Danzig but some was channelled to Riga as was much of the Byelorussian supply, making up about 14% of her total exports in the second half of the seventeenth century.[4] Reval had easy access to Livonian and Estonian grain supplies and took advantage of the regular surplus from these regions to specialise in this product which, in the 1680s and 1690s, made up a rapidly increasing proportion of her total trade.[5] Irregular supplies of grain were also available for export from Muscovy in the seventeenth century: small quantities from Pskov and Novgorod, as well as Ingermanland, were exported from Narva and in some years there were also supplies available at Archangel when the southern route was obstructed.[6] Even when good harvests provided a surplus in the Muscovite lands, however, communications from many areas were so poor that unless prices were very high on the international market, the cost of transporting a heavy product like grain would have been prohibitive and, in order to ensure that the home market was properly supplied, exports could only be made with the permission of the Tsar. The markets for these grain exports in the seventeenth century were in two areas: western Europe with the bulk of supplies going to the Netherlands; and the Baltic periphery itself and especially Sweden.[7]

In the first twenty years of the eighteenth century the grain exporting provinces near the Baltic coast and in White Russia were precisely those areas which were most affected by troop movements in the Northern Wars and by the plagues which followed. Export supplies, therefore, were much reduced and highly irregular and an increased proportion of these supplies were retained within the Baltic area. Once peace was restored in the early 1720s, the established grain producing areas returned gradually to their normal settled existence, though now as part of Russia.[8] Little grain, however, now came on the international market from these lands for a new consumption centre had come into existence leading to the breakdown of the old structure of trade. The growth of demand within Russia, at St. Petersburg, led to a total reorientation in the direction of trade from the grain producing regions with the result that Riga and Reval became completely marginal as far as the international market was concerned only providing any significant level of exports to western Europe in years when prices were extremely high as they were in 1739/42.[9] Links with the important Baltic markets were also broken by the prohibition on exports to Sweden between 1712 and 1741. The growth of regular, though reduced shipping from Reval to Sweden from the late 1730s suggests that small quantities of grain were becoming available for export by that period but it was not really until the 1770s, when there was a rise in international prices as a result of high tariffs imposed by Fredrick the Great at Danzig, that grain from the Baltic provinces again became available in significant quantities on the European market.[10]

In the meantime, the grain trade from the Baltic provinces and White Russia had undergone a major structural reorientation assisted, at the end of the war, by high tariffs on grain exports and reduced internal tariffs to attract supplies on to the market of the new capital.[11] Reduced tariffs were not the only incentive, for the high prices which could be realised as a result of the shortages in supply attracted grain and flour not only from the Baltic lands but also from the central provinces and even as far away as Kazan though the cost of freight via the Volga and Msta added "at least 3 or 4 times the Price which the [corn and other Provision of Burthen] is bought for ..." [12]. It was not until the mid 1730s when the new communications system linking St Petersburg with the Volga waterway was completed, that grain prices at the capital began to fall as transport costs were reduced and supplies increased from the new production areas of the northern Steppe and along the Volga.[13] In spite of the rapid growth of the city during the 1740s and 1750s, the high productivity levels of the new lands provided an abundant supply of grain at low prices for its inhabitants.[14] Only in the 1760s did this situation change when rising international prices caused an extension of production into marginal lands to supply both the city and the international market. In 1793 on his journey to the South, Pallas noted that "The governments of Pensa, Nishne-Novgorod, Simbirsk and Saratov are the true granaries of the Imperial capitals": the outlines of the picture which he saw at the end of the century were already clear in the 1760s in these areas and in other new settlements further west in Tambov, Orel and the northern Ukraine.[15] The product which they were growing for the market in these regions was not, however, rye but wheat.

Once the internal market had alternative supplies, grain from the Baltic provinces was again available for export from the 1760s though the decision to allow vodka from these regions into the Russian market in 1766 led to the conversion of some cereals, especially from Estonia, into liquor.[16] With increased supplies of grain for export the old trading patterns to foreign markets were re-established. The bulk of exports from Riga and St. Petersburg went through the Sound to Holland, with about one third going to Baltic markets. Riga's increased success in the Netherlands in the 1770s was partly made possible by a change in her competitive position as she was able to undercut the prices of her Danzig competitors with their increased tariff burden. It was at this period too that St. Petersburg first began the role of supplier of wheat for the British market which was to develop in later years. Reval, meanwhile, retained her strong links with Baltic markets in the 1760s though on the basis of a greatly reduced supply.

Figure 6. Exports of Grain from Russia, 1680-1783



Source: see Appendix 2, Tables 2.1 and 2.2

The high level of grain exports shown in figure 6 during the 1680s and 1690s, was made up predominantly of rye with small quantities of wheat, barley and oats. About 97% of all grain sent through the Sound from the "Russian" lands was exported from Riga and Reval and was shared almost equally between them, the tiny residual being exported from Narva. In this period about one quarter of all grain from Riga went to markets in the Baltic while the largest percentage of the remaining three quarters went through the Sound to Holland. Reval, however, supplied a larger proportion of her exports to the Baltic market - 40% in 1680, increasing to 51% in 1690 and 89% in 1700. The main market was Sweden but Reval was also providing a sizeable proportion of Lübeck's grain imports from Russia.[17] As with Riga, most of the balance of Reval's grain went to the Netherlands.

From 1700 until 1760 grain exports from all the ports went into a period of substantial decline with no supplies available at all in some years. Riga and Reval both exported small quantities regularly in the 1730s with a brief upsurge between 1739 and 1741 when poor harvests led to very high international prices. After 1760, however, regular exports began again from both ports and, from the late 1760s, the new phenomenon of regular supplies of wheat being available from St. Petersburg is also found as she benefited from the surplus of the new production areas which have already been described. In this period, Riga was exporting approximately two thirds of all grain from the Russian Baltic ports through the Sound, and about three quarters of supplies from the former Swedish possessions. From the few figures available it appears that her exports to the Baltic were a little higher than before 1700 but the Netherlands remained her prime market in western Europe. Reval's position as a grain exporting port had declined to a poor second, supplying only about one quarter of total exports, probably due to the decreased surplus once vodka production became an economic alternative. In the 1760s Reval seems to have sold the largest part of her grain to markets in the Baltic but this declined in the 1770s as her sales to the Dutch increased perhaps because she also became a beneficiary of the uncompetitive price of Danzig's exports. From the mid 1760s St. Petersburg was providing the remaining 12-16% of total exports through the Sound, most of which was destined for the Dutch market.

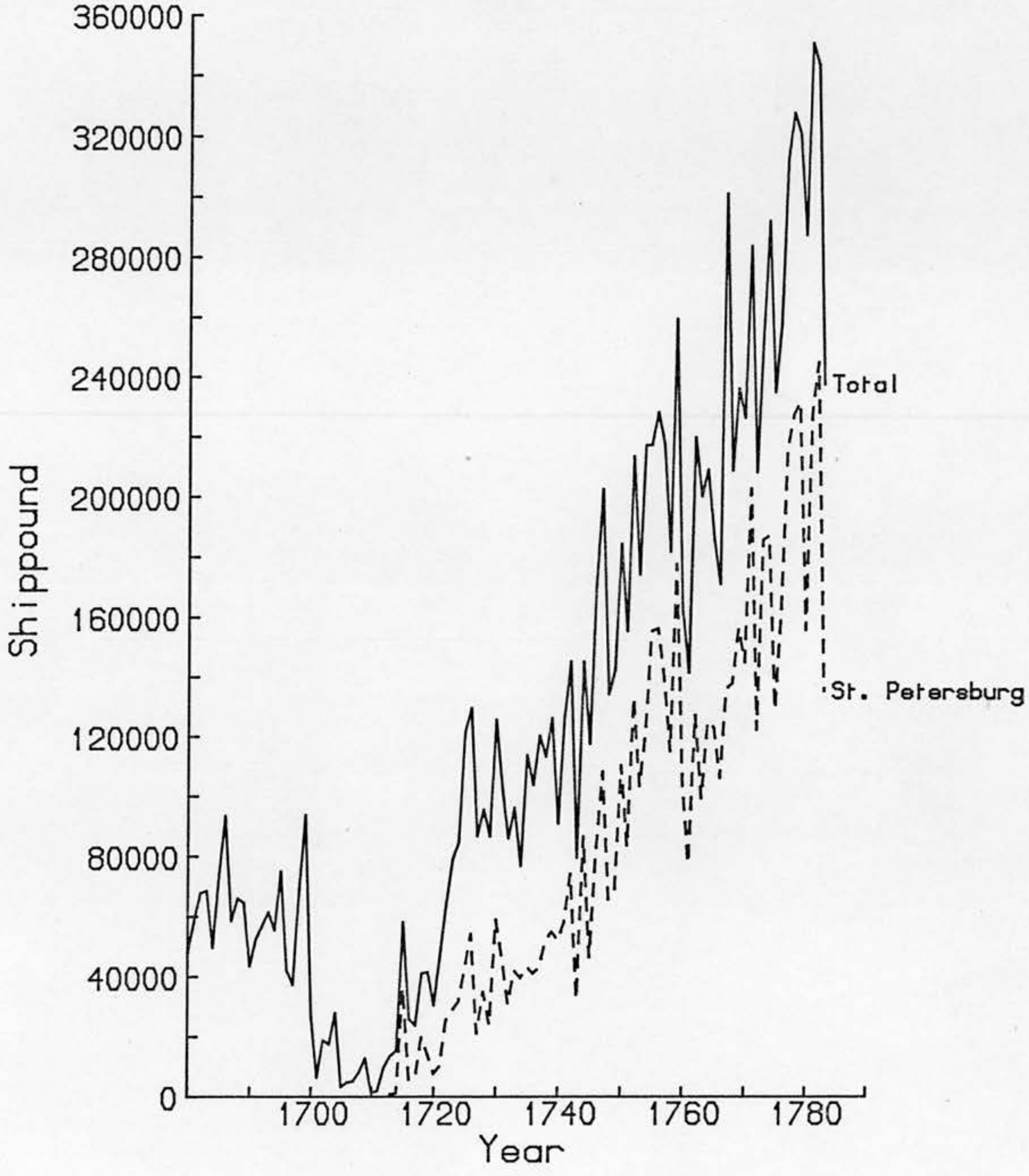
Flax and Hemp

The other agricultural products which played a very important role in exports from the northern Russian ports were flax and hemp. They were grown throughout the Russian lands and the Baltic provinces. The light, sandy soils and the climate of the Baltic littoral were particularly suitable for flax which was found throughout Lithuania, Livonia, Estonia and Ingermanland, the best coming from Rakitzer and Marienberg. Production also extended into the provinces of Pskov and Novgorod, the latter producing fine, white flax generally much superior to that grown elsewhere in Russia.[18] Other Russian supplies came from the central provinces and the northern provinces of Yaroslavl and Vologda.[19] By contrast, hemp throve on heavier soils, such as the red clays found in White Russia along and to the west of the Dnepr valley with the most prized coming from Druyana. Hemp was also grown in Lithuania and the same central and northern provinces of Russia which grew flax. These two products were especially successful as a peasant crop grown for their own use and to provide a surplus which they could market. Both crops took a great deal out of the soil and required well fertilised land so were usually grown in areas with a mixed arable/animal economy. On peasant holdings in White Russia flax and hemp were grown as a garden crop rather than a field crop, in rotation with vegetables and pulses. On the newly cultivated lands in the Ukraine, however, hemp could be grown as a field crop for as long as three years in succession but this was only possible if the land had had a long period under grass and was well manured.[20]

The areas described above were providing flax and hemp for export throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though production in the Baltic provinces and White Russia suffered a similar setback to that already seen in grain, during the period from 1700 to 1720. After 1720, however, there was a quick return to pre-war conditions and the export trade from the Baltic ports, now including St. Petersburg, was soon flourishing again. During the next sixty years, production for the market spread to the areas east of Moscow along the Oka, Volga and Kama and in the north, Karelia too, began to produce both flax and hemp.[21] As settlement extended in the mid century through the provinces south of Moscow and into the Ukraine, new highly productive land was bought into hemp cultivation. Joseph Marshall, travelling through the Ukraine in 1769 was extremely impressed by the hemp grown there which was "of a better quality, than in any other part of Europe".[22] Foreign strains of flax and hemp were introduced in some areas to try to improve quality.[23] The extension of cultivation throughout the eighteenth century made possible an increasing supply with a steady fall in the real price of the products despite increased transport costs from more remote regions, and provided cheap inputs for a growing export trade and for the home market in the central provinces round Moscow where the manufacturers of canvas, sailcloth and various types of coarse linen were established and were expanding their production to meet increased overseas demand.[24]

Figure 7 shows the exports through the Sound of flax and hemp from Russian Baltic ports. Between 1680 and 1700 80% of these exports from the Swedish Baltic ports were sent out from Riga, coming to the port from Lithuania and White Russia. The quantity of flax to hemp was approximately 1:10. In the 1680s about 20% of Riga's exports went to Baltic ports but this increased to almost 50% in the 1690s. Her principal markets in western Europe were the Netherlands and England: the Dutch being the best customers in the 1680s but in the 1690s the English took an almost equal share of supplies. Narva, meanwhile, provided about 15% of exports through the Sound, drawing her supplies from Latvia, Ingermanland and the Russian provinces of Pskov and Novgorod. Her exports were made up of about 40% flax and 60% hemp. The only figure available suggests that slightly under half of Narva's exports went to the Baltic markets and, of the proportion which went to western Europe, England was her major market with Holland second. The

Figure 7. Exports of Flax and Hemp from Russia, 1680-1783



Source: for details of total exports see Appendix 2, Table 2.1 and for those from the four Baltic ports, Table 2.3.1 and 2.3.2

small balance of exports was supplied by Reval whose share in these products was always extremely small. In the 1680s two thirds of her exports remained in the Baltic, Lübeck being the most important market. This proportion declined after 1690 to about 40%.[25] The Netherlands was her largest market in the West, with England taking smaller and spasmodic supplies.

Exports of flax and hemp declined radically between 1700 and 1720 though Riga managed to provide some supplies every year. Exports through the Sound, however, ceased from Narva and there is no data available on her intra-Baltic trade. Flax and hemp from the Russian provinces were redirected into the circuitous but more peaceful route to the White Sea. Archangel's exports, which had shown an increase before 1700, enjoyed a brief period of rapid expansion until the Baltic again became safer for foreign shipping.[26]

Once peace returned supplies of flax and hemp rapidly became available again for export, but the whole pattern of this trade changed in this period with the addition of St. Petersburg to the Baltic ports. Riga's exports reached their pre-war level by 1725 and grew slowly over the next sixty years, supply coming from her traditional White Russian and Lithuanian hinterland, with Smolensk gubernii playing the most important role in the hemp trade.[27] However, total exports grew more rapidly than Riga's rate of growth and St. Petersburg was the centre which benefited most from this expansion. By the 1730s St. Petersburg was handling almost half of Russian exports and this proportion rose to over 60% in the 1760s and 1770s, the basis for this growth being predominantly made up of hemp, supplies of which were eight to nine times greater than those of flax. She drew her supplies at first from the central provinces and the newly expanding settlements around the Volga but her most rapid period of expansion of exports, from the 1750s, was achieved with hemp from the new lands in the Ukraine, and the other frontier areas.[28] This emphasis on hemp supplies to the new capital had an immediate effect on

Narva's exports which grew more slowly after 1720 than her commercial rivals', for she was starved of supplies of Russian hemp which had been diverted to Archangel during the wars and which, now, instead of settling back into their old export routes, were reorientated towards St. Petersburg. Narva, therefore, was forced to specialise in the flax trade to which she adjusted with some success, her exports reaching and exceeding pre-1700 levels from the 1740s onwards. At Riga hemp exports continued to outweigh those of flax though the proportions gradually evened until they were almost equally balanced by the 1770s. Riga's supplies continued to be drawn predominantly from her long-established network but in the mid century she, too, began to draw on the new sources in the Ukraine and was attracting exports from as far East as Orel.[29] Reval and Archangel fared poorly compared with their successful commercial rivals: Reval, like Narva, had to depend predominantly on exports of flax but her share in these products remained minute and, with the Baltic trade restored, Archangel could attract supplies only from the northern gubernii and the newly acquired province of Karelia.[30]

The markets for flax and hemp changed little in this period but their relative importance altered somewhat. Where 40-50% of Russian supplies had previously been supplied to Baltic markets, this now declined to about 30% as the demand for these products grew steadily in western Europe. England was the largest market with a heavy emphasis on imports of hemp. She took the greatest part of St. Petersburg's exports and was also Narva's major customer, while at Riga she shared first place with the Netherlands until the late 1750s when her imports exceeded those of the Dutch. From the 1740s, with the British Linen Company's policy of direct purchase, imports of flax into Scotland increased and continued to make up a very substantial proportion of trade from Russia even after the Company ceased direct operations. Scottish consumption was probably considerably larger than the customs figures indicate for supplies were also received via London and other English East coast ports.[31]

The apparent decline of the Dutch market for Russian flax and hemp is, however, something of an illusion: prior to 1720 exports had been shipped to Amsterdam to be re-exported to France, Portugal and Spain. This practice continued until the 1740s when it became more usual for supplies to be carried direct, on Dutch shipping, to their final destination.

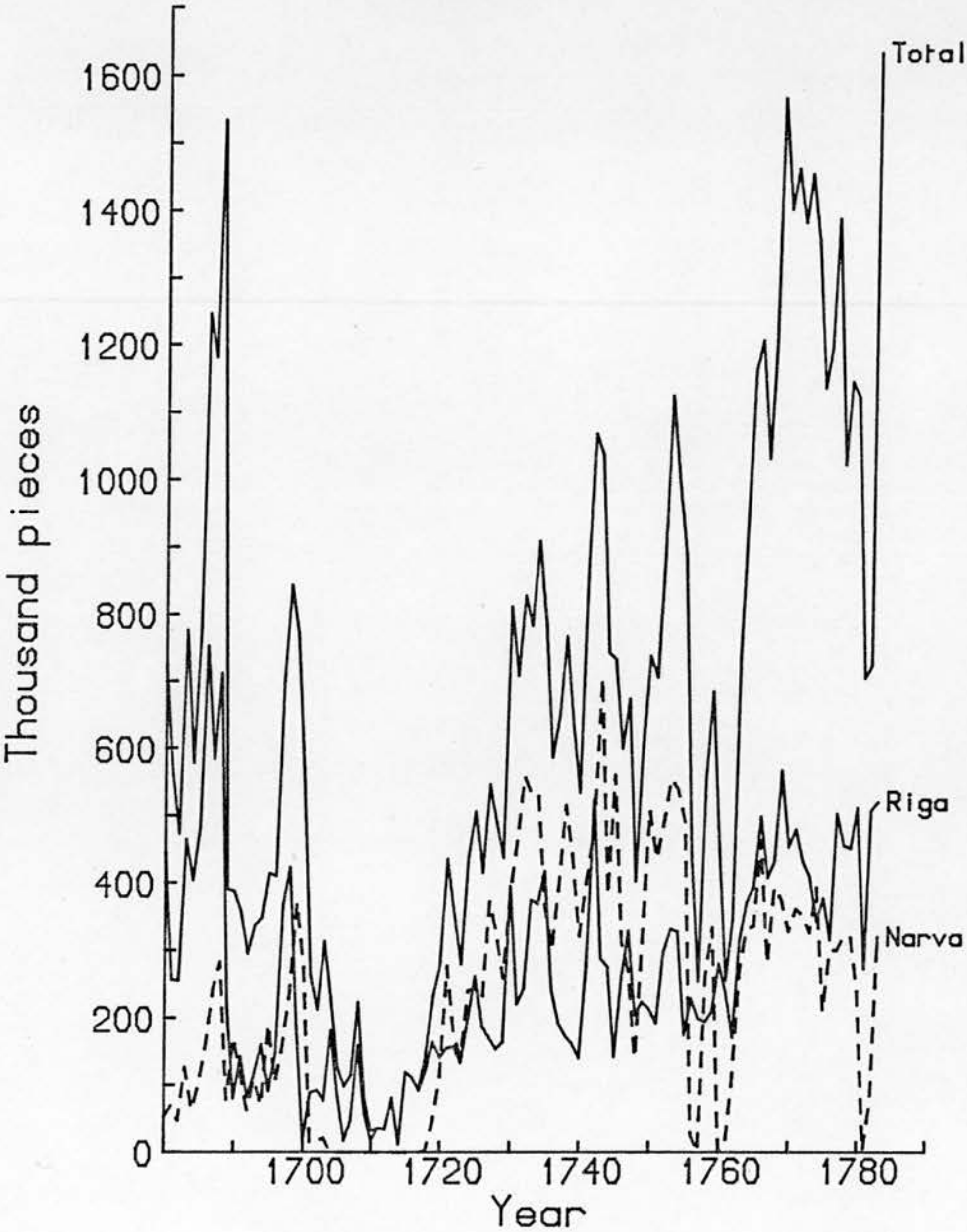
Timber

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries timber was provided for the international market in varying quantities by all the countries round the Baltic. There were two distinct areas of production: the southern Baltic region which produced primarily hardwoods and the northern and eastern Baltic which, with Norway, produced softwoods. Riga was at the border of these two areas but Narva and Reval were within the softwood region. Riga drew her timber supplies from the Dvina valley and White Russia, particularly the area round Smolensk and from the Dnepr valley.[32] Livonia and Estonia provided supplies of pine and spruce timber which were exported from both Reval and Narva. Besides this source, Narva also received a little timber from Ingermanland but her main alternative source was from Russian territory in Novgorod province. The area surrounding the river Luga and its tributaries provided good fir timber and as the Luga flowed into the Baltic to the east of Narva the wood could be floated down river close to the port.[33] Fir timber was also grown in the northern Russian gubernii and was exported via the White Sea from Archangel.

In their exports of timber Russian producers met fiercer competition than in almost any other product. Riga exported small quantities of hardwoods but the ports which specialized in this type of timber were Königsberg and Danzig. In the provision of softwood timber the chief rival of all three ports in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was Norway which exported square-cut fir balks which were used for joists and girders and flat boards and deals used in house and ship-building.[34] Riga was, to some extent, able to meet competition by specialisation in the export of masts, which came from the Dvina area, and in klapphotz (barrel staves). However, Riga's exports of timber were slowly declining throughout the second half of the seventeenth century apparently not because she was pushed out of the market by competitors but because she was meeting problems of supply as timber resources in her hinterland declined (see figure 8). This problem was exacerbated in the upheavals of the Russo-Swedish wars when there was a sharp decline in her exports. In the post-war period up to the 1760s, Riga's exports of timber remained almost static after a rapid jump in the 1720s. During the forty years from 1720-1760 the hinterland from which she drew timber gradually expanded through White Russia southwards until by the 1740s she was drawing on all the area of "the Polish provinces bordering Turkey".[35] At the same time her supply area for masts and other timber was also being pushed eastwards into the new settlements round Orel, Tula and Tambov, all of which had waterway links with the Oka and Ugra and from thence to the Dnepr and Dvina systems. The Oka also gave access eastwards to the Volga and by the late eighteenth century Riga was exporting masts which had come from as far East as Kazan and which took two years to reach the Baltic.[36]

Reval and Narva were unable to benefit from specialisation like Riga and had to compete with all the other Baltic and Norwegian softwood exporters. Reval's exports of timber show a consistent decline from the 1680s with a total break in exports from 1710-1717. In the post war period there is no real recovery, and, except for a brief period of growth in the 1770s, Reval continued to be only peripherally involved in the timber trade. Narva, however, was much more successful. From 1680-1700 her exports of timber grew, probably as a result of the sawmills established at the port during that period.[37] Though her exports of timber ceased between 1704 and 1717, they grew again extremely rapidly from 1721 onwards. The sawmills had disappeared during the war and were not replaced, and this rapid and sustained expansion was principally based on the export of square timber balks and spars. Narva held her place as the most important Russian port for exports of timber until 1756 when official concern at the alleged exhaustion of timber supplies in her hinterland, led Elizabeth to place an embargo on timber exports from the

Figure 8. Exports of Timber from Russia, 1680-1783



Source: for details of total exports see Appendix 2, Table 2.1 and for those from the four Baltic ports, Table 2.4

port. The embargo was lifted a few years later and Narva's exports rose again but she had by that time lost place to other Russiàn ports.

Narva's success in the timber trade up to 1756 appears to lie in the fact that her products were particularly suitable to the Dutch market and Riga, too, found her best market in western Europe in the Netherlands.[38] Except for Riga's provision of masts, neither port was very successful in competing on the English market, because this had become so particularly the preserve of Norwegian exporters.[39] As far as Baltic markets for timber were concerned, Riga was extremely dependent on these links for her timber exports up to 1720. Between 1690 and 1720 she despatched between 50 and 75% of her total timber exports to destinations in the Baltic and although these links declined after 1720, she was still supplying at least one third of her timber to Baltic ports.

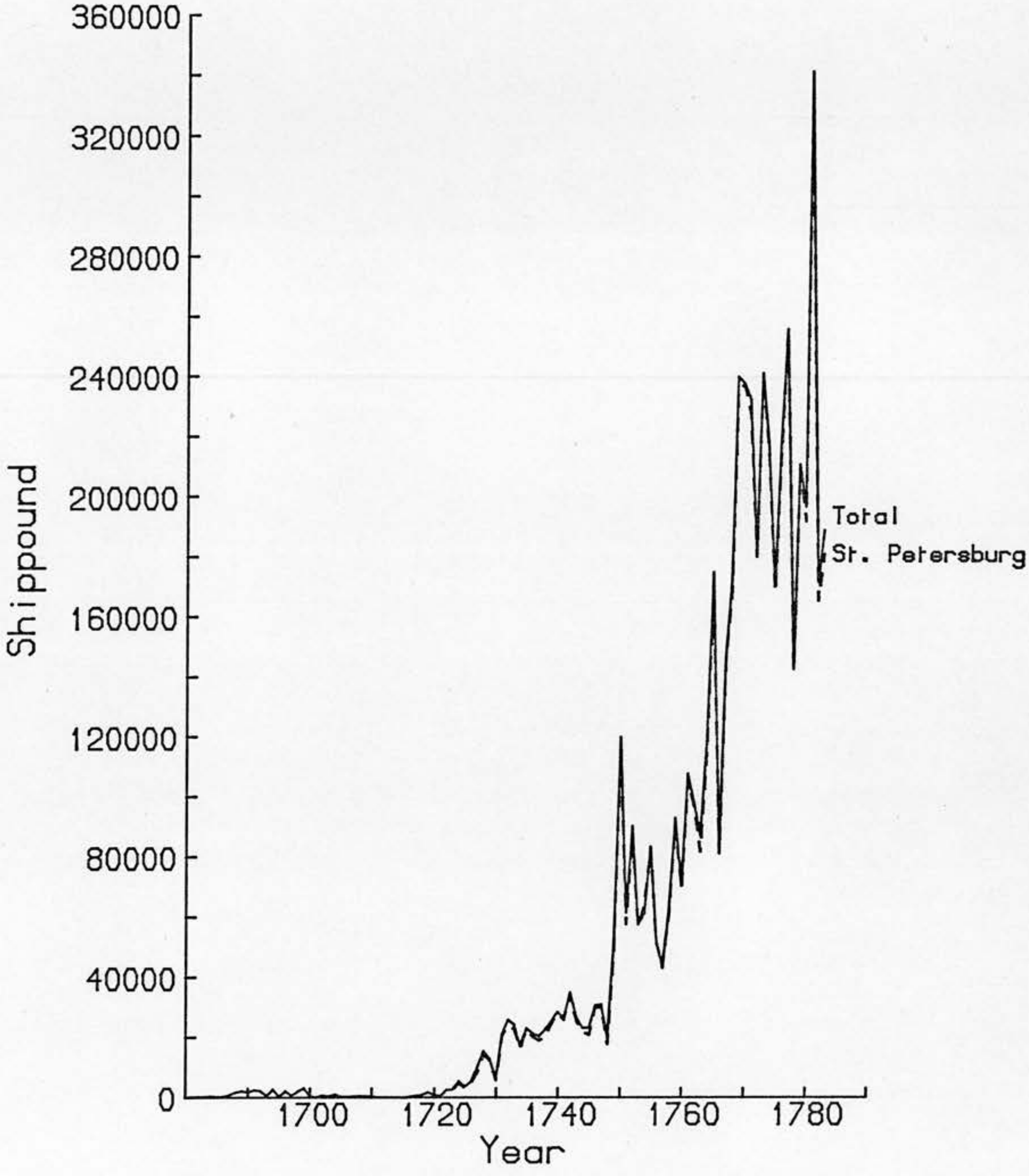
From the 1760s the wide picture of demand for and supply of softwood timber changed with great benefit to the Russian export trade. The type of timber supplied by Norway required mature trees to give the necessary length and, as the eighteenth century progressed, their reserves of mature timber declined so that Norwegian producers were forced to limit themselves to supplying short or medium sized balks, and battens. At the same time as Norwegian sources of long fir timber were declining, the English market for these products was beginning a period of very rapid expansion of demand due to increased shipbuilding, urban development and canal construction. This growth in demand benefited both the long-established and new exporters of timber in Russia. Riga's supply problems were, by the 1760s, to some extent resolved and her merchants and those in Narva were able to respond to the new situation and increase their exports of timber to England after the mid 1760s. However, the greatest benefits were experienced by timber producers in the provinces round St. Petersburg and in Russian Finland where Government encouragement, aimed at increasing St. Petersburg's export trade, had led to the exploitation of timber resources and to the establishment of sawmills round Viborg and Frederikshaven with state loans. Up to the 1760s exports of planks from Viborg and mixed timber products from St. Petersburg had grown slowly but they now expanded very rapidly on the basis of supplies to the English market.[40] The other area of timber production which was able to take advantage of the boom in demand was that bordering the White Sea, in the region round Onega. The timber rights in this area were granted by Elizabeth to P.I. Shuvalov in the 1750s and were subsequently sold by Shuvalov to the English merchant, William Gomm, in the early 1760s. Using state loans, Gomm established sawmills and a shipyard at Onega and rapidly built up his exports of masts, boards, mixed timber and even ships to England.[41] From the early 1760s, therefore, the Russian timber trade became increasingly closely associated with expanding English demand for softwood products. While the newer areas of production which specialised in mill-produced planks and boards had less competition as the century progressed, the longer-established export centres of Riga and Narva were meeting a new rival in the export of balks at Memel and the growth of their trade in this period was accordingly slower than that of St. Petersburg and Viborg.

Iron

The only new commodity which became a major item in Russia's exports in the eighteenth century was iron and this trade was based almost exclusively at St. Petersburg. Until Russia went to war with Sweden in 1699, internal production of iron had been small and the Russian metallurgical industries had relied upon imports from Sweden which was the largest producer for the international market.[42] With the industry's heavy reliance on imports, the severing of trade with Sweden in 1700 caused an acute shortage in iron supplies at a very vulnerable time when demand for military purposes was high. In the short term, Peter encouraged the growth of home production at new sites at Olonets, near Lake Ladoga, and at the Petrovski works on the river Lozosinka, as well as the renovation and expansion of existing works near Moscow and between Maloyaroslav and Tula. For the next twenty five years, production from these plants made up a significant part of the supply of both bar iron and cast iron for internal consumption and also of bar iron for export.[43] Imports of iron did not begin again after the war because high tariffs were imposed to protect the home market and stimulate internal production.

The tentative beginnings of iron production are found in the Urals in the seventeenth century, largely in state-owned plants in the northern part of the mountain range, taking advantage of the rich iron ore deposits of the region. Peter and his successors invested in the reorganisation and expansion of the crown works and also encouraged private development by granting concessions to individual ironmasters, such as Nikita Demidov.[44] After 1720, the Urals industry began a period of stabilisation and reorganistion. In the post war period, demand for military ironware naturally decreased, though the continuation of unsettled relations with Sweden ensured that it did not disappear completely. As a result the percentage of cast to bar iron declined to meet the needs of peace-time industry internally and the requirements of the export market. The supply of iron for export through St Petersburg began to rise slowly in the post-war decades despite the problems of transporting such a bulky product 3000 miles from the Urals to the Baltic coast. Transport costs were, however, reduced in the late 1730s with the completion of the new waterway system linking the Volga and the Neva. In the 1740s the Urals industry received an unexpected fillip to its development: the imposition of limits on supply by Swedish producers. The increasing exports of Russian iron between 1720 and 1740 caused considerable apprehension in Sweden not because they were worried about competition in the somewhat static Dutch market but by Russian intervention in the expanding English market.[45] Swedish iron had different properties from the Russian product: it was hard to work and oregrund iron, especially, was the most suitable for steelmaking. After much deliberation and with sales to England particularly in mind, the Swedish ironmasters decided to limit the quantities which they would allow for export. "The intention was to turn to account the position which Swedish iron was thought to enjoy and to maintain high prices by reducing supply".[46] This monopolistic control of supply proved to be a miscalculation for it was based on a total misconception about the possibility of substitution of one product for another. English importers were, however, well aware of the differences between Swedish and Russian iron and indeed of the particular characteristics of the product available from the different plants within the two countries. As early as 1731 a Bristol importer was ordering Siberian iron from his Russian agents and making it clear that he did not want government Siberian but that made by "the Gentlemen ... his name is struck at the end with an impression beneath something like a mouse if I am not mistaken his name is Demimdoff... "[47]. When there was competition in price, they were quite prepared to substitute a cheaper Russian equivalent for the more expensive Swedish product. Russian producers hastened to take advantage of the aberration of their Swedish competitors, expanding production up to 1760 in

Figure 9. Exports of Iron from Russia, 1680-1783



Source: for details of total exports see Appendix 2, Table 2.1 and for those from the four Baltic ports, Table 2.5

the northern Urals as the buoyant conditions allowed marginal producers to enter the export market and, after 1760, bringing in new capacity in the southern Urals as overseas demand continued to grow.

It will be seen from figure 9 that small quantities of iron had been exported from the Swedish provinces before 1720 but it seems likely that these were re-exports of Swedish products.[48] Minor and spasmodic exports of iron had also been made from Archangel to England in this period but the quantities involved were insignificant.[49] Between 1720 and the 1740s exports of Russian iron grew relatively slowly and were almost totally concentrated at St Petersburg, from whence 90% of all exports were despatched through the Sound by 1730. This proportion grew even larger as the century progressed. From the late 1740s the level of exports of iron began to grow more rapidly as Russian producers were able to undercut Swedish prices and take a greater share of the English market. Exports from St Petersburg to England which had for some years accounted for a large proportion of total production, increased rapidly after the mid century, until they accounted for over 80% of the total Russian product. By the 1760s Russian iron exports to England were almost equal to those from Sweden and by the 1770s they had won more than 50% of that market which position they maintained until the end of the century.[50] Their success in the English market was of great significance for the Russian ironmasters: "la demande anglaise a été a travers tout le XVIII siècle un élément non negligeable de la prosperité de la metallurgie russe. Elle explique la faible influence des tarifs douaniers sur le developpement de la metallurgie".[51]

The progress of the export trades from the northern Russian ports between 1680 and 1780 was dictated by the levels of productivity in the hinterlands which served them. It follows, therefore, that before war intervened, the more efficient and developed regions of the Baltic provinces, White Russia and the Polish lands bordering them, provided Riga and Reval with the commodities which underpinned their prosperity in these years -grain, timber, flax and hemp. To a lesser extent Narva, too, enjoyed a period of considerable commercial activity as the port to which the more limited supplies of the Muscovite heartland were directed and her gain was at the expense of the White Sea trade, with Archangel playing a very minor role until 1700. In the chaotic conditions of a protracted war, all this changed and Archangel became the only safe outlet for the export commodities from the regions untouched by the two armies so that, for the next fifteen or twenty years, her hinterland developed to its maximum size.

In the aftermath of the wars a different pattern of trade emerged as the vast store of unsettled land in the black earth provinces of Russia was gradually brought into cultivation and the focus of supplies of export commodities began to move eastwards. Nor was this only a phenomenon of change in supply, for demand too changed as the principal market for grain also moved eastwards to St Petersburg and supplies were diverted at source by the magnet of high prices and low tariffs so that the merchants of Riga and Reval were handling only minute quantities of this formerly abundant product. It was not until an improved transport system solved the problems of feeding the new capital that the grain trade began to revert to its old pattern but this process was slow for the internal market proved to be too attractive until high international prices and reduced competition in the 1770s brought a reorientation from eastern to western markets.

A similar pattern can also be discerned in the timber trade where the weaknesses in supply which were evident at Riga before 1700 became acute after 1720. Here again the focus of supply moved East as Narva's merchants reacted rapidly to fill the resultant gap left in the Dutch market. Despite an interruption in the 1750s, Narva held her own until the 1760s when increased demand in western Europe and declining production in Norway, gave the necessary impetus to the exploitation of sources of timber in Russian Finland and the northern gubernii which had so far remained virtually untapped. The beneficiaries of this trade were St Petersburg, Viborg and the White Sea ports. However Riga too joined in the general expansion as the extensions of her supply networks into central Russia and southern Poland began to provide her with the necessary flow of timber products to regain her former position in this trade.

The products which played the most important role in the exports of Russia and the Baltic provinces were flax and hemp. Throughout the century from 1680 they made up the greatest part of Riga's trade declining only for a short period from 1705. However, even with these crops the real potential for expansion came as a result of the extension of production in the Russian central provinces and the Ukraine which provided St Petersburg with an ever increasing flow of hemp for export. The new port's trade grew at the expense of Narva which was starved of hemp but made the gradual successful adjustment to dealing in flax instead. It was St Petersburg's commerce which benefited too from the expansion of the textile industries of the provinces round Moscow making linen and hempen products as falling prices widened the demand for such goods in western Europe. Though Riga's hinterland countinued to keep her supplied with hemp and flax, the expansion of her trade in these products from the 1760s was as much a result of tapping the new areas of production in the Ukraine as was the growing prosperity of her greatest rival among the Russian Baltic ports.

The new Russian capital and most prosperous port managed to establish and maintain a virtual monopoly in the handling of the only new export commodity to become available in the eighteenth century. The real expansion in exports of iron from the Urals dated from the 1740s as the improvements in the waterway system linking the Volga to the Neva reduced transport costs. The impetus to expansion of production in the Urals came as a result of this change and also in response to the more competitive position of the Russian product on the international market as Swedish iron prices rose. The potential for development of exports of this new product, as with the other old-established export commodities, lay in the exploitation of new resources of land and raw materials within central Russia giving an impetus to the commerce of the ports of the eastern Baltic in which their more westerly rivals could only share if they were able to infiltrate into the new, highly productive supply regions.

CHAPTER 3

Imports into Russia

The goods which were brought into Russia in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be divided into two categories: those which met basic needs for food, clothing and tools, and those which satisfied demand for the luxuries of life which could only be enjoyed by a small group in the total population. The commodities in the first category comprised essential foodstuffs like salt and fish together with different types of woollen and linen cloth, some metals which were not readily available internally at that time - lead, tin and coal - and metalwares which were not produced by local craftsmen because the skilled workforce of the western European nations was lacking. Although imports of salt into the Baltic provinces were relatively impervious to economic change, supplies of all the other basic import commodities, even fish, fluctuated according to the level of economic activity indicated by sales of home-produced goods overseas.

The second category of goods to be considered are those luxury items such as fine textiles - silks, satins, brocades and calicoes - together with all the trimmings required by high fashion; special foodstuffs from the Far East and the Americas, wines and spirits; furniture, carriages and all the accoutrements required for the diversions of the wealthy. While small quantities of some of the these items had a market throughout the Baltic provinces and their hinterlands, in general, consumption of such luxuries was inevitably linked to the two capitals between which the court moved and where the nobility had their town residences. Peter I's determination to establish his new capital on the Baltic and his influence on the noble families he inherited or created set in motion a process of changing tastes and consumption patterns which is reflected in the trade in luxury goods to St. Petersburg.

Staple Commodities

Salt

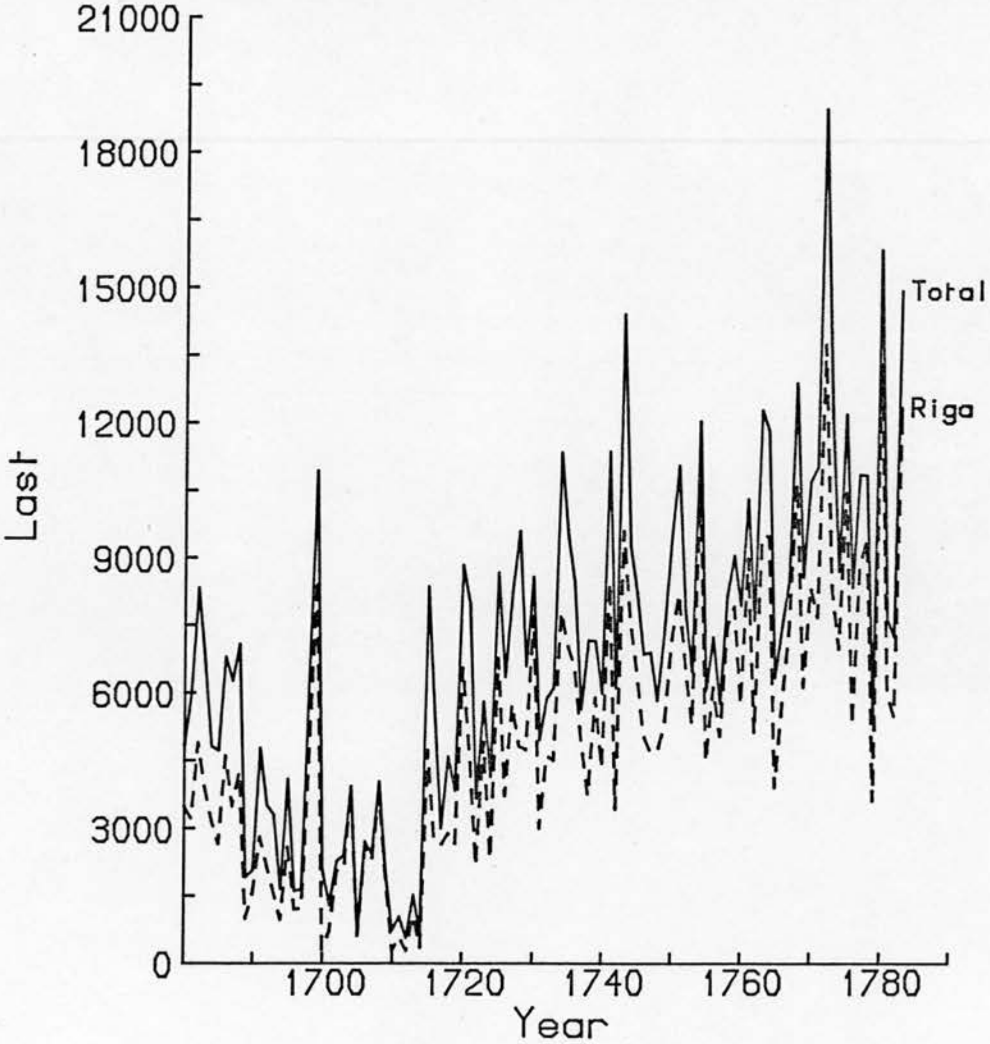
The most important staple commodity imported through the Baltic ports was salt. So essential was it to all levels of the population that, even during the worst wartime conditions, imports remained relatively high. Its importance lay in the fact that it was used not only as a condiment for seasoning food but as an essential ingredient for preserving seasonal produce either in brine or by smoking, and it also had industrial uses. The salt imports of the Baltic ports were intended for consumption in their immediate locality throughout the Baltic provinces, Byelorussia and Swedish Finland. There was no transit trade into the Muscovite provinces nor imports at Archangel for Russia was self-sufficient in salt. Russian salt came from two sources: firstly, wood-fuelled salt boilers using water directly from the sea or from undergound springs which were piped to the surface, and secondly, from the salt marshes of the Volga estuary around Astrakhan. The central provinces' requirements were met by supplies from the area around Perm in the Urals, from the rich Volga pans and from some small urban production areas especially near Kostroma. The north west towns of Pskov, Novgorod, Torpets and Veliki Luki brought their salt from the boilers at Staraya Russa and the needs of the northern provinces were met by the producers round the White Sea coast.[1]

Imported salt came from three main production areas in Europe: the Biscay coast of France; the Atlantic coast of Portugal; and the Mediterranean coasts of Spain, the Balearic Islands and Sicily. The rocky and island-strewn coastlines of western France and the Iberian peninsula were particularly suitable for the building of salt pans where sea water could be evaporated in the sun. In more northerly climes where natural heat was limited, production of salt was found in areas with plentiful supplies of coal, such as the north east coast of England and the east coast of Scotland which provided small supplies of poorer quality salt.[2] Cargoes of salt were either shipped direct from the production areas to their destination in the Baltic or to Amsterdam for distribution to other markets. Shipping was predominantly on Dutch or English vessels and could either be part of a direct voyage between the Baltic and the salt ports or a branch of more complicated routes.[3]

Figure 10 shows the imports of salt into the Russian Baltic ports between 1680 and 1780. In the last twenty years of the seventeenth century imports of salt into the Swedish Baltic provinces were heavily concentrated at Riga which took about three quarters of all imports through the Sound. Besides this, between one quarter and one half of Riga's total imports between 1680-1700 came from ports within the Sound.[4] The high level of Riga's imports is an indication of the size of her trade hinterland for salt was one of the most important products carried down the Dvina network by the merchants who traded at the port. It was frequently given in direct exchange for export commodities such as flax and hemp, without the need for any actual monetary transaction taking place. The merchants of market centres like Smolensk were not the only bulk purchasers of salt, for the estate owners in White Russia also took large quantities which they sold during the succeeding months to the peasants on their land. The Dvina route was so efficient that imported salt supplied all the needs of the White Russian population and central Russian producers were not able to break into this market.[5]

In the same period, Reval was the market for approximately 20% of total imports through the Sound to the three ports. From the scanty figures available, it appears that supplies from western Europe made up about 98% of all Reval's imports. From the large quantities imported, it is clear that salt played a major part in Reval's re-exports to the ports around the Gulf of Finland. Compared with her neighbours, Narva's imports were small and, as the Russian provinces with which she had the closest trade links were supplied by internal producers, consumption must have been limited to the town and its

Figure 10. Imports of Salt into Russia, 1680-1783



Source: for details of total imports see Appendix 3, Table 3.1 and for those to the four Baltic ports, Table 3.2

immediate environs in Estonia.

The sources of salt imports varied for the three different ports. Riga's main supplier was France with smaller quantities from Iberia and re-exports from Holland. Reval, however, obtained the largest part of her imports direct from Iberia or through the Dutch market with only small quantities from France. Narva's chief supplier in the 1680s was France but direct supplies ceased in the 1690s when Holland became her prime source.

The disruption between 1700 and 1720, already noted in the export trades, was less severe where salt imports were concerned, except at Narva where imports ceased between 1706-1717. Supplies of salt to Riga and Reval declined considerably but continued on a regular basis though shipments from France and Iberia became more spasmodic and both ports were largely dependent on re-exports from Holland. After 1720, however, imports rose sharply with Riga again taking the leading role on the basis of an increased level of imports which continued to grow steadily until 1780. Although Reval rapidly reached her 1690s level of imports in the 1720s her more precarious position in the post-war period is shown by the marked fluctuations in the following decades. From the 1760s, however, with a more secure export position, her imports of salt rose more steadily. As a proportion of the imports to all three ports, Narva's share was declining from 1720 but in actual terms there is a rise in her supplies until the late 1740s when they begin to fall. St. Petersburg's share of salt imports remained extremely limited throughout the next sixty years. The city was, of course quite small until the mid century and imports would be destined for the urban population only. More rapid growth in population, from the late 1730s, came at a time when internal trade links were much improved and it seems probable that this made it possible for internal supplies to meet the balance of requirements in St. Petersburg.

In the period after 1720 Iberian salt producers were increasingly successful in taking over the supply of the new Russian provinces round the Baltic. Only at Riga did supplies from France take first place in the market and, even here, the French were ousted to second place from the 1760s.[6] Minor production areas such as England and Scotland were also increasing their exports to Riga and St. Petersburg in the period after 1740 but, even so, they still only provided a small proportion of total supplies.

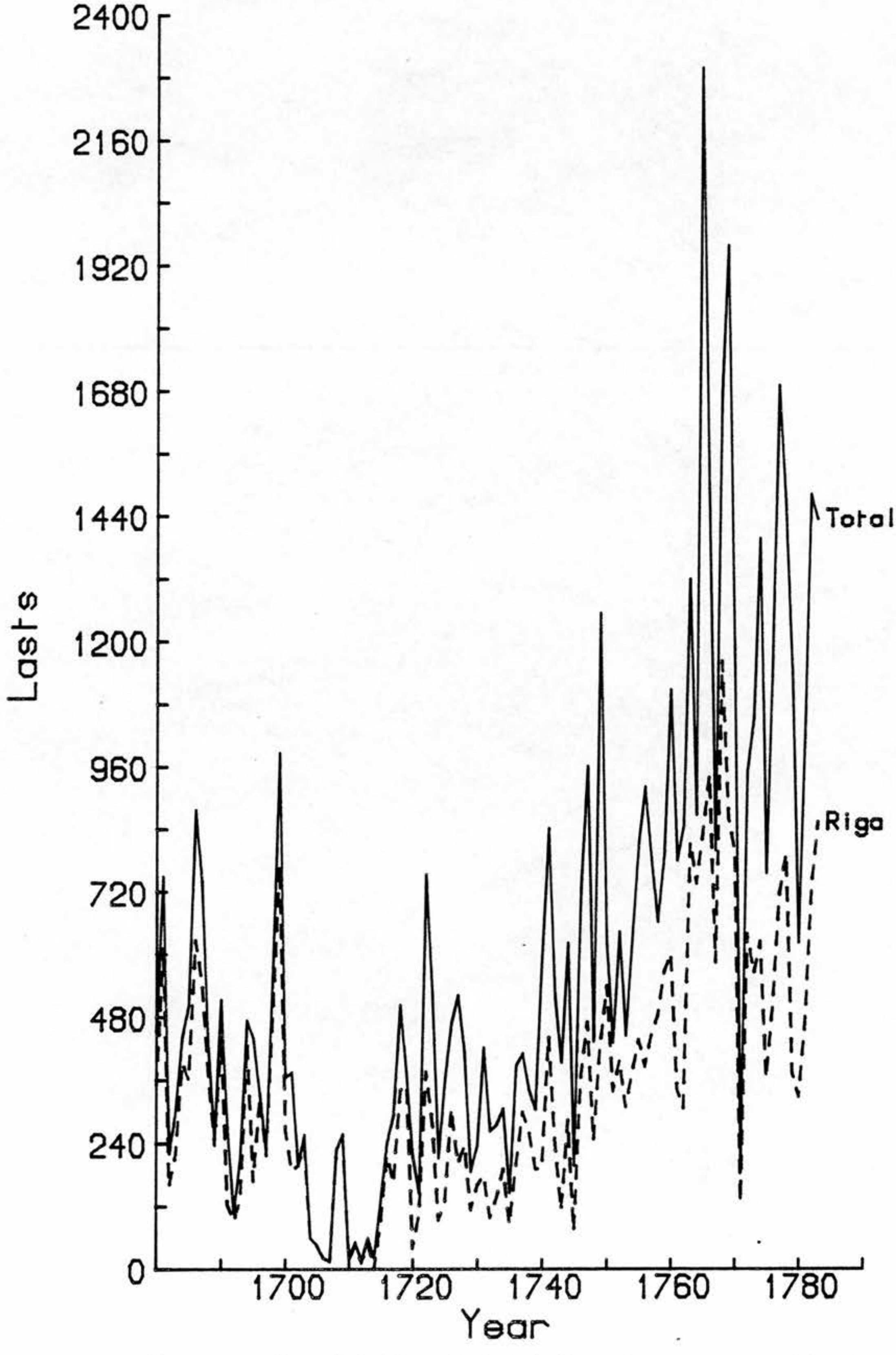
Fish

Fish played an important role in the diet of all the population of the Russian lands and the Baltic provinces, partly because it was available in large quantities all over the country and partly because it was an acceptable food during the fast periods of the Orthodox church, the longest being the Lenten fast during the six weeks before Easter. While the season for sea fishing in the northern regions was very limited, supplies of sea fish were amply supplemented by the many varieties available in the rivers and lakes of the inland regions. From these sources large quantities of sturgeon, sterlet, pike, perch, carp, salmon and shellfish were provided for local consumption and for trade to the markets of Moscow and, later, St. Petersburg.[7] The Volga, a rich source of fish, including sturgeon, which was the most valued both for its roe and flesh, was one of the main sources of supply for the urban markets, the trade being handled by the merchants of Nishnii-Novgorod.[8] Besides the supplies available in the markets of Moscow, in the countryside around the capital 'all the Lords and Men of distinction have ... their Countrey Seats and Villages, where they have their Fishponds...', which provided noble households with a regular source of their favourite fish.[9] Imports of fish, therefore, met with considerable competition and had to find a gap in the market which was not met by local sources so it is not surprising that the largest part was made up of herrings. Salt herring had the great advantage that it could be kept for consumption during periods when other sources were short and it found a good market in White Russia and in the Baltic towns where much of the population was of German extraction with a traditional cuisine which included a great deal of fish. Herring became more widely eaten in aristocratic circles in Russia in Peter's reign when the Dutch and German chefs, much favoured by the Tsar, introduced the zakuski which thereafter became part of the pattern of Russian meals.[10]

With the decline in the herring shoals in the Skåne fishing grounds in the sixteenth century, the Baltic lost its major source of this fish. The void was filled by supplies from the Netherlands whose fleets fished in succession the grounds off Enkhuisen, the East coast of Britain and the Scottish islands. Dutch herring was of extremely high quality being salted on board ship immediately it was caught and then repacked when landed in port. For this reason the Dutch won and held the largest part of the market throughout the Baltic until the late seventeenth century. The migration of the herring shoals in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, brought about a decline in Dutch catches and, therefore, in exports.[11] At first the Scots were able to take advantage of the new conditions to boost their exports but they and the Dutch were gradually ousted in the mid eighteenth century by the Norwegians and Swedes. Scandinavian exports of herring were able to expand because herring again appeared off Skåne and also off the Norwegian coast giving an impetus, in Norway, to investment in salting houses along the coast to improve the quality of their fish.[12]

It can be seen from figure 11 that, as with imports of salt, where fish was concerned, Riga also handled the largest quantity of all the Swedish Baltic ports - approximately 80% of all supplies through the Sound before 1700. In addition about another third of her total supplies came from imports from within the Baltic. Here again, the efficiency of the Dvina network allowed the rapid distribution of imported herring into the neighbouring areas of White Russia where there was a ready market.[13] The two other ports took roughly equal shares of imports in the 1680s, but there was a decrease in Reval's supplies coming directly through the Sound in the 1690s. This may simply have been due to increased amounts from Baltic sources, such as Lübeck, with which Reval had close links. Narva and Reval both exported the excess over local needs into Russia in this period and were in direct competition in sales of herring.[14] The largest proportion of these imports, at all the ports, came

Figure 11. Imports of Fish into Russia, 1680-1783



Source: for details of total imports see Appendix 3, Table 3.1 and for those to the four Baltic ports, Table 3.3

from the Netherlands though Riga also had regular supplies from Norway and Sweden.

Between 1700-1740 imports of fish declined to less than half their pre-war level and remained almost static at all ports except St. Petersburg where there was a low level of imports between 1713 and 1720, with a rapid increase in the 1720s which tailed away in the 1730s. At Narva imports ceased between 1704 and 1722 and remained insignificant thereafter. It seems probable that the areas in Russia which Narva and Reval had both supplied were now serviced by St. Petersburg, leaving Narva with only her own requirements to be met and Reval dependent on re-exports to Finnish ports. Even Riga's imports through the Sound remained very low until the 1740s, though they were supplemented by almost 50% more from intra-Baltic sources up to 1718 and it may well be that this pattern remained in operation for the following twenty years. After 1740 there is a noticeable increase in imports through the Sound, which became more rapid from the 1750s onwards. Both Reval and St. Petersburg also show growing imports but not until the 1760s: in Reval's case this increase appears to be due to her more active entrepot role while at St. Petersburg, population growth would provide an expanding market for fish among all income groups, with aristocratic demand for a wider variety of fish being met by internal trade.

Up to 1700 the Netherlands was the largest supplier of fish to all the Russian Baltic ports but imports from extra Baltic sources fell to almost half between 1700 and 1740 with the other 50 per cent being supplied from sources within the Baltic. After 1740, as imports through the Sound regained their principal role, it was not the Dutch but the Scandinavian fisheries which were taking over this market and ousting all competitors.

Cloth

No other import commodity exercised foreign merchants so much as woollen cloth for they clearly regarded this as the cornerstone of their trade in Russia and also as the product most likely to benefit the economies of their native countries. They waxed eloquent about their own successes in the cloth trade and indignant about the deplorable methods which their rivals were prepared to employ to gain contracts. However, despite the appearance of cut-throat competition, the varying sections of the Russian market were in fact met by different, relatively specialist suppliers.

Woollen cloth supplied for the Russian market can be divided into two types according to quality and price. The high quality, expensive woollens comprised the traditional long, short and Spanish cloths which were produced in England in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, and the fine woollens and camlets made in the Netherlands particularly round Leiden.[15] The other category of woollens comprised the lower quality, cheaper cloths such as the northern dozens, bays, stuffs and shalloons which could vary greatly in quality within each type. These products came predominantly from the clothing regions in eastern England - Yorkshire and East Anglia - but also from Devon, and in Continental Europe from the Netherlands and the cloth-making towns of Prussia and Silesia.[16] As far as imports into Russia were concerned, the Dutch were the suppliers of the bulk of high quality woollens which they acquired from their own clothiers and from England. The English also brought into Russia some high quality woollens but their specialization became increasingly on the lower quality dozens and other types of cheaper cloth. The Dutch handled a small amount of lower quality cloth from European producers but most of the imports from northern and middle Europe, and especially the German states came through Lübeck.[17]

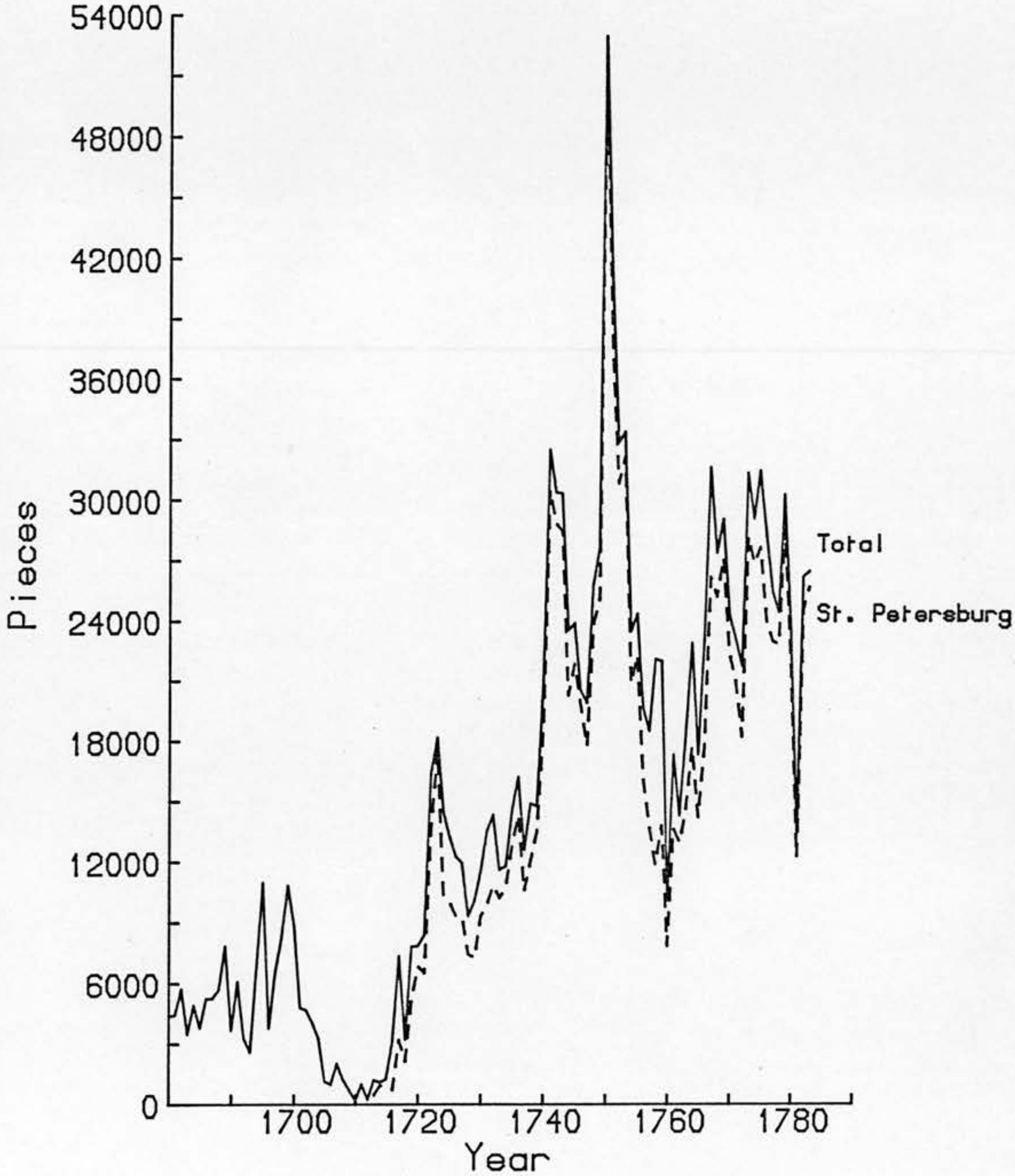
The other fabric for which there was a sustained market in Russia was linen which was required for clothing and for domestic use and ranged from the very finest quality lawns and damask to coarse cloths. Linen was produced throughout central and northern Europe, in the Netherlands and, in smaller quantities, in Scotland and Ireland. Lübeck handled some linen imports from the German states and central Europe, but the largest part of the linen trade was in Dutch hands for the entire period from 1680 to 1780.[18]

Individual consumption of textiles in Russia varied greatly depending on income and was, accordingly, sharply skewed towards the upper classes. Throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a sustained demand by aristocratic consumers for woollen and linen cloth for clothing and furnishings. Heavy woollen cloth was widely used for clothing up to the end of Peter's reign and, although aristocratic taste in dress gradually became more and more westernised and therefore required increasing quantitites of luxury fabrics, consumption of fine, lightweight woollens continued for outdoor clothing. Large quantities of cheaper woollens were also required for the liveries of the many domestic serfs and there was a steady demand for linen in aristocratic houses both for clothes and for numerous household purposes. The group which had a significant effect on demand for non-luxury textiles were those engaged in the government service, the armed forces and in commerce. These professional people included many foreigners and those of foreign extraction whose consumption patterns were influenced by the norms of their native countries as well as by their status in Russia.[19] In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century their requirements probably played a more influential role in demand for cloth than later when their spending power increased but not at the same rate as the nobility. By contrast with that of the upper classes, peasant consumption of any foreign products was miniscule and was made up largely of the needs of the obrok serfs working in the capitals who bought poor quality cloth.[20]

With a sustained, but relatively restricted market for woollen textiles among the civilian population, government contracts for supplying military and naval cloth for uniforms naturally assumed an extremely significant role as far as foreign merchants were concerned. State demand for cloth in fact presented them with their largest and most profitable market for the quantity and price were agreed for several years ahead and payment was made in advance helping the suppliers to offset the financial strain of giving long credit to other customers. The type of cloth required for such contracts was of relatively low quality such as that supplied by the English and Prussians. English merchants were able to secure these government contracts throughout the period of the Northern Wars and up to 1724.[21] In that year, however, their Prussian rivals were successful in winning the army cloth contract, with the aid of Menshikov, and in holding it until 1732. The effect of this reverse was extremely salutory for the English who had been taking advantage of their apparently secure position to supply cloth of inferior quality and short measurement to the Russian government.[22] From 1732 to 1738 the English and Prussians shared the military and naval contracts between them but from 1738 the English were, once again, the sole suppliers to the government.[23] In 1748 Jacob Wolff was able, by judicious bribery and with the assistance of General Apraxin, to secure both the army and navy contracts for English suppliers for the next fifteen years.[24] Imports of English dozens begin to fall from the 1760s and were not counterbalanced by supplies from other overseas producers for this lucrative market for foreign cloth was gradually being taken over by home production. With government encouragement, the number of woollen textile firms, especially in the Moscow region, began to expand in the second half of the eighteenth century, on the basis of contracts to supply the requirements of the army and navy.[25]

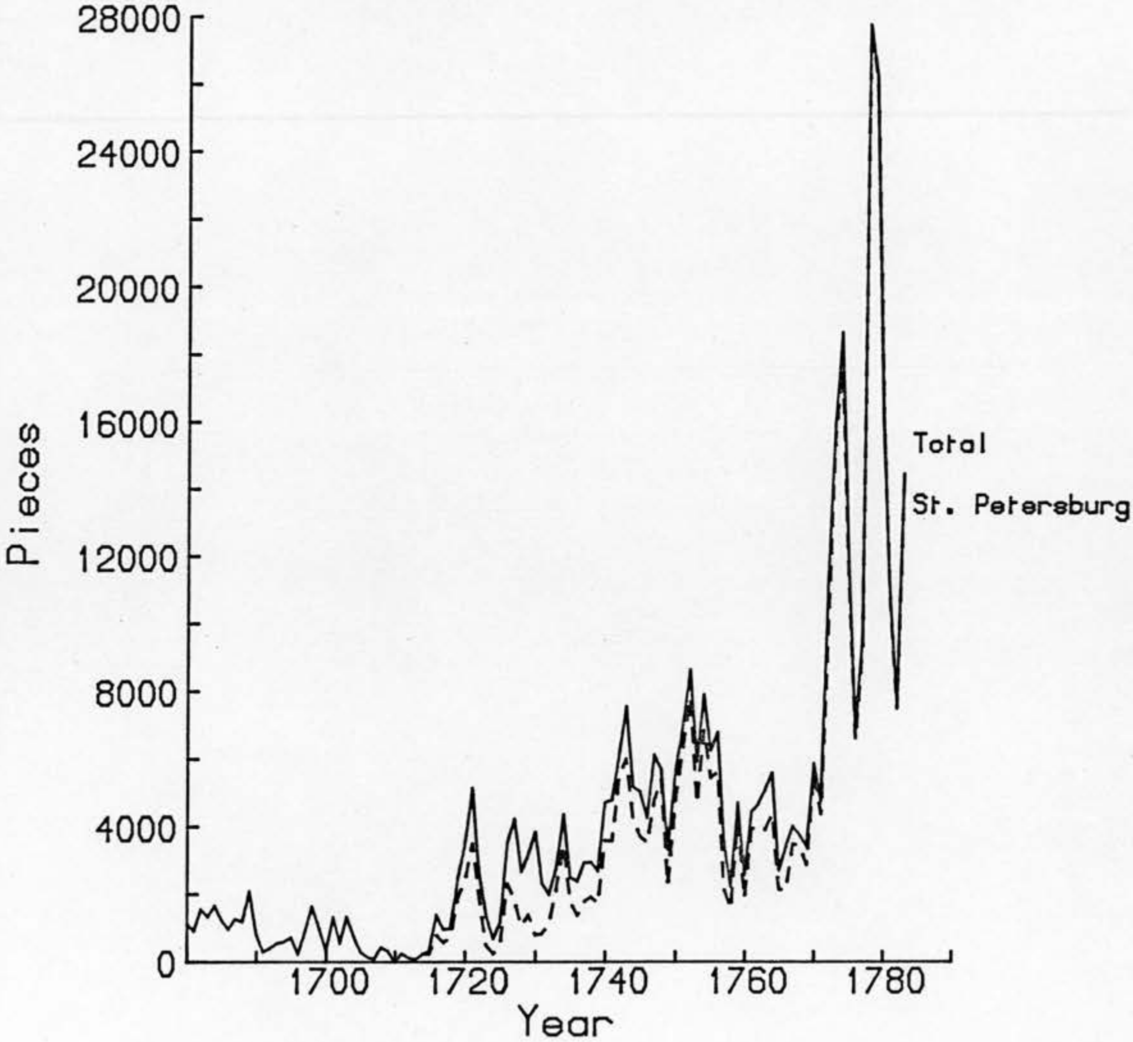
From 1680-1700 demand for texiles had a strong emphasis on woollens, particularly of the heavier, high quality type, and there was only a very restricted market for other fabrics, linens making up the major part of these. (see figure 12.1 and 12.2). In this period imports through the Sound were

Figure 12.1. Imports of Woollen Cloth into Russia, 1680-1783



Source: for details of total imports see Appendix 3, Table 3.1 and for those to the four Baltic ports, Tables 3.4.1 and 3.4.2

Figure 12.2. Imports of Linen and Luxury Cloths into Russia, 1680-1783



Source: for details of total imports see Appendix 3, Table 3.1 and for those to the four Baltic ports, Tables 3.4.1 and 3.4.2

divided almost equally between two markets: the Lithuanian and White Russian market served by Riga, and the Russian market together with the Baltic coastal areas which were served by Narva and Reval. Riga's cloth imports, in common with all the other commodities in which she dealt, were dispersed throughout the Dvina network and then onwards, via the market at Smolensk.[26] The largest part of Narva's imported textiles went into Russia using the route to Novgorod and thence into the central provinces. Part of Reval's exports too went into Russia by this route in the 1680s, but her main market as usual was round the Gulf of Finland.[27] Cloth imports through the Sound came, almost exclusively from the Netherlands and England. At Riga they supplied about equal shares of woollens but the Dutch were the carriers of linens, as they were also at the other two ports. However, the English provided the major share of Narva's imported woollens and this was the only port at which lower quality cloths predominated. Reval, by contrast, was the preserve of the Dutch for all types of fabrics, with a strong emphasis on high quality products. Apart from the cloth supplies they acquired through the Sound, the Baltic ports also received re-exports from Lübeck which was, at this time, an active centre for woollen and linen textiles from all over Europe.

Between 1700 and 1720 the now familiar picture of disrupted trade is found with swings up and down as one port had a brief period of activity when another was closed but the overall impression was of a decline in imports of cloth to half, or less, than previously. With Narva's import trade at a standstill from 1705 to almost 1720, and Reval's activity at an extremely low level, the White Sea route gained in importance. Cloth was one of the most important commodities at Archangel but, unfortunately, data on total imports is only available for one year.[28] However, English exports to Russia at this period give an indication of the trend of activity at Archangel:

Value of cloth imports (pounds sterling)[29]
from England

1697	£ 26,571	1709	£ 109,841
1698	n.a.	1710	182,137
1699	23,242	1711	97,432
1700	42,996	1712	n.a.
1701	49.266	1713	34,599
1702	65,058	1714	75,176
1703	114,391	1715	78,277
1704	120,264	1716	91,787
1705	n.a.	1717	69,024
1706	84,861	1718	53,877
1707	152,651	1719	37,750
1708	160,513	1720	74,766

With the Baltic route to Russia virtually cut off, Archangel's trade was clearly benefiting greatly, particularly at a time when demand for cloth was high for military purposes and the contracts were in the hands of English merchants.

With the end of the war between Russia and Sweden, it was possible for shipping to revert to the Baltic route but the cloth trade did not settle back into its former pattern. Riga's imports of woollen cloth rose only slightly above the wartime level and remained virtually static until the 1750s. Increasingly thereafter, Riga became a market for English woollens, particularly so in the 1750s and 1760s when the expansion in demand coincided with a change in taste to lighter, cheaper fabrics. Demand for linen and other non-woollen textiles shows quite a different trend: imports immediately rose again to 1680 levels in the 1720s, to the benefit of Dutch suppliers. They remained high until the 1760s when there was an abrupt fall in imports of this type of cloth which continued during the next twenty years.

The importance to Narva of the transit trade into Russia is clearly illustrated after 1720 when the supply of this market was taken over by St. Petersburg. For the next sixty years, Narva's cloth imports remained very small - simply enough to meet the needs of the town and its neighbourhood. In this period Narva's requirements were met by the Dutch who were the chief shippers of her timber exports. For Reval, too, the Russian market was lost but the decline in her cloth imports in the 1690s suggests that she had already delegated much of that trade to Narva even before the wars began, so that after 1720 she settled back again into her accustomed role as a re-exporter of cloth from the Netherlands to meet the needs of the lands round the Gulf of Finland. St. Petersburg, from the 1720s, quickly engrossed the role of the major port for the supply of imported cloth for internal Russian needs ousting not only Narva but also Archangel from this trade. Even in the 1720s more than 80% of all woollen cloth imports through the Sound were going to St. Petersburg and this proportion grew as the century progressed. Demand for woollen fabrics, especially the cheaper ranges, grew steadily through the 1720s and 1730s, with a doubling of supplies between 1740 and 1760 when there was a conjunction of expanding requirements for the armed forces, the civilian market and for re-export.[30] After 1760, imports of woollens began to decline slowly as home production started to meet a part of internal requirements. In these years imports of cheap woollens were actually declining much more rapidly than total imports indicate for there was, at the same time, an increase in supplies of high quality woollen fabrics. From the beginning of St. Petersburg's trade, England was the chief source of woollen cloth with very much smaller quantities being supplied from the Netherlands and, in the 1720s, from Prussia.

Metals and Metalwares

The trade in metals and metalwares was of minor importance compared with that in cloth or salt but it was significant enough to be mentioned very frequently by merchants involved in the Russia trade. These imports were very much an English preserve with some small assistance from Scotland where lead and coal were concerned, and from the Netherlands in the supply of metalwares. Lead and tin were the two main metals supplied to Russia: lead was exported from the eastern ports of Hull and Newcastle which had the best communications with the production areas in Derbyshire and Yorkshire and tin from the south-western ports, such as Bristol, which had coastal links with the Cornish mining regions. Coal came almost exclusively from the Northumberland mines and was exported from Newcastle but small quantities also came from the Scottish mines around the Firth of Forth and were shipped from Leith. All these commodities could be exported extremely cheaply for they provided ballast for the vessels going into the Baltic and freight rates were low. Although some lead was imported into Russia in the form of shot, most lead and tin came ready for processing within the country. Coal too was required for industrial purposes - as a fuel for the sugar houses which had been established near St. Petersburg - and was also delivered, en route to Russia, to the Danish and Swedish lighthouses in the Baltic.[31] Smaller quantities were in addition in demand for domestic purposes in St. Petersburg where in 'La Ligne Anglais' were to be found 'English grates, English coal and English hospitality'.[32]

Imported metalwares covered a very wide range of goods which could not be produced within Russia because of the shortage of skilled craftsmen. They included ironmongery such as screws, nails, needles and pins, tools and cutlery, together with brasswares ranging from hinges, locks, door knobs and castors as well as larger items like candlesticks and lanterns. Pewter was a substantial category among the metalwares and consisted of tablewares including plates, bowls, dishes and candlesticks.[33]

In the period before 1700 Narva was the most important point of entry of imports of lead and tin because of her close links with the Russian market.[34] Imports of metalwares in this period were miniscule and were confined to Riga. Trade in these goods almost ceased during the years of the wars but imports began again, now predominantly at St. Petersburg, in the late 1710s. After 1720 about 80% of all tin imports and 90% of lead imports through the Sound entered at St. Petersburg with the largest part of the remaining 10% going to Riga. Imports of metalwares began to grow after 1720 and here again St. Petersburg was the major import point receiving between two thirds and three quarters of the total while the remainder was destined for Riga. The development of the different categories of metalwares can best be seen from the details of exports from England which show that it was the cheaper goods such as pewter and iron wares which predominated until the mid century, after which ironwares continued to grow together with brass and copper goods while pewter declined from 1760.[35] Imports of coal did not begin until the 1720s with St. Petersburg and Riga again being the ports most concerned in this trade. St. Petersburg generally was the destination of between 50 and 70% of total imports through the Sound, the balance going to Riga except in the 1730s when Narva too had regular shipments.

Luxury Goods

The development of the trades in luxury wares was inextricably linked with the growth of St. Petersburg as an imperial capital and a centre of government. This does not mean that there was no market for some of these commodities in the areas served by the other Baltic ports or by Archangel but that income levels away from St. Petersburg or Moscow imposed severe limits on consumption of luxury products. Nor is it always easy, even at St. Petersburg, to chart the growth of demand for all such wares as some are not clearly categorised in the statistical material which is available, though their presence in the mansions of the nobility and their consumption at their tables was described by many observers.

A wide range of luxury cloths were imported into Russia consisting of silks, brocades, velvets, tafettas, satins and cottons. The Italians had formerly been the greatest producers of luxury cloths but their place had been taken by the French in the seventeenth century and it was from France that most exotic fabrics emanated though small quantities of silken cloth were also made in England. The other source of silks and cotton cloths such as calicoes and muslins was the East India trade but, by the late 1760s, Manchester cottons made in England were also being sold in Russia. The largest part of the trade in luxury textiles was handled by the Dutch for, although the French were the major producers, they took little part in the shipment of goods to Russia.[36] The English played a minor role in this trade, shipping their own products and re-exports brought into England by the East India Company.

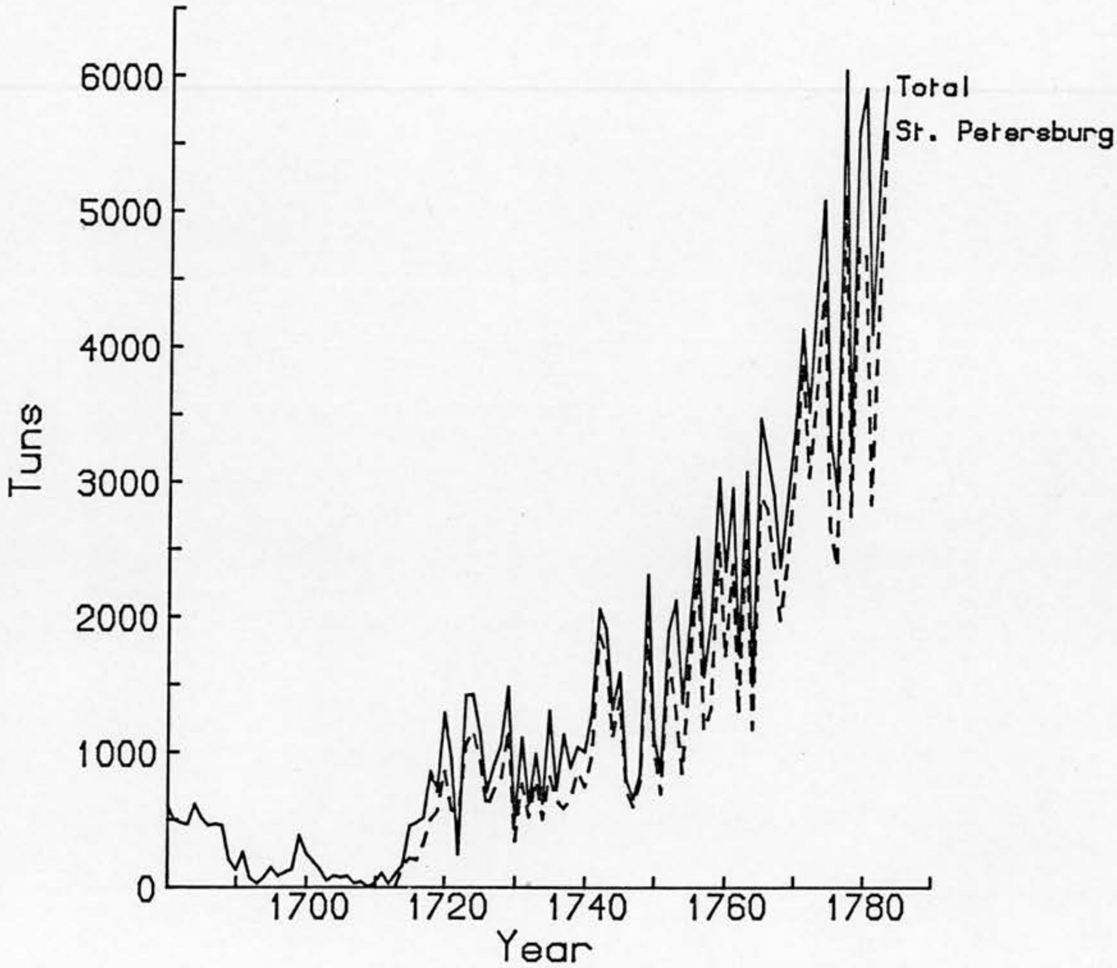
Demand for such fabrics among the aristocracy increased and diversified as the eighteenth century progressed. During Peter's reign tastes in clothing and furnishings began to change as he tried to force western ideas on his unwilling boyars but it was not really until Anna's reign that choice of cloth moved from woollens to luxury fabrics. French fashions in costly cloths covered with gold and silver embroidery were adopted by the Tsarina and her court. No expense was spared on outfits which could not be worn for more than one occasion: at the celebrations for Princess Anne's wedding to the Prince of Brunswick, the bride wore " a stiffened bodied gown of silver stuff, embroidered with silver, the stomacher all diamonds, her own hair curled, with four tresses twisted with diamonds, and a little coronet of diamonds..." while her aunt and cousin, the Tsarina and Princess Elizabeth, were wearing respectively "a gown of brown and gold, very rich and ... very handsome; a great number of pearls ... " and "a robe of pink and silver, very fine in jewels". The opulence of court dress grew during Elizabeth and Catherine's reigns and, when Coxe visited St. Petersburg in 1778, he remarked on "the costiliness and glare of their apparel, and the profusion of precious stones" which he felt "retains many traces of Asiatick pomp blended with European refinement".[37] Day dress for ladies followed French and English styles moving from woollens and silks to light cotton muslins and calicoes, however unfitted they might be for the Russian climate.[38] Nor were the aristocracy the only ones to adopt foreign fashions: the foreign communities at St. Petersburg were also fashion conscious as were the government officials and their families in the provincial towns but their consumption was necessarily limited by income to much less opulent flights of fancy though cottons and silks were within their reach.[39]

The trend of imports of luxury cloths into St. Petersburg which can be seen in figure 12.2 shows slow growth until the 1740s after which there was a considerable increase in demand. Most of these supplies were carried on Dutch shipping and it was not until the 1770s when there was a real leap in consumption of luxury textiles that the English began to play a larger part in meeting the needs of this lucrative market along with their Dutch colleagues.

One of the luxury products whose consumption is most accessible to study is wine, for in the period under consideration, Russian consumers were totally dependent on imported supplies, as the southern production areas in the Crimea, the Caucasus and Bessarabia did not come under Russian control until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and they were only slowly integrated into the Russian market networks. The range of wines available in Russia was heavily influenced by the Dutch, partly because their maritime superiority in the seventeenth century gave them 'une pleine et paisible possession [du] commerce de la mer Baltique et du Nord' and partly because their investment in production, especially in the Bordeaux region, caused a revolution in the types of wine available for export.[40] The greatest problem facing those involved in the wine trade in this period was that many wines did not travel well. For this reason the Dutch preferred mature or fortified wines for commercial purposes and they encouraged the production of such wines and brandy in the mid seventeenth century in the wine producing areas of western France. During the Dutch war from 1672-78, French producers were cut off from their main market and after the war they found that the Dutch had discovered alternative sources of the wines they required in Spain and Portugal.[41] By the early eighteenth century the Dutch were once more buying or shipping large quantities of French wine and they were again influencing production, not only of mature wines and brandy, but also of poorer quality wine by disseminating information on better methods of production and improved techniques for blending to acquire an improved product which would travel well.[42]

As can be seen in figure 13, before 1720 small quantities of wine were imported through the Sound to all three Baltic ports. Riga took a large proportion of these supplies (60-80%) and also added another third or half to her total imports from ports within the Baltic. Both Narva and Reval handled only small quantities of wine and it seems probable that most of Narva's imports were destined for transit into Russia to Moscow. At this time the largest proportion of wine supplies consisted of re-exports from the Netherlands with some direct shipments from France. After 1720 the focus of the wine trade quickly became St. Petersburg to which port went nearly

Figure 13. Imports of Wine into Russia, 1680-1783



Source: for details of total imports see Appendix 3, Table 3.1 and for those to the four Baltic ports, Table 3.5

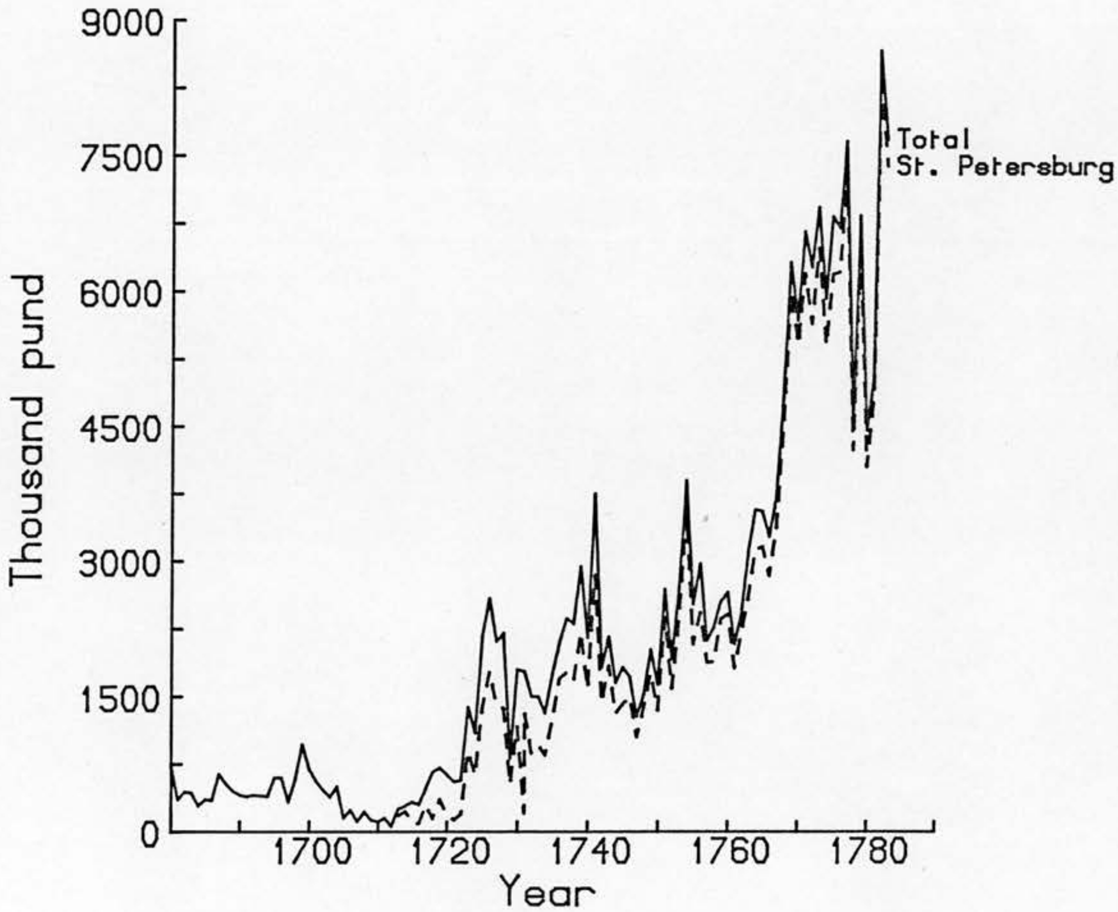
three quarters of all imports through the Sound between 1720 and 1750. Later in the century this proportion increased to 90%. The largest part of wine imports were French including clarets, burgundy, champagne and brandy but there were also smaller quantities of red, white and fortified wines from Spain and Portugal and hocks from the German production areas.[43] In the 1720s in St. Petersburg there were several Frenchmen who acted as wine merchants specialising in the products of their home country carried to them by the Dutch. This was, however, still a limited market and it was common for those who were wealthy enough to place orders direct to a merchant in Bordeaux or Holland who arranged freight on a convenient vessel. They were discriminating purchasers who required good wines for, as Admiral Gordon pointed out to his agent, "I have been us'd since I came to this place to have the best that came from Holland ... '.[44] Demand for wines began to increase rapidly at St. Petersburg from the 1760s and with the changes in shipping patterns, already noted, re-exports from the Netherlands and Hamburg decreased at this time and more wine was shipped direct from France and Iberia.

Apart from wines, the other category of imports for which data is available is colonial wares. These were re-exports of a wide variety of products from English, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies and also from the East India trades. Foodstuffs such as spices, sugar, dried fruits and nuts, rice, coffee, and cacao were despatched by colonial producers to their mother countries along with tobacco, dyestuffs like indigo, cochineal and various woods, beaver skins and many other goods. Between 1680 and 1780 the Russian market for such products developed and diversified: until the mid eighteenth century there was a continuous but somewhat limited demand for foodstuffs, especially spices, with small quantities of luxuries like sugar and other colonial wares. There were also short periods when special contracts were made for the supply of certain items as, for example, the tobacco contract granted to a group of English merchants by Peter I in 1698 but these were generally shortlived.[45] However after 1720 aristocratic consumption of colonial products began to grow slowly with a quickening of demand from the mid 1760s.

A large proportion of the trade in colonial wares was in Dutch hands for considerable quantities of these goods were re-exported from France and England to Amsterdam for redistribution throughout Europe. However, from the mid eighteenth century, re-exports from England began to decline as English merchants increasingly shipped their goods direct to their final destinations and bypassed the Netherlands. However, re-exports of French colonial wares from Holland increased between 1750 and 1789 from 12,447,000 livres to 35,303,000 livres and, despite the fact that direct shipments of such goods from France and Iberia to Russia were growing from the 1760s, re-exports from the Netherlands also continued to expand.[46] Another port which was highly involved in the re-export of colonial wares to Russia was Hamburg: English merchants frequently used the port as the destination for their goods from the American colonies as an alternative to Amsterdam for the port was a sound financial centre for the payment of bills of exchange issued in trade with Scandinavia.[47] Second in importance to the Netherlands for the shipment of colonial wares to Russia was England from whence came products from North America.

Where imports of colonial wares are concerned, a very similar pattern to that of wine imports can be seen (see figure 14). Before 1700 there was a steady level of imports almost equally divided between all three ports, with the usual substantial decline between 1700 and 1720. The pattern of Narva's trade between 1680 and 1780 shows that most of her pre-1700 imports were destined for sale in Russia for, once St. Petersburg offered a more direct route to Russian consumers, Narva's imports declined heavily and remained insignificant. By contrast, both Riga and Reval experienced an immediate rise in

Figure 14. Imports of Colonial Wares into Russia, 1680-1783



Source: for details of total imports see Appendix 3, Table 3.1 and for those to the four Baltic ports, Table 3.6

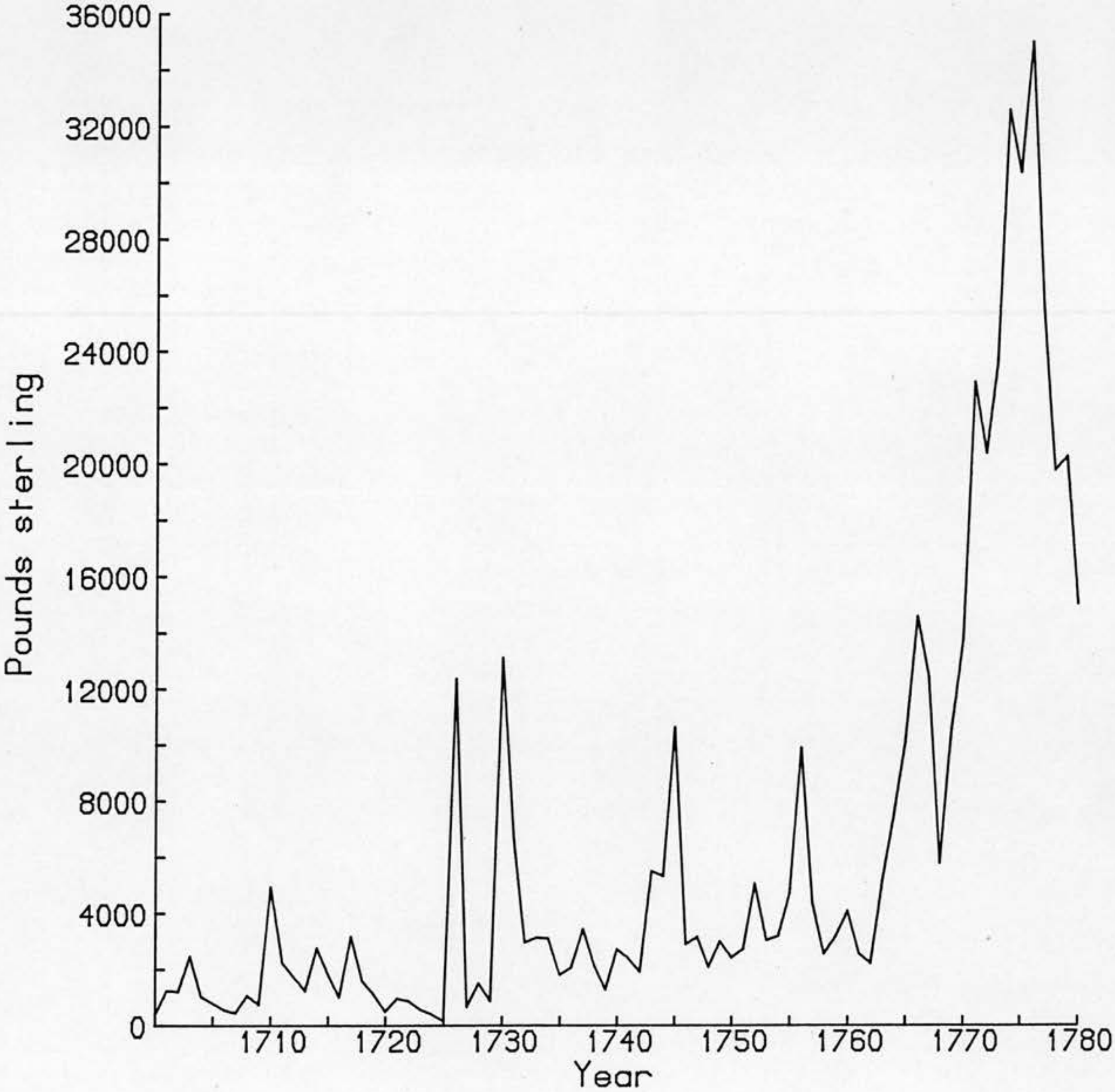
imports after 1720 but, while Riga's show a small trough in the 1740s and 1750s, followed by slow growth thereafter, Reval's trade in colonial wares declined gradually after the 1730s. However, by comparison with St. Petersburg's imports, those at the other three Baltic ports remained insubstantial for an increasing proportion of total imports through the Sound was directed to the new port. Here again, the real expansion of demand came in the late 1760s. Throughout the century, at all four ports the major supplier of these products was the Netherlands with England taking second place, except at Narva before 1700 where English goods made up the largest part of imports. Hamburg's re-export trade was closely linked with St. Petersburg but at both Riga and St. Petersburg imports direct from France grew considerably in the 1760s as did Iberian and Mediterranean imports at St. Petersburg in the 1770s.

The area in which growth of demand for luxury goods is most difficult to chart is that collection of items categorised as 'krammeri' or 'kobmandsskab' in the Sound Toll accounts. Fortunately, though the English Inspectors General of Customs also sometimes fell back on the generic term 'goods, miscellaneous', they were usually more specific in their description of the new items which were being supplied to Russia in the eighteenth century. What the customs records usually only hint at is, however, elucidated by foreigners who visited or lived in Russia - that is a fundamental reorientation in patterns of consumption from the 'oriental' style of the Moscow boyars of the late seventeenth century to the 'westernised' St. Petersburg aristocracy of a century later. The change in taste in dress, as shown by consumption of cloth, has already been discussed but associated with that was the concurrent expansion in demand for millinery, beaver hats, ribbons, lace and 'other glittering gew-gaws'.[48] Apart from personal adornment, the new mansions in St. Petersburg belonging to the Imperial family and their nobles also required beautification. The windows of the palaces were glazed with imported glass and inside, the walls were decorated with imported wallpapers painted in 'showey colours' with flowers, 'figures of houses, churches or any landskips w^{t} Men'. On these were hung imported mirrors and sconces, carved and gilded as the customer required. The large rooms were filled with imported furniture: in the reception rooms there were chairs, occasional tables, and settees with claw feet, inlays and brass mouldings; glass fronted display cabinets exhibited imported porcelain and china; in the library were imported bureaux, bookcases and easy chairs of mahogany 'on brass casters, leather stuffed back and arms and quilted'. The bedrooms displayed imported bedsteads with '4 posts ... w^{t} a tassle on each corner ... to be so high that it may answer w^{t}the Cornises of the window Courtains ...', and in the dressing rooms were chests with 'hanging glasses' in 'the French fashion w^{t} marble tops, wrought handles and brass moulded feet on casters' or in the English style of walnut or mahogany on which could be set toilet cases with 'one looking glass in silver frame not very small - a Basen & Ewer A Box to Lock w^{t} 2 Boxes somewhat large 2 ditto smaller & 2 do less - 1 Brush for Cloths 1 Velvet brush for ditto - One Sope box & one pomatum do of the same size - one comb brush - 2 Tumblers with Covers Gilt within - 2 Candlesticks w^{t} one p^{r} Snuffers & stand - One stand & sisers for Cliping a Wax taper one small 4 square dish or tray to lay anything in - 2 round phials with screws Either of silver or Pollishd cristal for Smelling bottles to hold salts & fragrant water -1 shagreen black Case Mounted with Silver containing 12 Very Good Razers the handles mounted with silver a Hone Strop p^{r} of sisers - a Magnifying glass.' In the evenings the salons would be set with imported card tables 'pretty large, knee legs carved & claw feet on casters', box tables for dice games with '2 flaps w^{t} green cloth & ombre holes' and mahogany backgammon tables with men and boxes. The ceremony of drinking tea was also 'taking amongst the Russ' and the tea was stored in imported tea chests with '4 lb cannisters ... w^{t} brass mouldings' and dispensed from imported silver wares and tea boards.[49]

In their outdoor pastimes the Russian nobility were also dependent on foreign goods. The coaches in which they drove, together with the harness and the saddles and bridles for their riding horses were imported.[50] Some noblemen even imported their horses and a gift of sporting dogs from western Europe was highly acceptable to the Tsarinas or their ministers. When shooting they would use imported guns and fowling pieces provided with 'bullet mould, pouch for powder and shot, gun screw, measure and 200 flints'; when fishing they used imported tackle and played with imported battledores and shuttlecocks and perhaps golf clubs. Any special interest or requirement could be met if an order was placed with a foreign merchant - books, maps, mathematical instruments, telescopes and spectacles were all available and on one occasion a fire engine was even provided for Marshal Narishkin.[51]

The provision of this multitude of items was handled almost exclusively by England and France, each country responding to the stimulus of home demand to provide a distinctive range and style of goods with a high level of craftsmanship. The difference between the products of the two countries is encapsulated in the description of the types of clocks which each provided for sale in Russia: English clocks were noted for their 'substance solidity and good performance' whilst the French timepieces had 'new gay and Ornamental outsides such as Hercules bearing a clock (or time) in place of the Globe on his shoulders ... A Moor kneeling with a clock on his head ... and many other pretty Conceptions'.[52] On the whole, the English specialised in rather plainer items of good design and materials whilst the French provided the more decorative and frivolous products which had a large market in Russia. It is not possible to estimate the share of the market which the English and French enjoyed and trends in imports of these products can only be assessed by use of the English customs statistics (see figure 15).[53] These show that the

Figure 15. Imports of Luxury Wares
from England, 1700-1780



Source: see Appendix 3, Table 3.14

development of imports of miscellaneous luxury items is very similar to that for wine and colonial wares with a slowly growing level of demand during the period from 1720 to the early 1760s and a marked expansion in the market for such goods thereafter.[54] An interesting phenomenon indicated by the imports from England is the relatively high level of imports between 1710 and 1720 part of which must have entered through Archangel and part (after 1715) through St. Petersburg. It may be that, at that time, the English were supplying a larger proportion of such commodities, as they were in cloth imports, and that their share fell later as Frecnh competition increased.

In the hundred years from 1680 there was almost no change in the range of staple commodities which were imported into Russia and any alternation in import patterns in this category of goods was a matter of magnitude rather than scope. As far as trade in salt and fish was concerned, the largest part of their market was in the Baltic provinces and in White Russia, while other staples could command wider sales throughout Russia. By contrast the development of imports of luxury commodities was very closely linked with the growth of demand in St. Petersburg and Moscow and only small quantities of such goods were required elsewhere in the Russian lands.

The trend in imports of all commodities, with the sole exception of salt, shows that demand for these goods was extremely susceptible to economic change and that, although it followed quite closely the fluctuations in levels of exports, the response to increased economic activity was generally slow. The problems which affected Riga's ability to export in the period from 1720 to the 1740s is also reflected in the slow growth of imports of almost all types in the same period. Once her supply problems had been adjusted by the extension of her hinterland, demand for imported goods began to expand. The importance to Narva of the transit trade into Russia in the whole range of imports, except salt, is made abundantly clear after 1700 by the dramatic decline in her import trade. Despite the fact that this port was extremely active between 1720 and the late 1750s as far as exports were concerned, the market for imported goods had shrunk to the town population and its immediate neighbourhood and could thus only sustain a very depleted level of imports. The most unpredictable pattern of imports is found at Reval where most of the staple commodities followed the same trend as Riga with slow growth until the middle of the century after which increased activity as an export centre led to expansion in imports. However the trend in demand for cloth and luxury goods shows an entirely different pattern with a jump in the 1720s and then slow and fluctuating decline thereafter.

The development of St. Petersburg's import trades was almost synonymous with the growth in consumption of luxury goods of all kinds. The market for the staples of salt and fish at St. Petersburg was always restricted partly because of the city's size and later because its internal trade routes gave it access to production areas within Russia. Demand for luxuries was slow to grow in the first three decades after the city was founded. Though tastes were changing, restrictions on income kept consumption levels relatively low and the ability to acquire foreign goods was further restrained by the high level of tariffs imposed on all such commoditites. Despite these constraints the court managed to achieve a level of magnificence and ostentation which was frequently commmented upon by visitors from western Europe. However it was not really until the 1760s that the brakes on consumption were released and this allowed a rapid rise in the flow of fashionable luxuries which were eagerly acquired by an ever-increasing group of Russian aristocrats and their imitators.

As has already been seen with the export trades, the largest part of imported goods was shipped by the Dutch and the English. While the Dutch were carrying some of the output of their own industries, they were predominantly dealing in commodities produced in France, Spain and Portugal or in re-exports of the produce of the colonies of those countries. Up to 1740 a large part of Dutch trade was conducted directly between the Netherlands and Russia but, as Amsterdam's entrepôt role decreased, direct shipment of supplies from the production areas to Russia became more common, without, however, reducing the Dutch domination in shipping. By contrast, English ships sailing to Russia usually specialised in home produced commodities but, in the second half of the eighteenth century, they also began increasingly to carry direct to the Baltic the goods supplied by their colonies and their East India trade. Because of this specialisation in trade in their own products, or those of their colonies, English importers in Russia did not deal in nearly such a wide range of products as the Dutch. However, in the narrow spectrum of goods on which they concentrated, they supplied a very large proportion of the total Russian market.

CHAPTER 4

The Re-export Trades

Although the largest proportion of the commodities imported into Russia from Western Europe, China and Persia was intended for internal consumption, a small, but significant part of these goods was simply in transit through Russia for re-export elsewhere. The role played by re-exports was especially important in trade with Persia and it was this area of commerce which most interested foreign merchants in Russia for, after the decline of the Archangel/Moscow route, it was the only one in which they played an active part.

The major export commodity in trade from Russia to Persia was high quality woollen cloth imported from England and the Netherlands. The types of cloth required for the Persian market were broadcloth, imperial ells, long ells and perpetuanas but, in the 1740s, English northern cloths and middle quality shalloons were also being supplied.[1] From the early seventeenth century trade to Persia had largely been handled by Armenian merchants who had established a considerable community in Astrakhan through which port all commerce across the Caspian was conducted, and late in the century the crown granted them the exclusive right to handle this trade, debarring other foreigners from direct involvement.[2] This monopoly was particularly resented by the English who had, in the sixteenth century, been allowed to travel to Persia through Russia.[3] At first little action was taken for, until about 1724, English and Dutch merchants sold their woollens to the Armenians at Archangel or St. Petersburg in direct competition with each other. After that date, however, the Dutch used their position as buyers of all the raw silk available for re-export to become the sole suppliers of woollen cloth to the Armenian merchants who were involved in trade with Persia.[4] As English interests were harmed by this agreement there was a growing demand by the

English factory for the right to trade directly to Persia and this was conceded in the Commercial Treaty of 1734.

Though their right to direct involvement in trade with Persia had been granted, it was some time before any moves were made in Russia for the Russia Company had first to obtain parliamentary agreement to the import of Persian silk which was the monopoly of the Levant Company. It was not until 1739 that the first exploratory journey to Reshd was made by John Elton and Mungo Graeme with the financial backing of several members of the Factory: Elton returned in 1740 with encouraging news and, backed by several members of the factory in St. Petersburg, set about building two ships at Kazan to carry English goods.[5] Elton's treatment of his companion, whom he had abandoned in Reshd and misrepresented in St. Petersburg, led to a split in the factory and, when Graeme returned in 1741, he with James Browne and Martin Kuyck van Mierop were established in a business house in Persia by "the Gentlemen in London [who] have made a new Subscription of £18,000 Sterl. being together with what was before subscribed for in all £30,000."[6] For several years the English merchants in Russia enjoyed a period of prosperous trade with Persia which is reflected in the increase in the value of cloth imported from England the largest expansion being in high quality cloths, bays and dozens.[7] Unfortunately, it was brought to an abrupt end in 1746 when direct trade was forbidden by Elizabeth in retaliation for Elton's incautious behaviour in assisting the Shah to establish a navy on the Caspian. It was, however, a number of years before all the English merchants were able to return to Russia because of the civil war in Persia after Nadir Shah's death, and several years after that before all their assets were realised.[8] The unsettled conditions within Persia led to a considerable decline in all Russian trade with that country until the 1760s when it began to grow once more. Although there was frequent talk in the English community of renewing their activities, direct trade was never undertaken again and they had to acquiesce in having their goods handled by intermediaries.

Although woollen cloth made up the bulk of re-exported textiles supplied to Persia, at times when this trade was most active small amounts of luxury cloths, such as silks and velvets and gold and silver lace were also despatched there. Apart from woollen cloth, the commodity for which there was the most stable demand was dyestuffs, especially cochineal and indigo. These colonial products were re-exported from the Netherlands, England and Hamburg to St. Petersburg from whence they followed the usual route to Persia in the Armenian caravans. Small quantities were re-exported throughout the eighteenth century and English customs statistics show increased amounts being supplied in the later 1730s and early 1740s.[9] When trade with Persia began to grow again in the 1760s, the role played by re-exported dyestuffs was very important. English exports of cochineal and indigo showed a marked increase from 1765 to 1780 and the growth in colonial wares into St. Petersburg from 1766 suggests that the Dutch, Hamburgers and French were also benefiting from this trade.[10]

Russian trade with Persia was not focused on re-exports of foreign goods in one direction alone: the return cargoes consisted predominantly of raw silk, much of which was destined for the Netherlands. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries almost all the available silk was sold to Dutch merchants at Archangel and St. Petersburg and was despatched to Amsterdam to correspondents like Simon Beval who dealt solely in this commodity.[11] Exports to England only began in 1742 with direct intervention in trade with Persia. All the proceeds of the cloth taken to Reshd were invested in supplies of raw silk and despite the embargo in 1746, returns of silk were made for several years after that date. The civil war in the late 1740s did not halt silk exports completely but they gradually decreased during the 1750s. Throughout this period re-exports to the Netherlands considerably exceeded those to

England and even after re-exports to England ceased in 1758, there were still spasmodic supplies despatched to Holland.[12] The revival of trade in the late 1760s did not increase re-exports to their former levels; on the contrary, they remained small and infrequent, and raw silk imported from Persia was instead absorbed by manufacturers of silk cloth and stockings in the Volga region and the two capitals who were responding to growing internal consumption of these products.[13]

Where Russian trade with China was concerned, the role played by re-exports was very much less significant than in the Persia trade. The most important commodity taken by Russian merchants into China was furs, the largest part of which were supplied from Siberia. Artic fox pelts were the favourite but squirrel, sable, lynx, sea otter and grey fox were also exported and along with them went re-exports of North American beaver skins.[14] Until 1694 the Dutch were almost the sole suppliers of beaver skins to Russia and they sent two flotillas a year to Archangel with high quality 'castor sec' pelts from the French and English colonies.[15] Small quantities were also sold at Narva by English merchants but this supply was not regular. Between 1694 and 1712 however, the Hudson Bay Company became regular suppliers of beaver skins despatching them at first to both Archangel and Narva and, after war began, solely to Archangel.[16] The attraction of the Russian market lay in the skill of the Muscovite furriers in combing the pelts to remove the heavy guard hairs which made the furs softer and more pliable. Some of the pelts were used within Russia but the majority were re-exported back to western Europe mostly to the fur mart at Hamburg. As trade with China at that period was limited to a biennial caravan at most, demand for imported beaver for re-export must have been minimal but English supplies began to grow rapidly again in the late 1760s at the same time as trade with China entered a period of unprecedented expansion.[17] In response to the growing demands of the Chinese markets, small quantities of beaver skins were also brought direct from the Aleutians and Alaska for re-export to China, but the real speciality of this supply region was sea otter pelts.[18]

The other re-export commodity which was bought by Russian merchants for sale in China was textiles. The textile manufacturies within Russia provided coarse, heavy linens and woollens for the Chinese market but the high quality fabrics which were also required were obtained from Dutch and English merchants at St. Petersburg. The quantity of re-exported textiles grew throughout the eighteenth century as trade with China expanded.[19]

The Chinese wares which the Russian caravans brought back home were, to a very large extent, luxury items for internal aristocratic consumption, but some small amounts were also re-exported to western Europe. In the early part of the eighteenth century the Chinese commodity which was most frequently available for re-export was rhubarb which was used for medicinal purposes and was much in demand in western Europe until the 1740s when alternative sources became available. This product was a state monopoly, sometimes controlled by the Medical Chancellery which was sold by contract for specific periods to private traders. With short intervals of free trade, this monopoly continued until 1762. Foreign merchants in St. Petersburg frequently controlled the supply for re-export: the English company, Shiffner and Wolff, for example, were the main suppliers throughout the 1730s, despatching cargoes to correspondents in many European cities including London and Amsterdam.[20] Frequent, illegal, attempts were also made to obtain seeds or cuttings of the plants but generally without success.[21] Apart from monopoly products, most goods in the China trade in the second half of the century were handled by wealthy Moscow and Tula merchants who had diverse trade networks with many foreign contacts.[22] They supplied the foreign merchants in St. Petersburg with Chinese tea, silks and valuable 'curiosities' for re-export to western Europe. The quantitites involved were small but eastern goods were appreciated in the West and it was common practice for merchants, not actually involved in such trade, to despatch such items home as presents for their relatives.[23]

Although re-exports played only a small part in total Russian trade, the demand for cloth, dyestuffs and furs provided a welcome addition to the trade of English and Dutch import merchants in Russia. The enthusiasm shown by the English factory in the late 1730s and early 1740s was based much more on the opening of a new market for their woollens than on finding a new supply of raw silk. For the young men who went to Persia it promised ' A very Advantagious and encouraging Trade' in which they could make their fortune and their backers could make a good return on their capital.[24] Later in the century when demand for foreign goods in Persia developed as a result of increased stability, English merchants in Russia did not grasp the opportuntity to press for permission to re-open direct trade, though they frequently discussed the idea. By this time, however, their blossoming trade within Russia in a wide variety of commodities gave them ample opportunity to occupy themselves advantageously in St. Petersburg and was a disincentive to undertaking arduous and possibly dangerous journeys across the Caspian - that was much better left to the Armenians especially now that the Dutch monopoly in supplying them with cloth had ended.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

In the last twenty years of the seventeenth century the ports serving Lithuania, White Russia and the Swedish Baltic provinces were pre-eminent in the trade of the eastern Baltic and Russia. They handled 80 per cent of the region's total trade with approximately 730 ships per annum using the ports of Riga and Reval.[1] Just over half this traffic originated from other Baltic ports or from the Danish peninsula, while shipping through the Sound was dominated by the Dutch, who made up roughly one third of total traffic, with the British supplying almost all the small balance which remained.[2] The commodities which were the focus of this fleet of ships were the long-established staples which had for many decades made up the region's commerce. Among the exports flax and hemp, grain and timber predominated together with small quantities of re-exports of Swedish iron. Imports consisted to a very large extent of basic products - salt and fish - together with a small level of a range of luxury goods including cloths, wine and colonial wares.[3]

Nor was there any notable change in the structure of the economy of this area before 1760 though there were considerable fluctuations in the levels of commercial activity in that period. Once the effects of war-time disequilibrium had disappeared shipping began to settle into more normal patterns, stabilising in the period between 1740 and 1759 at around 591 ships per annum, a 20 per cent fall on the pre-war average.[4] The constituent parts of this traffic remained very nearly the same as in the late seventeenth century: just over half coming from Baltic and Danish ports (52%) and approximately 28% from the Netherlands. The slight decline from both these regions was made up by an increase in British shipping which rose from 8% pre 1700 to 20% after 1720.[5] As far as the goods which were handled were concerned, the range remained unaltered but the proportions of each varied considerably as the problems which had beset timber supplies even before the war became acute after 1720 and as grain supplies were attracted away from external trade into internal provisioning.[6] The role of exports of flax and hemp therefore assumed a greater importance than previously, these products, with their seeds, making up the bulk of overseas trade.[7] The commodities which composed the import trades also remained unchanged in the post-war period though the difficulties being experienced in obtaining export supplies reduced incomes to such an extent that most imports, except salt and linen, remained relatively low until the middle of the century.[8]

The eastern section of the Russian trading network displayed in the late seventeenth century a remarkably similar pattern to that already described above. This region, serviced by Narva and Archangel handled about 20 per cent of total trade with c.180 ships a year visiting the port.[9] The products which comprised her trade were the same staples found at Riga and Reval, except that grain was virtually excluded from exports and she enjoyed a special position in re-exports of Swedish iron. Imports were also made up of the same basic products and a range of luxury goods in proportion to total trade, the sole exception being imports of colonial wares which made up a disproportionately large percentage of the trade of this region.[10] Only in the distribution of shipping to Narva and Archangel was this area slightly different from its neighbour: here the British had a considerably larger share with approximately 22% of the total, but traffic through the Sound was still dominated by the Dutch with 34% of total shipping, while the remaining 44% was made up of vessels from other Baltic or Danish Peninsula ports.[11]

The real change in the strucuture of Russian trade became evident after 1720 and is associated with the extension and development of new production areas within Russia proper. Between 1720 and 1739 this sector of the northern trade network was catching up with the previously more developed regions in Lithuania, White Russia and the former Swedish Baltic provinces.

After 1740, as production areas continued to expand, it surpassed the western sector and later in the century totally dwarfed it. Shipping to the eastern Baltic ports rose rapidly - from about 464 ships per annum in the 1720s and 1730s to 726 ships per annum in the early 1760s.[12] Supplies of goods for export began to increase steadily with flax and timber being brought from Ingermanland and Karelia, hemp from the central provinces and the newly settled regions along the Kama, Volga and Oka, and iron from the Urals, the trade in the goods of these latter areas being made possible by the completion of improved transport links between the Volga and the Neva.[13] The growth in the outflow of Russian products made possible an increased volume of imported goods with the beginnings of an emphasis on the supply of a wide range of luxury items as aristocratic demand began to develop. There was considerable competition in the provision of transport services for this blossoming trade, with the merchant shipping of the Baltic and Danish ports claiming between 44 and 51 per cent of the total to all the ports involved (Archangel 33-42%, Narva 49-57% and St. Petersburg 48-9%) and also 15 per cent of the carrying trade through the Sound. As the countries of western Europe struggled to maintain their position as suppliers of shipping, they began to specialise in the trade of certain ports. The Dutch moved increasingly to Narva where their share of shipping increased from 25% to 36-38% while it decreased at Archangel from 55% to 49-50% and at St. Petersburg from 21-22% to 14%. The British meanwhile established a different emphasis, providing 39% of St. Petersburg's transport while their share at Archangel declined from 14% to 10% and at Narva from 24% to 7%. In the end it was the British who chose the better specialisation, as their share in total shipping to the eastern Baltic and White Sea ports rose from 22% to 33% and the Dutch share declined from 34-35% to 26%.[14] By the 1730s the trade of the ports serving central Russia was securely established and linked into the communications networks which brought the products of the central provinces to the

Baltic for export. The gradual expansion of settlement into new production areas allowed a steady growth in trade up to the 1760s when a new high level of activity began.

In the aftermath of the wars from 1768-74, the Russian frontier was established more firmly further south and the whole of the steppe brought under Russian control. The southwards movement of settlement brought new growth within the economy and transformed overseas trade as a flood of export commodities became available through the trade networks northwards to St. Petersburg and to the North West to Riga. By 1760 Riga had already established a new extension to her hinterland into the central provinces, south of Moscow, and after that date supplies of timber from the borders of Galicia together with hemp and grain from the Ukraine helped to increase the volume of her trade by about 50 per cent, but without any structural change. Although Reval was benefiting from a slight increase in her commercial activity as Baltic grain once again became available for export, Riga became even more dominant as the major port for the most westerly region of the Russian lands.[15] Now, as earlier, shipping remained predominantly in the control of vessels from the Baltic and Danish ports while, of traffic through the Sound, the Dutch share declined to 28 per cent of all shipping as the British advanced to a share of 20 per cent.[16]

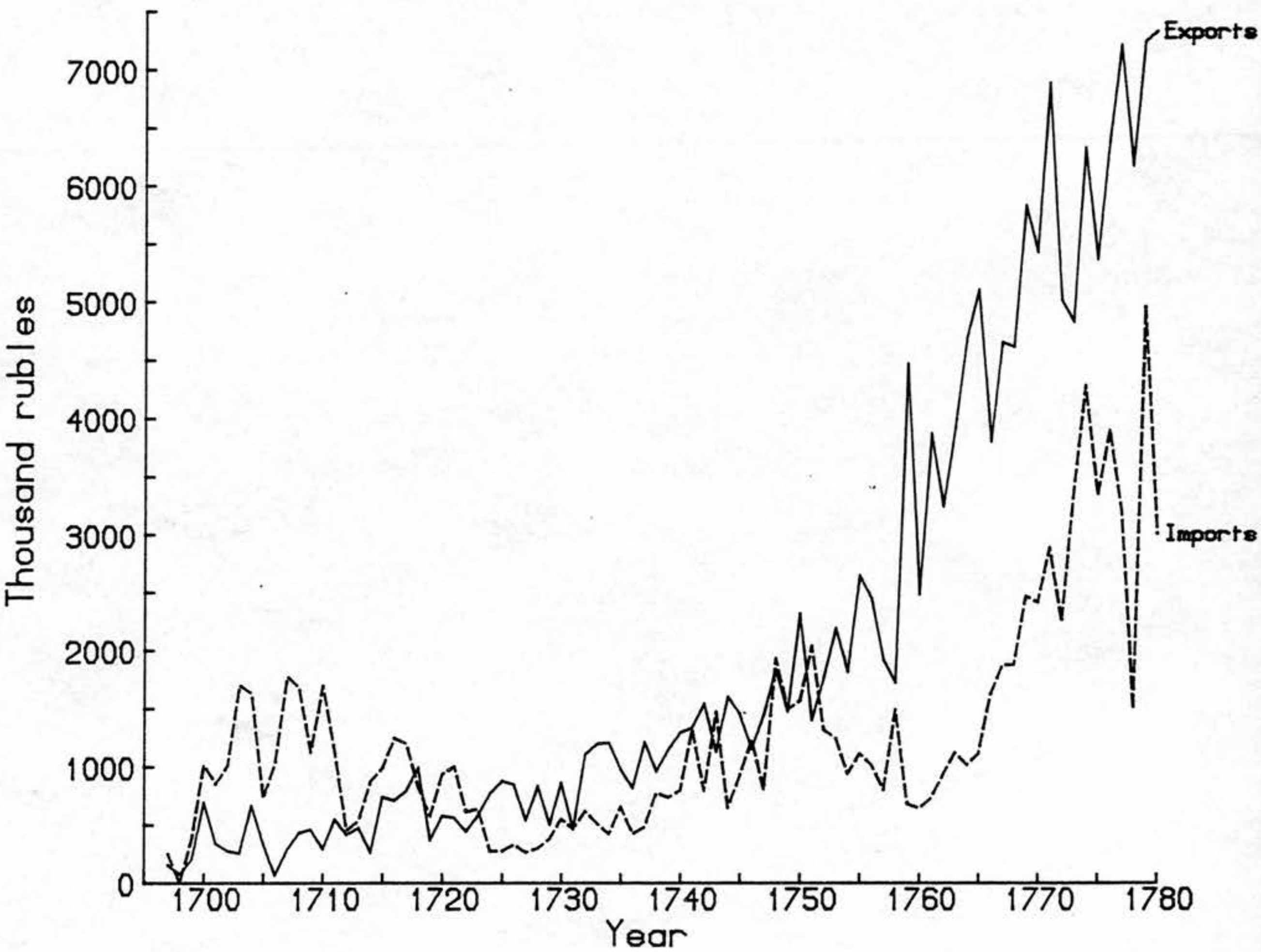
At the Russian ports serving the eastern sector of the trading network, the period after 1760 was one of structural change as well as expansion. Not only did the range of commodities available for export develop, but the sources of these products also extended. The supply of hemp from the Ukraine grew by 50-60 per cent; a rapidly growing trade in timber was developing from the new production areas in Karelia and along the White Sea coast; production of iron was extended from the central to the southern Urals swelling the supply available at St. Petersburg and the expansion of agricultural development in the Ukraine brought the beginnings of a new export trade in wheat also at St. Petersburg.[17] As the export trades blossomed one market began to dominate with its demand for the whole range of the major Russian products - that of Great Britain. The volume of trade tripled after 1760 attracting to the Russian ports a new fleet of British ships of greatly increased size (growing from a capacity of 200/250 tons to 600/800 tons).[18] In this new structure Narva was ousted from the secure niche she had formerly held as her timber trade was taken over by Viborg and other Karelian ports. Archangel, too, began to enjoy a small share of new prosperity but the port which dominated all the other northern Russian ports was St. Petersburg which became the focus of the major share of all the supplies available from the central Russian production areas and the consumer of an ever widening range of imported luxury wares.

The British Contribution

The British share in Russia's overseas trade in the late seventeenth century was relatively small and much overshadowed by that contributed by the ports around the Baltic or by the Dutch. In total shipping only 12 per cent of all vessels came from Britain for her real interest lay in the raw materials provided by the 'Eastland' and Scandinavian production areas. In the eighteenth century, however, Russia became increasingly attractive as a source of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods and British merchants began to develop their links with Russia centering their trade on the new capital, St. Petersburg.

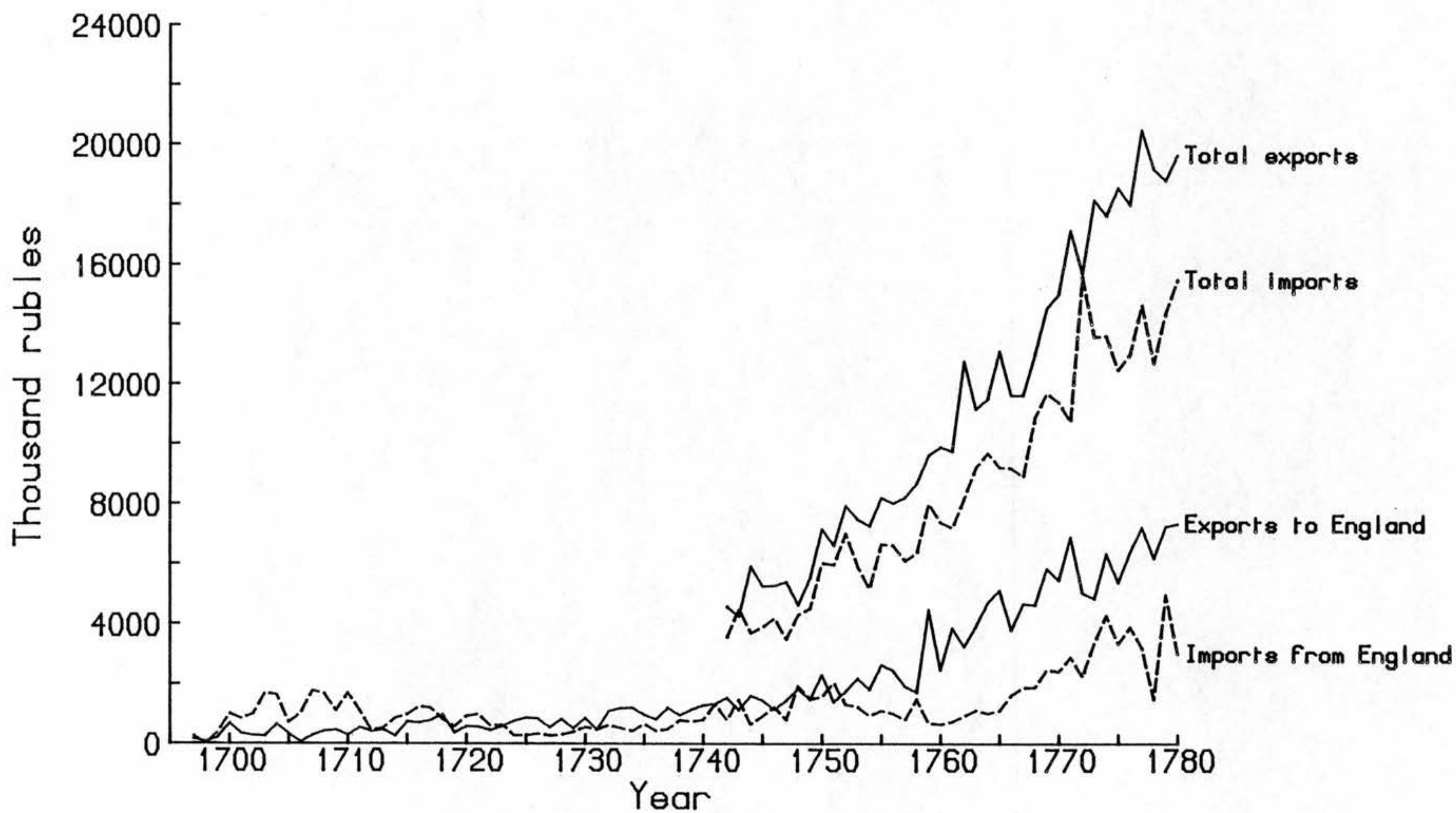
Russo-British trade grew fairly steadily between 1720 and 1760, after which it began a period of rapid expansion (see figures 16 and 17). Imports of British goods expanded, especially after 1760, but there was never the same emphasis by the British on the import trades as there was by the Dutch and Baltic merchants. Carrying the products of their own industries, and a large selection of goods from other countries, they concentrated on this aspect of

Figure 16. Russian trade with England, 1697-1780



Source: see Appendix 5, Table 5.1

Figure 17. Russian trade balance, 1742-1780, and England's contribution to Russian trade, 1697-1780



Source: see Appendix 5, Table 5.1

trade with Russia so that they were able to maintain a positive balance of trade throughout the century. From the mid eighteenth century, however, their role as importers was undermined at St. Petersburg as Russian merchants began to displace all other nationalities as the major group handling the import of foreign goods into the capital.[19] By contrast, in the export trade the importance of the British market, which grew rapidly from the 1740s onwards, made it inevitable that the largest share of exports was handled by the British merchant community and carried in British ships. Equally inevitable was the rapidly widening trade deficit which faced the British as the result of this tendency towards specialisation in their commercial activities in Russia.

PART 2

The Organisation of Russian Overseas Trade and its Role in the Economy of the Eighteenth Century.

CHAPTER 6

The Organization of the British Merchant Houses

In the seventeenth century the situation in which a British merchant would find himself if he was engaged in trade at Riga or one of the other Baltic ports was quite different from that which he would experience at Archangel and Moscow. Life at the Baltic ports at this period would be fairly similar to that which he would have experienced in Britain for in these towns he would be living among local burghers, many of whose antecedents were German and whose mode of life resembled that of the British commercial middle class. The largest part of the British mercantile community in these town consisted of young men who were gaining experience of the trade in which they hoped to establish themselves and make their fortunes, but the natural leaders of the group were the slightly older men who were already well established with secure networks both locally and at home. They could exert a strong influence on their younger compatriots to conform to acceptable patterns of behaviour and to integrate with the local population. At Riga, where there were considerable restrictions on the freedom of foreigners, few alien merchants seem to have stayed for long periods, but in Reval and especially at Narva the comfortable and settled life which they could expect while carrying out their business activities provided a much greater incentive to remaining there for some years. A small nucleus of British merchants in fact became permanent residents, marrying into local families and taking out citizenship. Their influence in the community at Narva was such that they had a representative on the town council. This happy association was, unfortunately, brought to an abrupt close when the town capitulated to the Russians and the remaining British merchants and their families were forcibly removed to Vologda on Peter's orders.[1]

In contrast to his colleagues at the Baltic ports the British merchant in Russia would find himself living in a totally different culture from that to which he was accustomed at home. The centres in which he might live and trade were strictly circumscribed, being limited to towns like Archangel, Moscow, Novgorod, Yaroslavl and Vologda.[2] His activities were closely regulated and supervised and constant problems beset his work for he had few legal rights in his dealings with his Russian counterparts and none at all where the vagaries of the Tsar and his ministers were concerned. His ability to plan his future was, therefore, somewhat limited and to succeed in business he had to be extremely flexible in adapting to changes in policy and intuitive or well-connected in order to read the signs which foretold future events which would be applicable to his commercial activities.[3]

The concentration on youth which was evident in the English mercantile community in the Baltic was even more noticeable in Russia where it was the exception rather than the rule for those in trade to stay as long as ten years in the country. Until trade through Narva was cut off in the early 1700s, there was only a small group of English factors living in Russia and the pattern of activity which was forced upon them by the internal organisation of trade required hard work throughout the shipping season at Archangel and long, sometimes dangerous journeys from the port to their winter base in Moscow.[4] The exigencies of this life, together with extreme variations in climate, took their toll on even young men and were regarded as most unsuitable for women and children, though a few robust females did brave the rigours of Russian life, usually living in Moscow. The few merchants who might be tempted to spend a considerable time in Russia and to bring their wives out with them, were men like Henry Stiles who enjoyed the special patronage of the Tsar and Prince Menshikov and who could only maintain this privileged position by permanent residence near the court.[5]

The early years of Peter's reign were a time of considerable upheaval in Russia. The Tsar was forcing rapid social changes upon his boyars, there was constant action against the Swedes, and the whole economy was being strained to provide money and men to maintain the army, build the new capital on the Neva and to undertake the modernisation projects which so entranced Peter. It was a period when men who were favoured by the Tsar could rise from nothing to the highest position in the land, as Menshikov did, and when the Tsarina was a young woman who had been found among the camp-followers of the army in Livonia by Count Sheremetev.[6] In this extremely fluid society a group of young men from England found themselves living with very few constraints upon their behaviour apart from the necessity to meet their business obligations which could largely be concentrated into the months during which the White Sea was open to shipping. As they were almost all in their late teens or early twenties it is hardly surprising that they were full of high spirits and that, when they had time to relax in Moscow, their style of life was somewhat wild. In Archangel and Moscow they lived in groups, sharing accommodation and housekeeping expenses. Thomas Hale shared accommodation with several other factors in Moscow and they jointly employed 10 labourers in connection with their commercial activities and "6 or 7 other fellows in liverys for our own service, which is so many thieving hands and mouths to one body about w^{ch} I have broken many a cane ... " As they "could never mend them", the young men were seeking the services of an English butler to direct the staff in their duties and to take charge of the cellar and the catering. Drinking was clearly a favourite pastime with the employers as well as the servants for, in three months, this household consumed 36 dozen bottles of Canary wine and five hogsheads of other wine. When they left Moscow on their long journey to Archangel, those remaining behind gave their friends a rousing send-off:

> "our friends ... generally bring liquids enough to lay us to bed in our wagons and send us away by the tyme we wake find ourselves 40 or 50 mile from Mosco."[7]

Nor was carousing their only amusement for, although there was a great lack of English girls, they were able to find "amours" among the "better class of woman" who lived in Moscow and were willing to mitigate the loneliness of these young foreigners.[8] It is hardly surprising that in later, more sober times, this community was remembered as having been "debauched and low in their pleasures ... "[9]

Despite the differences in the lifestyle of the English factory in Russia and in the Baltic ports, the organization which underlay their trading activities was very similar.[10] For all but the few men who chose to live permanently abroad, the focus of their work was in Britain. It was in Britain that apprentices were indentured to established merchants in the Russia trade and, after a short period of instruction, they were despatched to Archangel or one of the Baltic ports to act as their master's factor for the remainder of their seven years. The young man was expected to carry out his master's instructions in selling the goods which were shipped to him and in obtaining the commodities which were required for the British market. Although the control remained firmly in the hands of the merchant in Britain, communications were necessarily a trifle tenuous and the apprentice must frequently have required the support and assistance of other members of the English community.[11]

After serving his apprenticeship the young man generally set up in partnership in the port at which he had served usually by joining one or more of his contemporaries or, where this was possible, by taking over an existing firm.[12] After a few years he returned permanently to Britain hopefully with enough capital to establish himself in London, Hull or another suitable centre and the whole process began again as he acquired an apprentice to send out as his factor. The requirements of the Russia merchant in England made it essential that this cycle continued: he needed a reliable factor in the port at which he did most of his business which was why he was prepared to undertake the slow and expensive process of training an apprentice whose real use to him came only in the later years of his training and after his apprenticeship ended.

For as long as his protegée remained abroad, the former master had a reliable, experienced representative who knew his needs and whose interests he could promote by giving him his patronage. After Richard Masters became an independent agent in Riga, Randolph Knipe continued to give him all his business and also recommended him to his friends and associates in London who did not have factors in that city:

> "Mr Woolf (now Sir Joseph) came ... by myself recommended ... Mr Phill the same: Mr Whitehall (who was my relation) had not continued th^{e} business wth Yo^{r} House but upon my request: Ald^{r}man Webster and Mr Stiles are great traders, and though th^{e} prospect of th^{s} y^{rs} hemp trade would not permit them to doe much, anoth^{r} year may. Mr Hoyle th^{e} same; & Mr du Maitre I recommended to you and many more ... "[13]

For the next few years, then, the merchant was well served at his main business centre and if he wanted to have an occasional venture elsewhere he could use the factor who represented one of his colleagues and who was recommended to him. Once his ex-apprentice returned home, however, he had to despatch a new factor and begin the process again. Only at Narva and Reval where there were a small number of permanent houses, could he form a long term association on a commission basis and even here, many merchants still preferred to establish their own representatives.

Recruitment into the Russia trade at this time came entirely from Britain for even where there were permanent houses they were of such recent establishment that they were not yet self-perpetuating. Even in Britain few families had more than two generations in the trade for interest in the Russian market was only growing slowly and it was more likely that a mercantile family would have a series of connections round the Baltic and northern Europe without any particular specialisation.[14] When a young man like Richard Masters or Thomas Hale began his career, he usually had two sources of patronage to assist him: his family and his master. Whether his family was involved in trade or not there were many ways in which they could promote his interests. In the first place, his father would find a suitable merchant to whom he would be indentured and would pay the fee and provide him with clothing and some finance during his seven years' training. When the time came for him to establish himself independently, the capital he needed usually came from his family and throughout his time abroad they acted as his agents in England and supplied his personal needs for clothes, riding equipment, books and English delicacies.[15] Although many of his clients in England came to him through his master, his family network could also be important in providing him with commissions and, if he required them, contacts in other Baltic centres.

While he was working abroad the young man also built up a series of networks which assisted him in his work and in his social life. His first contacts would be with his English colleagues with whom he would form a mutually supportive group and among whom he would find his friends and later his business partners. The relationships established with these colleagues would be of benefit to him not only abroad but also in later life when he returned to England. If he was living in Russia he would also make contact with other compatriots employed in the armed services or in the medical or other professions. Among these would be men like Robert Erskine, the Tsar's physician who was reputed to have great influence with Peter which he used on behalf of fellow Britons.[16] If he met up with legal problems in his trade, there were officials in Russia who could assist him: the English Resident who represented the government gave considerable assistance with commercial problems and the Russia Company's agent (one of the senior members of the mercantile community) was also there to advise and represent the English group.[17] He would also have frequent contact, both socially and during his work, with the members of the other foreign communities and relations appear to have been particularly cordial with the Dutch. These contacts too could benefit him later in his career if he needed information or representation in the Netherlands or elsewhere.[18] With the Russians themselves his relations would be limited to the merchants with whom he traded, the servants he employed and perhaps occasional meetings with members of the court.[19] When he returned to England parts of these networks would be maintained but gradually as his contemporaries left Russia or the Baltic, his access to a reliable agent and accurate market information declined and then he, like his former master, had to rebuild the links through the medium of an apprentice.

In the unsettled conditions in the Baltic region between 1700 and 1720 the English mercantile communities in the different ports broke up and dispersed, some temporarily and some permanently. The first town to suffer disruption was Narva which was attacked in 1700 but not finally taken until 1704. The English merchants without permanent ties had left the port before it fell, some returning home like Samuel Holden and others like Robert Maister moved westwards to Reval or like Henry Bland and Samuel Meux going first to Reval and then to Archangel and Moscow.[20] The permanent residents, however, stayed on until they were removed to Vologda, bringing to an end the close relationship between Narva and England. At Riga the uncertain conditions and the outbreak of plague led many merchants to leave the town before it came under siege in 1710. Most returned to England but a few moved to other Baltic ports away from the hostilities. Once peace returned and the former rights of the town were pledged by Peter, the foreign merchants reappeared and there was a slow return to normality.[21] The situation at Narva and Reval, however, changed very considerably: the two towns had previously been closely linked as far as the English merchants were concerned with most imports going to Reval and most exports leaving from Narva but this interlinking ended after the war with the decline of Narva from the English point of view. From 1720 onwards the number of English merchants at Narva was much reduced and impermanent and the equivalent group at Reval which had always been small, had declined to one family, the Clayhills, who had been permanent residents in the port since the 1680s.[22] The links between the two towns had ceased with Swedish rule and the English at Narva now looked much more towards St. Petersburg which became the focus of English trade with Russia proper.[23]

After peace was made in 1721 there was, then, a noticeable shift in the distribution of the English mercantile community within Russia. In 1723 the English moved en masse from Moscow and Archangel to St. Petersburg. Despite the hazards of life in the new port at this time, the English merchants appear to have settled there quite willingly and as they now had little need to travel, except for occasional visits to Moscow when the court was in residence there, their style of life was markedly altered. In 1723 there were only three Englishmen living in St. Petersburg who had been resident in Moscow in 1706: one was the merchant, John Edwards, whose family remained in the city throughout the eighteenth century and another was Samuel Meux who had moved there from Narva, via Archangel and who lived in St. Petersburg until his death in 1741. The 1720s was a period of slow expansion of the English community with a growing number of merchants, many of them still young single men, and increasing recruitment of foreigners with professional skills into civil and military posts. It was also the time when families were being established who would form a permanent nucleus of the English group for decades to come. Richard Cozens and his wife came to Russia during Peter's reign but remained in St. Petersburg when he was appointed by Anna as "her Majesty's Builder".[24] By 1730 the wild young men who had caroused and womanised in Moscow had been replaced in St. Petersburg by a group which conformed much more closely to their counterparts further West along the Baltic and had "become sober and virtuous, as well as more elegant in their manners than in times past."[25] One of the main reasons for this change was the fact that their life in St. Peterburg was much more settled and prosperous which encouraged them to contemplate residence there over a longer period. This also encouraged some to bring over wives from England and it then became common practice for their relatives to come to visit them for several months, joining in the social life of the city and introducing their marriageable daughters into the community. By the 1740s the English community had expanded sufficently for a single woman like Molly Heath to be able successfully to make her living by selling ladies and gentlemen's clothes and shoes, millinery, gloves, laces, ribbons and other haberdashery to the "ladies of the line".[26] A few years later the second generation of the Edwards and Cozens families were reaching maturity, the sons establishing themselves in business and the girls marrying young merchants and a new group was in existence which regarded St. Petersburg as home.[27]

The manner in which the English merchants organised their business houses in the eighteenth century did not change greatly from that found at the end of the previous century, especially if they were trading in Riga, Reval or Narva. However, at St. Petersburg there was a gradual alteration, noticeable as early as the 1740s, with the growth of specialisation in either the import or export trades but even here such a development was not possible earlier for it was necessary first to construct a reasonable nucleus of commercial buildings in the new port and to establish an efficient internal transport network to the supply areas in the central provinces. Once the growth of exports had raised aristocratic incomes sufficiently to allow the nobility to develop new patterns of consumption of imported goods, specialisation in different branches of trade became a viable proposition.[28] Only at the capital did imports expand sufficiently to allow the possibility for merchants to concentrate on one area of trade alone. At all the other ports, imported goods played such a small role in trade that the mercantile community continued their diversity of business. The basis of commercial operations, however, was still provided by a series of partnerships with varying periods of existence and the recruitment of young men into the Russia trade was still made through apprenticeships.

Nevertheless, although the framework remained the same as before, changes in the details of the organisation are clearly seen.

The emphasis of the St. Petersburg export houses and of all the British businesses in the Baltic provinces remained on the link with Britain. The men who ran these firms had primarily to consider the needs of the British market for Russian goods as made evident by the orders which they received from their British correspondents. The importance which was placed on an intimate knowledge of the home market is made clear by the new practice which was adopted in training apprentices: the young man was no longer despatched to Russia early in his indenture period and left there to find his feet with only occasional instructions from his master, but instead spent the whole seven years being trained in the counting house of an English merchant. It is implicit in this arrangement that it was much more important for him to understand the activities of the mercantile community in England and the demands of their clients for raw materials from Russia than it was for him to form connections with the producers of those raw materials and the Russian merchants who dealt with internal trade. The assumption appears to be that it was demand for the goods which was more precarious and supply could almost be taken as being infinitely elastic.

Though the method of training the potential merchant had changed, the next step in the process had not: when qualified he progressed onwards into a partnership. Here, however, there was a new problem for the young man had had little or no opportunity of getting to know the merchants of the Russian factories and, instead of being able to form a partnership with friends he had met abroad, he now usually bought himself a place as a junior partner in an existing firm in Russia. Apart from the capital which he brought to that firm as his entry price, he also brought a series of valuable assets which could benefit both him and his partners by maintining the permanence of the St. Petersburg house while, at the same time, continually updating knowledge of commercial conditions in the British market and extending the firm's links into the mercantile community at home. As in earlier times he could expect to handle all the trade with Russia of his former master and the investment in an apprenticeship to a well-connected merchant could pay great dividends once he was established. It was for this reason that Walter Shairp reported gleefully to his father in 1753 that his new partner, William Maister, had trained with Amyand, Uthoff and Rucker "the Principal Traders to Petersburg of any in all Europe" and that "their Affection for young Mr Maister is very great ... & indeed they have showen their Regard for him by the Great Affairs they have given us to transact for them This Year, which I may justly say has set me in the best situation of any House in this Factory, and if it continues must in a few Years make My Fortune Independent".[29]

The other great asset which the young man brought to his partnership was his family connections in England. Those who came from well-established mercantile families would naturally act on their behalf and supply any goods which they might require.[30] It would also be expected that his family and his former master would recommend his firm to their associates in Britain and overseas providing them with reinforced financial contacts in Amsterdam and with customers for their exports in Iberia, the Mediterranean and the Colonies.[31] Once established in Russia, he would also form his own networks of business and social links as his counterparts had done in the previous century but, although these would be important while he was abroad, and might also carry on in to later life, he was almost always homeward looking. A large proportion of export merchants returned home after a number of years abroad but they retained their close commercial links with Russia by acting as the senior partner of their firm in London and leaving one or more younger partners in situ in Russia to represent their interests.[32] The other group of export merchants who settled permanently in Russia usually also started their careers in partnerships but many went on to trade alone or in co-operation with a near relative, such as brothers or sons when they were of suitable age. Their links were maintained with the British market either by a continuing commercial relationship with their first partner or through members of their family who remained in Britain.[33]

If the export merchant generally had his sights firmly fixed on Britain, the import merchant's priorities were quite the reverse. These men were, like their exporting colleagues, also recruited from Britain but from the beginning the emphasis of their training was on the Russian market for their goods. Their apprenticeship was, therefore, served in a counting house in St. Petersburg where they would learn many of the same skills as their counterparts in Britain. However, they would in addition come to know their master's customers when they served them in the display rooms; learn how to deal with entering goods at the Customs House, to collect debts and probably, along the way, acquire some degree of fluency in Russian and French.[34] Once trained, they remained in St. Petersburg, buying a place in a partnership as did the young export merchants. As most of the import houses remained quite small in scope, a partnership could cost as little as £200 whereas a partnership in a large export firm cost £3,000-£4,000.[35] The partnership agreement, which could be upheld in law, provided safeguards for any merchant, but was particularly necessary for those in the import trade as Alexander Cook explained to his London correspondent:

> "It is necessary for me to have persons that I can relie on to be connected with me for my own sake & in the case of sickness or Death more particularly for the sakes of my wife & dear Babes who's only dependence could be on the assurance of my associates Honesty & Industry in the recovery of my capital for their support."[36]

Whereas most of an export merchant's debts would be owing in Britain where he had family or colleagues who would normally assist his widow in their recovery, the import merchant's debts were owed in St. Petersburg by clients who were notoriously bad payers and where there was not the same supportive network to help his widow. It was, however, in his partner's interest to collect these debts for part of them belonged to him and he could not realise his assets in the firm until the whole accounting process was completed.[37]

The assets which the young import merchant brought to his firm consisted partly in the contracts he had at home in Britian who would be willing to supply goods for sale in Russia on a commission basis. These were generally based on his family and their network of associates to whom they would recommend his firm. The most valuable clients he could bring would be manufacturers of cloth, furniture and household goods. In St. Petersburg he would already have begun to establish his own network of contacts when he was an apprentice and these could be of value to him once he was independent, though they would be constantly expanded as he gained experience. For him the most important links were internal, within Russia, and they were directed at giving him access to customers among the nobility, the Russian merchants who supplied internal urban centres and the shopkeepers of St. Petersburg and Moscow. To this end he could seek to recruit the assistance of his fellow countrymen who were employed in the professions and who had contact with the aristocracy at court who were lavish consumers themselves and could influence imperial spending and government contracts. Such assistance was particularly valuable early in the century when the professional men usually made up the largest part of the permanent community and, therefore, had well established ties and also a defined social status which gave them easy access to the court.[38] In the first half of the century, the English diplomats also had close links with the St. Petersburg merchants, giving them much support and this was especially true at the time when the Commercial Treaty was signed in 1734. Thereafter a new type of career diplomat was usually appointed to the Russian court and the role of intermediary for the mercantile group was more and more assumed by the Consul, who was usually a merchant, and was also the agent of the Russia Company.[39]

Besides his fellow countrymen in the professions, the import merchant also had close links with other English merchants and with the different foreign merchant groups in St. Petersburg. He was, of course, to some extent in competition with them for customers if they were selling imports as he was, but there were areas in which they would co-operate. In the face of problems with Russian merchants, the foreigners usually closed ranks and worked together to take offenders to court or to prevent a customer going bankrupt if it meant that, by providing longer credit, their debts would be paid. They also co-operated in financing their trade, in providing each other with market information and by referring clients in England, the Netherlands or elsewhere to each other if the service required was not in their line of business.[40] Commercial co-operation was cemented by a shared social life which varied from young men dropping in on their married colleagues, to British friends being invited to Dutch weddings and vice versa, to the annual ball given by the British Resident on the King's birthday to which all the British community and many of the other foreign groups were invited. As St. Petersburg grew and its population became more settled, the British community were able to meet their colleagues and their noble clients at the theatre, balls and at the English Club during the winter season and in the summer they had picnics and sailing parties from their dachas outside the city.[41] At whatever time in the century he lived in St. Petersburg the import merchant's horizons would be principally bounded by his trade in that city though he would also maintain close contact with his agent in Britain who supplied his goods. This link was maintained by occasional trips back home when he could visit his agent, meet his suppliers and also spend some time with his family. It is hardly surprising that, although a few import merchants retired to England, many remained as permanent residents in the city which had become their real home.

Once the partnership agreement had been drawn up, the principals of a business house in Russia had to set about finding a suitable staff and the necessary accommodation. The manpower they would require would depend on the size of the firm but they would require clerks for the counting house, together with servants to do odd jobs there and several labourers in the warehouses. Small firms sometimes shared the services of a bookkeeper but larger firms would employ their own. The counting house staff were generally British but could also be German or Dutch. The positions of clerk and bookkeeper were usually filled by men of reasonable education who were without the necessary capital or connections to obtain a partnership. Apart from the usual skills required in such a post, they needed to speak Russian as they dealt with the Customs House officers who were all Russian, and French also would be an asset, especially in an import house where they would have contact with the customers. Some also spoke Dutch or German which was valuable in contacts with the burghers of the Baltic ports as well as other foreign merchants and in correspondence.[42] In the late seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century staff generally had to be recruited from England and there were often difficulties in finding enough candidates, especially as servants, and local men were employed to make up the deficiency. Even after the mid century, it was frequently necessary still to recruit staff, and especially experienced servants, from England but in St. Petersburg counting house staff became available from among the sons of families who had been resident in the city for a long period. Warehouse laboureres were always found among the local population and were paid a weekly or monthly wage. Foreign employees were encouraged to stay with their masters by having their fares paid, but they were in general a very mobile population who made use of the shortage of suitable labour to obtain conditions of employment to suit them, or they would simply move elsewhere or return home.[43]

It was normal practice for merchants in Russia and the Baltic ports to use the ground floor and basement of their house to form their business premises and the British merchants were no exception. Houses were usually rented, though in St Petersburg and Archangel foreign merchants were allowed to own houses. The dislike of the aristocracy for St. Petersburg meant that there were a large number of houses available to rent in the city but gradually the English merchants began to occupy the residences along the 'Galernya Verf' which became known as the Angliskaya Naberezhnaya, the English Line. As more accommodation was required, they also took over the Back Line immediately behind which faced onto the Moika. These houses were extremely large, with considerable outbuildings and a garden behind, and gave the merchant-tenant space for his counting house, several rooms in the main house for displaying his wares if he was in the import trade, and also accommodation for his own family and that of his partner. Any spare rooms were let to single men or widows and there would also be space for the household servants. As the English merchants became more prosperous in the later eighteenth century, the arrangement changed and they bought their houses. They, their family and servants now occupied the main house and grown up sons or single partners were housed in the back quarters. The business premises were then separated from the house.[44] The warehouses for the foreign merchant commuity in St. Petersburg were situated first in the Viborg Quarter and later on Vassili Ostrov where they were conveniently near the Customs House but inconvenient in other ways for in the spring and autumn when the ice was melting or not thick enough for transport, a merchant could find himself cut off from his supplies for some time.[45]

The most important change which is found in the organisation of the English merchant houses between 1680 and 1780 is their gradual evolution from a transitory establishment to something approaching permanence. This transition was in progress in Narva as early as the 1680s and 1690s and seems to have developed in Muscovy with the move to St. Petersburg. Even at Riga where permanent families are not found, the period during which a man stayed in trade there seems to have lengthened. This development had several important implications: the merchant in Britain who dealt in Russian goods no longer had to go to the expense of maintaining his own factor in the Baltic ports or at Archangel but could instead form a long-term business relationship with one of the houses at the port of his choice. If this house closed down or did not meet his requirements satisfactorily, he could take his business elsewhere knowing that there was plenty of alternative choice. A few of the big merchant families with many facets to their business operations still, in the eighteenth century, found it valuable to despatch sons or nephews to the Baltic ports for short periods almost on the same lines as the old factorial system but in between times they too were content to use the services of a permanent house in the town.[46] From the point of view of the merchant abroad, the expansion of trade with Russia allowed him the possibility of specialising in this area of commerce alone, if he so wished, and at St. Petersburg in dealing with only one branch of trade. Increased turnover brought him a level of prosperity which would not have been possible in the previous century and the improvement in his style of life allowed him the option of spending a long period or even his whole life abroad accompanied by his wife and children.

CHAPTER 7

Transactions Costs

The organisation of the trading houses outlined in the previous chapter was developed to give foreign merchants access to supplies of goods for export or to customers and middlemen who would purchase the commodities which they imported. Their information networks in Russia or their home country kept them au fait with the changing prime cost of the goods in which they traded but, in addition to the original purchase price, there were a whole range of costs which had to be considered before the final selling price of those goods could be settled. In Russia, of course, only the import merchants would be directly concerned with these additional charges for, in the export trades, such problems devolved on to the correspondent at the other end. Whoever was making the final decision about sales prices, however, would have to take into consideration the cost of freight, insurance, customs dues and handling charges, not to mention the commission charged by their agents. Most of these charges were fairly straightforward being either set by government or agreed in advance between the interested parties and in many cases they were predictable over long periods. More difficult to foresee would be the rate of exchange at which bills would be drawn and the cost of carrying all these outlays before the goods were eventually sold and payment was made. A nice judgement in such matters could make all the difference between trading at a satisfactory profit or at a loss.

Shipping

In the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century merchants in the Russia trade enjoyed a period of relative stability as far as the cost of shipping their goods was concerned. Except during periods of conflict, freight and insurance rates remained remarkably static and even in wartime there were possibilities for avoiding undue expense. The freighting of ships to Russia was, in the majority of cases, arranged in Britain by the merchant who had a cargo to despatch or receive or by his agent in one of the ports. Unless he was himself a shipowner, the merchant was only concerned with the rate which he was offered for the part of the ship's journey on which his goods would be carried. The uneven nature of the Russia trade made it highly unlikely that he would wish to freight the full capacity of the vessel in both directions - it was much more probable that he would wish transport in only one direction. Providing the balance of the ship's cargo was the responsibility of the ship's owner or the master as his agent, and they would usually seek other part cargoes in England or rely on acquiring the extra freight at the Russian port to which the ship was despatched. The merchant houses in Russia generally had little need to make freight arrangements for these were undertaken by their clients in Britain. If they had an order for goods which was too small or too late in the season to make possible advance arrangements, or if they were venturing on their own account they were then able to take advantage of vessels which arrived at their port on speculation hoping to acquire freight.

The rates for freighting many Baltic goods had been set by the Privy Council early in the seventeenth century and they remained in force well into the eighteenth century.[1] Even when changing circumstances led to increases in freights, the rises were surprisingly modest when compared with the general inflation of other costs in the second half of the eighteenth century. This stability was achieved because both the shipowner and the merchant had only limited latitude to manoeuvre: once he had acquired his vessel, the owner wished to maximise the return on his investment but he could only push freight rates so far because if they became too high his customer would not find it economic to trade unless other conditions were changing. These pressures led shipowners to achieve economies in other ways which allowed stable freight rates: firstly by the adaptation of patterns of shipping and secondly by increased efficiency in the use of the ships themselves.

One of the fundamental problems in the British Russia trade as far as transport was concerned was that most imports into Russia from Britain consisted of goods of small bulk but high value whilst exports from Russia were the reverse - very large bulk in proportion to their value. In the late 1600s and early 1700s when Anglo-Russian trade was roughly in balance, this difficulty was not too severe but as exports began to expand from the 1740s, with a growing imbalance in trade, the problem became much more acute. Up to the 1730s it was, therefore, possible for a considerable share of shipping to consist of direct voyages into the Baltic or the White Sea from Britain or vice versa. On the eastwards trip ships were frequently not fully loaded but made up their cargoes as best they could using coal or lead as ballast and, therefore, frequently allowing these commodities preferential rates.[2] On the return journey, the ships would usually be fully laden with bulky products such as hemp and flax together with a mixture of other commodities. On the Archangel route up to 1698 it was normal for the Russia Company to charter the ships, at London, and to let them out to freemen according to the space they would require for the homeward journey.[3] In the Baltic, however, and at Archangel after 1698, individual merchants made the agreements either for the whole freight or in consortium with their colleagues.[4] Direct voyages, of course, continued throughout the eighteenth century but they made up a decreasing proportion of total shipping as exports from Russia expanded more rapidly than imports.

The imbalance in Britain's trade with Russia which was growing from the 1740s and increasing rapidly after 1760 made it necessary to develop a new and more efficient method of providing the large number of ships required at the Russian ports to carry export commodities, without the whole cost of the voyage having to be charged on the homeward journey. The problem facing British merchants was, to a large extent, reversed where the Dutch were concerned but because of the restrictions imposed by the Navigation Acts, it was impossible to use Dutch shipping for the home run. Each was thus forced to resolve its problems, in part at least, within its own trading system. The Dutch, accordingly, attempted to solve their problems of finding adequate cargoes on the westward journey by carrying goods to the French market and also increasingly to Iberia and the Mediterranean.[5] The British, with their need to acquire cargoes for at least part of the journey to Russia began to adopt a similar strategy for voyages eastwards, arranging indirect voyages which would enable them to earn some freight payment generally by carrying bulky cargoes of staple products which were required in the Baltic. At the simplest level cargoes could be found in Britain for delivery to ports along the route to the eastern Baltic, for example, taking coal to Copenhagen or the Baltic lighthouses.[6] The acquisition of bulk cargoes outside England was more complex and voyages to other western and southern European countries, therefore, formed the first leg of a journey into the Baltic. After discharging their English exports, cargoes of salt could be taken on at Trapani in Sicily, in Portugal or France and carried direct to Riga or Reval which were the best markets for salt. At Riga a return cargo could be easily supplied but at Reval few goods were available and most ships moved onward to St. Petersburg to acquire their homeward freight.[7] Other cargoes which were frequently available were wine from Bordeaux or the Iberian ports or sugar from France, both of which could be carried direct to St. Petersburg.[8] By making inroads into import markets accordingly, the British to some extent resolved the imbalance within their own shipping networks but, despite the Navigation Acts, it was through Anglo-Dutch co-operation that the major gains were made as Dutch and Hamburg excess shipping requirements on eastward voyages were accommodated by British shippers, who converged on Amsterdam and Hamburg where they had a good chance of finding cargoes to carry east.[9]

Such voyages often constituted the first stage of the voyage to Russia but, on occasion, they formed part of the more complex systems, utilising trade links with the American colonies, Spain, Portugal and the Mediterranean. Merchant shipowners like Graffin Prankard who were involved in both the American and Baltic trades could make good use of their ships by carrying a cargo, such as rice or tobacco, from the colonies to the market at Amsterdam or Hamburg where they could seek another lading for the Baltic, just as wine shippers from Bordeaux might unload there before picking up a freight east.[10] In each case, however, by carrying Dutch or Hamburg goods they could fill their holds on the outward journey and be available for carrying exports from Russia to Britain.

By use of the various patterns of shipping outlined above, the problems of imbalance in demand for shipping capacity could be circumvented and the maximum income possible be earned by the ship. However, in the eighteenth century shipowners were also able to increase the productivity of the capital invested in the vessel by several methods. Firstly, they were able to achieve economies of scale by increasing the tonnage of the shipping used on the Baltic runs: this trend is evident from the fact that the rate of growth in export commodities is not matched by the growth in the number of ships. While exports of iron and timber tripled between 1740 and 1780 and those of flax and hemp increased by more than a half, the number of vessels in use to the eastern Baltic ports remained stable in the periods 1740-59 and 1760-83 with about 700 ships per annum being involved in the Russia trade. At Riga and

Reval, on the other hand, where the British share of shipping was much smaller, the number of ships increased parallel with the expansion in the major commodity flows, such as flax and hemp, from almost 600 in the years 1740-59 to nearly 900 in 1760-83.[11] The greatest economies in British shipping were achieved at St. Petersburg where the growth of exports was most concentrated and where the known availability of large quantities of commodities to make up a mixed cargo encouraged the use of increasing numbers of ships with a capacity of 400-600 tons.[12]

Greater productivity was achieved, secondly, by making the most efficient use of the ship's capacity by carefully balancing the quantities of one product against another. So commonplace did this juxtapositioning of commodities become that it was possible for a merchant sending a ship to load iron simply to instruct his factor to supply the captain with "the quantity of deals his iron Intittles him to".[13] The right mixture of goods was achieved by offering preferential rates for certain commodities: hemp and flax freights remained almost unvaried at 40-50 shillings per ton, except in war-time when they could reach 70-90 shillings per ton. Hemp and flax rates were so high and so stable because the capacity they required was large for each unit of weight, but iron and timber, though lacking the pliability of the fibres, were needed for ballast and support and their freight rates were adjusted accordingly. In a mixed cargo in the 1740s and 1750s freight for iron could be as little as 5 shillings a ton with a maximum of 10 shillings to 12/6d ton. Iron with hemp, however, cost 18-20 shillings a ton. By the 1770s with the greatly increased quantities of iron to be carried some shippers demanded 7/6d ton for the ballast iron and 32/6d ton for the remainder.[14] When used as a ballast cargo, the iron was packed round the mats of fibres thus filling all the available space and providing a well secured base for the rest of the cargo.

Timber was loaded partly as a frame for the goods in the ship's hold and partly as a deck cargo when all other commodities were packed in. Freight rates were usually quoted in conjunction with iron and hemp and were generally about 55-60 shillings a load or slightly higher with iron alone.[15] At ports like Viborg and Onega where timber alone was available for export, mixed cargoes and compensating freights could not be offered and, as demand for timber rose in Britain, it became possible to achieve greater efficiency of shipping by building specialist ships for this trade. These ships were extremely large, with a capacity of 600-700 tons, and were constructed to take the maximum amount of timber which made a most unwieldy cargo. Such vessels could not be used for other goods so they had to make as many journeys as possible in the short shipping season in the White Sea and the Baltic and were then laid up for the winter. With a commodity like timber where freight made up about 50% of the market price, the economies of scale to be achieved with such specialist vessels clearly made it worthwhile for small numbers to be constructed for such exclusive use but with other commodities such specialisation was not viable.[16]

Besides the maximum use of the ship's capacity, shipowners were able to increase the productivity of the labour force which they employed. Throughout the eighteenth century the tonnage per crew member increased and the larger the size of the ship, the greater the productivity per man. This meant that on the routes to Riga and St. Petersburg and also on the vessels to the timber ports, where tonnage was greatest, the largest economies could also be made in manpower. Although size was important in achieving labour efficiency, technological improvements in the constuction of ships and in their outfitting also made them easier to handle thereby allowing savings to be made in manpower.[17]

Insurance

The other main shipping cost which had to be considered by merchants in the Russia trade was the price which they could be charged for insuring their goods in transit. The responsibility for procuring insurance for cargoes in either direction lay entirely with the merchant in England for, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, facilities for insurance were totally lacking in Russia. In the seventeenth century English merchants more often obtained their insurance cover at the European centres like Amsterdam, Antwerp and Hamburg than in London but in the eighteenth century though Amsterdam and Rotterdam still provided much insurance for the English, London became an increasingly important centre for such services. Both the London Assurance and the Royal Exchange Assurance companies had been established in London by 1720 but the largest part of underwriting was done by non-specialists, mostly merchants who acted on their own or in consortia to provide cover for their colleagues.[18] In the outports many established merchants also provided insurance, often adopting this as an occupation for their later years when they had partially retired from active trade.[19] Apart from the development of insurance underwriting in London, insurance broking was also developing at the same time with brokers (often also merchants) acting for their clients at home and overseas by obtaining insurance, guaranteeing services and carrying the costs on account.[20]

The somewhat scanty figures which are available for seventeenth century insurance for trade to and from Russia show that the rates charged by Dutch insurers were gradually declining and this appears to be the case with English rates in the early eighteenth century.[21] From the end of the Northern Wars up to the period of the Armed Neutrality, insurance rates remained extremely stable. English insurers of Baltic cargoes charged between £1.10.0 and £2.0.0 per £100 worth of goods plus the charge for the policy which was normally 4/6d. These were the premiums for summer voyages and higher rates could be charged for winter sailings but with the icing up of the Russian ports it was unlikely that insurance would be required between November and March. In wartime an additional levy was added because of the extra risk involved and this could double or even treble the cost of insurance but in the case of ships which sailed in a convoy protected by naval vessels, this surcharge was often repayable.[22] These charges applied only to the voyage in one direction (though cross risks, for example from the Mediterranean to Russia, were also covered) and insurance for the return journey would be taken out in England or Holland by the English merchant once his agent advised him that the ship had actually sailed and what part of the cargo was his responsibility. If notification was slow to reach him and the ship had a swift passage, it could sometimes dock before insurance had been arranged. If it met with some mishap in the Baltic, it could actually have sunk before the cover had been obtained. Allowance for slow communications appears to have been made by backdating policies to the sailing date of the ship.[23]

A comparison of insurance rates charged in England and at Rotterdam in the eighteenth century shows that the basic level of charges was very similar but the Dutch company seem to have required a somewhat lower surcharge in periods of conflict.[24] Despite this fact, British merchants appear to have opted increasingly for the services provided at home. Nicholas Magens in his 'Essay on Insurance' suggested the reason for this preference:

> "It is notorious to all the Mercantile World that as the English Insurers pay more readily and generously than any others, most Insurances are done in England".[25]

With the growth of English trade to the Baltic in the eighteenth century, there was a very noticeable increase in demand for insurance on these routes.

Having once negotiated the freight and insurance rates for the transportation of his goods, the other shipping costs which a merchant had to meet were very minor by comparison.[26] The responsibility for port charges at either end of the voyage was negotiated with the freight and there was a standard agreement that the shipowner paid one third and the customer two thirds. In addition there would be small amounts charged for the handling, storing and loading of goods at the port and at St. Petersburg there was the additional expense of transporting the cargo to Kronstadt for all but the smallest ships were unable to negotiate the shallow waterway up to the city. At Riga and St. Petersburg a charge was also made for braaking the goods which were being exported. Being the realists they were, merchants dealing at St. Petersburg knew that the outlay of "some small presents" to the Russian clerks could be a good investment: as one Edinburgh firm instructed the captain of its ship, "in case you get the deals past that we will chearfully allow".[27]

Government Imposts

Government policy concerning duties on the commodities which he handled was of considerable importance to any merchant involved in overseas trade for such impositions could add a substantial amount to the final price of his goods. In England in the late seventeenth century most of the commodities in the Russia trade were subject to the 5% ad valorem tax imposed in William III's reign. The value on which the products were taxed was listed in the Book of Rates and as this was not adjusted with changes in the market price, the actual payment did not represent the current value of the goods. The tax was paid both on exports and imports but the most important export commodity sent to Russia, woollen cloth, was freed from duty in 1700 and there was a general ending of export duties on British goods in 1722.[28]

The reduction in the level of duties on exports was, unfortunately, not found where imported goods were concerned. In 1697 a further 5% was added to the dues on imports and this was again increased in 1704-5 by a further 5% to 15%. As this raised the cost of imported raw materials, there was an immediate outcry from the manufacturers who processed these goods. Although some duties were reduced in the following decade, none of the commodities handled by Russia merchants was affected until 1732, when flax imports were freed from duty to assist linen manufacturers. Hemp, iron and timber, which made up the largest part of imports from Russia continued to pay the full 15% tax and worse was yet to come, for in 1747 and again in 1759 a further 5% was added bringing the total tax payable up to 25% of the value.[29] Even allowing for the continued outdating of the Book of Rates which had been revalued in 1696 but changed little thereafter, the main commodities imported from Russia therefore carried a heavy burden of customs duties.

At the Russian end of the trade in the late seventeenth century the duties payable on imports were levied at the rate of 10% ad valorem and on exports at 3%. These duties were levied on goods carried by the White Sea route at Archangel and at Pskov or Novgorod for those which passed through Narva.[30] In order to attract trade in Russian goods to Narva and away from Archangel, the Swedish authorities removed all their duties for foreigners in 1643 and in 1648 lowered the transit duty, except on salt and wine, to 2%.[31] Transit duties were actually paid by the Russian merchants who transported the goods to and from Narva but they were indirectly the concern of the English merchants at Narva for they would be included in the price which they paid for their export commodities. At Riga and Reval these concessions did not apply and all foreign merchants had to pay a duty on sea-borne goods of approximately 10% on imports and 9% on exports but with very much higher duties on salt and grain.[32] These rates were reduced by 2% in 1685 and in 1688 the duty on timber was lowered to 4% but raised on some other articles.[33]

In 1724 Peter published a comprehensive tariff system for the Muscovite provinces and the new areas in the Baltic which had come under his rule. At St. Petersburg, Viborg, Narva, Archangel and Kol'skii two levels of tariff were applied to imports: protective tariffs at the rate of 75, 50 and 25% were imposed on luxury articles and on commodities which could be produced in Russia. This high level of taxation was aimed at controlling consumption of luxury goods such as brocade, taffeta and velvet and the trimmings which went with them. The tariffs were also imposed to protect the developing iron and cloth industries in Russia against competition from foreign products. As far as the British import merchants in Russia were concerned, the new tariff added 25% to the cost of their woollen cloth (except for broadcloth which paid only 4-6%) and to ironwares, but all the other commodities in which they dealt were covered by the much lower revenue tariffs, which varied from 10-1½%. The duties on exports from these ports continued at the old rate of about 3% except on goods in which Russia held a virtual monopoly, such as furs and caviare, in which cases they were increased. A prohibitively high tariff of 75% was put on exports of linen and hempen thread which was required for internal use in cloth manufacturing. In order to direct trade away from Archangel to St. Petersburg, a surcharge of 25% was imposed on goods which had formerly been exported through the White Sea but could now be despatched from the new capital. As far as Riga and Reval were concerned, Peter reinstated their former tariffs on the understanding that no goods imported through these ports could be distributed into the Russian gubernii.[34]

After Peter's death his tariff policy was considerably amended by his successors. Catherine I removed the discriminatory tariff at Archangel in 1727 and reduced the dues payable on luxury imports by 10-20%. In 1731 Anna totally reorganised the system by imposing a tax of 20% on all goods which could be produced in Russia and 10% on those which were only available from outside. While this removed the swingeing duties on luxury items, it increased the duty on woollen cloth and colonial wares and left that on household furnishings at about the same level. However, while importers must have given the new tariff a mixed reception, exporters must have been delighted for all duties on their goods were abolished except for those which were considered as essential for Russian industry.[35] The 1731 tariff remained in operation until 1757 when Elizabeth introduced revisions which brought the system more in line with that imposed by her father. Duties remained much lower than they had been in 1724, however, with the 10% tariff raised to between 12½ and 17½%. This covered colonial wares, raw materials, woollen and cotton cloth, manufactured goods not made in Russia, dyestuffs, paper and general wares. On other goods such as iron, ordinary linen and woollen cloth and plain metalwares, the tariff was increased by 50 to 100% in order to protect Russian manufactures. On exports, the general abolition of tariffs continued but those which were required for the home market continued to be protected by increasing the duties imposed in 1731.[36] This tariff remained in force until after 1780 except for some minor amendments which applied to St. Petersburg and which were made in 1766 in conjunction with the new Commercial Treaty between Russia and England. Imports of English woollen cloth were given a special concession by which they were taxed at only one tenth of the normal rate. At the same time tariffs were reduced on grain exports and the protective duties on goods which were used by internal industries were reduced as it was felt that this would be of greater benefit to Russian producers.[37]

Although the level of customs duties imposed in Russia does not appear to be prohibitively high except between 1724 and 1727 and in general did not lead to much complaint from foreign merchants in Russia, the real level is in fact masked. All foreigners were required to pay their customs in rixdollars and the internal value of the dollar against the ruble was fixed early in the eighteenth century at 50 kopecks but, when the ruble was devalued in Peter's reign, no adjustment was made internally in the value of the rixdollar. As foreign merchants had to buy their dollars at the Amsterdam rate, payment of their customs duties cost them very much more than the official tariffs indicate and this was the cause of considerable resentment among them. In both the commercial treaties of 1734 and 1766, the English were granted the right to pay their dues in rubles if they did not have dollars available but if they paid in rixdollars they were accepted at their true market exchange rate.[38] The concession was accepted with great satisfaction by the English merchants both in Russia and at home.

Besides the duties which English merchants had to pay in Russia and England, there was one other government payment which had to be made on their goods and that was the Sound tolls which were paid to the Danish crown at Elsinore. The toll was fixed at 1% of the value of the goods which were listed on a ship's bills of lading and, although the English did not have the right to pass through without examination until 1706, checks were not frequently made.[39] The penalty for falsification of the bills was forfeiture of the whole cargo. In the early eighteenth century it was the custom for ships leaving Riga and Reval to carry passports from the port authorities which enclosed bills of lading which detailed the quality and quantity of goods carried and the name of the merchant to whom they were despatched. At St. Petersburg, however, such accuracy was not possible: passports were issued in the city customs house and sent with the galliotes to Kronstadt where the ships were loaded. Frequently the final cargo did not include all the goods despatched, due to lack of space or time, and to avoid paying extra tolls at the Sound, estimated passports were provided. Attempts by the Danish crown to alter this system, which would have increased expense by longer delays in port, were strenuously and successfully resisted by the diplomatic representatives of the foreign mercantile groups.[40]

Between 1680 and 1780 foreign merchants trading with Russia were fortunate enough to find that the charges for shipping their goods remained extremely stable except for the surcharges which were imposed, in certain circumstances, in wartime. That such stability could be achieved even during the period of general price inflation in the second half of the eighteenth century, was due entirely to the adaptability of shipowners in responding to new market conditions. In spite of obstacles imposed by the Navigation Acts, Dutch and English shippers, by drawing into one network the shipping requirements of trades in many different countries, succeeded in acquiring as much freight as possible and by achieving efficiencies from the size of shipping, methods of loading and the use of the labour force they were successful in keeping transport costs stable for their customers. Insurance charges too remained extremely stable throughout the eighteenth century. Growing demand for such services in this period was met by increased provision with the virtual monopoly of the northern European insurers being challenged by the growth of underwriting by English merchants both in London and the outports.

As far as government charges were concerned, the duties payable in England on exports from Russia rose steadily to 1759 after which date they remained fixed at the high rate of 25%. Russian customs rose sharply with Peter's tariff in 1724 but declined rapidly with the new rates imposed in 1731 and, although duties were raised again on imports in 1757 they were still well below the earlier peak. Duties on the main export commodities were extremely low or were removed completely. Although Russian tariff levels actually hid the true value of the payment which was extracted from foreign merchants, the English were protected from most of these undeclared extractions by the special terms of their commercial treaties.

CHAPTER 8

Monetary systems and the Exchange

The 1680s marked the beginning of a period of change in the financing of Russian trade. From the 1570s commercial exchanges between East and West had been dominated by the effects of the enormous inflows of American silver which rapidly created an imbalance in stocks of silver throughout Europe. The relative purchasing power of silver between eastern and western Europe countries diverged sharply having a marked effect on the price of the goods which they produced.[1] Exports from Russia and the Baltic States fell in price when compared with similar commodities in western Europe making them attractive in foreign markets and encouraging the growth of trade westwards. Conversely, however, imported goods from the silver-rich countries of western Europe were relatively expensive in the eastern Baltic regions with the result that, although commodities which had a comparative advantage continued to be imported, demand was limited by increased price. The resultant imbalance in trade led to the increasingly common practice of foreign merchants paying for part of their exports with specie which they brought in for that purpose. With the decline in English participation in the Russian market in the mid seventeenth century, supplies of specie reaching the eastern Baltic came predominantly from Amsterdam as the Dutch were the pre-eminent traders in this region at that period.[2]

The reduction in supplies of colonial silver, which became very marked in the mid seventeenth century, led to a shortage in western Europe for which compensation could not be made by the re-emergence of European production which had been unable to compete with South American sources. The decrease in total stocks of silver in Europe led to a decline in prices as the purchasing power of each unit of silver increased. In Table 8.1, it can be seen that the purchasing power of silver, as indicated by the silver price of a range of consumer goods, declined in the second half of the seventeenth century both in Britain and in Russia.

Table 8.1

Purchasing power of silver in Russia and Britain in terms of a basket of goods, 1600-1779 (in grams of silver)[3]

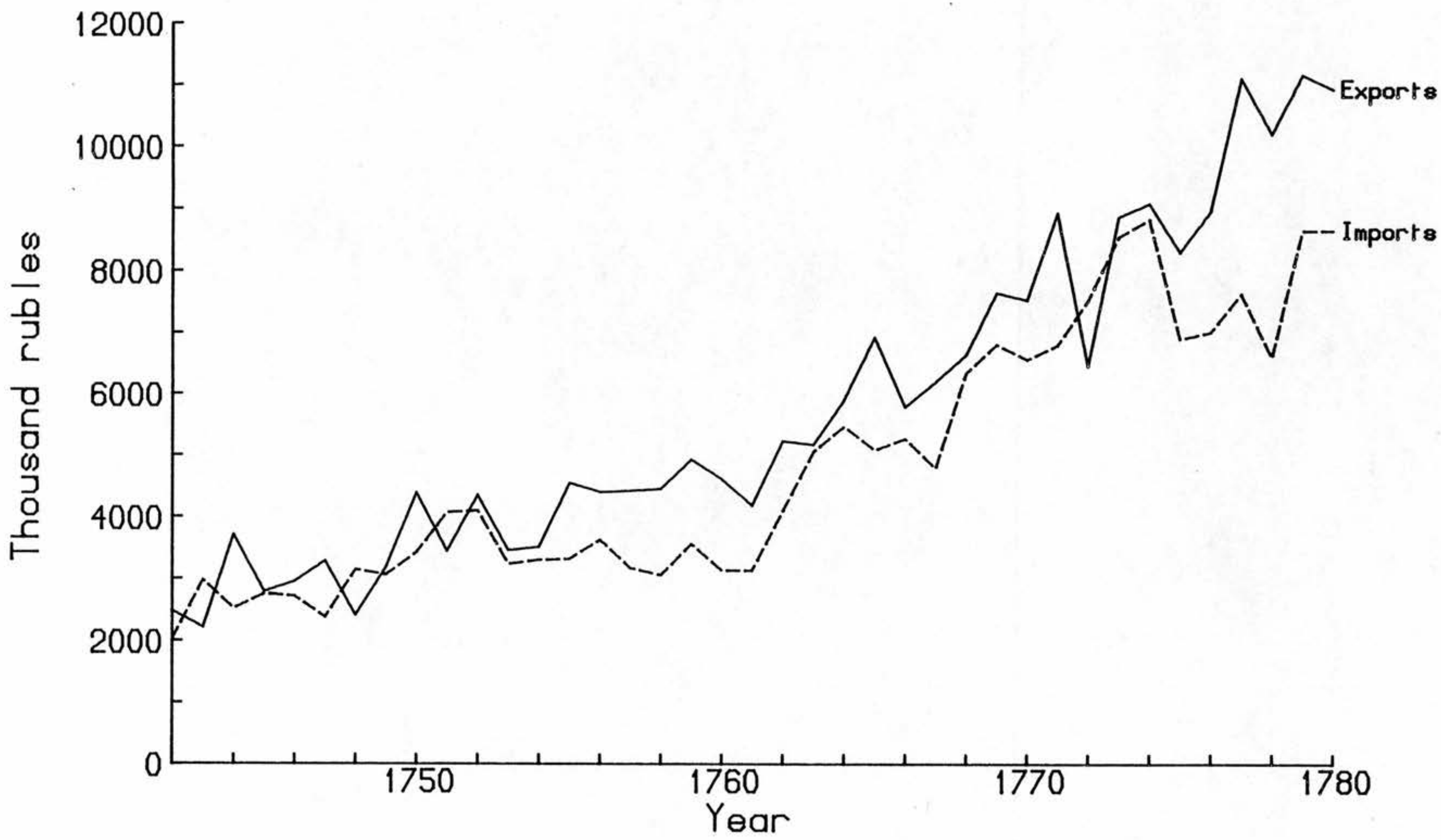
	Russia	Britain	Relative Russian Prices (Britain = 1)
1600-49	144.9	588.34	0.24
1650-99	95.0	551.25	0.17
1700-09	31.4	493.85	0.06
1710-19	43.6	437.25	0.10
1720-29	54.5	439.11	0.12
1730-39	73.4	404.68	0.18
1740-49	86.0	418.43	0.21
1750-59	86.0	412.02	0.21
1760-69	132.6	440.75	0.30
1770-79	142.8	495.95	0.29

The fall in prices in Russia was, however, greater than in Britain and the lowering of the price of Russian products, together with a reduction in tariffs by the Swedish authorities at Narva, led to increased commercial activity by foreign merchants in this region. As has already been seen, British interest in trade with Russia and the Baltic provinces revived after 1680 as the products of that region became more competitive in price and by the 1690s exports to Britain had begun to rival those to the Netherlands. The import trade, however, still lagged behind exports for although prices had fallen in western Europe, they still remained relatively higher than those in Russia and the need to import specie to effect a balance between the two continued to operate.[4]

From 1700 to 1720, the war between Russia and Sweden drastically cut trade to the Baltic ports and caused an acute shortage of silver in Russia. In order to meet the expense of financing his military activities, Peter several times resorted to debasing the ruble and internal prices, expressed in silver, fell massively only reviving again slowly in the 1720s once peace had been restored.[5] In the eighteenth century Russia's dependence on imported silver declined as exploitation of the country's own resources began in the Urals and eastern Siberia in the 1720s and continued throughout the century.[6] This had the effect of increasing monetary stocks within the country and diminishing the purchasing power of silver until, during the years 1740-1759, it was some 15 per cent below its pre-war level (see table 8.1) thereby encouraging the growth of imports relative to exports, a process which was further enhanced as merchants effectively reduced the prices of their wares by extending the period of credit. The provision of such facilities had been made possible early in the century by the long-term credit made available by the manufacturers and wholesalers who supplied import commodities but, as it frequently became necessary in Russia to extend the terms from six months to twelve months or longer, the Russia merchants themselves had to carry the extra cost of the operation from their own trading capital. The accommodation which they gave to Russian merchants and the advances paid by their colleagues in the export trades, provided the business capital of internal trade in Russia and must have been of much material assistance in boosting the supply of commodities available for export.[7] The effect of the changes described above was dramatic and may be clearly illustrated at St. Petersburg where, in the overall trade, a decidedly positive trade balance in the 1720s was transformed by the 1760s into a somewhat passive one (see figure 18). A new pattern of exchange had been established in the Russian heartland which made silver imports unnecessary and which was reinforced as the purchasing power of silver in Russia declined steadily until, by the end of the 1770s, it was half its pre-war level (see table 8.1). In this area commodity exchanges and the use of bills of exchange now predominated.

The hard currency area of the ruble, however, covered only the traditional Muscovite lands, affecting the ports of the White Sea and, in the Baltic, St. Petersburg and Narva. The separate administrative region for Estonia, Livonia and Lithuania, established by Peter, remained throughout the

Figure 18. Balance of trade at St. Petersburg, 1742-1780



Source: See Appendix 7, Table 7.2

century and included independent currency arrangements. In Riga, Reval and the other ports of that region, therefore, the albertsthaler continued to be the local currency, running at a discount to the ruble. As this area did not receive silver from Russian sources, it continued to attract imports of specie from western Europe as the purchasing power of silver remained high.

Table 8.2

Imports of Dutch coins into Riga 1766-1783 (thousands of coins)[8]

	Ducats	Albertsthalers	Value in Thousand Rixdollars
1766	235	790	1,287
1767	373	579	1,362
1770	223	518	986
1771	371	890	1,669
1783	439	1,201	2,123

Thus, though the old methods of financing trade continued in the newly annexed Baltic provinces, in Russia itself the exchange of specie against goods had given way to normal commodity transactions but leaving British merchants with an uncomfortable dilemma, thanks to the growing imbalance in their trade due to their unique specialisation in exports.[9] This problem was solved by means of co-operation between the merchant groups in Russia, the closest links being formed with the Dutch who were faced with almost the reverse position to the British, as they concentrated predominantly on the import side of trade and, therefore, generally acquired a positive balance. On the one hand, then, there were the British with a chronic shortage of funds with which to make payments to the Russian suppliers of their export commodities and, on the other, the Dutch who had sources of cash which they preferred, for reasons of safety, to remit by bills rather than in specie. There was an obvious attraction in the literal pooling of resources with Dutch loans being made to the British in return for bills of exchange drawn on British clients and payable in Amsterdam or Rotterdam.[10] This process appears to have begun early in the century when the hiatus caused to shipping in the Baltic by hostilities between Russia and Sweden led to both groups making much more intensive use of the White Sea route to the Russian market. In the 1720s these contacts, first made in Archangel, continued though the majority of English merchants moved to the new port of St. Petersburg while the Dutch returned predominantly to the other Baltic ports of Riga, Reval and Narva or remained at Archangel. With the English, who most needed money, residing at St. Petersburg, it is hardly surprising that this city became the Russian centre for drawing bills.

Nor were the proceeds of their own trade the only sources of finance available to the Dutch: through the century they acted as agents and shippers for other nations and this role gained in importance in the period of rapid expansion of foreign trade from the 1760s. The most important country using Dutch intermediaries was France, for French merchants were consistently reluctant to involve themselves in the problems of trading in Russia and the number of French ships operating to the Russian Baltic and White Sea ports remained small. The Dutch not only organized the supply of the French goods enjoyed by the Russian aristocracy and the naval stores and other raw materials required in France, but they carried these commodities to their respective destinations. Thus they also had financial control of that trade and were able to remit its balance home by the same method of lending to the English in return for bills of exchange. The English export merchants, therefore, were able to combine the cash supplies of their compatriots who specialised in the import trade with the funds available from their Dutch counterparts and procure the supplies ordered by their customers without having resort to imports of specie to balance their trade. Having solved their funding problems within Russia, it then became necessary for British merchants to supply the requisite cash balances in Amsterdam to meet the bills issued in their Baltic trade. This they did by integrating the direct

Anglo-Russian trading link (figure 19, A) with the western extremity of their commercial network, the Americas trades (figure 19, B). Annual shipments of colonial cargoes of rice, tobacco and other commodities were made to Amsterdam or Rotterdam for subsequent redistribution South (figure 19, B^2), thereby providing the necessary funds to settle the bills drawn on them by their agents in Russia.[11]

This pattern of finance was predominant until the 1740s when a change can be discerned: Amsterdam remained the centre of the bill market but increasingly goods, and especially those from the colonies, were sold elsewhere. With increasing prosperity, demand grew within Britain for all types of products and gave encouragement to the expansion of direct trade in the commodities required. The balances from these 'direct' trades, which avoided the previously important Amsterdam entrepôt, were accordingly more frequently held at London which began to emerge as an important financial centre for the merchant community. By the 1750s it was still common for bills to be drawn on Amsterdam to finance the expanding British export trade from Russia and for such bills, after acceptance by British merchants, to be met there. Seldom, however, were they now solely met from credits amassed at Amsterdam from goods sold in Holland, but rather were increasingly settled in London by the Amsterdam finance house drawing on the British merchant's London agent.[12] Another source of funds available for balancing their Baltic commerce was provided by direct trade between England and the Netherlands in which England consistently enjoyed a credit balance in the eighteenth century.[13]

At St. Petersburg, where the greatest imbalance in trade existed, British merchants were able from about 1740 to make other financial arrangements to provide funds and, in this case, this was achieved through co-operation with their Russian counterparts. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, Russian merchants generally acquired the bulk of their imported goods from

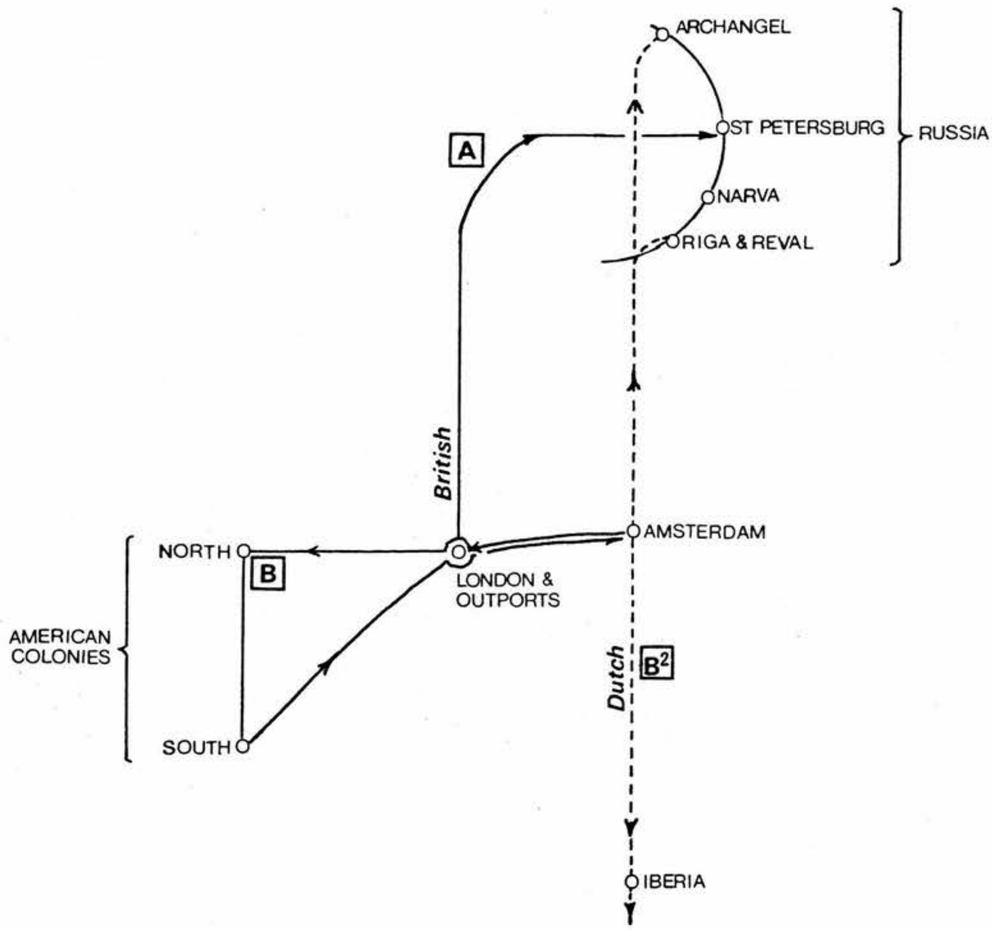


FIGURE 19

ANGLO-DUTCH COMMERCIAL NETWORKS

their British and Dutch colleagues who acted as wholesalers as well as retailers. By the 1760s, however, it had become a well established practice for some Russians to import goods in their own right, though they may well have placed their orders through the foreign houses in the capital.[14] As they did not have effective networks of fellow countrymen and agents abroad, they played only a small role in the export trade and this left them with the problem of settling their foreign debts. This they were able to do by acquiring bills of exhange from the British in St. Petersburg either in return for cash or by the provision of goods for export. Until the 1760s all these bills were issued by the Dutch, payable in the Netherlands and were again funded by the credit balances held there or in London by the agents of the English community. After 1763, however, the official quotation of the ruble against sterling allowed the issuing of bills in British currency, payable in London, which meant that the expense of a double exchange could then be avoided.[15] Nor was the demand for bills of exchange restricted to Russian merchants, for the aristocracy also needed to settle debts overseas. Though they purchased most of the requirements in St. Petersburg and often placed orders for particular items with import houses in the capital, on some occasions they made use of their own social networks to acquire very special items from abroad. In these cases the funding was arranged through foreign merchants who could have been paid either in cash or by the supply of export commodities from the customer's estates.[16]

Once bills of exchange became the normal method of financing trade in Russia in the eighteenth century the level of the exchange rate became of prime importance both for those trading in Russia and for their customers and suppliers in other countries. Until 1763 the ruble was officially quoted only against the Dutch guilder but after that date it was also quoted against the pound sterling and the Hamburg schilling.[17] The internal value of the ruble in stivers was based on the silver parity of the two currencies and was, therefore, static for long periods varying only when the silver content of the ruble was reduced. However, the element in the exchange rate made up by interest payments fluctuated continually and was observed with considerable interest. Export merchants, despatching bills home for payment by their clients' agents in Amsterdam or London, wanted as low an interest rates as possible to keep down prices for their correpsondents. To their regular customers they tried hard to give the most advantageous rate available for they knew how little room was available for manoevre in putting goods on the market at competitive prices which would still cover transport and other costs and the fluctuations in the exchange.[18] They tried, as rapidly as the rather ponderous communications system allowed, to keep their clients up-to-date with movements in the exchange so that their advance planning could be as accurate as possible but violent and unpredictable movements in the rate could be enough to drive a merchant out of the market altogether.[19] Each movement of the exchange rate was, accordingly, of prime importance.

In the course of the year the movement of the exchange rate was affected by the patterns of commercial activity. In general the import merchant would expect his creditors to repay their debts in the spring and early summer and in the months between March and June, the rate of exchange was at its lowest as that was when most cash was available. In the later summer and autumn, however, when export merchants were making advances on the goods they required for shipment in the following year, the rate moved upwards in line with demand. In January and February when export commodities were arriving from the production areas, cash was again required to make final payments on cargoes for shipment and, at that period, funds were likely to be at their lowest level and the exchange rate correspondingly high.

Between years the exchange moved with an extreme sensitivity to the economic and political climate in the capital. When the currency was debased in 1717 and 1763 or when there were rumours of debasement as in 1710, interest rates soared as uncertainty led to over-reaction in order to achieve security and it could take several years for the rate to stabilise again. Government intervention on the market, usually for military purposes, could also cause acute problems for other lenders, as Spilman and Hodgkin reported to their client, William Heathcote in 1716:

> "The Government having very large summs to give off, for maintaining their Troops & Other occasions beyond the sea above R^{o} 100,000, they have given off to several foreigners for the same summ payab. again in Riga, which makes an Exchange of about 54st. & they now give 93 Cops. for an Alberts Rixdollar payab. in $Amst^{m}$, so that here is scarce any Excha. between private Merchants, nor one Exchange Broker in town, being not yet come up from Archangel."[20]

External events could also cause serious fluctuations in the exchange, especially when they threatened to have widespread repercussions throughout the whole trading community. The financial crises in Amsterdam in the 1760s and the early 1770s, leading to the failure of influential houses there and in London, were reflected in the exchange and the situation in the 1760s was serious enough to lead the Empress and her government to intervene to stabilise the situation.[21]

Despite such fluctuations, the interest payment element of the exchange rate fell steadily throughout the first sixty years of the eighteenth century as increased returns from the sale of imports led to an expansion in the funds available for loan.[22] Only after 1760 did the rate begin to rise again as the rapid expansion of exports to Britain increased demand for funds in St. Petersburg.

As a result of the development of domestic production and the accumulation of growing stocks of precious metal within the country, the purchasing power of silver declined in the Muscovite lands between 1720 and 1780, pushing up the price of export commodities. British merchants were, however, able to some extent to balance the increased cost of their export goods by the fall in transactions costs over this period. The cost of their finance by means of bills of exchange fell until the 1760s and shipping and insurance rates remained nominally static throughout the period though, in fact, freight rates were falling in real terms after the 1760s. Though English customs duties were increased periodically up to 1759, after which they remained static at a level of 25 per cent, this rise was, at least partially, offset by a decline in Russian customs dues after 1727. In general, however, the costs to British merchants of their involvement in the internation economy were decreasing after 1720; giving them some compensation for the adverse monetary conditions affecting their export trade and allowing them to reap the full benefits of the economic revolution which was taking place within Russia.

CHAPTER 9

Foreign Trade and the Aristocratic Revolution

In the seventeenth century both the Dutch and the merchants of the Baltic littoral and the Danish peninsula towns were much more actively engaged in Russian trade than the British whose real interests lay in the 'Eastland' and Scandinavian sources of their imported raw materials. In the eighteenth century, however, Russia became increasingly attractive to British merchants as a supplier of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods and their trade, which was now centred on St. Petersburg, grew slowly to 1760 and then rapidly thereafter as they participated in an economic revolution which transformed Russian society. This revolution was symbolised by the founding of St. Petersburg in 1703, an event which though acclaimed with enthusiasm only by Peter and his close circles of supporters, stands as a signpost towards the fundamental changes which were to take place in Russian society. The gestation period for these changes was a long one - the birth finally taking place in the reign of Peter's daughter, Elizabeth, and maturity being achieved under her successor, Catherine II. St. Petersburg's significance lies in the fact that it was the centre in which a new aristocracy developed, a new life style and outlook, very much in contrast to those of their predecessors. So powerful were this group that they were gradually able, however great their reluctance, to edge their compeers in Moscow and the provinces towards change. Once new objectives were acquired by the élite, inevitable consequences resulted for other groups in society who were without the power to resist.

As soon as the demands for funds and manpower for the war with Sweden allowed, Peter began the process of building his new capital. Resources were made available for constructing essential public buildings such as the Peter and Paul fortress, and the nobility were required to meet the expense of erecting their own mansions.[1] An example was shown to others by Menshikov and Kikin whose stone palaces were begun in 1710 and 1714 respectively.[2] However most of the aristocracy remained unconvinced of the virtue of this change in the focus of their lives for

> 'Moscow is their native place which the Ruses are fond of, and where they have their friends and acquaintances about them ... ' and though they seemingly compliment the Czar whenever he talks to them of the Beauties and Delights of St. Petersburg; yet when they are together by themselves, they complain and say that there are Tears and Water enough at Petersburgh ... '.[3]

Despite Peter's ambition for modernity, a typical boyar was still noted for both his boorishness and provinciality and had a deep emotional attachment to Moscow, sharing the sentiments of Alexis, Peter's son who 'voyait avec peine Moscow, la ville sainte, delaissée pour une nouvelle Babylone, surmontée de cloches hollandais'.[4]

Reluctance to partake of the delights of the new Baltic capital cannot, however, be simply put down to conservatism: there were sound economic reasons why the established Russian nobility were so wedded to the role of Moscow as their metropolis for there 'their villages are near, and their provisions come easy and cheap to them which is brought by their slaves ... '.[5] The foundation which underpinned their style of life was their estates in the provinces round Moscow, the produce of which allowed them to live in a style of 'rude magnificence and feudal dignity' and when they took up residence in the city for part of the year, they carried with them the provisions which enabled them to offer 'a daily open table and often ... splendid entertainments to ... friends and to the public ...'.[6] Nor was this all that their lands provided -from them they also drew 'an immense number of retainers, dependents and servants' who were required to run the metropolitan and rural mansions and perform all the multitude of services which their masters might require.[7]

While this pattern and level of consumption could be maintained at Moscow, it was quite another matter at St. Petersburg where 'all manner of provisions are usually three or four times as dear and forrage for their horses at least six to eight times as dear as it is in Moscow, which happens from the small quantity which the country thereabouts produces, being two thirds woods and bogs ... '.[8] Their ability to provide 'Old Russian hospitality' was, therefore, diminished and their consequence reduced in the eyes of others and in their own esteem. Their reaction to the Tsar's requirement that they build at St. Petersburg was, accordingly, to procrastinate for as long as possible and, once it became impossible to resist the pressure, to build as cheap a residence as their dignity allowed and to live in it as little as they could.

A partial solution to their dilemma was, however, provided after 1718 when Peter ordered the redirecting of trade from Archangel to St. Petersburg. In the following three or four years there was a gradual reorientation of commercial activity from the White Sea to the Baltic and as a consequence the foreign merchant communities also had to move their centre of operations from the established Archangel/Moscow axis to the new capital.[9] Though probably as reluctant as the Russian nobility, they had even less choice and had moved en masse by the early 1720s leaving only a small, tenacious group of Dutch traders still in residence in Archangel. This new source of demand for accommodation proved a blessing to many aristocratic families who were able to rent their residences to the hapless foreigners and return to their estates.

After Peter's death the impetus to develop his new city faded partly because most of his successors preferred Moscow and partly because they were so impoverished that, after indulging their own consumption preferences, they had few resources to undertake large building programmes. Even Anna, who lived predominantly in St. Petersburg after the first two years of her reign, initiated little building work and it was not until Elizabeth's reign that imposing stone mansions began to be constructed and Rastrelli was commissioned to rebuild and extend the Winter Palace.[10] Only after Catherine II came to the throne did Peter's capital gain the splendour and size for which he had planned.

The basic problem which faced both Russian noble families and the crown in Peter's reign and through several decades thereafter, was an inability to generate increased income. The extensive, low productivity methods of agriculture in the non-black earth regions of Muscovy provided sustenance for the nobility and their peasantry but only a small, irregular surplus which could be sold on the open market. The growth of population in these areas was already putting pressure on the available land and, although the peasantry could be released to work elsewhere and pay obrok to the lord, the opportunities for alternative employment were extremely limited. The protracted war with Sweden and Peter's public works projects placed a heavy strain on the crown's financial resources and was resolved by transferring as much of the burden as possible on to others through taxes and other impositions. Besides paying direct taxes, estate owners also had to provide men from their lands to serve as recruits for the army and as labourers on construction projects. The cost of outfitting and provisioning this labour force fell on the lord who would also have the expense of equipping, mounting and maintaining any of his sons who were officers in the army. The drain on estate incomes was considerable and did not cease in 1721 for the recurrent clashes with the Swedes and later with the Prussians necessitated action by the armed forces on many occasions.[11]

The aristocracy in general made few gains of new lands before the middle of the eighteenth century and those who did increase their land holdings were the ministers and favourites of the crown. Though desirous of rewarding those who served them, the Imperial family were largely restricted to making grants of their own estates or redistributing the lands of those who fell from favour. Thus Menshikov's estates were reallocated to Peter II's favourites, the Dolgoruki family, whose lands benefited Biron and other ministers in Anna's reign and Biron and Osterman's gains became the rewards granted to those who assisted Elizabeth in achieving and holding the throne. In Anna's reign the splendour of the court increased markedly as the limited resources available to her and her entourage were channelled into extravagancies of clothing, food and entertainments. But the dilemma facing the Tsarina and her favourites was clearly described to Lord Harrington by Claudius Rondeau, the British Resident:

> "Your excellency cannot imagine how magnificent this court is since the present reign, though they have not a shilling in the treasury, and, of course, nobody is paid ... "[12]

This change affected only a minute élite of the nobility and even for them was only surface deep. Nor had the situation changed in the mid 1740s when Sir Cyril Wych represented the British government and was analysing the position of the Russian court:

> "I know the uneasiness of their circumstances, and in what distress ... the court is for want of money. All the different funds are exhausted, several branches of revenue anticipated ... "[13]

By the late 1750s, however, the situation was changing with aristocratic incomes rising and by the time of Elizabeth's death, her resources had increased so much that Peter III inherited considerable quantities of coin which she had been able to accumulate without having had to resort to any economies in her style of life. The source of this new-found prosperity lay in the acquisition of additional estates and the way in which the crown and the aristocracy were able to exploit them.

Though Peter's conquests brought new lands under Russian rule in 1721, few of the Muscovite noble families benefited from these acquisitions. The Baltic provinces were already in aristocratic hands and, although peasant families were moved into this region to replace population lost due to war and plague, ownership did not change and the area was not integrated into Russia proper.[14] Some new estates were, however, acquired in St. Petersburg guberniya and Ingermanland providing some agricultural land but the products of these areas were predominantly timber and forest commodities which were only exploited slowly.[15] In the years up to 1750 there were, however, the beginnings of expansion outwards from the central provinces into the black earth regions which bordered them. The regions most favoured for new settlement are apparent from the growth in population in Russia during the eighteenth century, shown in table 9.1 below.

Expansion into the regions in an arc to the South of Moscow also began between 1720 and 1740 with new estates being acquired in the gubernii of Belgorod (which was one of Peter's territorial gains), Voronezh, Tambov and Penza. It is no coincidence that, besides the crown, the owners of these estates were the St. Petersburg aristocracy who were involved in central and regional government. Thus Menshikov acquired lands in Belgorod and Simbirsk, the Vorontsovs in Vladimir, Kostroma, Vologda, Yaroslavl and Perm, while lands near Saratov were the property of the Annikovs, Dolgorukis, Shuvalovs and Chernishevs.[16]

Settlement to the south of the central agricultural provinces in the northern Ukraine also began to gather momentum between 1720 and the middle of the century. In this case, however, aristocratic acquisitions were negligible. The pattern of settlement here was by homesteading peasants who were given some protection by the line of forts which was gradually extended across the region to hold the border. Settlers had, nevertheless, to be prepared to withstand the depredations of marauding tartar bands from the South. In Elizabeth's reign the line of forts was made more secure and, as an incentive to recruitment, the regiments which held the forts, like those at Elizabethgrad, were granted the lands in the surrounding area for cultivation by officers and recruits. In the 1760s this practice was extended and the acquisition of estates began with the granting of larger holdings to regimental officers.[17] However, it was not until the whole of the southern Ukraine was

Table 9.1

Population Growth in Russia, 1719-95

(total figures and percentage increase)

	1719	1744	1762	1782	1795
Central industrial region (1)	2,278,535 100	2,333,605 102	2,540,465 112	2,938,056 129	3,036,913 133
Central agricultural region (2)	1,561,417 100	1,890,003 121	2,095,453 134	2,712,640 174	2,963,872 190
Coastal region (3)	553,897 100	697,343 126	723,754 131	872,177 158	920,883 166
Middle Volga (4)	768,789 100	825,242 107	882,632 115	1,081,076 141	1,182,399 154
Lower Volga (5)	52,220 100	143,295 274	279,920 536	387,612 742	495,918 949
Prebaltica (6)	277,959 100	324,344 117	386,915 139	461,010 166	678,344 244
Ukraine,left bank(7)	909,651 100	1,156,165 127	1,342,221 148	1,689,823 186	1,696,824 187

1. Moscow, Vladimir, Kaluga, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Nizhnii Novgorod, Tver
2. Voronezh, Ryazan, Tambov, Orel, Kursk, Tula
3. Petersburg, Novgorod, Olonets, Pskov
4. Kazan, Penza, Simbirsk
5. Saratov, Astrakhan, Kavkhaz
6. Viborg, Lithuania, Estonia, from 1795 Kurland
7. Kharkov, Chernigov, Poltava

Source: V.M. Kabuzan, Narodonaselenie Rossii v XVIII - pervoi polovine XIXv (Moscow 1963), Table 17, pp. 159-63.

added to the Russian Empire that the region was reorganised into large estates as in the North, with the peasantry losing their freedom.

With the expansion of their land holdings into new, highly productive regions, the favoured élite of the Russian nobility were provided with the means to reorientate their life style. While the products of these additional estates could be used simply to increase the supply of goods for consumption in their own households, there appears to have been a rapid acceptance of the fact that they could also be developed to produce an increased cash flow for their owners which would enable them to acquire the fashionable imported goods which were all the rage in St. Petersburg. The possibilities of the internal market were most immediately apparent and estates in the central black earth and trans-Volga region were quick to exploit the need for grain in St. Petersburg and, to a lesser extent, in Moscow and regional centres. As early as the 1730s, regular supplies of cereals were being transported to St. Petersburg from these regions for sale as foodstuffs and for use in distilling.[18] In order to keep the new lands fertile, animal production was an integral part of the rotation, but the requirements of the capitals for meat meant that another source of income was thus provided. The less productive lands in St. Petersburg guberniya which were not suitable for arable cultivation were able to take advantage of the city's markets by fattening cattle and raising poultry for urban consumption.[19] As far as the production of industrial crops was concerned, the internal market provided a stimulus with the expansion of textile works in the Moscow region, making flaxen and hempen products as well as rope and thread.[20] Such manufacturies provided an increase in aristocratic incomes not only from the sale of raw materials but also as a result of the growth in demand for workers which allowed some surplus labour from the surrounding areas to move into the towns and required the payment of obrok to the lord for this privilege.

Although the internal market provided an early source of income for estate owners, the more effective impetus to expanding production of agricultural and industrial crops and the other resources of noble estates came from foreign trade which even by the 1730s far exceeded pre-war levels and, during the years 1740-59 attained a new high level of turnover.[21] This expansion was made possible by drawing on the estates of both the newly acquired borderlands of Karelia and Ingermanland to provide flax and timber, and the central and eastern Muscovite provinces to provide hemp and iron reaching the Baltic by way of the Kama, Volga and Oka and the linking canal system which was inaugurated in the 1730s. Trade went from strength to strength as falling prices ensured a ready market for Russian products in the West and, in turn, provided estate owners with a massively increased income.[22]

In these early years a new orientation in production and marketing had taken place which later changes altered but little. The Russian conquest of the southern steppe after the war of 1768-74 and the pacification of the south-eastern frontier brought new resources into the Empire and a new impetus to the flagging northern economy but contributed little to productivity changes. The impetus to change had by this time moved elsewhere - to Britain, where rising demand and increased prices allowed an extension of the frontier of production in Russia. New and more remote, if not more productive, resources could now be added to the supply networks and, in the years from 1760 to 1780, Karelian timber resources were supplemented by opening up the White Sea stands and Podolian hard wood supplies, Uralian iron production extended southwards and growing quantities of Ukrainian hemp and grain came on to the international market.[23] Once again the result was the same - aristocratic incomes were augmented by the extension of overseas trade.

The acquisition and exploitation of new estates by the crown and aristocracy in the middle years of the eighteenth century could have resulted in little change in the economy had it not been for markedly different outlook towards the management of their assets. Thanks to the influences of their counterparts in other countries to which they had been exposed by increasingly frequent travel through Europe, by visitors from overseas and by better education, the St. Petersburg nobility developed a much more professional, market-orientated attitude to the development of their lands and the sale of their products.[24] While small producers and the more old-fashioned nobility still sold their goods to the Russian merchants who travelled the interior, from the 1760s the large producers began to sell direct to the foreign merchants who handled the export trade, making agreements with them in St. Petersburg.[25] They also began to take a more academic interest in estate management and in the 1760s the Free Economic Society was formed with the aim of exchanging information and debating methods of agricultural practice. Among the founders were member of many of the St. Petersburg aristocratic families together with representatives of the estate owners from the Baltic provinces. Manuals of estate management were produced, literature on new methods was disseminated, a journal was published and in the 1780s there was a protracted debate on the prevalence and merits of obrok or barshchin a payments by serfs in different regions.[26] Such a development indicates a radically different mentality among landowners towards their greatest asset from that which had prevailed at the beginning of the century.

The key to these changes in estate management lay in the desire of the owners to acquire a level of consumption akin to that enjoyed by their fellow aristocrats in other European countries and to have access to these expensive luxuries they required a much larger income than had been available previously. The change to a 'western' pattern of consumption was, of course, only a gradual one as it required not just the income to purchase goods, but the skilled craftsmen to provide services which were not available in Russia. At Anna's court, the Tsarina and her courtiers might appear sumptuously dressed, but a shortage of tailors meant that their clothes were shoddily made and a lack of hairdressers resulted in ladies sleeping for several nights in a chair before a ball to keep their intricate coiffeurs intact.[27] The vulgarity of the court in the 1730s and 1740s was a matter for frequent comment by foreign observers who noted that the nobility "love aney thing to make a Show let th[e] Substance be ever so indifferent".[28] Their naievety also made them an easy prey for foreign adventurers who, regardless of their antecedents, were able to sell their services as language teachers, dancing masters and general arbiters of taste.[29]

From the middle of the eighteenth century the style of life and patterns of consumption in the mansions of the nobility in St. Petersburg began to change: as the period of time extended during which they enjoyed the fruits of increased income, aristocratic taste developed and refined. They were influenced by members of their own class from other countries with whom they had more frequent contact as Russia became more attractive to foreign visitors and as it became fashionable for sons of Russian aristocratic families to travel abroad. Foreign residents in Russia also provided examples from their life styles not only as highly-placed professionals in the armed services and in medicine but even the mercantile group. Lady Craven noted with surprise that the English merchants moved freely in aristocratic society in St. Petersburg unlike their counterparts in London and felt that if they were typical she would like to meet more of them so that she could 'enjoy a little rational conversation' which was not found at court.[30] Although French clothes and furnishings were extremely popular in St. Petersburg, the English style was much admired and the new imposing palaces contained all the items which would have been found in an elegant English residence of the same period and their owners would have been "ashamed not to have English furniture ... made of red-wood mahogany instead of ... plain wood (and) none other was now used".[31] The dining quarters of these mansions became centres of elegance and refinement from which subordinates were excluded except to wait at table, and entertainment was provided for guests who were social equals. The quality of food became more important than the quantity with luxuries from all over Russia and Europe leading visitors, like William Coxe, to remark on the splendid manner in which they were received and the unsurpassed variety of food:

> " I have frequently seen ... sterlet from the Volga, veal from Archangel, mutton from Astrakhan, beef from the Ukraine and pheasants from Bohemia and Hungary. The common wines are claret, Burgundy and Champagne: and I never tasted English beer and porter in greater perfection or abundance."[32]

These delicacies were served at tables laid with imported silverware, French porcelain and English Wedgwood pottery and were often delightfully decorated as at a dinner party at Count Panin's villa where

> "at the upper and lower end of the table were placed two china vases containing cherry trees in full leaf, and fruit hanging on the boughs, which was gathered by the company."[33]

The interests and entertainments of the Russian aristocracy also closely resembled those of their counterparts in western Europe. No doubt influenced by the Imperial Family, many of the nobility acquired collections of paintings and sculpture from overseas, with which they adorned their houses.[34] Their libraries were filled with books in many languages reflecting the owners' particular interests: there appears to have been much fascination with natural history which led men like Alexei Razumovski and Count Tchernikov not only to collect books on the subject but to have 'natural history cabinets' in their palaces where they kept samples of precious stones, minerals and shells collected from all over Russia. Curiosities such as jade were acquired through trade links with China and collectors brought items for their special interests from all over the world.[35] In their outdoor activities, the Russians shared the interests of the nobility throughout Europe. Horses played a large part in their lives even when they were living in the capital, for it was possible to ride frequently even in the winter when areas on the frozen Neva were allocated specially for this pastime. Many of the mansions had a manège attached so that the owner and his family could exercise indoors if they wished to do so. Horses were also required to draw the many private carriages which thronged the capital and public carriages were available for hire for those who did not have their own.[36] Dogs were also kept in the city, mostly as household pets but also as guard dogs to frighten away burglars, and caged singing birds were extremely popular with the Tsarinas and other ladies.[37]

While St. Petersburg and the aristocracy who inhabited it moved closer to the style of life in any other European capital, Moscow retained much of its individuality. However, even here, by the 1780s change had crept in. The animosity between the old noble families who made Moscow their urban centre, and the mainly new families who inhabited St. Petersburg remained as active as ever but the fact that all aristocratic families had to attend court for a short period to discharge the duties required of them, made even the most conservative susceptible to some new influences. Besides, they too wanted to have a share in the benefits which could become available as a result of grants of new estates. While the new income might be used to build the 'colosses de magnificence de luxe asiatique' which were found in Moscow, their interiors also housed many imported furnishings and the aristocratic owner shared many of the interests of his compeers in St. Petersburg. At the same time he continued to provide hospitality in the old pattern which "semble tenir plutôt à un reste de barbarie, qu'à la douceur des moeurs européennes".[38] Where the nobility led, the provincial bureaucracy and mercantile groups followed as far as their incomes would allow, adopting foreign fashions in clothes and acquiring some imported furnishings for their houses, the range of foreign furniture and household goods being adjusted accordingly.[39] Although peasant producers probably also benefited from the growth in demand for raw materials, the peasantry as a group, played no part in the market for imported wares although those who worked as domestic servants were indirect consumers. Instead their income gains, such as they were, allowed a growth in purchases of the products of local craftsmen in the countryside or the towns.[40]

Foreign trade was able to exert a powerful influence on the economy of eighteenth century Russia because its benefits accrued to a small, powerful group who controlled the sources of production of raw materials for export. As a result, this élite had at their command a large and increasing share of a growing national income which allowed them to indulge their taste for conspicuous consumption. As internal production could only meet the demand for luxuries to a very limited degree, an undisputed market came into existence for the output of an industrial structure in western Europe which was already geared to meeting such needs. The foreign mercantile groups in St. Petersburg adjusted rapidly to the changing structure of the market and the British were not slow in securing their place in the network of suppliers. So successful were they, in fact, that many of the wealthiest mercantile families remained in the city for generation after generation becoming, in the end, more truly Russian than British and only finally departing when catastrophe on a national scale forced them to cut the ties.

CONCLUSION

Russian Foreign trade: The British Contribution

At the close of the seventeenth century the trade of the eastern Baltic and Russia was dominated by the ports of Riga and Reval serving the supply areas of Lithuania, White Russia and the Baltic States and handling 80 per cent of the total trade of the region. By 1700 the structure of this commerce was little different from that early in the seventeenth century: shipping was largely in the hands of the traders of the Baltic ports and the Danish peninsula who provided just over half of the total, or the Dutch who contributed approximately one third and dominated traffic through the Sound to western Europe. The goods they handled were still the staple commodities - exports of flax, hemp, grain and timber - and imports were predominantly made up of basic products with a low level of luxury items. The continuing imbalance in monetary stocks maintained the high purchasing power of silver in the region, leading to the outflow of large quantities of relatively cheap exports which were paid for partly by the smaller quantities of imported goods, with the balance being met by imports of specie amounting, if Riga's trade is an adequate guide, to about 35 per cent of trade.[1]

This pattern did not alter significantly in the eighteenth century though the wars of the first twenty years seriously disrupted trade and cut supplies of imported silver. The resultant fall in the silver price of goods, however, by stimulating an export boom in the years after 1720 and causing a large influx of bullion soon restored the pre-war equilibrium.[2] Shipping to the two ports began to grow again after 1720 but, for structural reasons, stabilised at about 20 per cent below the pre-war average. The distribution of shipping remained almost unchanged, being dominated by the vessels of the Baltic and Danish ports, or the Dutch. Each, however, lost a small proportion of their shipping to the British whose share rose from 8 to 20 per cent. The range of commodities being handled also varied little except that exports of flax and hemp increased in importance as both grain and timber became marginal. This difference in supply particularly affected Reval whose trade had evolved such specialisation in the 1680s and 1690s that the decline in the commerce of the region at this period can largely be attributed to Reval's more precarious position.

Nor was that port able to take much advantage from the growth in activity after 1760 for this was due particularly to the extension of Riga's hinterland into the Ukraine and the Polish border lands. Rising international prices made possible increased supplies of hemp, grain and timber expanding the trade of the region by nearly 50 per cent. As before, the structure of this trade hardly altered though western European markets were becoming increasingly important and there was a decline in shipping to ports within the Baltic for which, however, compensation was made by the growth in the number of Baltic ships carrying goods through the Sound. By 1780 the British had made some slight gains in strength at Riga, but commerce was still dominated, as formerly, by the Baltic and Dutch shippers and the marked imbalance which continued between the two sides of trade was still the cause of high levels of imports of specie to the port.

This picture of structural continuity in the western section of Russia's Baltic network was not reproduced in the eastern section which served the Russian heartland. Here a major reorientation and restructuring took place in the eighteenth century in which the British played a significant role. In the late seventeenth century this region had handled only 20 per cent of total trade and its structure was very similar to that of its more developed neighbour. The goods handled covered almost the same range consisting of flax, hemp and timber but here grain was a marginal commodity while re-exports of Swedish iron played a special role. Imports were in proportion to total trade and included the same spread of commodities except that colonial wares were of greater importance in this market than elsewhere while salt imports were of limited significance. The imbalance in trade, as a result of the high purchasing power of silver, led to imports of specie making this market almost indistinguishible from that of Riga and Reval, as did the distribution of shipping which, apart from a slightly larger share being supplied by the British, was also dominated by vessels from the Baltic ports or the Netherlands.

After 1720, however, significant changes began to take place within central Russia. Internal production of silver reduced its purchasing power until, in the years 1740-1759, it was 25 per cent below the pre-war level with the result that levels of imports began to rise. At the same time the price of export commodities fell rapidly as new production areas were opened up in the recently acquired provinces along the eastern Baltic coast and in central and eastern Russia where the completion of the canal and waterway system to the Baltic reduced the transport problems facing producers remote from the ports. The resultant growth in exports increased the incomes of aristocratic estate owners who were then able to indulge their taste for imported luxury wares. By 1740-1759, a rising turnover in trade was evident with a new commercial equilibrium at St. Petersburg which obviated the need for imports of specie as normal commercial exchanges operated, thereby producing a basic restructuring of commercial organisation.

While the shipping of the Baltic and Danish ports maintained and even slightly increased their domination, there was an increasing specialisation of function in the shipping of western Europe. The Dutch began to concentrate their activities much more at Narva with a resultant decline in their presence at Archangel and St. Petersburg while the British moved almost exclusively to the new capital. Functional specialisation with the British orientatating towards the export trades and the Dutch predominantly towards imports established a complementarity which made possible a period of co-operation with a resultant fall in transactions costs for shipping and finance. These gains further enhanced the commercial activity in this section of Russia's Baltic network so that, by the mid century, it was handling 57 per cent of total trade.

Nor was this the conclusion of the process of growth: the extension of the Empire in the late 1760s brought in new southern production areas whose resources brought a new impetus to the economy of the North which was beginning to flag slightly. The increased flow of goods reduced prices further and led to a growth in the turnover of trade. The continued decline in the purchasing power of silver reaffirmed the relative balance in trade but this was now considerably less significant, as were other developments within Russia, for the impetus towards growth now rested at the western end of the link in the British market where expanding demand for raw materials and increasing overall prices encouraged the extension of the Russian supply networks. The continuing gains in efficiency being made in British merchant shipping led to a further decline in transactions costs again augmenting the process. Producers in more remote areas were now brought into the market. The years from 1760-1780 saw the expansion of new areas of production: increased exploitation of the timber resources on the Finnish border and the White Sea coast, the spread of iron production into the South of the Urals range and growing quantities of hemp and grain from the Ukraine. The continuing augmentation of the export trades, led to a further increase in aristocratic incomes with a concomitant expansion in demand for imported goods but the major beneficiaries of these developments were now the British. Their exports of Russian products expanded as never before. Their efficient merchant marine was gaining ground, carrying not only the requirements of the British market, but also supplies to Iberia and the Mediterranean. They also provided services for the Russian merchants and aristocrats who now handled the largest part of the imports into St. Petersburg and who turned to London for financial, commercial and insurance facilities.

1. James R. Gibson, Feeding the Russian Fur Trade (Madison, 1969), pp. 3-8, 60-1; Clifford M. Foust, Muscovite and Mandarin (Chapel Hill, 1969), pp. 99-101.

2. Paul Bushkovitch, The Merchants of Moscow, 1580-1650 (Cambridge, 1980), p. 30; Holden Furber, Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800 (Oxford, 1976), p. 24. Included in Hanway's account of the Persia trade, is the description of a journey made by Reginald Hogg and George Thompson to Khiva and Bokhara in 1740. Thompson noted that "The trade to Bokhara is much declined from what it was formerly ... (due to) the late wars and frequent robberies on the road". Jonas Hanway, An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea (London, 1755) p. 354.

3. John Bell was appointed physician to the Ambassador on the 1719 embassy and gives a delightful description of his impressions of China in A Journey from St Petersburg to Pekin, 1719-22 (Edinburgh, 1965). For details of the 1725 embassy see Foust, op.cit., pp. 24-52. This embassy did not reach China until 1726, the year after Peter's death.

4. Bell, op.cit., gives a detailed description of a journey using this route.

5. Foust, op.cit., p. 102.

6. A. Attman, The Russian and Polish Markets in International Trade 1500-1650 (Göteborg, 1973), p. 101; Bushkovitch, op.cit., p. 93.

7. Ibid, p. 30.

8. Hanway, op.cit., p. 7.

9. John Cook, Voyages and Travels through the Russian Empire, Tartary and Part of the Kingdom of Persia (Edinburgh, 1778), II, 283-414. Cook was personal physician to Prince Galitsin whom Elizabeth sent as her Ambassador to Persia in 1746. This embassy travelled from Astrakhan to Gilan by land but it is unlikely that merchants used this route, sea transport being considerably cheaper.

10. D.K. Reading, The Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1734 (New Haven, 1938), pp. 53-4; N.C. Hunt, 'The Russia Company and the Government, 1730-42', Oxford Slavonic Papers, VII (1957), 33-4.

11. W. Coxe, Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark (London, 1784), p. 264.

12. Narva was a Russian port from 1558 to 1581 when the port became a Swedish possession.

13. Riga was captured by the Russians in 1710; Reval capitulated in the same year, and Narva was first taken by the Russians in 1700, lost to the Swedes and finally became a Russian possession in 1704.

14. Reading, op.cit., p. 20; J.J. Oddy, European Commerce (London, 1805), p. 82. There were frequent demands for an efficient break at St

Petersburg like that at Riga, but, although some attempts were made to improve inspection, they were not successful. The foreign merchants blamed the high level of veniality among the St. Petersburg customs officials for this failure. Finally in 1790 stringent measures were taken which appear to have been more effective.

15. Joseph Marshall, Travels through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Lapland, Russia, the Ukraine and Poland (London, 1772), III, 230.

16. Hanway, op.cit., pp. 50-1.

17. Oddy, op.cit., pp. 138-9.

18. Hanway, op.cit., p. 51.

19. Ibid, p. 52.

20. Ibid, p. 50.

21. S.E. Åström, From Cloth to Iron (Helsingfors, 1963), I, 125.

22. Ibid, p. 125 and S.E. Åström, Stockholm to St Petersburg (Helsingfors, 1962), pp. 71 and 75. Foreign merchants were only allowed to live in the city for the summer season and had to sell their imports within four weeks of a ship's arrival.

23. Åström, Stockholm to St. Petersburg, p. 80. The Dutch and the Swedes had special tariff rates on seaborne goods and also had the right to pay customs dues in local coinage whereas other foreigners had to pay in Albert thalers.

24. J.V.Th. Knoppers, Dutch Trade with Russia from the Time of Peter I to Alexander I (Montreal, 1976), p. 189.

25. G. Jensch, 'Der Handel Rigas im 17 Jahrhundert', Mitteilungen aus der Livlandischen Geschichte, 24, 2 (Riga, 1936), 73-4; Dr. Topolska suggests that in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the landowners in the Shklov region were closely tied to Riga by the credit system operated by the merchants there and influenced their peasant growers in the same direction. Attempts by peasants to supply hemp by cart to Vilna were cut short by pressure from Riga via the landlords. It would seem likely, however, that had the returns on these ventures been lucrative enough, the landlords would have benefitted from them and would simply have liquidated their financial ties with Riga and re-orientated their trade. Maria Barbara Topolska, 'Pecularities of the economic structure of Eastern White Russia in the 16-18th centuries', Studia Historiae Oeconomicae, 6 (1971), 48.

26. Jensch, op.cit., p. 68.

27. Marshall, op.cit., III, 230.

28. K.G. Mityaev, 'Oboroti i torgovie svyazi Smolenskogo rynka v 70x godakh XVII veka', Istoricheskie Zapiski, 32 (1942), 69, 75, 78, 81.

29. Kh. P. Strod, 'Vliyanie torgovoi politiki Rossiiskoi imperii na razvitie sel'skogo khozyaistva Latvii v XVIII v', Ekonomicheskie Svyazi Pribaltiki s Rossiei (Riga, 1968), p. 160.

30. Mityaev, op.cit., pp. 78 and 81; Topolska, op.cit., p. 47; A.P. Gritskevich, 'Torgovie svyazi Slytska s gorodami pol'shi i pribaltiki v XVI-XVIII vekakh i ikh rol' v inozemnoi torgovle goroda', Acta Baltico-Slavica, 6 (1969), 62-3; E.V. Chistyakova, 'Pskovskii torg v seredine XVII v', Istoricheskie Zapiski, 34 (1950), 216.

31. Jensch, op.cit., p. 69.

32. Ibid., p. 70; Topolska, op.cit., p. 47; Oddy, op.cit., pp. 138-9.

33. Hanway, op.cit., p. 51; Marshall, op.cit., p. 225; Oddy, op.cit., p. 83.

34. In the mid seventeenth century the Swedes and the Duke of Courland agreed that Mitau and Libau would handle exports from the Duchy while Riga would be recognised as the port for Lithuania. Åström, Stockholm to St Petersburg, p. 74. However in the eighteenth century Courland came within Russia's sphere of influence first by the marriage of Anna Ivanova to the Duke and then by appointment of the Dukes by Russia. Eventually in 1795 it was amalgamated into Russia. Although Courland continued to trade via Libau and much of its wood was exported through Memel, it also sent some goods to Riga for export. Knoppers, op.cit., p. 217 and A. Kahan, 'Some Observations on Petrine Foreign Trade', Canadian-American Slavic Studies, VIII, 2 (1974), 224.

35. SIRIO (St Petersburg, 1866-1918), 61, 23 December 1711, Charles Whitworth to Mr St John.

36. Marshall, op.cit., p. 230. He visited Riga in 1769.

37. Hanway, op.cit., p. 401.

38. Åström, Stockholm to St Petersburg, pp. 74-5.

39. Oddy, op.cit., p. 156.

40. Hanway, op.cit., p. 402.

41. A. Soom, Der Handel Revals in Siebzehnten Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 28.

42. Ibid, p. 105.

43. Revaler Stadtarchivs, A.g., 57-146, see appendix 1, table 1:3.

44. Soom, op.cit., p.28.

45. Kh.A. Piirimyae, 'Nekotorie voprosi transitnoi torgovli Rossii so stranami zapadnoi evropi cherez Tallin v XVII v', Ekonomicheskie svyazi Pribaltiki c Rossiei (Riga, 1968), pp. 105, 107, 111.

46. Soom, op.cit., pp. 105, 107. Soom details the commercial activities of Berndt Rodde, a Reval merchant, who had representatives at Petschur, Pleskau and Novgorod, and contacts elsewhere in Estonia and Livonia. He exported goods from Narva to the English merchant, Sir Benjamin Ayloff, Governor of the Russia Company, in London and to merchants in Hull and Newcastle. The goods were usually despatched on the consignment system to the English merchant, who then sold them in small quantities to his clients.

47. The fact that Reval had such a high level of shipping from ports in the Baltic would probably indicate a lower volume of trade than if the extra-Baltic shipping had predominated. Soom noted that ships from Lubeck were of a considerably smaller capacity than those from the Netherlands, which had been increasing in size through the seventeenth century and were, by the 1690s, averaging 200-300 lasts or more (Soom, op.cit., p. 2). No figures are available for the capacity of ships with home ports in Finland and Reval itself but as they were also used for short runs, it would seem probable that they would follow the Lubeck trend rather than the Dutch.

48. Hanway, op.cit., p. 401. The figure of 50,000 seems extremely large but may perhaps include a Swedish garrison. The population of the town grew very slowly thereafter, reaching only 8,000 by the 1740s.

49. V. Doroshenko, J. Kakh, H. Ligi, Kh. Piirimyae, E. Tarvel, Trade and Agrarian Development in the Baltic Provinces 15th-19th Centuries (Tallin, 1974), p. 12.

50. Strod, op.cit., p. 149; Hanway, op.cit., p. 401; Knoppers, op.cit., p. 214.

51. G. Etzold, Seehandel und Kaufleute in Reval nach dem Frieden von Nystad bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Marburg/Lahn, 1975), pp. 113-5, 142-3. In the 1720s there were between 10 and 20 Russian naval vessels each year picking up cargoes of grain and malt at Reval.

52. Oddy, op.cit., p. 156; O.H. Elias, 'Revaller Handelsschiffahrt im 18ten Jahrhundert', Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, XV, 1 (1967), 27-28. Elias lists all the ships owned by Reval merchants, including some foreign merchants resident in the town, like Thomas Clayhills, the sole English factor trading there.

53. Oddy, op.cit., p. 156.

54. In 1698 the Russia Company was forced to relax its regulations concerning membership and the resultant increase in the number of freemen is reflected in the increasing number of ships using the port which had been kept exclusively as a preserve of the Company.

55. In 1713 Peter I issued regulations limiting the commodities which could be exported through Archangel in an attempt to bolster trade at St. Petersburg. As the Baltic was not yet safe for foreign shipping, he was unsuccessful and appears to have caused a short decline in the total value of trade rather than affecting Archangel very greatly see appendix 1, table 1.1 for the fall in shipping. Knoppers, op.cit., p. 222.

56. The number of ships rises rather later (from about 1763) than the increase in the value of trade at Archangel. This may be explained by the fact that the range in the size of ships on the Archangel route was very large, from 200-600 lasts, though 200-300 lasts was the average. A considerable change in the volume of trade could, therefore, be accommodated without a large increase in the number of ships. See chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion of changes in shipping services.

57. See Appendix 1, table 1.1, for Dutch shipping figures.

58. Marshall, op.cit., p. 213.

59. N.N. Repin, 'K voprosu o svyazi vneshnego i vnytrennogo rynka Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XVII - pervoi chetverti XVIIIg', Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, 6 (1970), 66; J.H. Kulischer, Russiche Wirtschaftsgeschichte (München and Berlin, 1929), p. 324; A. Ts. Merzon and Y.A. Tikhonov, Rynok Ustyuga Velikogo (Moscow, 1960), pp. 375, 621.

60. B Griffenhagen, 'Archangel als Handelsconcurrentin Revals im 17 Jahrhundert', Beitrage zum kunde Est-, Liv- und Kurlands (Reval, 1894), p. 179.

61. Kulischer, op.cit., p. 323.

62. Ibid., p. 323; Repin, Vestnik Moskovoskogo Universiteta, pp. 63-4.

63. S. Hart, 'Amsterdam Shipping and Trade to Northern Russia in the Seventeenth Century', Mededelingen van de Nederlandse Vereniging voor Zeegeschiednis, XXVI (1973), 19-20.

64. Marshall, op. cit., p. 213. Marshall says that the population of the town was nearly 30,000 before St. Petersburg was founded.

65. See Chapter 2, p. 75 for further details of this development.

66. T.S. Willan, The Early History of the Russia Company 1553-1603 (Manchester, 1956), pp. 11, 170.

67. I. Lubimenko, Les Relations Commerciales et Politiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie avant Pierre le Grand (Paris, 1933), pp. 192, 258. The Act of 1649 confined the English to Archangel but they were later allowed into the interior if they applied for permits to enter and leave.

68. Repin, Vestnik Moskovoskogo Universiteta, p. 70.

69. B.L. Additional MS 33573, f. 182, 28 April 1703, Thomas Hale in Moscow to Bernard Hale in London.

70. Ibid.

71. The English retained a presence in Archangel but the firms there were branch offices of some of the large St. Petersburg houses. The Cayleys, for example, sent their son, Arthur, to Archangel.

72. Hanway, op. cit., p. 53.

73. Åström, From Cloth to Iron, p. 53; Oddy, op.cit., p. 155.

74. Ibid, p. 124.

75. Kh. A. Piirimyae, 'Sostav ob'em i raspredelenie Russkogo vivoza v 1661-1700 gg, cherez Shvedskie vladeniya v Pribaltike na primere torgovli g Narvi', Skandinavski Sbornik, V (Tallin, 1962), 39. Swedish policy after 1650 of lowering export tariffs at Narva and allowing direct contact with foreign merchants made the port attractive to exports from Estonia and Livonia and caused a decline in the direct export trade of Pernau and, to a lesser extent, of Reval. Astrom, From Cloth to Iron, p. 125.

76. A. Ohberg, 'Russia and the World Market in the Seventeenth Century', Scandinavian Economic History Review, III, 2 (1955) 139, 141, 144; Chistyakova, op.cit., pp. 203, 219.

77. Ibid, p. 204; Piirimyae, Sostav, pp. 55, 60, 67, 72.

78. Chistyakova, op.cit., p. 215.

79. Åström, Stockholm to St. Petersburg, pp. 78, 80; From Cloth to Iron, p. 125. These changes meant that, for example, the duty paid on a shippund of hemp exported at Narva was one third that paid at Riga.

80. Åström, Stockholm to St. Petersburg, p. 76; From Cloth to Iron, pp. 112, 128, 133; Christyakova, op.cit., p. 220. There is no evidence that English merchants at Narva used the services of the English agents in Moscow or other inland towns. Protocol may, of course, have forbidden this for the English agents were there to serve members of the Russia Company while the Narva merchants were not members but simply paid an annual fee to the Company for the right to trade there.

81. Åström, From Cloth to Iron, p. 129.

82. J. Th. Lindblad and P. de Buck, 'Trade and Shipping between the Baltic and the Dutch Republic, 1722-1780', Paper presented at the VIIIth International Economic History Congress, Budapest, 1982, pp. 7-11.

83. E.D. Clarke, Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa (London, 1810), quoted in V. and A. Kennett, The Palaces of Leningrad (London, 1973) p. 23.

84. For the development of St. Petersburg see the series of plans with their detailed lists of the main buildings in Plani S. Peterburga v 1700, 1705, 1725, 1738, 1756, 1777, 1799 godakh (St Petersburg, 1853).

85. Christopher Marsden, Palmyra of the North (London, 1942), p. 160.

86. Catherine I disliked St. Petersburg intensely and Peter II spent almost all his short reign in Moscow. Elizabeth took her court away from the city for whole years at a time, especially in the early part of her reign.

87. SIRIO 91, 2 June 1741 Edward Finch, St. Petersburg, to Lord Harrington, London.

88. Cook, op.cit., p. 64; Marshall, op.cit., p. 107; Oddy, op.cit., p. 116; Coxe, op.cit., p.466. Camels were large boxes which were sunk on either side of a ship and fixed together, after which the water was pumped out and the ship raised.

89. John Perry, The State of Russia under the Present Czar (London, 1716), p. 40; Oddy, op.cit., p. 115.

90. Mrs Vigor, Letters from a Lady who resided some years in Russia (London, 1775), pp. 3-4, "though the houses and streets are very handsome, they are mostly uninhabited for the Admiralty island is by much the most populous". Cook, op.cit., pp. 60-1. The galley haven was also on Vassili Ostrov but the Gostinnoi Dvor, the main retail market, was on the Admiralty side.

91. Vigor, op. cit., pp. 165; Coxe, op.cit., p. 483.

92. Perry, op.cit., pp. 40-1: land transport costs in the St. Petersburg region were higher than elsewhere because forage for the pack animals was so scarce and expensive. Transport costs pushed the price of goods at St. Petersburg to three or four times the level in other towns.

93. Letters from Count Algarotti to Lord Hervey and the Marquis Scipio Maffei (London, 1769), pp. 116-7; for details of the Ladoga and Vishnei Volochek canal systems, as well as the later Marienskii and Tikhvin canals see the plans appended to H. Storch, Supplementband zum Fünften, sechsten und siebenten Theil des historich statistischen Gemaldes des Russischen Reichs (Leipzig, 1803).

94. Marshall, op.cit., pp. 161, 177; Reading, op.cit., pp. 21, 23.

95. Repin, Vestnik Moskovoskogo Universiteta, pp. 63-4; Oddy, op.cit., p. 115.

96. Perry, op.cit., p. 41; Histoire des Découvertes faites par divers savans voyageurs (Berne, 1779), pp. 218, 238; P.S. Pallas, Voyages dans plusieurs provinces de l'empire de Russie (Paris, 1794), VII, p. 51 and Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire (London, 1802), pp. 12, 16, 27, 35, 38, 45, 220; H. von Storch, Tableau historique et statistique de l'Empire de Russie (Paris, 1801), pp. 247-8, 332.

97. Hanway, op. cit., pp. 8-46; Algarotti, op. cit., pp. 41 and 60; K.G. Hildebrand, 'Foreign Markets for Swedish Iron in the Eighteenth Century', Scandinavian Economic History Review, 6 (1958), 48; R.W. Ferrier, 'The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', Economic History Review, 26 (1973), 60. The routes for iron from the Urals can be found in B.B. Kafengauz, Istoriya Khozyaistva Demidovikh v XVIII-XIX v (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949), I, 416-423, 424-74.

98. Oddy, op.cit., p. 115; Marbault, Essai sur le commerce de Russie avec l'histoire de ses découvertes (Amsterdam, 1777), p. 10; M. Ya. Volkov, 'Privoz khleba v raion Peterburga v 20-e gody XVIII v', Voprosi Sotsialno-ekonomicheskoi Istorii (Moscow, 1961), 124-5; P.H. Clendenning, 'The Background and Negociations for the Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1766' in A.G. Cross (ed.), Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth Century (Newtonville, Mass., 1979), p. 148.

99. Bank of Scotland, BLC, English and Foreign Letter Book, 6/24/1 11 January 1752, Company to Thomas Allan, London; Reading, op.cit., p. 22.

100. E.I. Indova, Krepostnoe Khozyaistvo v nachale XIX veka (Moscow, 1955), p. 30.

101. PRO, C.104/143(1) 21 September 1744, 1 November and 13 December 1746, Alexander Cook to William Heath; 143(2) 15 January 1747 Alexander Cook to William Heath, undated letter Mary Heath to William Heath.

1. For more detailed discussion of the fur trade, see chapter 4. pp.120-1.

2. Some areas South of the Volga exported timber in the form of masts where prices were clearly high enough to bear the cost of transport but otherwise they found it more economic to produce potash. At Arsamas, for example, the crown forests were let out in districts for potash production which was supervised by inspectors. Histoires des Découvertes faites par divers savans voyageurs (Berne, 1779), p. 238; J.V. Th. Knoppers and R.V.V. Nicholls, 'Potash in World Trade and its Role in Chemical Technology, 1660-1820'. Paper presented at the VIIth International Economic History Congress, Edinburgh 1978.

3. The relative importance of different commodities in Riga's exports were as follows (percentage distribution):

	1655-99	1711-20	1721-30	1741-50	1751-60
Flax & hemp	61.0	60.6	68.3	69.8	69.6
Flax & hemp seed	14.7	9.0	10.7	9.3	7.9
Timber	5.1	7.7	5.9	6.3	8.6
Grain	14.2	3.7	1.1	1.1	2.0
Other	5.0	19.0	14.0	13.5	11.9

A. Attman, 'The Russian Market in World Trade, 1500-1860', Scandinavian Economic History Review, XXIX, 3 (1981), 182, 186.

Similar data is unfortunately not available for the other Baltic ports except for the year 1749 at St. Petersburg where the distribution was as follows:

Flax & hemp	11.2%
Sailcloth & linen	20.8%
Iron	9.8%
Leather	23.5%
Tallow	5.1%

A.F. Busching (ed.), Magazine für die neue Historie und Geographie, III (1769), 348-9.

4. A. Attman, The Russian and Polish Markets in International Trade (Göteborg, 1973), p. 16.

5. A. Soom, Der Handel Revals in Siebzehnten Jahrundert (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 51. See note 7 below.

6. Kh. A. Piirimyae, 'Sostav, ob'em i raspredelenie Russkogo vivoza v 1661-1700 gg cherez Shvedskie vladeniya v Pribaltike na primere torgovli g Narvi', Skandinavski Sbornik, V (1962), 78.

7. See appendix 2 for details of exports through the Sound. The weighting of different markets for Riga and Reval was as follows (% distribution):

	Riga		Reval	
Year	Through Sound	Intra-Baltic	Through Sound	Intra-Baltic
1680	65.8	34.2	60.4	39.6
1690	75.7	24.3	48.6	51.4
1700	72.8	27.2	10.7	89.3

8. No figures are available for the actual quantities of grain produced but the rapid re-establishment in the 1720s of supplies of other agrarian products like hemp and flax, suggests that production had returned to the pre-1700 pattern.

9. Rye prices on the Amsterdam market moved as follows (per last, in guilders):

1739	93.59
1740	224.00
1741	175.00
1742	112.93

N.W. Posthumus, Inquiry into the History of Prices in Holland (Leiden, 1946), I, 18.

10. See chapter 1, pp.28-9.
J. Th. Lindblad and P. de Buck, 'Trade and Shipping between the Baltic and the Dutch Republic, 1722-1780' Paper presented at the VIIIth International Economic History Conference, Budapest, 1982, p. 20. The main sources of Dutch grain supplies in the eighteenth century were:

	Danzig	Königsberg	Riga
1722-40	60%	16%	
1741-56	67%	14%	
1757-70	62%	16%	
1771-80	25%	16%	19%

11. Kh. P. Strod, 'Vliyanie torgovoi politiki Rossiiskoi imperii na razvitie sel'skogo khozyaistva Latvii v XVIII v', Ekonomicheskie Svyazi Pribaltiki s Rossiei (1968), p. 149; G. Etzold, Seehandel und Kaufleute in Reval nach dem Frieden von Nystad bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Marburg/Lahn, 1975), p. 82.

12. John Perry, The State of Russia under the Present Czar (London, 1716), p. 41; M. Ya. Volkov, 'Privoz khleba v raion Peterburga v 20e gody XVIII v', Voprosi Sotsialno-Ekonomicheskoi Istorii (1961), p. 120. In 1724 exports of grain were forbidden from Archangel and directed to be sold in the Russian towns ('prekazno prodat' v russkykh gorodakh'), T.F. Lavrova, 'Torgovie svyazi goroda Arkhangel'ska s zapadnoevropeiskimi stranami v pervoi treti XVIII veka', Uchenie zapiski Arkhangel' skogo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta, 16 (1964), 222-3.

13. 'Real' grain prices (in grams of silver per 10 puds).

	St. Petersburg	Urals
1700-9		6.3
1710-19		9.5
1720-29	15.5	13.7
1730-39	13.36	22.7
1740-49	15.25	22.5
1750-59	13.36	19.1
1760-69	18.4	21.4
1770-79	21.42	28.8

See chapter 8, pp.164-6 where Russian prices and the procedure employed to eliminate the deflationary impact of silver shortages are more fully discussed.

14. Maps of St. Petersburg show a very considerable spread of settlement between 1725 and 1756, greater in fact than that between 1756 and the end of the century, Plani S. Peterburga v 1700, 1705, 1725, 1738, 1756, 1777, 1799 godakh (St. Petersburg, 1853).

15. P.S. Pallas, Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire (London, 1802), p. 27; Joseph Marshall, Travels through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Lapland, Russia, the Ukraine and Poland (London, 1772), pp. 169-70.

16. Strod, op.cit., p. 162; V. Doroshenko, J. Kakh, H. Ligi, Kh. Piirimyae, E. Tarvel, Trade and Agrarian Development in the Baltic Provinces (Tallin, 1974), p. 13.

17. Exports of grain to Lübeck in 1690, in Lübeck marks, were:

Reval	117,525	84%
Narva	15,075	11%
Riga	7,700	5%

Elizabeth Harder, 'Seehandel zwichen Lübeck und Russland im 17/18 Jahrhundert nach Zollbüchern der Novgorodfahrer', Zeitschrift des vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 41 (1961), 109-10.

18. WRH, CS 96/1986. 28 August 1776 Hunter & Smith, Leith to Shairps, Maude & Co., St. Petersburg.

19. Attman, Russian and Polish Markets, pp. 9-11; J.J. Oddy, European Commerce (London, 1805), p. 83; N.N. Repin, 'K voprosu o svyazi vneshnogo i vnutrennogo rynka Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XVII - pervoi chetverti XVIII v', Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, 6 (1970), 58.

20. Marshall, op.cit., p. 169-170; Attman, Russian and Polish Markets, pp.11-12; Maria Barbara Topolska, 'Peculiarities of the economic structure of Eastern White Russia in the 16-18th centuries', Studia Historiae Oeconomicae, 6 (1971), p. 41.

21. Histoires, p. 230; Strod, op.cit., p. 160.

22. Marshall, op.cit., p. 169.

23. H.F. von Storch, Tableau Historique et Statistique de l'Empire de Russie (Paris, 1801), p. 248.

24. See chapter 9, pp.183-4.
N.L. Rubinstein, 'Vneshnyaya torgovlya Rossii i Russkoe kupechestvo vo vtoroi polovine XVIII v, Istoricheskie Zapiski, 54 (1955), 355-6; P.H. Clendenning, 'The Background and Negotiations for the Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1766' in A.G. Cross (ed.), Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth Century (Newtonville, 1979), pp. 146-7; D.S. Macmillan, 'The Scottish-Russian Trade: its Development, Fluctuations and Difficulties, 1750-1796', Canadian Slavic Studies, IV, 3 (1970), 426-42.

25. Harder, op.cit. Exports of flax and hemp to Lübeck in 1690, in Lübeck marks, were:

	Flax		Hemp	
Reval	20,400	74%	14,325	35%
Narva	6,775	24%	24,050	58%
Riga	500	2%	7,700	5%

26. Repin, op.cit., p. 58.

27. Rubinstein, op.cit., p. 352.

28. Marshall, op. cit., pp. 179-180. Marshall, writing at the close of the 1760s, says that nine tenths of the hemp and flax bought by the British in St. Petersburg came from the Ukraine. In the 1770s hemp was being supplied from areas South and West of Moscow to St. Petersburg, Rubinstein, op.cit., p. 352.

29. Riga and St. Petersburg were, to some extent, selling differentiated products because the hemp and flax from Riga were 'of a stronger harle and better quality' than those from St. Petersburg and could command a higher price. Riga's products were also well braaked and this meant that the quality of the different grades of fibre could be depended on, whereas there were constant complaints, throughout the eighteenth century, about the braak and corrupt practices of the customs house staff at St. Petersburg which allowed good quality materials to be used on the outside of the mats to disguise poor quality stuff inside and for unbraaked goods to be substituted for those already inspected as they were despatched from the customs house. Oddy, op.cit., p. 82; BLC., English and Foreign Letter Book, 6/24/1, 2 November 1751, Company to Ralph Carr, Newcastle, 11 January 1752, Company to Thomas Allan, London; WRH CS 96/2250 16 August 1773 James Inglis, Edinburgh to William Glen, St. Petersburg; Guildhall, 11,892A 21 January 1704 Michael Mitford, London to Lloyd and Dowker, Moscow.

30. Harder, op.cit., pp. 109-110 shows how Reval had lost her share of the Lübeck market in 1749 to Narva and St. Petersburg (in Lübeck marks):

	Flax		Hemp	
Reval	19,400	39%	6,975	29%
Narva	29,200	58%	5,200	20%
St. Petersburg	1,400	3%	11,525	49%

Repin, op.cit., p. 58.

31. Bank of Scotland, BLC, English and Foreign Letter Books 6/24/1-7. Flax was bought regularly in St. Petersburg, Riga, Danzig, Königsberg and Rotterdam between 1748 and 1761.

Imports of flax into Scotland from Russia:

Year	Value £ sterling	Percentage of total imports
1755	9,574	68
1756	7,995	72
1757	20,914	45
1758	41,914	86
1759	68,283	84
1760	52,104	84
1761	58,658	76
1762	32,635	64
1763		
1764	69,092	75
1765	61,567	69
1766	70,193	70
1767	55,244	66
1768	68,965	66
1769		
1770	78,466	67
1771	89,523	72
1772	85,046	64
1773	64,054	64
1774	94,561	63

Customs 14. A Durie, The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 69.

32. Attman, Russian and Polish Markets, p. 17; K.G. Mityaev, 'Oboroti i torgovli svyazi Smolenskogo rynka v 70x godakh XVII veka', Istoricheskie Zapiski, 32 (1942), p. 69.

33. Piirimyae, op.cit., p. 77.

34. H.S.K. Kent, 'The Anglo-Norwegian Timber Trade in the 18th Century', Economic History Review, 8 (1955), 62-3.

35. Jonas Hanway, An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea (London, 1755), p. 51.

36. Strod, op.cit., p. 160; Oddy, op.cit., p. 75.

37. S.E. Åström, 'North European Timber Exports to Great Britain, 1760-1810' in P.L. Cottrell and D.H. Aldcroft (eds.), Shipping, Trade and Commerce (Leicester, 1981), p. 86.

38. Between 1722-1755 44% of all timber imported into Amsterdam came from Narva. Between 1756-1780 this percentage dropped to 21% as Viborg supplied increasing amounts of timber to Amsterdam, the trade links being established during the embargo on Narva's exports. Lindblad and de Buck, op.cit., p. 20.

39. R.G. Albion, Forests and Sea Power (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), pp. 142, 151. Norwegian producers had one great advantage in the English market over their Baltic rivals - their proximity. The crossing from Norway could, with a good wind, take only three days whereas it took a month or longer from the Baltic. This meant that freight rates and insurance were very much lower from Norway, and as they, with customs and other charges, made up approximately two thirds of the final cost of timber, this made Norwegian timber extremely competitive in price.

40. Åström, op.cit., pp. 85-8; S.E. Åström, 'English Timber Imports from Northern Europe in the Eighteenth century', Scandinavian Economic History Review, XVIII (1970), 17-18.

Exports of sawnwood to England and Wales via the Sound 1761-80 (annual average numbers over five-year periods)

Years	Danzig	Königsberg	Memel and other Prussian Ports	Riga	Narva	Petersburg
1761-5	53,100	2,290	764	8,872	66,404	113,458
1766-70	39,077	2,641	2,662	22,591	116,704	284,143
1770-5	33,558	2,086	19,384	8,127	111,364	270,958
1775-80	37,719	1,947	38,157	11,915	61,293	259,596

Years	Viborg and other Finnish ports	Sweden	Other Ports	Total	Exports from Finland and Russia as % of total exports to England
1761-5	287,439	99,269	4,450	636,046	74.9
1765-70	452,123	74,319	1,838	996,098	87.9
1770-5	449,964	91,733	9,685	995,959	84.3
1775-80	469,117	116,707	7,524	1,003,975	79.9

41. English merchants were generally rather conservative when offered products from new areas but could be persuaded if the price was right: "We have great quantities of Timber imported here (Newcastle) from Riga. Mr Dingley sent a cargo from Onega here, but it was not much Esteem'd yet sh'd think it would Answer if it comes Cheap'. NRO, Carr Ellison MSS, ZCE 10/22 13 January 1764, Ralph Carr, Newcastle to John Gomm, St. Petersburg. Despite some financial problems the Gomm family continued their activities at Onega for twenty years. For a description of their enterprise see P.M. Trofimov, Ocherki ekonomicheskogo razvitiya evropeiskogo severa Rossii (Moscow, 1961), pp. 83-5 and BL Add.MS 37054.

42. Value of imports of Swedish iron through Novgorod and Pskov to Moscow (in rubles):

Year	bar iron	flat (plate) iron
1693	8,040	
1694	8,469	
1695	20,132	1,225
1696	8,173	2,218
1697	18,360	3,309
1698	30,128	3,019
1699	27,185	2,424
1700	32,748	1,924

Imports ceased at the end of 170. B.B. Kafengauz, Istoriya khozyaistva Demidovikh v XVIII-XIX vv (Moscow, 1949), p. 41.

43. R. Portal, L'Oural au XVIII siècle (Paris, 1950), pp. 28-9;

Production of iron (skpd)

Year	Urals		Central Provinces		Total	
	Bar Iron	Pig Iron	Bar Iron	Pig Iron	Bar Iron	Pig Iron
1710	3,800	12,800	11,800	18,800	15,600	31,600
1718	12,800	22,800	25,600	33,800	28,400	56,600
1719	13,200	24,100	15,600	31,700	26,800	55,800
1720	13,000	30,500	17,000	30,500	30,000	61,000
1721	17,200	33,000	14,600	29,300	31,800	62,300
1722	26,900	55,300	10,800	23,800	37,700	79,100
1723	19,400	40,700	11,900	23,700	31,300	64,400
1724	21,000	58,300	9,600	19,300	30,600	77,600
1725	27,600	59,500	10,000	22,000	37,600	81,500
1750	98,440	142,390	34,620	58,540	133,060	200,930
1760	170,280	274,600	56,840	91,730	227,120	366,330
1770	251,360	398,360	69,090	112,230	320,450	510,590
1780	296,730	545,950	79,380	125,850	376,110	671,800

S.G. Strumilin, Istorii chernoi metalurgii v SSSR (Moscow, 1954), pp.180-1, 459-85. It should be noted that Russian statistics of metallurgical production measure output at the end of each process. Pig iron is the product from which both bar and cast iron are made and accordingly the pig used in the manufacture of secondary products is double counted. Moreover, any calculation of the residual used to produce castings over-estimates output because of the losses involved in the conversion of pig into either bar or cast iron. With these reservations in mind, however, it is clear that the important position in total output occupied by castings during the years 1710-25 was subsequently eroded, bar iron coming to the fore:

		Cast Iron		Bar Iron	
1710-25	(av)	37,512	(52.7%)	33,725	(47.3%)
1750		67,870	(33.8%)	133,060	(66.2%)

44. Portal, chapter III. Nikita Demidov was granted the concession at Neviansk by Peter in 1702.

45. Swedish iron was always more important in the Amsterdam market than Russian, even after 1760 when imports from St. Petersburg increased.

Sources of iron imports at Amsterdam

	Sweden	St. Petersburg
1722-56	93%	
1756-80	80%	17%

Lindblad and de Buck, op. cit., p. 21.

46. K.G. Hildebrand, 'Foreign Markets for Swedish Iron in the 18th Century' Scandinavian Economic History Review, VI (1958), 13.

47. SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN 426, 11 June 1735 Graffin Prankard, Bristol, writing to Maister and Grundy at Gothenburg noted that their Gothenburg iron was 'Pretty Stout Drawn & Heavy' compared to that of Stockholm and did not sell so well in the Bristol area.

48. This seems probable because later in the eighteenth century Riga's exports include both Swedish and Russian iron, Busching, op.cit., IX (1775), 207, 210, 221, 225.

49. Imports of iron into England from Russia (tons):

1697	524
1698	-
1699	687
1700	846
1701	32
1702	63
1703	165
1704	30

Customs 3.

50. Sources of English Imports of bar iron 1699-1799 (decennial averages)

	Sweden Tons	%	Russian Tons	%	Other Tons	%	Total Tons	%
1699	15,300	80			3,900	20	19,200	100
1700-9	14,100	88	20		1,950	12	160,50	100
1710-19	10,500	65	20		5,440	35	16,250	100
1720-9	15,000	76	400	2	4,250	22	19,650	100
1730-9	19,000	74	3,300	13	3,250	13	25,550	100
1740-9	16,800	75	3,600	16	2,100	9	22,500	100
1750-9	18,700	64	8,100	27.5	2,550	8.5	29,350	100
1760-9	19,600	49	17,400	44	2,700	7	39,700	100
1770-9	16,700	38	25,300	57	2,100	5	44,100	100
1780-9	15,300	34.5	27,800	63	1,100	2.5	44,200	100
1790-9	18,200	40	26,300	58	1,000	2	45,500	100

Hildebrand, op. cit., pp. 10, 35-7.

51. Portal, op.cit., p.372.

1. Paul Bushkovitch, The Merchants of Moscow, 1580-1650 (Cambridge, 1980), Chapter 8.

2. Salt made by this method tended to contain higher quantities of calcium and magnesium compounds which affected the taste and its properties as a preservative. It was also frequently dirty. For details of the salt industry of North East England see Joyce Ellis, 'The Decline and Fall of the Tyneside Salt Industry, 1660-1790 : A Re-examination', Economic History Review, XXXIII, 1 (1980), pp. 45-58.

3. In April 1735 Graffin Prankard's ship, The Parham Pink, transported French soldiers from Copenhagen to Calais, then picked up a mixed cargo of rice, cheese, cider, beer, pitch, coal and bottles at Bristol to take to Lisbon. She was delayed at Lisbon but sailed with a cargo of salt and reached the Baltic in August where she delivered her goods at Riga. She just had time to sail to St. Petersburg for a load of hemp before the season closed. SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN 426, Graffin Prankard's letters from Bristol of 9 April 1735 to Charles Wilder, Copenhagen; 30 April 1735 to Edmund Field & Co., Lisbon; 11 June 1735 and 6 August 1735 to Vaus, Vigor & Hair, St. Petersburg.

4. The largest number of ships from Baltic ports trading at Riga came from Lübeck and it seems that this must have been the source of these salt imports, but as the only figures available are by value, not volume, it is not possible to verify the quantities involved. A large part of the supplies from Lübeck were made up of re-exports from Spain. V.V. Doroshenko, 'Rost rizhskoi morskoi torgovli v XVII-XVIII vv', Izvestiya academii nauk Latviiskoi SSR, 1 (1981), p. 58; E. Harder, 'Seehandel zwichen Lübeck und Russland im 17/18 Jahrhundert nach zollbüchern der Novgorodfahrher' Zeitschrift des vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 41 (1961), p. 95.

5. K.G. Mityaev, 'Oboroti i torgovie svyazi Smolenskogo rynka v 70x godakh XVII veka', Istoricheskie Zapiski, 32 (1942) p. 69; Maria Barbara Topolska, 'Zwiazki handlowe Biatomsi wschodniej z Ryga w koncu XVII i na poczatku XVIII wieku', Roczniki Dziejow Spolecznych i Gospodarczych, XXIX (1968), pp 20, 27. Peasant carters who transported estate goods to and from Riga were paid in salt.

6. Spanish and Portuguese salt had gradually been displacing the French product on the Dutch market in the first half of the eighteenth century and by 1751 imports of French salt into the Netherlands was about one eighth of the level of 1718. This change did not become obvious in the Russian market until shipping patterns altered with Dutch ships carrying cargoes direct to their destination rather than via Amsterdam. M. Morineau, 'Le balance du commerce Franco-Néerlandais et le resserrment économique des Provinces-Unies au XVIII ème siècle', Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek, 30 (1965), p. 202.

7. Christopher Marsden, Palmyra of the North (London, 1942), p. 133.

8. J.M. Kulischer, Russiche Wirtschaftsgeschichte (Munchen & Berlin), p.324.

9. John Perry, The State of Russia under the Present Czar (London, 1716), p.262.

10. Lesley Chamberlain, The Food and Cooking of Russia (London, 1982), p.12.

11. A.R. Mitchell, 'The European Fisheries in Early Modern History' in E.E. Rich & C.H. Wilson (eds.), Cambridge Economic History of Europe, V (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 148-9, 152.

12. Ibid., pp. 154-5.

13. Maria Barbara Topolska, 'Peculiarities of the economic structure of Eastern White Russia in the 16-18 centuries', Studia Historae Oeconomica, 6 (1971), p. 47.

14. A. Soom, Der Handel Revals im Siebzenhten Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 39-40.

15. Charles Wilson, 'Cloth Production and International Competition in the Seventeenth Century', Economic History Review, XVIII (1960), pp. 212, 219.

16. Ibid., p. 211; Douglas K. Reading, The Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1734 (New Haven, 1938), pp. 272-3.

17. Soom, op. cit., pp. 38-9; Harder, op cit., pp. 96-7.

18. Soom, op. cit., pp. 38-39; Harder, op. cit., pp. 96-7. The different categories of imports of Dutch linen imports are given in the Sound Toll Accounts.

19. Rank carried with it certain expectations as to dress, furnishings and number of servants and, as pay was low and constantly in arrears, it was often difficult to meet these requirements. As Admiral Gordon explained to his cousin in Edinburgh '... although the pay is small yet I must live up to a Rank that must exceed my pay without great frugality... I rank with a Lt. Generall and none but 2 Marshalls, 4 Generalls, 3 Admirals, the Chancellor & so many Lt. Generalls as are older in Commission than I, so that in this great Empire there is 20 can sitt above me. I do not inform you of this out of vanity but only to tell you that my expenses is much more than I care for.' RH, Abercairny Muniments, GD 24/1/859 16 March 1722 Admiral Gordon to John Gordon. Until the 1730s foreign merchants overcame the problem of lack of skilled tailors by ordering their clothes from their tailors at home. Proper fitting appears to have been a minor problem because anything unsuitable could easily be sold to their compatriots. See, for example, RH, GD 24/1/859 29 March 1721 Admiral Gordon to George Ouchterlony, London, ordering a coat, waistcoat and breeches ('I am a thought thicker in my body than I was when I parted with you'!); BL Add. MSS 33573, f.180 24 January 1702 Thomas Hale, Moscow to Bernard Hale, London.

20. PRO CME C. 104/143(2), 27 October 1744 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath. He had sold some inferior damaged cloth 'to our labourers' and could stop the price out of their wages.

21. The value of these contracts is reflected in the high level of English cloth exports to Archangel in this period. For details see p.99.

22. Reading, op. cit., pp. 276-8.

23. Ibid., p. 280. Between 1725 and 1734 the Prussians exported the following quantities of cloth on contract to the Russian army:

Year	Quantity	Value in rixdollars
1725	173,736yds	119,000
1726	246,394	170,000
1727	284,258	196,000
1728	7,683	5,500
1729	164,220	
1730	45,909	33,000
1731	332,330	230,000
1732	238,176	180,000
1733	384,813	
1734	155,556approx.	

24. SIRIO, 110, 17 October 1748, Lord Hyndford, St. Petersburg to Lord Newcastle. French sources suggested that Wolff spent Ro. 200,000 in bribes to secure the contract and that he was given a silver vessel by the king and made Consul and later Resident in St. Petersburg as a reward. Marbault, Essai sur le commerce de Russie avec l'histoire de ses découvertes (Amsterdam, 1777), p. 164.

25. K.A. Pazhitnov, Ocherki istorii tekstil'noi promyshlennosti dorevolutsionnoi Rossii (Moscow, 1955), I, 19.

26. Mityaev, op. cit., p. 69; Topolska, Studia Historia Oeconomica, p. 47.

27. Soom, op. cit., pp. 38-9.

28. R.I. Kozintseva, 'Vneshnetorgovy oborot Arkhangelskoi yarmarki i ee rol' v razvitii vcerossiiskogo rynka', Isseldovaniya po istorii feodal 'no-krepostnicheskoi Rossii (Moscow-Leningrad, 1964), p. 119:

Imports in 1710 were

Woollens	R^{o} 504,372	Linen	R^{o} 11,390
Silks	54,288	other	8,858
Total	R^{o} 578,908	= £192,969 (at 1710 exchange).	

29. Customs 3.

30. For further details of re-exports of cloth see chapter 4, pp.117-8, 120.

31. Bank of Scotland, BLC, English and Foreign Letter Book 6/24/2 8 May 1750, Company to Ralph Carr, Newcastle; NRO, Carr Ellison MSS, ZCE 10/18 1 June 1757, Ralph Carr, Newcastle to William and John Gomm, St. Petersburg.

32. Elizabeth, Lady Craven, A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople (London, 1789), p. 125; James Brogden reported to his parents that there were plenty of fires in the English houses in St.

Petersburg burning Newcastle and Scottish coal which 'being brought as ballast is cheaper here than in London'. James Cracraft, 'James Brogden in Russia 1787-88', Scandinavian and East European Review, 47 (1969), p. 232.

33. PRO CME C.104/143(1) 15 March 1746 and 143(2) 24 March 1747, Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London.

34. See appendix 3 table 3.7 for imports of metals and metalwares.

35. See appendix 3 table 3.13.

36. The shipments of French cloth to Russia through the century remained in Dutch hands and the pattern of shipment did not change. French exports of 'toiles' to the Netherlands remained remarkably stable in value between 1635-45 and 1779 (in thousand livres)

	1635-45	1750	1751	1775	1776	1777	1779
Toiles	1,583	1,340	2,014	-	-	-	1,809
Dorure		189	97	68	24	19	n.a.
Etoffes de soie		146	143	483	441	650	n.a.
Special cloths		264	105	n.a	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Morineau, op. cit., pp. 201,210,220.

37. Marsden, p. 88; Mrs Vigor, Letters from a Lady who Resided some Years in Russia (London, 1789), pp. 197, 199; W. Coxe, Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark (London, 1784), p. 491.

38. Craven, op. cit., p. 128.

39. Coxe, op. cit., p. 243. When passing through Smolensk he was entertained by a Russian gentleman, his wife and sister all of whom spoke French and wore French fashions.

40. R. Dion, Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France (Paris, 1959), pp. 423-4.

41. H. Enjalbert, 'Le commerce de Bordeaux et la vie economique dans le bassin aquitain au XVIIe siècle', Annales du Midi, LXII (1950), p. 24.

42. Dion, op. cit., pp. 428-9.

43. A.D. Francis, The Wine Trade (London, 1972), p. 202.

44. RH, Abercairny Muniments, GD24/1/859 25 June 1723, Admiral Gordon, St. Petersburg, to William Gordon, Bordeaux; 10 March 1724, Admiral Gordon to Robert Gordon, Bordeaux; on 24 January 1727 Admiral Gordon informed Robert Gordon that the Duke of Holstein was sending a ship to Bordeaux in March for wines for himself, Count Bassevits and the Admiral. They ordered 141 hogsheads of claret of different growths, 84 hogsheads of assorted white wines, 40 hogsheads of brandy, 6 boxes of sweetmeats and 12lb Jessamin oil. The purpose of this arrangement was

not to cut the cost but simply to make certain of a supply of wines to the customer's taste.

45. It was the granting of this contract which was used by the merchants concerned to force easier and cheaper membership of the Russia Company in 1699. Guildhall, Russia Company Minute Books, 11,741/2, 31 May 1698, 1 June 1698, 20 March 1699. The contract only lasted until 1702 when exports fell dramatically.

46. Morineau, op. cit., pp. 218, 231.

47. Prices for rice were often higher at Hamburg than Amsterdam in the 1730s so Graffin Prankard sent his shipments there from Carolina. He used an English merchant house, Skinner, Smith & Co., as his agents and drew on them to finance his purchases of iron in Stockholm. See, for example, SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN 426, 21 December 1734, Graffin Prankard, Bristol to Skinner, Smith & Co., Hamburg.

48. Letters from Count Algarotti to Lord Hervey and the Marquis Scipio Maffei (London, 1769), p.81. Count Algarotti noted in 1739 that France had little direct trade with Russia but, indirectly, supplied her with 'wines, rich stuffs, laces, snuffboxes, millinary' besides the fripperies already mentioned.

49. PRO CME C.104/143(1), 9 January 1745, 5 February 1745, 12 March 1745, 16 March 1745, 29 February 1746; 144, 26 March 1748; 141, 20 April 1759, all Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London.

50. Among the items in the cargo of the St. Michael, which sank near Abo in 1747, was a carriage being sent from Amsterdam to St. Petersburg for the Empress Elizabeth. It was a cariole - a two wheeled vehicle drawn by one horse, "gaily painted and adorned with numerous carvings". Christian Ahlström, 'Documentary research on the Baltic. Three case studies', International Journal of Nautical Archaeology, 7, 1 (1978), p.61. See also Archiv Knyazya Vorontsov (Moscow, 1870), I, 21 May 1745 for M.L. Vorontsov's order for a carriage from M. Gross in Paris, who explains that they were normally custom made but good secondhand items were available like Prince Cantimir's berlin which was 'peint et doré aux gobelins, garni de velours cramoisy de Venise a ramages, 5061 livres' (prime cost 8 million livres). Such a vehicle could be sent by Dutch shipping from Rouen.

51. PRO CME C. 104/141, 14 November 1741, 20 April 1759; 143(1) 30 March 1745, 25 January 1746, 29 February 1746, 27 January 1747, 28 March 1747; 144, 19 March 1748, 4 April 1748, 7 and 23 July 1748, all Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London; Sheffield Central Library, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Letters of second Marquis Rockingham, R. 195(c), 10 December 1773, 28 July 1774 Prince S.K. Narishkin, St. Petersburg to Lord Rockingham; RH, Abercairny Muniments, GD24/1/859 15 August 1727, Admiral Gordon, Kronstadt to John Gordon, Edinburgh; Bank of Scotland, BLC, English and Foreign Letter Book 6/24/1 28 June 1748, Company to Allan and Shairp, St. Petersburg.

52. PRO CME C. 104/141, 19 March 1759, Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London.

53. The Sound Toll accounts give figures for general and small wares but for some reason, only at the beginning of each decade. They are as follows (in rixdollars):

1680	50,780	1740	116,703
1690	10,010	1750	125,684
1700	1,430	1760	110,953
1710	1,396	1770	258,726
1720	62,951	1780	475,938
1730	77,789		

54. In Elizabeth's reign the court was constantly moving between St. Petersburg and Moscow. As the Tsarina and her courtiers did not have sufficient furnishings for all their houses they had to move furniture and clothes with them. The journey took three days and nights and the sledge drivers went at a furious pace often overturning the sledges and breaking the contents with the result that furniture had often to be replaced which put a great financial strain on the fashion-conscious owners. At this time, the best bribe which could be offered was a piece of English or French furniture. Marsden, op. cit., pp.150-3.

1. SIRIO, 66 7 October 1732 Claudius Rondeau, St. Petersburg to Lord Harrington, London; 85, 29 January 1740 Edward Finch, St. Petersburg to Lord Harrington, London; Jonas Hanway, An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea (London, 1755), pp. 291-2.

2. R.W. Ferrier, 'The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century', Economic History Review, 26 (1973), p. 60.

3. Hanway, op. cit., p.5.

4. SIRIO, 66, 7 October 1732 Claudius Rondeau, St. Petersburg to Lord Harrington, London.

5. A description of their journey and Graeme's stay in Persia is given in A Journey through Russia into Persia; by Two English Gentlemen who went in the Year 1739, from Petersburg, in order to make a Discovery how the Trade from Great Britain might be carried on from Astracan over the Caspian (London, 1742).

6. RH, Affairs of Mungo Graeme, GD24/1/454/16 17 October 1741 Mungo Graeme, St. Petersburg to Sir Henry Stirling, Edinburgh.

7. Hanway gives the value of goods handled in the Persia trade between 1742 and 1749 as follows (in £ sterling):

	Value of European cloth and goods	Value of imports of raw silk
1742	42,500	
1743	36,225	30,000
1744	25,663	12,500
1745	63,236	15,500
1746	5,000	12,625
1747		3,250
1748		3,000
1749		(8,250
		(8,250 in money

Hanway, op. cit., p. 350. There was also an increase in English exports to Russia from 1766 onwards especially reflected in a large expansion of high quality cloths and bays, part of which may be attributed to renewed growth in re-exports to Persia. See appendix 4, table 4. for imports of English cloth.

8. Two accounts of the complicated history of direct trade to Persia can be found in Hanway, op.cit. (anti-Elton) and in John Cook, Voyages and Travels through the Russian Empire, Tartary, and Part of the Kingdom of Persia (Edinburgh, 1778), II, 507-524 (pro-Elton).

9. Hanway, op.cit., p. 292; see Appendix 4, table 4.2 for exports of dyes from England.

10. See Appendix 3, table 3.6. Coxe gives the value of Russian trade to Persia from 1760-1775 as follows (in £ sterling):

	Exports	Imports
1760	36,100	42,100
1768	87,700	63,700
1775	125,000	64,100

He breaks down the 1775 exports into cloth £52,600, cochineal £45,600 and indigo £7,000. Customs 3 figures show that British merchants could have supplied all the indigo required but only a small proportion of the cochineal. As dyes are included in the general category of colonial wares in the Sound Toll accounts it is not possible to show the quantities imported into Russia from the Netherlands, France and Hamburg. W. Coxe, Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark (London, 1784), p. 264.

11. Exports prior to 1719 were almost always made through Archangel and are, therefore, not available from the Sound Toll accounts but, as Customs 3 shows no imports of raw silk into England from Russia between 1697 and 1719, it would appear that the Dutch market was absorbing all re-exports of silk at this period also. One of the Dutch merchants who imported silk from Archangel at this period was Simon Beval whose factors in the port were Cornelis de Jongh and Jean Henry Furst, and Hendrik Timmerman. They acted for him between 1719 and 1727. Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, Amsterdam, Archief Brants, PA88/1647.

12. See Appendix 4, table 4.3.

13. Volga manufacturies were chiefly situated in Astrakhan where they belonged predominantly to Armenians but silks were also produced at Saratov and at Sarepta and in the other German colonies on the Volga. R.P. Bartlett, Human Capital (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 144, 151, 155, 165.

14. C.M. Foust, Muscovite and Mandarin (Chapel Hill, 1969), p. 129.

15. E.E. Rich, 'Russia and the Colonial Fur Trade', Economic History Review, 7 (1955), pp.311-3.

16. Ibid., pp.324-6; for the value of skins exported from England see Appendix 4, table 4.4.

17. See Appendix 4, table 4.4 The Sound Toll accounts show that the Dutch no longer played any role in supplying beaver skins to Russia at this period.

18. Foust, op.cit., p. 231; James R. Gibson, Feeding the Russian Fur Trade (Madison, 1969), pp. 17-23.

19. Foust, op.cit., p. 231.

20. Ibid., pp.166, 176.

21. In 1732 Lord Harrington wrote to Claudius Rondeau, the English Resident in Russia, to ask him to obtain seeds of Muscovy cabbage, cones of apples of Siberian cedar and seeds of rhubarb for Lord Hay. Rondeau later reported that the only type of rhubarb seed available was the "black calmuck tartary" kind which he had attempted to obtain with a bribe of 200 ducats but to no avail. SIRIO, 80, 28 October 1737 Lord Harrington, Hampton Court to Claudius Rondeau, St. Petersburg; 31 December 1737 Claudius Rondeau, St. Petersburg to Lord Harrington, London.

22. N.L. Rubinstein, 'Vneshnyaya torgovlya Rossii i Russkoe kupechesto vo vtoroi polovine XVIIIv', Istoricheskie zapiski, 54 (1955), pp.355-6.

23. PRO, CME C.104/141 14 April 1742 Molly Heath, St. Petersburg to Mrs Nemes, London - she sent Bohea and green tea as a present to her sister; 9 May 1766 John Nemes, London to Edward Fogg, St. Petersburg, thanking him for last year's bottles of tea which he much enjoyed and asking for an annual supply.

24. RH, Affairs of Mungo Graeme, GD24/1/454/8 20 September 1740, Mungo Graeme, Reshd.

1. See chapter 1, figures 1 and 2.

2. See appendix 1, tables 1.2.1 and 1.2.2.
The term 'Danish Peninusula' is used to cover the kingdom of Denmark and Schleswig Holstein.

3. See appendix 2 and appendix 3.

4. See chapter 1, figures 1 and 2.

5. See appendix 1, tables 1.2.1 and 1.2.2.

6. See chapter 2, pp.59-64.

7. See appendix 2, table 2.2.

8. See appendix 3.

9. See chapter 1, figures 4 and 5.

10. See appendix 3.

11. See appendix 1,table 1.2.3.

12. See chapter 1, figure 5.

13. See chapter 2, pp.81-2.

14. See appendix 1, table 1.1, tables 1.2.3 and 1.2.4.

15. See appendix 2, table 2.6.

16. See appendix 1, table 1.2.1.

17. See chapter 2, pp.63-4.

18. See chapter 7, pp.151-2 for further details of the development of shipping.

19. For more detailed information concerning the financing of Russian trade see chapter 8.

1. S.E. Åström, From Cloth to Iron (Helsingfors, 1963), pp.130,132.

2. For the regulation of trade in the sixteenth century see T.S. Willan, The Early History of the Russia Company 1553-1603 (Manchester, 1956), chapters 1, 9 and 11; for the changes in the seventeenth century see I. Lubimenko, Les relations commerciales et politiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie avant Pierre le Grand (Paris, 1933), pp.102, 180, 192, 258, 261.

3. As trade in some export commodities, such as potash, corn, tallow, resin, silk and rhubarb were monopolies of the crown, advance information on the sale of contracts could be extremely useful. In 1705, for example, Henry Stiles who had close links with the court, held the contracts for exports of tar, pitch and potash all of which he sold exclusively in the Netherlands. The tar contract was for seven years and, as the Navy Board required supplies but were unwilling to pay the Amsterdam price, the English Resident was instructed to use his influence with Stiles and the Tsar. Supplies were, as a result, made available and Stiles' monopoly in this product ended but Peter in return requested that the English government should provide a living for the Rev. Mr Goodwine, Stiles' brother-in-law, which they, in due course, did. SIRIO, 39, Lord Whitworth to Lord Harley 7 March 1705, 21 March 1705, 6 June 1705.

4. See chapter 1, p.37-8.

5. The records of the English church in Moscow show that in 1706 there were eight English women in the congregation; one was Mrs Judith Stiles, wife of Henry Stiles and another Barbara Morley, daughter of George Morley and later married successively to Henry Stiles and Henry Bland. Most of the remaining six women were probably servants. There were clearly quite a number of Dutch women there too for several English merchants married the widows of their Dutch colleagues. All the children born to the community between 1706 and 1720 died within a short period. Guildhall, Diocese of London, Foreign Registers, British Factory in Russia 1706-1815, MS11, 192B.

6. Philip Longworth, The Three Empresses (London, 1972), pp. 5-6.

7. BL Add. MSS 33573 Thomas Hale, Moscow to Bernard Hale, London, 28 March 1705, 28 April 1703.

8. BL Add. MSS 33573 25 February 1708 Thomas Hale, Moscow to Bernard Hale, London. Hale asked his brother to send him trinkets as presents for his lady friends "who must be kept happy" and felt that the quality of earrings sent reflected poorly on his taste in women.

9. Jonas Hanway, An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea (London, 1755), p.367.

10. Many similarities to the organisation of the trading houses in the Russia trade are also found in the Levant trade, especially as far as recruitment, training and the building of commercial networks was concerned. Ralph Davis, Aleppo and Devonshire Square (London, 1967), pp. 64-74.

11. Thomas Hale in Archangel heard from his brother that he had incurred the displeasure of his master but explained that he had never received clear orders from him. He wrote only once a year and it was very difficult to keep him informed as to the current situation. BL Add. MSS 33573 14 September 1703 Thomas Hale, Archangel to Bernard Hale, London.

12. Richard Masters and Lister Tigh combined both operations: they went into partnership together in 1704, taking over Thomas Waller's house and paying him half the profits of the commission business for three years, less charges which included lodgings, food, servant's wages, losses and any reasonable outlays. KRO, Masters MSS U119, C3 26 September 1704 Randolph Knipe, London to Richard Masters, Riga.

13. KRO, Masters MSS, U119, C3 26 September 1704 Randolph Knipe, London to Richard Masters, Riga.

14. The Heathcote family had very wide trading interests in the Baltic and elsewhere. Gilbert Heathcote had been a factor in Sweden in the mid seventeenth century and after returning home continued to import goods from Scandinavia and the Eastland ports. His brother, Samuel and Samuel's brother-in-law, William Dawsonne, were both Russia merchants and were involved in the tobacco contract which was used as a lever to modify the Russia Company's regulations. Samuel's eldest son, William, traded to Russia, Italy and Portugal. Several members of the family were directors of the Bank of England and the East India Company. HRO, Heathcote MSS, 18M54, Coffer 2, box A, packet B; Åström, op.cit., p. 162.

15. Richard Masters' brother paid £500 for him to be apprenticed to Randolph Knipe who was a well-established Baltic merchant at the turn of the century. This money and the rest of his capital was left to him in his father's will. Both James Masters and Bernard Hale acted as their brothers' agents and supplied them with goods from home. KRO, Masters MSS, U119, C3 21 November 1701, 12 July 1704 James Masters to Richard Masters, Riga; BL Add. MSS 33573 24 January 1702, 21 February 1705, 5 February 1709 Thomas Hale, Moscow to Bernard Hale, London.

16. Even Lord Whitworth used Erskine's good offices when he wanted to get information to the Tsar, SIRIO, 50, 22 September 1708 Lord Whitworth, Moscow to Mr Boyle, London.

17. Lord Whitworth was the English Resident in Russia from 1704-12 and in 1717. He gave considerable assistance to the English mercantile community, presenting a memorial to Golovin in March 1705 which outlined the merchants' grievances, and clearly keeping in touch with all their concerns as he frequently mentions their problems in his reports. He must also have given them help as individuals as Thomas Hale told his brother in one of his letters that Lord Whitworth had been most kind to him and he wished to give him a gift of some kind to the value of £10-15. SIRIO, 39, 7 March 1705 Charles Whitworth, Moscow to Lord Harley, et.sec.; BL Add. MSS 33573 6 February 1709 Thomas Hale, Moscow to Bernard Hale, London.

18. Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, Amsterdam, Archief Brants, PA88/866 10 April 1712 Jan Leeuw, Moscow to David Leeuw, Amsterdam. Quite a number of Dutch merchants attended the Moscow Anglican Chapel. Guildhall, Diocese of London, Foreign Registers, British Factory in Russia 1706-1815, MS 11,192B.

19. Thomas Hale described Menshikov's wedding in 1702 and refers to him as "our nation's patron", BL Add. MSS 33573 24 January 1702 Thomas Hale, Moscow to Bernard Hale, London.

20. Åström, op.cit., p. 132; Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Revaler Stadtarchivs A.g.119, 120; Guildhall, Diocese of London, Foreign Registers, MS 11,192B, membership of the Moscow chapel in 1706.

21. Richard Masters left Riga in 1709 and returned to London for several years, while his partner, Lister Tigh, moved to Lubeck during the war-time upheaval but he returned to Riga later and Masters was considering renewing their partnership. KRO, Masters MSS, U.119, C3 29 August 1710 Randolph Knipe, London to Richard Masters, Yokes; 29 December 1710 Lister Tigh, Lübeck to Richard Masters, Yokes.

22. The Reval archives have frequent references to the Clayhills' trade, from John Clayhills in 1684 with his partner, Herman, and their descendant, Thomas Clayhills, with whom Jonas Hanway stayed in 1749 and whom he described as "a considerable person in this place". The family remained permanently in Russia, their name being russified to Kleigels. Their most notable descendent was General Nicholas Kleigels, governor general of Volhynia and Podolia in 1904 and Prefect of Police at St. Petersburg. Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Revaler Stadtarchivs, A.g. 76, 218, 225; Hanway, op.cit., p. 403; A.F. Steuart, Scottish Influences in Russian History (Glasgow, 1913), p. 55.

23. See chapter 5 pp.125,127.
Whilst he was based at Narva, Thomas Grundy made at least two trips to St. Petersburg to visit the firm's correspondents who acted as their financial agents. Because there were no exchange quotations at Narva, bills had to be drawn from St. Petersburg. He also employed the correspondents to ship iron to Hull on behalf of his principal. Hull RO, Broadley MSS, DFB 52 12 February 1725 Thomas Grundy, St. Petersburg to Thomas Broadley, Hull; 10 February 1729 Thomas Grundy, Narva to Thomas Broadley, Hull.

24. Guildhall, Diocese of London, Foreign Registers, MS 11,192B. Richard Cozens had originally been appointed as shipbuilder to Peter I.

25. Hanway, op. cit., p.367. The St. Petersburg community did not regard themselves as the same as the British factories elsewhere. When it was projected in 1760 that the Cayleys should move to Riga, Mrs Cayley's friends commiserated with her as they felt she would not enjoy life there so much: "thay say the Ladies thaire are Very seremonous". PRO, CME C.104/141 7 September 1760 Esther Swallow, St. Petersburg to John Nemes, London.

26. PRO, CME C.104/141 5 April 1741, 23 June 1742, 29 June 1742 Molly Heath, St. Petersburg to William Heath and Alexander Cook, London.

This type of trade continued throughout the century and provided widows, like Mrs Prescott, with a means of supporting themselves and their children. PRO, CME C.104/141, 10 May 1766; 145, 4 May 1767, 21 March 1768 Mrs Prescott, St. Petersburg to John Nemes, London.

27. George Edwards joined the Russia Company in 1746, remaining in St. Petersburg with his brother, Eleazer working in London. His sister, Elizabeth married Daniel Prescott in 1745 and his younger sister, Sally married Thomas Ronald in 1756. Mrs Ronald was widowed in 1763 and went to live in Beverley while her children were educated but later returned to Russia. Her son, Thomas, went back to St. Petersburg to trade and her daughter, Mary also returned having married her merchant cousin, Edward Edwards. Mrs Prescott was widowed in 1761 but remained in St. Petersburg until 1768 when she moved to Hull. Her son, John, married Lydia Cattley in 1788 and was one of the partners of the St. Petersburg firm of Cattley and Prescott in 1793. Richard Cozens, junior remained in Russia and had a printed cloth factory at Krasno Selo at which Alexander Cook's son was a clerk. His sisters, Mary and Sarah married Nicholas Cavanaugh and John Cayley respectively, founding two prosperous and permanent merchant families in St. Petersburg. Guildhall, Diocese of London, Foreign Registers, MS 11,192B; Guildhall, Russia Company Minute Books 11,741/6 1746, 1750, 1754; James Cracraft, 'John Brogden in Russia, 1787-88', <u>Slavic and East European Review</u>, XLVII, 1 (1969), 226-8; John Cayley's correspondence as Consul from 1787-95 is found in PRO, FO lxv, 16-23; A.G. Cross, 'The British in Catherine's Russia', in J.G. Garrard (ed.), <u>The Eighteenth Century in Russia</u> (Oxford, 1973), p.244.

28. The slow development of trade can be seen in figure 5.1. This specialisation is illustrated by the list given by William Tooke for the amount of goods imported and exported by English merchants at St. Petersburg in 1797 in his <u>View of the Russian Empire during the Reign of Catherine II</u> (London, 1799), III, 655.

29. RH, Shairp of Houston, GD 30/1583/7 17 August 1753. William Maister paid £3,000 to enter Walter Shairp's firm - he had £2,500 from his father's will and borrowed a further £500 from John Grimston, a lawyer and family friend. Humberside RO, DDGR/42/3 9 August 1753 Nathaniel Maister, Hull to John Grimston, Beverley.

30. William Maister's value to his partner lay not only in his connections with his London masters but also in the fact that his family firm in Hull were considerable importers of iron and timber and he, like his uncle, William, in Stockholm would handle their trade. After Maister committed suicide in 1758, Shairp was worried that much of his clientele would disappear but he was able to reassure them that their affairs were in safe hands and that the firm's financial problems were only temporary. RH, Shairp of Houston, GD30/1583/10 30 November 1758 Walter Shairp, London to Thomas Shairp, Houston.

31. Thomas Grundy represented his brother-in-law, Thomas Broadley, and a group of other Hull merchants when he was in Narva and later in Gothenburg where he went into partnership with William Maister's uncle. He sometimes shipped cargoes of flax home to be sold on his own account with Broadley as his agent. On 10 February 1729 he warmly

thanked Broadley for sending some of his flax to Clarke and Thornton at Oporto. It is clear that they were clients of Broadley's and that he was promoting his brother-in-law's interests. Hull RO, Broadley MSS, DFB 53.

32. This pattern can be found in many firms: Robert and Charles Dingley, for example, had a series of partnerships sometimes together and sometimes separately starting early in the 1740s and continuing until the late 1760s. By 1748 Robert Dingley was living in London and Charles returned in the 1750s but their business was handled by their junior partners who included Jonas Hanway, George Edwards, William Crammond, Robert Shard and William Gomm. Guildhall, Russia Company Minute Books, 11, 741/5, 6, 7.

33. John Cayley was in partnership with Godfrey Thornton when he first went to St. Petersburg. Later his son, John, became his partner as did Stephen Thornton, Godfrey's son. Cracraft, op. cit., p.226.

34. Apprenticeship in a St. Petersburg house could cost approximately £100 but George Napier took Mungo Graeme without payment out of friendship for his relative, Sir Henry Stirling, though he was bound under a fine of R^{o} 1000 if he did not complete his period of servitude. RH, Napier of Ballikinrain MSS, GD1/850/31 13 April 1741 George Napier, St. Petersburg to James Napier, Ballikinrain; RH, Affairs of Mungo Graeme, GD24/1/454 deed of apprenticeship 1 January 1736.

35. PRO, CME C.104/141 16 December 1748 Partnership agreement between Alexander Cook and William Watson. Cook's stock was included at a valuation of £2,000 and Watson paid £200. The agreement was for 3 years and the profits were divided three quarters to one quarter with 1% commission allowed to the partnership on old stock and debts. Travel expenses and living allowances were paid by the firm. While William Maister paid £3,000 to enter into a partnership in 1753, Robert Duesbery paid £4,000 in 1770 to go into partnership with Hugh Atkins and Jacob Rigail. His father gave him £2,000 and loaned him the balance at 4%. HUL, Duesbery Papers, DDDU/21/18 1 September 1770 Bond by Robert Duesbery junior to Robert Duesbery senior. See also note 28.

36. PRO, CME C.104/141 19 March 1759 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London.

37. Even a partnership agreement did not always protect the dependents of a deceased merchant. Samuel Swallow, the British Consul and Russia Company Agent, had a one sixth share in the firm of Shairp, Maister and Swallow when he died in 1776. However, his capital was never paid by his partners to his wife who was left destitute with her two children. In the end the Russia Company granted her a pension of £100 p.a. for her lifetime. Guildhall, Russia Company Minute Books, 11,741/7 25 February 1777 and 1 August 1777; RH, Shairp of Houston, GD30/1583/18 30 April 1764 Walter Shairp, London to Thomas Shairp, Houston.

38. Admiral Gordon was always willing to try to assist his fellow countrymen but there were sometimes problems: "Hade your Proposal been made during the tym of the late Emperor I might have succeeded with less trouble and very little Charges for I hade frequent opportunity's to talke

to his Imperiall person, but now it very difficult to talke of private affairs with the Empress". However he could generally find a suitable person to make an application if a "reward" was paid. RH, Abercairny Muniments, GD24/1/859 17 April 1725 Thomas Gordon to Robert Arbuthnot, Paris. Alexander Cook benefited from his brother, Dr. John Cook's close relationship with the Galitsin family who became his customers and recommended him to their friends. PRO, CME C. 104/143(2) 24 January 1747 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London; John Cook, Voyages and Travels through the Russian Empire (Edinburgh, 1778), pp.264, 441.

39. Charles Whitworth, Edward Finch, Lord Tyrawly and Lord Hyndford all show considerable concern for and involvement with commercial matters, see SIRIO, 39, 50, 61, 66, 80, 85, 91, 99.

40. PRO, CME C.104/143(1) 13 December 1746; Cook received consignments of glass from Wilhelm van Maurik of Amsterdam on the recommendation of Dingley, Hanway and Edwards. 143(2) 13 January 1747 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London.

41. PRO, CME C.104/143(1) 22 October 1745, 4 February 1746, Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London; 143(2) 1 November 1765 Jane Cook, St. Petersburg to John Nemes, London; 143(1) 18 June 1761 Esther Swallow, St. Petersburg, to John Nemes, London; HUL, Duesbery papers, DDDU/20/7 30 June 1774, 5 March 1775, Robert Duesbery, St. Petersburg to Mrs Langwith, Scarborough; Cracraft, op.cit., pp 228-230, 232-3, 243; Mrs Vigor, Letters from a Lady who Resided Some Years in Russia (London, 1775), p. 139.

42. PRO, CME C.104/143(1) 1 August 1774, 9 April 1745; 143(2) 27 October 1747, 144 16 August 1748; 141 11 June 1759 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London; 23 May 1764 Jane Cook, St. Petersburg to John Nemes, London. Cook paid Samuel Shippard, a bookeeper R^{o}15 (£3) a month plus board and lodgings to deal with his affairs when he was in England.

43. Servants' wages in Russia were:

Butler (1705)	£10-12 p.a. plus board and livery
Cook (1775)	£12-15 p.a. plus board - work to include ironing and some needlework
Housemaid (1722)	£5 p.a. plus board and fare if she stayed for 3 years.
(1746)	R^{o}25-30 p.a. (£5-6 approx.)
Laundrymaid (1758)	R^{o}15 p.a. (£3) - work to include sewing and mending.

BL, Add.MSS 33573/194 28 March 1705 Thomas Hale, Moscow to Bernard Hale, London; HUL, Duesbery Papers, DDDU/20/7 5 March 1775 Robert Duesbery, St. Petersburg to Mrs Langwith, Scarborough; RH, Abercairny Muniments, GD24/1/859 16 March 1722 Admiral Gordon to John Gordon, Edinburgh; PRO, CME C.104/143(1) 14 September 1746; 144 7 September 1758 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London.

44. Alexander Cook rented several houses in the English Line and in 1753 he was occupying one where he had 6-8 rooms to display cabinetware and glass, his counting house and family accommodation. The rest was let out to lodgers. The total rent was R^{o}480 p.a. (£96 approx.) which was made up as follows:

Mr Prescott	paid R^{o}	180
Mr Sutherland		105
Mr Bureaw		80
Mr Suthoff		60
Cellar let for		50
Cook paid balance		5
		480

He had also had two barbers lodging in the attics but had had to terminate that arrangment for fear of thieving and fire. PRO, CME C. 104/141 15 May 1753 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London; HUL, Duesbery Papers, DDDU/20/7 30 March 1772 Robert Duesbery, St. Petersburg to Mrs Langwith, Scarborough; Cracraft, op.cit., pp. 227-8.

45. See Plani S. Peterburga v 1700, 1705, 1725, 1738, 1756, 1777, 1799 godakh (St. Petersburg, 1853); PRO, CME, C.104/143(1) 14 April 1747, 3 November 1747 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London; Cracraft, op. cit., p.230. The flax and hemp warehouses were destroyed in a fire in 1727 and it may have been at that time that they were moved to Vasili Ostrov.

46. The Thornton family followed this practice: Robert and Godfrey Thornton traded in London while Robert's sons, John, William and Godfrey spent periods in Riga and St. Petersburg. Stephen, Godfrey's son (and Robert's grandson) also went to St. Petersburg for a time. There was a Thornton in Oporto in the 1730s, Richard Thornton was in Hamburg in the 1760s and John Thornton (grandson of John senior) in the 1790s. This family were not only merchants but also bankers, directors of the Bank of England, government contractors and underwriters and members of parliament. Guildhall, Russia Company Minute Books, 11,741/5, 6, 7, 8. H.B. Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (London, 1929), pp. 60, 69, 234-5; S. Meacham, Henry Thornton of Clapham (Cambridge, Mass, 1964), introduction.

1. Ralph Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry (London, 1962), p.223. This stability in freight rates also applied to Dutch shipping on the Russian routes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Simon Hart, 'Amsterdam Shipping and Trade to Northern Russia in the Seventeenth Century', Mededelingen van de Nederlandse Vereniging voor Zeegeschiednis, XXVI (1973), pp. 14-15, J. Th.Knoppers, Dutch Trade with Russia from the time of Peter I to Alexander I (Montreal, 1976), pp. 171-2, 185, 202, 218, 236.

2. See chapter 3, p.101.

3. Guildhall, Russia Company Minutes, 11,741/2, between 1683 and 1698, ships were chartered as follows:

1683	3	1690	6
1684	4	1692	4
1685	3	1693	5
1687	1	1694	3
1689	7	1695	5

4. Michael Mitford had a ship of 240 lasts which Randolph Knipe offered to freight in 1704 for £1,000 to Riga for hemp and masts. Mitford decided to send it to Archangel instead from whence he could get a freight of £7 per last (£1,500). He let out the space to Mr Knipe - 100 lasts, Mr Hoyle - 30 lasts, Mr Astell - 40 lasts, Mr Whitehall - 30 lasts. The remaining 40 lasts would partly be filled with his own hemp by his agents, Lloyd and Dowker, and any spare capacity was to be used by Mr Knipe's factor, Henry Bland, to ship extra goods. Guildhall, Christ's Hospital Collection, 11,892A 1 February 1704 Michael Mitford, London to George Mallabar, Danzig and 26 May 1704 to Lloyd and Dowker, Archangel.

5. See appendix 1 tables 1.2.1 - 1.2.4 for the development of the Dutch carrying trade.

6. NRO, Carr Ellison MSS, ZCE10/18 18 March 1757 Ralph Carr, Newcastle, to Charles Dingley, London; Bank of Scotland, BLC, English and Foreign Letter Book, 6/24/2 8 May 1750, Company to Ralph Carr, Newcastle.

7. Between 1680 and 1700 foreign ships frequently delivered cargoes in Reval and then went on to Narva for goods for the homeward journey. After 1720 many British and Dutch ships were recorded as coming from the salt pans at Trapani, Ibiza, Setubal, Alicante, Lisbon, Cadiz and St. Martin but in this period most sailed on to St. Petersburg rather than Narva for a return cargo. Bundesarchiv, Revaler Stadtsarchivs, Ag. 66-242; A. Soom, Der Handel Revals in Siebzehnten Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 105; Graffin Prankard's ship was sent on such a voyage to Lisbon and then to Reval with salt, SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN 425 24 August 1734 Graffin Prankard, Bristol to Thomas Clayhills, Reval.

8. RH, Abercairny Muniments, GD24/1/859 10 March 1724 Admiral Gordon, Kronstadt to Robert Gordon, Bordeaux; NRO, Carr Ellison MSS, ZCE10/23 29 March 1765 Ralph Carr, Newcastle to Dingley and Meggott,

St. Petersburg; PRO, SP 89/77 4 July 1774 Robert Walpole, Lisbon to Earl of Rochford, London, gives details of shipping between Portugal and Russia from 1772-4.

9. The Molly and Jenny in which Ralph Carr had a one eighth share frequently took coal to Hamburg. When a cargo was available she went on into the Baltic as in August 1752. NRO, Carr Ellison MSS, ZCE 10/14; between March and December 1765 the brig 'Eleanor' made a voyage from Whitehaven to Dublin, Liverpool, Amsterdam and St. Petersburg and home again. She made a profit of £101. 4. 4 for her 22 shareholders, CRO, D/Ben.

10. SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN 426 26 March 1735 Graffin Prankard Bristol, to Vaus, Vigor and Hair, St. Petersburg, 428, 15 August 1739 Graffin Prankard, Bristol to William Vigor, St. Petersburg; CRO, DA/524/1 9 April 1740 Thomas Lutwidge, Whitehaven to Archibald Hamilton, Rotterdam. WRH, CS96/2158 Waste book of the Nanie and Jenny.

11. See appendix 1, table 1.1, appendix 2, table 2.2 and chapter 5, p.125.

12. Davis, op.cit., p. 221. British shipping to Riga also increased in capacity after 1740, but the numbers of vessels involved were not large enough to have a significant effect on the total number of ships using the port.

13. WRH, CS 96/2008 14 June 1781 Hunter and Smith, Leith to William Glen, St. Petersburg.

14. See appendix 6 for details of British and Dutch freight rates. Agreements often included a payment for kaplaken (ususally 5 shillings) which was a gratuity to the master.

15. See appendix 6, table 6.1.

16. Davis, op.cit., p.222; S.E. Åström, 'Foreign Trade and Forest Use in Northeastern Europe, 1660-1860' in A. Maczak and N.W. Parker (eds), Natural Resources in European History (Washington DC, 1978), p. 50.

17. Davis, op.cit., pp.71, 73, 74-80. The average tonnage per man on British ships entering London from Riga and St. Petersburg was as follows:

1726	1751	1776
13.5	18.1	19.4

and in ships of various sizes in 1766:

300 tons & over	200-299	150-199	100-149	50-99
21.9	17.5	15.1	13.3	11.4

18. A.H. John, 'The London Assurance Company and the Marine Insurance Market of the Eighteenth Century', Economica, XXV (1958), pp. 126-7; Charles Wright and C.E. Foyle, A History of Lloyd's (London, 1918), p.39, 114, 197. A number of merchants who were active in the Russia

trade were involved with the London Assurance and the new Lloyds. They included the Bosanquets, the Ruckers, Martin Kuyp van Mierop, John Julius Angerstein and Richard Thornton.

19. Graffin Prankard began to underwrite insurances in 1740 when he retired from active trade and continued to do so until 1753. SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN 442.

20. L.S. Sutherland, A London Merchant (London, 1933), pp. 56-9.

21. Hart, op.cit., p.24.

22. See Appendix 6, table 6.2. In 1762 two ships were freighted to St. Petersburg from London, one was the Prospect, Captain Stannock carrying goods for Alexander Cook and was insured at £4. 4. 0 per £100 in April, less £2. 0. 0 per cent if it sailed in convoy. The other, the Mary, Captain Mockett, was insured at £5.5.0 in September, less £2.10.0 if it went in convoy. PRO, CME C.104/144.

23. CRO, DX/524/1 23 October 1739 Thomas Lutwidge, Whitehaven to Jeremiah Smith, London; 524/2a 17 September 1746 Thomas Lutwidge, Whitehaven to Jo. Anthony Crop & Co., Amsterdam.

24. Gemente Archief, Rotterdam, Maatschappij van Assurantie, Disconteering en Beleening, 215-226, 343-260, give Rotterdam insurance rates from 1724-1825.

25. Quoted in John, op.cit., p.127. Thomas Lutwidge usually insured his ships at Rotterdam but in 1739 he told his Rotterdam agent that he had insured his brig, the Nelly, at London because it was cheaper. He continued to insure at London until 1746 when he started making use of Amsterdam insurers. CRO DX/524/1 5 December 1739 Thomas Lutwidge, Whitehaven to Archibald Hamilton, Rotterdam; 2a 1 October 1746 to Jo. Anthony Crop, Amsterdam.

26. Professor Davis estimates that these additional costs amounted to less than 4 per cent of the total cost, op. cit., p. 369.

27. WRH, CS96/1986 28 August 1776 Hunter and Smith, Edinburgh to Captain George Hart, Bo'ness.

28. Ralph Davis, 'The Rise of Protection in England, 1689-1786', Economic History Review, 19 (1966), p.307; G.N. Clarke, Guide to English Commercial Statistics, 1696-1782 (London, 1938), pp.10, 15.

29. Davis, Protection, pp. 310, 313-5.

30. A. Semenov, Izuchenie istoricheskikh svedenii o rossiiskoi vneshnei torgovle i promyshlennosti s poloviny XVIIgo stoletiya po 1858 god (St. Petersburg, 1859), pp. 19-20. Reading notes that with the transit duty of 6 per cent, final sale duty of 5 per cent, and the undervaluing of the rixdollar in which customs were paid, the real duty on imports was 31 per cent. D.K. Reading, The Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1734 (New Haven, 1938), p. 260.

31. S.E. Åström, From Stockholm to St. Petersburg (Helsinki, 1962), p. 78.

32. G. Jensch, 'Der Handel Rigas im 17 Jahrhundert', Mitteilungen aus der Livlandischen Geschichte, 24, 2 (1930), 121-2.

33. Åström, op.cit., p. 80.

34. K.N. Lodyzhenskii, Istorii russkogo tamozhennago tarifa (St. Petersburg, 1886), pp. 61-4. Peter had already used the discrimatory tariff against Archangel in 1713-14 but it was too early at that time for it to have the desired effect and the result was a fall in total exports during those years.

35. Ibid, pp.70, 76-7.

36. Ibid, p.90.

37. P.H. Clendenning, 'The Background and Negotiations for the Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1766' in A.G. Cross (ed.), Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth Century (Newtonville, 1979), p.156; Semenov, op.cit., pp. 38-9.

38. Reading, op.cit., p. 259; Clendenning, op.cit., p. 154.

39. S.E. Åström, From Cloth to Iron (Helsingfors, 1965), II, 27-28.

40. BL, Egerton MSS 2687, 18 October 1739 M. de Swart, Dutch Resident at St. Petersburg to Greffier Fagel.

"Les Inconveniences et les Difficultés que sont le plus a craindre en specifiant les Merchandises dans les passports sont principalement que les Vaisseaux ne peuvent être chargés entirement devant cette Ville, et que la plus Part ne peuvent y prendre que très peu de leur Cargaison, et que les Capitaines sont, par conséquent, obligés de la transporter a Cronstadt dans les Allèges, sont obligés de prendre de la Douane leurs Passports, lesquels se donnent ici, et non a Cronstadt; que venant ensuite a Cronstadt avec les Allèges, ils trouvent quelquefois qu'ils ont pris 20 ou 30 Lasts de Marchandises dans leurs Allèges, et declaré en leur Nom, de plus qu'ils ne peuvent charger; lesquels Effets superflus les Marchands sont alors obligé d'embarquer dans d'autres Navires . . . si toutes les Merchandises qu'il prennait ici . . . étoient specifiés ici dans le Passport, lorsque'ils arriveroient au Sonde ils seroient obligés de payer le Péage d'autant de Lasts qu'il ont pu charger a Cronstadt . . . le plus grand Inconvenient susdit pourroit bien, en quelque Manière, être prevenu ici, en renvoyant de Cronstadt dans cette Ville les Lettres de Cargaison de chaque Marchand qui a chargé des Marchandises dans un Navire, et que le Navire a effectivement pris, et en attachant alors ces Lettres de Cargaison aux Passports, mais par là le Captaine seroit obligé de s'arrêter du moins trois Jours plus longtems . . ." See also Extrait de l'Opinion et du Jugement du College du Commerce, undated (f.262-5).

1. In the first half of the seventeenth century the purchasing power of silver was four times greater in Russia than in Britain (see table 7.1) which is similar to the situation found in Poland compared with western European countries at the same period. F.P. Braudel and F. Spooner, 'Prices in Europe from 1450 to 1750' in E.E. Rich and C.H. Wilson (eds.), Cambridge Economic History of Europe, IV (Cambridge, 1967), table 19.

2. A. Attman, Dutch Enterprise in the World Bullion Trade 1550-1800 (Göteborg, 1983), pp.39-40, 89-91.

3. See appendix 7 for detailed information on the purchasing power of silver in Russia and Britain.

4. Exports of coin from England to Russia occurred almost annually from 1699-1711 but thereafter were infrequent and very small except in 1748 when a subsidy was given by the British government to the Russian government, in coin, to help meet the expenses of the war with Prussia. A series of payments in the 1730s and 1760s were also from the British government and were used to oil the wheels in negotiations for the two commercial treaties. Customs 3.

5. The ruble was debased in 1699 and 1718. In 1707 new coinage was issued. H. Storch, Supplementband zum fünften, sechsten und siebenten Theil des historish statistischen Gemaldes des Russischen Reichs (Leipzig, 1803), table III.

6. I. Blanchard, 'Resource Depletion in European Mining and Metallurgical Industries, 1400-1800' in A. Maczak and W.N. Parker (eds.), Natural Resources in European History (Washington DC., 1978), table 1. I am grateful to Dr. Blanchard for the loan of a copy of the original study from which the above article was taken.

7. Alexander Cook described to William Heath the manner in which Russian merchants at St. Petersburg acquired their working capital: "they frequently buy Goods & sell 'em again @ 10 to 20 pr Ct Cheaper for ready Money to carry up unto the Country to buy Hemp &c & in selling their Goods they expect some Money, & if it was but a Ruble they'd tease one's Guts out for it". PRO CME C. 104/142, 29 November 1746 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London.

8. Attman, Dutch Enterprise, p.81.

9. See chapter 5, figure 16.

10. J. Newman, 'Anglo-Dutch Commercial co-operation and the Russia Trade in the Eighteenth Century', in H.J. van Stuijvenberg (ed.), The Interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic Region 1400-1800, Werken uit gegeven door de vereeniging het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief (Leiden, 1983), p.96.

11. Ibid, p.97.

12. SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN426, 12 April 1735 Graffin Prankard to Muilman and Sons; Bank of Scotland, BLC, Minute Book, 6/6/1 18

September 1746; WRH CS 96/1986 27 February 1776 Hunter and Smith, Leith to Walter Shairp, London.

13. See Customs 3.

14. The breakdown of trade at St. Petersburg by nationality is as follows (in thousand rubles):

	1764		1765		1772		1773	
	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.
Russian	1,728	580	1,534	615	2,556	592	3,403	1,524
English	1,816	3,430	1,599	4,064	1,844	3,702	1,840	4,660
Dutch	840	409	876	361	763	258	564	487
Lübeck	450	318	523	423	400	236	359	550
Hamburg	362	260	413	368	209	125	297	289
French	66	45	142	107	197	102	240	239
Total	5,912	5,508	6,039	6,455	7,293	5,820	7,817	8,608

	1775	
	Imp.	Exp.
Russian	2,346	705
English	1,676	4,847
Dutch	208	375
Lübeck	222	342
Hamburg	207	330
French	167	197
Total	6,348	7,974

Source: E.I. Indova, Y.A. Tikhonov, A.I. Komissarenko, I.S. Sharkova (eds.), Vneshnyaya torgovlya Rossii cherez Petersburgskii port vo vtoroi polovine XVIII - nachale XIXv (Moscow, 1981). The figures given in this source for total trade differ slightly and inconsistently, from those shown in table 7.2.

15. J. Accarias de Sèrionne in Le Commerce de la Hollande (Amsterdam, 1768), pp.24-5 notes that after 1766 "l'Angleterre ne fait plus ses payements aux Russes avec les papiers de commerce des Hollandois ..." clearly indicating that before that date Dutch bills of exchange had been used internally in settlement of accounts with the Russians. After 1766, he indicates, both Dutch and English bills circulated within Russia.

16. When Price Simon Kirolovich Narishkin bought his racehorses from Lord Rockingham and sent one of his grooms and a surgeon to be trained in the Marquis's stables, he paid all the expenses with a series of bills issued by English firms in St. Petersburg including Coole, Watsone & Co., Thornton & Cornwall and Atkins, Rigail and Duesbery. He also bought the harness, horse cloths and other tackle for his horses in England. Sheffield Central Library, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, R. 195(c) letters from Prince Narishkin to Second Marquis of Rockingham 3 and 10 December 1773, account 1774 and two bills of exchange 29 August 1774, bill for boarding Michael Ivanov July 1775.

17. See appendix 7 table 7.3 for rates of exchange. The best series of figures is provided by Heinrich Storch using, from 1716 onwards, the sources available at the Commercial College at St. Petersburg.

18. Graffin Prankard calculated his iron shipments in the following manner:

2520 pood Iron p.Mayling R^{o} 1567.52 @ 4/6d	352	13	10
Comm. on drawing at St. P. 1%	3	10	6
Comm. on drawing bills in Holland, redrawing with brokerage 11/-%	1	18	6
Receiving, paying bills in London, postage of letters	1	15	6
Sound Dues on 40 tons @ 2/6d. ton	4	10	0
	374	8	4
Premium for insurance @ 35/-%	7	17	7
	372	5	11
Custom, fees, wharfage	84	0	0
Freight of 40 tons @ 18/-	36	0	0
Loading, hauling, warehousing	4	0	0
	£496	5	11
40 tons iron @ £12 8 1½ amounts to	£496	5	0

SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN427 13 March 1738 Graffin Prankard, Bristol to William Vigor, St. Petersburg.

19. In 1737 the interest rate element in the exchange rate rose by 5%. "Such a vast disproportion" was enough to convince Graffin Prankard to accept the advice of his Amsterdam agents, Muilman & Sons, that it would be advantageous to send rixdollars to St. Petersburg. In that year he had over 1000 RD shipped from Amsterdam and in the following year 2500 RD but reverted to his normal practice of paying against bills thereafter. SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN427 30 March and 13 April 1737, 31 May 1738 Graffin Prankard, Bristol to Muilman & Sons, Amsterdam.

20. HRO, 18M54, coffer 2, box A, packet K, 26 Janury 1716 Spilman and Hodgkin, Moscow to William Heathcote jnr., London.

21. On 27 January 1764 the Court of Assistants of the Russia Company agreed to send their thanks to Prince Galitsin, the Vice Chancellor, for the assurance that "no^{t} a single House sho^{d} be distressed; though their Bills of Exchange sho^{d} go back protested for non payment" which was what had been threatened by some of the principal discount houses in Amsterdam. Guildhall, Russia Co. Minute Books, 11,741/7.

As falls in the exchange could cause a considerable loss to a lender, whenever possible remittances were delayed under these circumstances but they could not, of course, be put off indefinitely. Prince Narishkin apologised to Lord Rockingham for the tardiness of his payment in 1773 which was due partly to the frequent business failures in Amsterdam and

London and partly because "justqu'a present le change a toujours été si bas qu'on perd presque vingt pour cent", Sheffield Central Library, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, R.195(c) 3 December 1773, Prince Narishkin to Lord Rockingham.

22. See appendix 7, table 7.3 for trends in interest rates.

1. On the 18th April 1712 Peter made an order for many of the inhabitants of Moscow to move to St. Petersburg. His plans were that

   (a) One thousand gentlemen would build houses on the same side of the city as his house using lath and plaster

   (b) 500 merchants and 500 shopkeepers would build wooden houses on the opposite side (Vassili Ostrov) until stone houses were built by the government for trade on the Island of Ritzard (Krestovskii Ostrov)

   (c) 2000 craftsmen were to build their dwellings on the river bank up to Nyenshantz.

   SIRIO, 61, 26 May 1712 Lord Whitworth, St. Petersburg to Lord St. John, London.

2. Victor and Audrey Kennet, The Palaces of Leningrad (London, 1973), pp.26, 28.

3. J. Perry, The State of Russia under the Present Czar (London, 1716), pp.262-3

4. La Russie au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1863), introduction by Prince Augustin Galitzin, p.xii.

5. Perry, op.cit., 262.

6. W. Coxe, Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark (London, 1784), I, 459; R. Lyall, The Character of the Russians and a Detailed History of Moscow (London, 1823), pp.411, 414.

7. Ibid, p.411.

8. Perry, op.cit., pp.262-3.

9. I.G. Georgi, Opisanie ross-imperatorskogo stolichnogo goroda S.Peterburga (St. Petersburg, 1794), I, 201.

10. In 1754 Elizabeth ordered the demolition of the Winter Palace and its rebuilding by Rastrelli taking in the Kikin Palace and Apraxin's house. The Anichkov palace was begun in 1744 and finished in 1750 as a present from Elizabeth to Alexei Razumovskii. Kennet, op.cit., pp.33,70.

11. SIRIO, 61, 9 April 1712 Lord Whitworth, St. Petersburg to Lord St. John, London. He reported that, "A gentleman who has ten thousand peasants' houses registered in the Treasury, has given for service since the first siege of Narva about five thousand recruits from his villages and thirteen hundred from his mannor-servants and in these two last years he has only had sixteen thousand rubles from his estate, but the government has received fifty thousand." In 1746 Lord Hyndford noted that the preparations for war included an extra "capitation" of 10 kop.per head which increased taxes by 10%. Each recruit cost the estate owner five or six rubles before he even arrived at the rendezvous. SIRIO, 103, 3 January 1746 Lord Hyndford, St. Petersburg to Lord Harrington, London.

12. SIRIO, 66, 4 January 1731, Claudius Rondeau, Moscow to Lord Harrington, London.

13. SIRIO, 99, 2 April 1743, Sir Cyril Wych, St. Petersburg to Lord Carteret, London.

14. SIRIO, 50,14 December 1710, Mr Weisbrod, Moscow to Lord Queensberry, London. One serf in ten together with his family, cattle and goods was to be despatched to the new lands acquired round the Baltic.

15. Count M.I. Vorontsov, for example, acquired an estate at Keksholm near Viborg from which, in some years in the 1730s, supplies of grain were despatched to St. Petersburg. E.I. Indova, Dvortsovoe khozyaistvo v Rossii (Moscow, 1964), p.185.

16. For details of estates held by many aristocratic families see ibid, tables 2 and 3; E.I. Indova, Krepostnoe khozyaistvo v nachale XIX veka (Moscow, 1955), p.22; P.S. Pallas, Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire in the Years 1793 and 1794 (London, 1802), II, 504.

17. N.D. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, 'The settlement of the Southern Ukraine, 1750-75', Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the USA, IV-V (1955), 64, 218-21. Foreign settlers were also encouraged to move into the Ukraine in the 1750s from Serbia and Macedonia and in the 1760s German and Moravian immigrants established themselves in the lower Volga region. Pallas, op.cit., I, 101-4.

18. Indova, Dvortsovoe khozyaistvo, pp.184-5. In 1732 the Nobles Chancellery made a contract with a merchant, Daniel Tomilin to supply 30,000 chetverts of grain from Tambov for their distillery. In 1742 they made a new contract with him for 10,000 chetverts for five years.

19. Ibid, pp.193, 224, 229.

20. K.A. Pazhitnov, Ocherki istorii tekstil'noi promyshlennosti derevolutsionnoi Rossii (Moscow, 1958), II, 168, 197-8.

21. See appendix 5, table 5.1.

22. See appendix 7.

23. See chapter 2, pp.81-2.

24. Aristocratic estate owners did not always develop their resources themselves but sometimes leased them to others for this purpose. For example, the Shuvalovs leased their land at Onega between 1755 and 1779 to the Gomm family for development of the timber resources. P.M. Trofimov, Ocherki ekonomicheskogo razvitiya evropeiskogo severa Rossii (Moscow, 1961), pp.83-4.

25. From as early as the 1740s the Demidovs had begun to make contracts with the British merchants in St. Petersburg. The massive share of their product which was destined for the English market and the special

transport problems which were posed by moving iron from the Urals to the Baltic may explain their decision to cut out middlemen but their example was followed later with other products. B.B. Kafengauz, Istoriya khozyaistva Demidovikh v XVIII - XIXvv (Moscow, 1949), pp.456, 460-3; Indova, Krepostnoe khozyaistvo, pp.48-9.

26. Among the founder members of the Society were Counts R.L. Vorontsov, G.G. Orlov, I.G. Chernishev and Baron A.I. Cherkassov who were later joined by other members of the nobility and scientific observers like Pallas, Gmelin, Lepechin and Storch. M. Confino, 'Domaines et seigneurs en Russie vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle', Collection historique de l'Institut d' Etudes slaves, 18 (1963), pp.24-5, 42, 118, 190-1.

27. C. Marsden, Palmyra of the North (London, 1942), pp.88, 101; Philip Longworth, The Three Empresses (London, 1972), p.114.

28. PRO, CME C. 104/141 27 October 1741 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London.

29. John Carr, A Northern Summer (London, 1805), pp.293-4.

30 Elizabeth, Lady Craven, A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople (London, 1789), p.125. James Brogden describes in his letters the craze for everything English with balls, English dances and dress "a l'Angloise". James Cracraft, 'James Brogden in Russia 1787-88', Slavic and East European Review, 47 (1969), p.232.

31. A. Lenten (ed.), Prince M.M. Scherbatov on the Corruption of Morals in Russia (Cambridge, 1969), pp.193, 223.

32. Coxe, op.cit., p.433.

33. Ibid, pp.287-8.

34. Catherine II bought many paintings in Europe but the largest was the Braacamp collection which was acquired for her in Amsterdam in 1771. Some of the items were sent overland, but the majority went by sea on the Vrouw Maria which sank off Abo with the loss of the whole cargo. Christian Ahlström, 'Documentary research on the Baltic. Three case studies', International Journal of Nautical Archaeology, 7, 1 (1978), pp.65, 68.

35. For a description of the collections owned by members of the aristocracy see Voyage de deux francais en Allemange, Danemarck, Suede, Russie et Pologne fait en 1790-1792 (Paris, 1796), III, 41.

36. Ibid, III, 10; Coxe, op.cit., I 483, 501-2.

37. Marsden, op.cit., p.99. Anna actually kept her birds for shooting, not for their singing.

38. Voyage de deux francais, III, 346.

39. Coxe, op.cit., I, 241, 243; Alexander Cook stocked goods for different classes of customers. For example, silver candlesticks for the nobility, brass for the "middling sort" and wood or earthenware for those in the lowest income range. PRO, CME C. 104/143(1) 7 January 1745 Alexander Cook, St. Petersburg to William Heath, London.

40. Marshall noted in 1769 that the peasantry of the Ukraine had to work hard to provide the cash they required for "their common purchases and rent, and the small sum they bring answers where all things are proportioned". Both he and John Cook mentioned town or village markets where peasant produce was sold to merchants who brought a range of commodities for the local population to buy. Joseph Marshall, Travels through Holland, Flanders ... (London, 1772), pp.152, 158; John Cook, Voyages and Travels through the Russian Empire (Edinburgh, 1778), I, 118, II, 40.

1. A. Attman, The Russian and Polish Markets in International Trade (Goteborg, 1973), pp. 156-7.

2. Ibid., p.174.

APPENDIX 1

Shipping

Table 1.1 Shipping using the Russian Ports, 1680-1783

	Riga			Reval			Archangel			Narva			St. Petersburg		
Year	Total	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Total	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Total	Dutch	Eng.	Total	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Total	Through Sound	Intra Baltic
1680	375[3]	239	136	225[5]	68	157				100[4]	37	63			
1681	435[3]	211	224	202[5]	125	77		26[7]			54				
1682	480[3]	363	117	384[4]	158	226					67				
1683	530[3]	358	172	254[5]	116	138			3[10]		95				
1684	425[3]	276	149	250[5]	138	112			4[10]		69				
1685	520[3]	306	214		90				3[10]		70				
1686	570[3]	348	222	198[4]	64	134					90				
1687	470[3]	343	127		79				14[10]		114				
1688	470[3]	337	133	288[5]	108	180					102				
1689	475[3]	225	220	258[5]	70	188			7[10]	92[12]	41	51			
1690	470[3]	202	268		86				6[10]	131[12]	59	72			
1691	465[3]	250	215		89					142[12]	70	72			
1692	475[3]	229	246	161[5]	103	58			4[10]	116[12]	73	43			
1693	670[3]	322	348		147		49[6]		5[10]		85				
1694	685[3]	375	310		108		40[6]		3[10]	144[12]	59	85			
1695	700[3]	294	406	162[4]	106	56	46[6]		10[11]	154[12]	91	63			
1696	475[3]	195	280	185[5]	55	130	20[6]		12[11]	130[15]	45	95			
1697	430[3]	195	235		65		52[6]		14[11]	112[12]	54	58			
1698	600[3]	308	292	163[5]	71	92	54[6]				88				
1699	725[3]	393	332	192[5]	79	113	67[6]		10[11]	204[12]	137	67			
1700	90[3]	25	65		95		64[6]		10[11]		145				
1701	75[3]	56	19	248[5]	65	183	106[6]		33[7]		18				
1702	310[3]	130	180	68[5]	54	14	149[6]				13				
1703	292[2]	136	156	113[5]	25	88	112[2]				11		1[2]	0	1
1704	359[2]	191	168	149[5]	15	134	122[2]				0			0	
1705	216[2]	44	172		12		145[2]				0			0	
1706	235[2]	48	187	92[5]	17	75	147[2]				0			0	
1707	199[2]	75	124	123[5]	8	115	133[2]				0			0	
1708	317[2]	94	223	75[5]	6	69	206[2]		68[7]		0			0	
1709	225[2]	68	157	65[5]	4	61	163[2]				0			0	
1710	15[2]	14	1	69[5]	7	62	159[2]				0			1	
1711	76[2]	29	47	12[5]	9	3	184[2]				0			0	
1712	76[2]	46	30	16[5]	4	12	132[2]				0			0	
1713	176[2]	95	81	34[5]	25	9	169[2]				0			5	

Year	Riga Total	Riga Through Sound	Riga Intra Baltic	Reval Total	Reval Through Sound	Reval Intra Baltic	Archangel Total	Archangel Dutch	Archangel Eng.	Narva Total	Narva Through Sound	Narva Intra Baltic	St. Petersburg Total	St. Petersburg Through Sound	St. Petersburg Intra Baltic
1714	108[2]	59	49	24[5]	11	23	155[2]				0		16[2]	5	11
1715		155		74[5]	32	42	130[2]				2		53[2]	59	
1716	191[2]	115	76	105[5]	23	82	233[2]				0		33[2]	16	17
1717	139[2]	80	39	120[5]	3	117	146[2]	8[8]			1		51[2]	18	33
1718	150[2]	103	47	131[5]	4	127	116[2]	51[8]			3		54[2]	53	1
1719	178[2]	119	59	168[5]	6	162		34[8]			15		52[2]	40	12
1720	188[2]	115	73	182[5]	10	172		44[8]			29		75[2]	36	39
1721	238[2]	144	94	150[5]	3	147		25[8]			63		60[2]	28	32
1722	230[2]	145	85	163[5]	11	152		22[8]			64		119[2]	78	41
1723	203[2]	177	26	176[5]	6	170		26[8]			44			106	
1724	273[2]	196	77	169[5]	6	163	23[9]	20[8]			109		180[2]	102	78
1725	388[2]	279	109	163[5]	5	158	23[9]	4[8]			155			141	
1726	361[2]	243	118	157[5]	4	153	29[9]	21[8]			146			175	
1727	362[2]	257	105	131[5]	4	129	45[9]	13[8]			149			95	
1728	328[2]	227	101	157[5]	10	147	41[9]	13[8]			154			119	
1729	375[2]	261	114	128[5]	23	105	24[9]	17[8]			118			70	
1730	414[2]	300	114		33		41[9]	12[8]			192			147	
1731	355[2]	262	93	149[5]	36	113		15[8]			236			128	
1732	262[2]	191	71	127[5]	17	110		16[8]			301			135	
1733	322[2]	232	90		6			20[8]			292			127	
1734	310[2]	227	83	86[5]	19	67		28[8]			279			120	
1735	428[2]	276	152	109[5]	8	101	60[9]	20[8]			182			132	
1736	435[2]	249	186	186[5]	18	168		20[8]			119		100[2]	133	
1737	485[2]	309	176	162[5]	30	132		15[8]			196		118[2]	165	
1738	455[2]	319	136	174[5]	41	133		19[8]			241			174	
1739	518[2]	386	132		69			31[8]			173			171	
1740	597[2]	406	191		109		115[9]	60[8]			133			182	
1741	579[2]	450	129		67		96[9]	54[8]			150			222	
1742	413[2]	288	125	83[5]	28	55	50[9]	35[8]			179			203	
1743	323[2]	228	95		25		54[9]	33[8]			232			111	
1744	373[2]	254	119	112[5]	22	90	30[9]	25[8]			124		264[2]	192	72
1745	423[2]	244	179		37		25[2]	13[8]			162		195[2]	121	74
1746	455[2]	315	140	119[5]	23	95		19[8]			109			165	
1747	459[2]	312	147	88[5]	33	55	30[9]	21[8]			128			224	
1748	379[2]	278	101		45			18[8]			85			137	

	Riga			Reval			Archangel			Narva			St. Petersburg		
Year	Total	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Total	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Total	Dutch	Eng.	Total	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Total	Through Sound	Intra Baltic
1749	460[2]	317	143		42			18[8]			158			162	
1750	447[2]	336	111	77[5]	24	53	51[9]	34[8]			206		272[2]	179	93
1751	418[2]	316	102	100[5]	32	68		9[8]			189		298[2]	181	117
1752	543[2]	390	153	72[5]	49	23		30[8]			189		424[14]	249	175
1753	520[2]	370	150	132[5]	40	92		29[8]			193			255	
1754	620[2]	470	150		33			28[8]			205			239	
1755	501[2]	364	137		27		48[9]	27[8]			169			298	
1756	641[2]	384	257		15			23[8]			27		356[14]	263	93
1757	544[2]	335	209		5			37[8]			21			230	
1758	501[2]	426	75		2			26[8]			55		402[2]	219	183
1759	671[2]	376	295		12			18[8]			96		728[2]	275	453
1760	622[2]	344	278		11		37[2]	17[8]	4[7]		19		357[2]	204	153
1761	1175[2]	456	719	93[2]	37	56	40[2]	24[8]		65[13]	32	33	282[2]	173	109
1762	957[2]	438	519	223[2]	58	165	42[2]	15[8]		112[13]	68	44	387[2]	249	138
1763	739[2]	486	253	118[2]	38	80	46[2]	27[8]		167[13]	140	27	326[2]	206	120
1764	634[2]	457	177		24			32[8]			151		360[2]	243	117
1765	604[2]	429	175		44		70[9]	18[8]			128		457[14]	319	138
1766	612[2]	416	196		37		126[7]	29[8]			158		411[14]	220	191
1767	541[2]	361	180		26			25[8]			102		421[14]	310	111
1768	534[2]	403	131		22			32[8]			127		467[14]	345	122
1769	595[2]	479	116	80[2]	33	47		36[8]			130		564[14]	442	122
1770	597[2]	448	149		34		68[9]	28[8]			115		550[14]	408	142
1771	757[2]	524	233	152[2]	68	84	144[9]	49[8]			112			467	
1772	1027[2]	587	440	171[5]	69	102		63[8]			99		551[14]	410	141
1773	785[2]	531	254	134[5]	48	86		50[8]			) 82 (		681[14]	497	184
1774	782[2]	505	277	160[5]	87	26	134[2]	53[8]			) 93 (		727[2]	490	237
1775	851[2]	635	216	217[5]	139	26		49[8]		116[2]	) 93 (	24	509[14]	396	113
1776	551[2]	431	120		73		126[9]	44[8]		av.	) 92 (	av.	623[14]	479	144
1777	676[2]	466	210	71[2]	66	5	104[2]	31[8]			)101 (		737[2]	565	172
1778		457		144[5]	55	89		54[8]			73		602[2]	465	137
1779	731[2]	463	268	107[2]	60	47		20[8]			55		705[2]	527	178
1780		460		131[2]	22	109	131[9]	32[8]			58		554[2]	404	150
1781	889[2]	427	462	142[2]	30	112		26[8]			35		783[2]	592	191
1782		581		137[2]	56	81		27[8]			46		634[2]	462	172
1783		647		132[2]	84	48		31[8]			81		632[2]	390	242

Sources

1. All ships passing through the Sound from N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol. 1.

2. H.Storch, Supplementband zum fünften, sechsten und siebenten Theil des historisch statistischen Gemaldes des Russischen Reichs (Leipzig, 1803), tables VIIA and B.

3. E.Dunsdorfs, 'Der Auszenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert', Conventus Primus Historicolum Balticorum Rigae 1937 (Riga, 1938), p.472.

4. Kh.A.Piirimyae, 'Nekotorie voprosie transitnoi torgovli Rossii so stranami zapadnoi evropi cherez Tallin v XVIIv', Ekonomicheskie svyazi Pribaltiki s Rossei (Riga, 1968), p.100.

5. Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Revaler Stadtarchivs, A.g. 59-240.

6. Vasili Krestinin, 'Istoricheskii opyt o vneshnei torgovle Gosudaria Imperatora Petra Velikogo ob 1693 po 1719 g', Miesiatseslov istoricheskii i geograficheskie (St. Petersburg, 1795), pp.24-55.

7. H.Kellenbenz, 'The economic significance of the Archangel route', Journal of European Economic History, 2 (1973), p.565-573.

8. J.V.T.Knoppers, Dutch Trade with Russia from the Time of Peter 1 to Alexander 1 (Montreal, 1976), III, table III.1.

9. J.J.Oddy, European Commerce (London, 1804), p.98.

10. Guildhall, London, Russia Company Minute Books, 11,741/2.

11. S.E.Åström, From Cloth to Iron (Helsingfors, 1963), p.59.

12. A.Soom, Die Politik Schwedens (Tartu, 1940), p.261.

13. A.F.Busching (ed.), Magazin für die neue Historie und Geographie, III (Hamburg, 1769), p.343.

14. St. Petersburger Zeitung. I am most grateful for the kindness of Christian Ahlström in allowing me to use the statistics included in his article 'Aspects of commercial shipping between St. Petersburg and Western Europe 1750-1790', in H.J. van Stuijvenberg (ed.), The Interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic Region, 1400-1800 (Werken uitgegeven door de vereeniging het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief, 16, 1983).

15. Tsentralni gosudarstvennii istoricheskii arkhiv Estonskoi SSR, Tartu, f.1646 from microfilm copy available at the National Archives of Finland, Helsinki, viro 21.

Storch gives figures for the total number of ships _entering_ each port and, as his was the most comprehensive set of figures available, figures from other sources have been given for incoming ships. As far as the Sound Toll Accounts are concerned, however, the number of ships reaching the Sound _from_ the Baltic ports had to be used because the destination given for ships coming through the Sound from the West may only be their first stopping place and also because this eliminated the possibility of underestimation in the case of ships in ballast which were generally not registered. These made up a significant proportion of vessels entering the Baltic but were virtually eliminated on the return journey.

Table 1.2.1 Shipping through the Sound from the Russian Baltic Ports - Riga

	Dutch				English			Scottish			S. Holsteiner			Swedish			Lübecker		
		to				to			to			to			to			to	
Year	Total	Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.*	Total	Eng.	Scot.	Total	Scot.	Eng.	Total	Holl.	Eng.	Total	Swe.	Holl.	Total	Holl.	Fra.
1680	180	145	26		30	28		3	1		2	1		5	5		7	1	3
1681	147	130	8		34	31		1		1	3			7	6		5	1	
1682	249	188	28	3	70	67		3	3		2			6	3	1	10	2	4
1683	234	206	17	2	90	89		4	3		2			4	4		8	2	4
1684	187	162	24		48	47		9	6	2	2			6	6		2	2	
1685	206	148	48	1	73	70		1			3			6	6		3		2
1686	245	196	45	1	77	76		1	1					3	3		6	1	1
1687	243	178	63		70	68		5	4					1	1		3		1
1688	207	125	77	2	85	85		4	2					6	5		10		6
1689	159	157			67	66		1	1		2			8	7		2		
1690	111	108		3	36	36					3	1		12	8		1		
1691	121	119		1	53	53		1	1		5	3		14	4	4	1		
1692	106	105		1	55	54					2			20	4	7	1		
1693	174	173			51	50					3	3		24	7	10			
1694	205	203		1	41	39					4	2		34	10	13			
1695	161	159			39	39					1	1		25	5		1		
1696	78	77			43	43		4	4					26	8	2			
1697	104	103	1		32	32		2	1	1				16	5	5			
1698	190	157	29	2	44	44		3	3					19	7	4	1		
1699	203	171	29	1	80	80		7	6	1	2	1		23	9	5	3	1	1
1700	16	16			3	3		1	1					1					
1701	45	41	2	1				3	3					5	3	1	1		
1702	72	70		1	14	14		4	4					14	3	1	1		
1703	65	64			13	13		1	1		3	3		17	4		1		
1704	108	107			28	28								20	2	1	4	2	
1705	30	29			6	6								3	3				

*Iberia (Spain and Portugal)

Table 1.2.1 (cont'd)

Year	Dutch Total	Dutch to Holl.	Dutch to Fra.	Dutch to Ibe.	English Total	English to Eng.	English to Scot.	Scottish Total	Scottish to Scot.	Scottish to Eng.	S. Holsteiner Total	S. Holsteiner to Holl.	S. Holsteiner to Eng.	Swedish Total	Swedish to Swe.	Swedish to Holl.	Lübecker Total	Lübecker to Holl.	Lübecker to Fr.
1706	19	18			3	3		1	1					7	6				
1707	38	36		1	7	7		2	2					7	4	2			
1708	38	37			4	4		3	2	1	1			23	9	1			
1709	38	37			4	4		4	4					13	5	1	1	1	
1710	13	13						1	1										
1711	23	23			3	3													
1712	38	37			7	7													
1713	78	72	1	2	9	7		2	1	1	1	1							
1714	41	35			10	8		4	3	1									
1715	133	130	1	1	15	14		3	1	1									
1716	97	92	3		15	15													
1717	36	35			35	34		2	2								1	1	
1718	72	69	2		27	26		1	1								1		1
1719	79	75	2		29	18		4	1	2									
1720	92	85	4		16	10											2	2	
1721	109	106	2		27	25											1		1
1722	87	80	5	1	30	27	1	5	4					3	3		2		2
1723	104	98	3	2	39	37	1	8	8					6	5		3	1	2
1724	106	97	6		57	57		11	9	1				8	6	1			
1725	184	176	3	2	63	63		1	1		2	1		10	9	1	2	1	1
1726	164	157	3	1	53	53		7	7					8	6	2			
1727	150	143	4	1	79	79		1		1	3	3		9	8	1	1	1	
1728	141	132	7	1	55	54		6	3	3	1	1		8	6	1			
1729	140	132	4	2	81	80		4		4	5	3		4	3		2	1	1

Table 1.2.1 (cont'd)

Year	Dutch Total	Dutch to Holl.	Dutch to Fra.	Dutch to Ibe.	English Total	English to Eng.	English to Scot.	Scottish Total	Scottish to Scot.	Scottish to Eng.	S. Holsteiner Total	S. Holsteiner to Holl.	S. Holsteiner to Eng.	Swedish Total	Swedish to Swe.	Swedish to Holl.	Lübecker Total	Lübecker to Holl.	Lübecker to Fr.
1730	190	184	2	2	57	57		6	1	5	5	3		11	11		3		3
1731	178	176			34	33		13	1	12	1	1		7	7		2	1	1
1732	99	89	7		44	43		9		9	1	1		8	7				
1733	142	131	10	1	53	53		10	1	8	1		1	5	5				
1734	147	140	3	3	42	41		8		7	1			4	4				
1735	169	165		1	75	72		5		5	4	1	1	5	4				
1736	151	147	3		51	51		8	2	6	9	1		6	6				
1737	157	145	1	8	94	91		7	4	3	9	3	2	4	4				
1738	182	173	3	4	74	70	1	12	10	2	8	1		2	2		2	1	1
1739	230	222		7	82	81		13	8	4	21	1		3	1		2	2	
1740	252	238	7	4	57	50		11	9	1	26	20		4	4		8	6	1
1741	261	228	20	9	76	66	2	19	10	6	24	4	2	2	2		6	4	1
1742	163	155		3	83	79	3	9	6	3	5	1	2	1	1		3		
1743	121	108	8	2	70	68		12	8	4	16		1				2		1
1744	151	150			51	51		5	2	3	20	2	9	1			3		2
1745	99	92	4	2	73	73		3	1	2	21	1	16	7	7		2		2
1746	140	130	8	1	72	71		7	5	2	33	3	24	11	10		3		3
1747	136	128	6	1	84	84		11	10	1	44	3	27	4	4		4	2	
1748	118	96	18	2	71	70		15	12	2	33	1	28	8	7		8	5	
1749	142	111	25	5	57	56	1	16	13	3	60	6	45	5	5		3	3	
1750	132	98	25	7	77	74	2	22	21		70	4	57	2	1		3	2	
1751	121	86	20	13	76	70	1	19	18		65	6	52				2		2
1752	168	118	38	12	86	79		17	17		65	1	45	1			3	2	
1753	166	120	16	27	101	93	1	15	14	1	45	1	27	2	1		1	1	
1754	227	174	32	20	156	146	5	21	16	4	18	3	1	6	6				

Table 1.2.1 (Cont'd)

Year	Dutch Total	Dutch to Holl.	Dutch to Fra.	Dutch to Ibe.	English Total	English to Eng.	English to Scot.	Scottish Total	Scottish to Scot.	Scottish to Eng.	S. Holsteiner Total	S. Holsteiner to Holl.	S. Holsteiner to Eng.	Swedish Total	Swedish to Swe.	Swedish to Holl.	Lübecker Total	Lübecker to Holl.	Lübecker to Fr.
1755	138	97	27	12	142	136	1	19	16	3	16			16	16		2		1
1756	170	135	13	19	117	114	2	21	17	4	5	1		26	25				
1757	168	132	3	16	90	90		24	24		11	1		16	15		5	1	
1758	155	119	4	17	93	91	2	27	25	2	18			12	11		1		
1759	201	172	1	17	89	86	3	32	31	1	11			16	16		2		
1760	204	178	1	10	67	65	2	25	23	2	12			12	11				
1761	280	239	3	10	68	66		22	21	1	16	1		13	10		1		
1762	254	213	4	11	74	74		24	23	1	21		1	13	11		1		
1763	255	191	30	19	109	99	8	28	28		21			11	9		1		
1764	229	175	31	12	118	114	2	29	28	1	25			10	7		1		
1765	215	155	22	18	118	115	2	25	22	2	22			9	7		1		
1766	206	165	18	16	121	115	5	31	30	1	22			5	2				
1767	181	140	18	17	104	101	3	26	26		8			2	2				
1768	190	161	10	10	119	117	2	29	27	2	9	1		11	10		1		
1769	245	200	22	13	134	129	5	36	35	1	14			11	11				
1770	207	151	21	27	143	134	4	42	39	3	11	1		6	5				
1771	244	213	8	14	143	138	4	31	28		27	4		8	7	1	1		1
1772	333	279	22	15	136	125	4	35	35		43	2		18	17		1		
1773	292	222	32	28	120	114	4	28	28		13			14	14		1		1
1774	340	272	28	28	113	105	4	36	36		16			16	15				
1775	378	305	24	32	102	94	2	38	38		18	2		13	13		1		1
1776	199	137	31	21	98	96	2	47	44	2	14	5		14	13		1		1
1777	237	180	21	28	107	105	1	46	46		3	1		16	14		1	1	
1778	235	163	19	39	105	104	1	27	27		25	2		12	12		4	2	
1779	196	139	2	38	108	106	2	39	36	3	22	2		27	24		5	2	3
1780	209	175	1	25	114	113	1	56	55	1	22	1		24	15		5	4	

Table 1.2.1 (cont'd)

	Dutch				English			Scottish			S.Holsteiner			Swedish			Lübecker		
		to				to			to			to			to			to	
Year	Total	Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	Eng.	Scot.	Total	Scot.	Eng.	Total	Holl.	Eng.	Total	Swe.	Holl.	Total	Holl.	Fra.
1781	3	3			119	118	1	49	47	2	33	4	1	38	24	2	6		4
1782	5	5			67	58	9	33	31	2	20	2		40	25		8	1	3
1783	88	49	21	13	128	127		63	60	2	26	7		52	39		3		1

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53). Nationality of shipping is designated by the home port of the captain.

Table 1.2.2 Shipping through the Sound from the Russian Baltic Ports - Reval

Year	Dutch				English			Scottish			Swedish		
	Total	to Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	to Eng.	Scot.	Total	to Scot.	Eng.	Total	to Swe.	Holl.
1680	64	63			4	2	2						
1681	99	94			22	19	2	1	1		1	1	
1682	136	134			10	9		3	2		1		
1683	101	99			6	6		1	1		4		4
1684	118	108	1	2	4	2		1	1		2	1	
1685	78	76		1							1		1
1686	58	55			2	2					2	1	
1687	73	72			2	2							
1688	103	103			1	1							
1689	62	62			2	2					1		
1690	82	81											
1691	72	71			1	1					2	2	
1692	78	78									3		2
1693	101	101									15	1	13
1694	70	68									17	4	12
1695	62	62			1	1					13	2	4
1696	34	34									2		1
1697	40	40			1	1					2		2
1698	51	51									3	2	1
1699	60	59	1		4	4					3	3	
1700	79	77			4	3					1	1	
1701	32	32			3	3					21	18	
1702	42	41			4	4		2	2		1	1	
1703	20	20			2	2							
1704	15	15											
1705	12	11											

Table 1.2.2 (cont'd)

Year	Dutch				English			Scottish			Swedish		
		to				to			to			to	
	Total	Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	Eng.	Scot.	Total	Scot.	Eng.	Total	Swe.	Holl.
1706	16	13									1	1	
1707	8	8											
1708	8	6											
1709	3	3			1	1							
1710	7	7											
1711	8												
1712	4	3											
1713	24	24			1	1							
1714	11	11											
1715	32	32											
1716	16	14		1	7	3	4						
1717	3	3											
1718	4	4											
1719	6	6											
1720	9	9			1	1							
1721	3	3									1	1	
1722	9	8		1									
1723	5	5						1			1		1
1724	4	4											
1725	3	3											
1726	3	3											
1727	2	2			1	1							
1728	10	10											
1729	16	15			3	1							
1730	32	32											

Table 1.2.2 (cont'd)

Year	Dutch				English			Scottish			Swedish		
	Total	to Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	to Eng.	Scot.	Total	to Scot.	Eng.	Total	to Swe.	Holl.
1731	34	34											
1732	13	12											
1733	4	4											
1734	17	16			1	1							
1735	7	7											
1736	14	13									2		1
1737	22	21											
1738	28	28											
1739	59	58											
1740	89	88			2	1							
1741	53	53											
1742	23	23											
1743	23	23											
1744	19	19			1	1							
1745	31	31											
1746	20	20											
1747	26	26											
1748	40	40											
1749	39	39											
1750	19	19											
1751	31	29	2		1	1							
1752	43	38	5		6	6							
1753	28	27	1		1	1							
1754	20	20			1	1					1		
1755	11	9		1							1	1	

Table 1.2.2 (cont'd)

Year	Dutch				English			Scottish			Swedish		
	Total	to Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	to Eng.	Scot.	Total	to Scot.	Eng.	Total	to Swe.	Holl.
1756	5	5											
1757	1	1											
1758	1	1											
1759	9	9											
1760	9	9											
1761	24	22			1	1							
1762	30	25									4	1	
1763	17	16									4	4	
1764	17	13	1	1	1	1					1	1	
1765	19	11			1	1					4	4	
1766	17	13		1									
1767	14	14											
1768	17	16											
1769	22	21		1							1	1	
1770	24	23		1	2	1							
1771	40	40			2	2							
1772	46	41	1	4	1						1	1	
1773	36	36									2	2	
1774	50	48		1	6	5					8	8	
1775	83	78		4	14	10		1			6	5	
1776	50	44		6	1	1					6	6	
1777	50	43		7	1	1					3	3	
1778	33	25	1	7							8	7	
1779	30	27		3	2	2					9	8	
1780	19	19			1	1					3	3	

Table 1.2.2 (cont'd)

Year	Dutch				English			Scottish			Swedish		
	Total	to Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	to Eng.	Scot.	Total	to Scot.	Eng.	Total	to Swe.	Holl.
1781											3	2	1
1782					2	2					8	7	
1783	11	9		2	3	3					10	7	1

Source: N. E. Bang and K. Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol. 1.

Table 1.2.3 Shipping through the Sound from the Russian Baltic Ports - Narva

	Dutch				England			Scottish			S. Holsteiner			
		to				to			to			to		
Year	Total	Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	Eng.	Scot.	Total	Scot.	Eng.	Total	Holl.	Eng.	Fra.
1680	14	14			22	21								
1681	21	17	1		32	32								
1682	21	20			46	46								
1683	43	42			50	49		1	1					
1684	35	34		1	29	28		1	1					
1685	31	30		1	35	34								
1686	43	41			43	43		1	1					
1687	61	60			49	49								
1688	56	56			43	42								
1689	16	16			24	24								
1690	32	32			20	18								
1691	26	26			25	25		1	1					
1692	26	26			26	26								
1693	31	31			22	22					3	3		
1694	16	16			27	24					2	2		
1695	50	49			26	26					1	1		
1696	25	25			23	23								
1697	30	30			10	10								
1698	51	51			27	27								
1699	78	78			46	46		1	1					
1700	71	71			67	67		2	1					
1701	8	8			2	2								
1702	10	10												
1703	11	11												
1704														
1705														

Table 1.2.3 (cont'd)

	Dutch				England			Scottish			S. Holsteiner			
		to				to			to			to		
Year	Total	Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	Eng.	Scot.	Total	Scot.	Eng.	Total	Holl.	Eng.	Fra.
1706														
1707														
1708														
1709														
1710														
1711														
1712														
1713														
1714														
1715					2	2								
1716														
1717					1	1								
1718	1	1			2	2								
1719	12	11			3	3								
1720	24	24			5	5								
1721	60	59			3	3								
1722	50	50			13	13								
1723	31	30			11	11		1		1				
1724	89	89			17	16		2		2	1	1		
1725	128	126			21	21		1		1				
1726	113	111			26	26								
1727	126	126			17	17					2	1	1	
1728	125	125			23	23					4	1	3	
1729	91	91			21	21		1		1	3		3	
1730	152	152			35	34					1		1	

Table 1.2.3 (cont'd)

	Dutch				England			Scottish			S. Holsteiner			
		to				to			to			to		
Year	Total	Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	Eng.	Scot.	Total	Scot.	Eng.	Total	Holl.	Eng.	Fra.
1731	187	187			35	34		1		1	4	1	2	1
1732	236	236			52	51		2	1	1	6	5	1	
1733	237	237			45	45		1	1		6	2		4
1734	226	226			39	39		2	1	1	12		5	6
1735	138	136	1		32	32					10	1	3	7
1736	87	87			30	30		1	1					
1737	138	137	1		42	42		2	2		10	1		7
1738	192	192			36	36					12	3		9
1739	144	143		1	20	20		1	1		6		3	3
1740	104	102	1	1	20	20								
1741	113	113			28	26	1				3	1	1	
1742	139	138	1		29	29					4	1		3
1743	203	202		1	25	25					2		1	1
1744	102	102			9	9		1		1	10	3	5	
1745	140	139			14	14		1		1	4	1	2	
1746	86	85		1	9	9					6			
1747	85	84			27	27					9	1	2	
1748	55	55			21	21					3			
1749	124	119	3	2	13	13		1		1	13	1	6	
1750	174	171	1	2	18	17	1				10	1	3	
1751	138	132	5	1	32	31		2	2		6	2	2	
1752	133	125	4	4	32	32		4	3	1	5		1	
1753	134	128	5	1	36	35	1	3	3		7			
1754	140	127	8	5	41	41		2	1	1	4			
1755	112	100	8	1	36	36		1	1		5			

Table 1.2.3 (cont'd)

Year	Dutch Total	Dutch to Holl.	Dutch to Fra.	Dutch to Ibe.	England Total	England to Eng.	England to Scot.	Scottish Total	Scottish to Scot.	Scottish to Eng.	S. Holsteiner Total	S. Holsteiner to Holl.	S. Holsteiner to Eng.	S. Holsteiner to Fra.
1756	3	2	1		18	18					4			
1757					11	11		2	1		6			
1758	30	27		1	15	15		1	1		1			
1759	66	61	2		17	17		2	2		3			
1760	1	1			8	12					4			
1761	5	4		1				4	3	1	7			
1762	41	39			14	14		2	1	1	5			
1763	79	72	3	1	43	43					7			
1764	87	81	2		47	47					6		1	
1765	64	59	1	1	47	47					6			
1766	92	87	2	1	53	53					2			
1767	62	56	4	1	30	29	1				4			
1768	83	78	4		32	29	3	1	1		3			
1769	71	66	3		48	44	4	2	1	1	1			
1770	62	61	1		39	39		1	1		1			
1771	47	46			50	50		7	7		2		2	
1772	47	46		1	44	43		2.	2					
1773	56	54	1	1	22	22		1	1		1			
1774	53	53			33	32	1				3			
1775	52	51			26	25	1				2			
1776	59	58			22	22					1			
1777	57	56		1	28	28					2			
1778	39	39			24	24		1	1					
1779	35	35			10	10					2			
1780	32	32			14	14		1	1		2			

Table 1.2.3 (cont'd)

	Dutch				England			Scottish			S. Holsteiner			
		to				to			to			to		
Year	Total	Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	Eng.	Scot.	Total	Scot.	Eng.	Total	Holl.	Eng.	Fra.
1781					23	23					2			
1782	2	2			21	21		1	1		1			
1783	31	31			24	24					2			

Source: N.E. Bang and K. Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), Vol. 1.

Table 1.2.4 Shipping through the Sound from the Russian Baltic Ports - St. Petersburg

	Dutch				English				Scottish			S. Holsteiner			Swedish			Lübecker		
		to				to				to			to			to			to	
Year	Total	Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	Eng.	Scot.	Ita.	Total	Scot.	Eng.	Total	Holl.	Ita.	Total	Swe.	Holl.	Total	Holl.	Fra.
1710					1	1														
1711																				
1712																				
1713	2	2			2	2			1	1										
1714	4	2	1	1	1	1														
1715	10	7			42	42			4	3								1	1	
1716	2	2			12	12												1	1	
1717	2	2			17	15														
1718	11	11			41	38		1												
1719	23	23			14	12		1	1	1										
1720	16	13		1	16	14		1	4	2	2									
1721	14	13			12	12			1	1										
1722	28	23			41	37		2	2		2							1		
1723	40	29	2		55	51		3	2	1	1									
1724	38	34	1		45	40		3	3	1	1							1		
1725	43	40			73	66		7	4	1	3	2	1		1		1	2	2	
1726	67	62	1		80	63		13	4	3	1	1	1		2		2	1		
1727	32	30	1		48	42		3	3	3		1						1	1	
1728	42	36	1		56	48		6	2	2								3	2	
1729	17	16			39	35		4	1	1								3		
1730	26	22		2	96	90		5	1	1		1						3		
1731	41	35	2		61	55		5	2	2		1						1		
1732	27	24	3		84	78		4	3	2	1	2								
1733	25	21	3		90	83		6				1						1		1
1734	24	24			79	73	1	4	2	1	1	2						4		3

Table 1.2.4 (cont'd)

	Dutch				English				Scottish			S. Holsteiner			Swedish			Lübecker		
		to				to				to			to			to			tp	
Year	Total	Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	Eng.	Scot.	Ita.	Total	Scot.	Eng.	Total	Holl.	Ita.	Total	Swe.	Holl.	Total	Holl.	Fra.
1735	27	25			90	88		5	2	2		1	1					3	1	
1736	41	39			69	65		3	3	1	1	4	4					1	1	
1737	54	51	1		99	91		6	3	2	1	1	1							
1738	74	73	1		84	76		6	2	1	1	2	2					2	1	
1739	36	31		1	118	113		4	4	2	2	1	1					1		
1740	52	48		1	110	102		4	4	3	1							2	2	
1741	93	86	1		105	99		2	7	6	1	3								
1742	69	61			123	120		1	3	2	1									
1743	27	21	1		69	62		2	3	2										
1744	57	56			109	109			8	3	5	1			3			2		
1745	37	33	2		66	66			4	3	1	3	1	2	2					
1746	40	34	1	1	108	108			2	2		2		1	2			1	1	
1747	45	41	3		145	144	1		7	6	1	3	1	1	2			4	2	
1748	29	24	5		72	72			5	5		11	3	1	4			2	1	1
1749	42	31	7	1	96	87	1	6	2	2		5		1	1			1		1
1750	31	23	6		132	126	1	5	4	2	2	3	1		3			1		1
1751	42	25	13		102	89		4	7	2	4	3	1	1	1			5	3	2
1752	68	34	31	1	155	140	2	9	5	4	1	5	2					5	1	4
1753	74	54	17	1	147	131		10	12	6	4	4	2					4	2	1
1754	72	32	35	2	155	139	1	13	4	4		1	1					3	1	1
1755	41	33	11	2	225	211	1	6	8	2	2	1		1	3	1		2		1
1756	62	57	1	2	179	177			4	4		4		1	1			1		
1757	84	51	5	15	119	116			7	6	1	5	1	2	1			2	2	
1758	43	30	3	5	145	144			13	11	2	3		1	3			1	1	
1759	59	45	6	2	188	188			12	6	6	3		1	1					

Table 1.2.4 (cont'd)

	Dutch				English				Scottish			S. Holsteiner			Swedish			Lübecker		
		to				to				to			to			to			to	
Year	Total	Holl.	Fra.	Ibe.	Total	Eng.	Scot.	Ita.	Total	Scot.	Eng.	Total	Holl.	Ita.	Total	Swe.	Holl.	Total	Holl.	Fra.
1760	48	31	4	1	124	123	1		9	7	2	5		3						
1761	29	13	5	7	118	117	1		8	6	2	3	1	2	1					
1762	66	54		2	113	132			16	6	10	1			6	2		1		
1763	47	29	6	6	134	127	2	3	9	8		3		1						
1764	37	18	11	4	178	166	3	6	12	9	2				1	1				
1765	51	26	18	3	225	217	3	4	14	10	4	2		1	6	3		2		2
1766	51	19	24	4	135	126		3	15	14					1	1				
1767	80	52	21	5	188	168	11	9	18	16	2	3		1	1					
1768	84	28	39	19	204	189	3	9	24	20	3	5		1	3	1		1		1
1769	92	40	26	18	286	255	14	13	34	29	4	4			3	3		2		2
1770	68	25	25	13	274	248	6	16	28	27		7	1		1	1		1		1
1771	68	23	23	15	296	287	4		49	43	5	11	1		1	1				
1772	95	44	31	17	213	184	7	16	24	22		11			1	1		4		
1773	97	39	41	15	290	253	6	20	32	29	3	15		2	5	4		3		2
1774	100	32	46	11	281	254	7	13	38	36	1	13			4	3		4		3
1775	48	21	19	6	246	225	7	7	37	30	7	5			4	2		3		3
1776	85	26	45	9	290	277	4	6	47	39	8	9			7	3	1	7		7
1777	133	50	58	16	311	297	9	1	61	59	2	5		3	9	3		5		5
1778	151	74	59	11	203	197	2	1	41	34	7	7		3	24	4		3	2	1
1779	113	81	6	15	264	262	2		47	38	9	9		6	16	4		10	7	
1780	49	43	1	3	223	221	2		54	49	5	8		7	13	3		6	3	1
1781					376	374	1		78	61	17	11		7	23	5	1	3	1	1
1782	1	1			165	165			49	46	3	15	1	11	25	3	1	24	2	20
1783	13	10	1		198	180	14	2	65	63	1	16	4	4	12	7	1	5	4	

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), Vol. 1.

Table 1.3 Ships sailing from Reval, 1680-1783

Year	Total	Total Foreign	Total Inland	Destination Sound	Sweden	Finland	Lübeck	Russian Ports
1680	(225)	(72)	(153)	(50)	(100)	(45)	(13)	(17)
1681	202	96	106	72	31	73	11	13
1682								
1683	254	82	172	51	(87)	(82)	14	17
1684	250	114	(136)	99	(111)	(20)	7	5
1685		65	–	42	4	–	9	10
1686								
1687								
1688	288	31	257	16	141	107	5	19
1689	258	57	201	39	133	59	14	11
1690								
1691								
1692	161	75	86		86			
1693		93		74			12	7
1694								
1695								
1696	185	27	158	–	158	–	–	–
1697		26	–	–	1	–	3	7
1698	163	36	127	18	–	–	9	26
1699	192	54	138	37	85	34	5	25
1700		64	–	34	–	–	12	18
1701	248	62	186	22	124	42	22	42
1702	68	26	(42)	10	30	7	7	13
1703	113	(32)	81	14	36	28	16	14
1704	149	35	114	11	41	32	9	54
1705			59	–	32	21	–	6
1706	92	9	81	2	28	20	4	29
1707	123	10	115	–	50	22	2	45
1708	(75)	(13)	(62)	7	40	24	5	4
1709	65	13	52	1	25	22	6	4
1710	69	22	47	4	37	10	5	1
1711	12	12	–	6	–	–	3	–
1712	15	15	–	10	–	–	2	–
1713	34	34	–	25	–	–	8	–
1714	24	24	–	20	–	–	2	2
1715	74	40	34	31	1	31	2	6
1716	105	50	55	16	–	54	8	3
1717	120	26	94	–	–	88	5	22
1718	131	17	114	1	–	113	3	11
1719	168	41	127	2	–	125	6	27
1720	182	49	133	3	–	132	6	27
1721	150	37	113	2	1	113	2	23
1722	163	44	119	4	9	113	6	20
1723	176	45	131	5	5	109	8	36
1724	169	80	89	7	5	85	5	54
1725	151	70	81	3	11	79	6	47
1726	157	59	98	5	7	99	8	36
1727	131	78	53	2	7	55	6	52
1728	157	107	50	8	7	50	6	81

Table 1.3 (cont'd)

Year	Total	Total Foreign	Total Inland	Destination Sound	Sweden	Finland	Lübeck	Russian Ports
1729	128	80	48	15	14	48	12	22
1730								
1731	149	117	32	27	20	31	12	51
1732	127	72	55	9	17	57	5	28
1733								
1734	86	60	26	11	10	26	13	20
1735	109	69	40	3	10	40	13	35
1736	186	162	24	11	85	24	27	20
1737	162	129	33	27	49	32	15	37
1738	174	142	32	23	51	29	14	40
1739								
1740								
1741								
1742	83	54	29	6	-	33	7	32
1743								
1744	112	63	49	2	19	42	9	33
1745								
1746	119	85	34	6	44	28	4	21
1747	88	63	25	8	14	26	10	19
1748								
1749								
1750	77	58	19	5	2	15	7	36
1751	99	73	26	3	3	21	7	51
1752	72	50	22	7	5	15	6	25
1753	132	114	18	16	43	27	7	23
1772	168	145	23	18	46	25	14	33
1773	132	81	51	10	32	30	8	50
1774	173	119	54	30	33	47	16	35
1775	228	164	64	50	29	52	36	28
1776								
1777		75		12	27	5	14	17
1778	154	72	82	10	33	64	16	18
1779								
1780								

Source: Revaler Stadtarchivs, A.g. 59-240, port books.

Where the number of outgoing ships is not available, the number of incoming ships is included and given in brackets.

These documents list all ships entering and leaving the port and divide them into two categories - foreign and inland. These divisions are constituted differently before and after 1710.

	Foreign	Inland
Up to 1710	All shipping from western Europe and the western Baltic	Ships of the Swedish Empire
After 1710	All shipping except those from Finland and Reval	Ships from Finland and Reval.

Up to 1710, the number of ships passing through the Sound and recorded in the Sound Tolls is greater than the total number of foreign ships leaving Reval. The loss is mostly among Dutch shipping and it implies that the Dutch were enjoying some special advantage from passing off part of their shipping as "inland". This could possibly be explained by the relatively large number of vessels registered with their home port at Reval and they might reach the Sound via a Swedish or Finnish port and, perhaps, also return to Reval indirectly (though there are a small number of incoming Reval-based ships each year from beyond the Sound).

From 1710 until the late 1730s, the total number of ships passing through the Sound from Reval can be accounted for by the number of foreign ships visiting the port but most of them do not sail directly to the Sound. Instead they are more likely to visit one of the other Russian Baltic ports after leaving Reval. From the late 1730s unfortunately the quality of the documents declines and in many years only the extracts from the records are available. These give the port from which the ship has come and its destination, but they do not include information about the skipper's home port. In the case of British ships this is no loss for the names can be easily identified. Dutch skippers' names, however, cannot readily be distinguished from those of German and Swedish origin and the numbers of Dutch ships among the foreign entries are, therefore, frequently smaller than those indicated in the Sound Tolls.

Table 1.4 Shipping to the Russian ports from Lübeck, 1680-1780.

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St.Petersburg (Nyen)
1680	(15)	8	11	5
1681	(14)	7	10	5
1682	(9)	11	10	5
1683	0	10	9	2
1684	0	9	9	3
1685	(14)	15	8	2
1686	(10)	7	9	3
1687	(12)	7	7	4
1688	(10)	7	13	2
1689	(13)	13	11	5
1690	(13)	13	12	9
1691	(16)	9	12	13
1692	(7)	10	7	5
1693	(9)	8	12	8
1694	(11)	8	14	5
1695	(15)	5	19	3
1696	(11)	5	16	3
1697	(19)	4	25	3
1698		8[2]		
1699	(14)	6	17	5
1700	(4)	9	14	7
1701		23[2]		
1702		6[2]		
1703		18[2]		
1704		9[2]		
1705	0	7	0	0
1706	0	5	0	0
1707	0	4	0	0
1708	(4)	2	0	0
1709	(2)	3	0	0
1710	(2)	1	0	0
1711	(5)	4	0	0
1712	(3)	1	0	0
1713	(2)	3	0	0
1714	(4)	0	0	0
1715	0	0	0	0
1716	(3)	5	0	0
1717	(2)	13	0	9
1718	(4)	3	0	8
1719	(2)	5	2	8
1720	0	4	1	2
1721	0	10	1	3
1722	0	3	2	7
1723	0	8	3	22
1724	0	6	3	12
1725	0	11	2	18
1726	0	5	1	14
1727	0	9	4	16
1728	0	10	6	16
1729	0	9	7	10
1730	0	12	7	9

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
1731	0	13	7	15
1732	0	13	7	15
1733	0	7	9	26
1734	0	17	7	29
1735	0	12	7	22
1736		32[2]		
1737		10[2]		
1738	0	14	7	26
1739				
1740				
1741				
1742		9[2]		
1743				
1744		6[2]		
1745				
1746		7[2]		
1747		10[2]		
1748	0	6	4	20
1749		9	3	21
1750		7[2]		
1751		7[2]		
1752		6[2]		
1753		7[2]		
1754				
1755				
1756	0	9	3	17
1757				
1758	0	7	1	22
1759	0	7	2	36
1760	0	8	0	29
1761	0	13	1	28
1762	0	18	1	25
1763	0	13	2	24
1764	0	11	3	26
1765	0	10	2	23
1766	0	11	1	21
1767	0	12	2	24
1768	0	13	4	29
1769	0	9	2	29
1770	0	15	2	25
1771	0	17	1	25
1772	0	8	1	27
1773	0	12	2	28
1774	0	15	3	31
1775	0	19	4	29
1776	0	13	2	36
1777	0	17	4	34
1778	0	14	3	33
1779	0	15	2	43
1780	0	12	3	28

Sources: 1. Elizabeth Harder, 'Seehandel zwischen Lübeck und Russland im 17/18 Jahrhundert', Zeitschrift des vereins für Lübeckische, Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 41 (1961) 43, (1963), pp.104-7.

2. Reveller Stadtaschivs, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz., A.g. 59-240.

(Figures in brackets indicate that outgoing ships are given because incoming totals are not available.)

APPENDIX 2

Exports

Table 2.1 Total Exports through the Sound from Russia, 1680-1783

Year	Grain (last)	Flax and Hemp (skpd.)	Timber (thousand pieces)	Iron (skpd.)
1680	11,840	47,993	724	48
1681	20,102	58,269	562	144
1682	24,107	67,836	472	178
1683	21,538	68,635	776	225
1684	19,580	49,675	578	362
1685	10,268	73,157	778	136
1686	6,604	93,478	1,246	261
1687	7,405	58,614	1,181	807
1688	6,185	66,052	1,533	1,644
1689	9,771	64,578	391	2,116
1690	11,863	43,560	387	1,684
1691	8,960	52,505	357	2,452
1692	13,073	56,888	295	2,183
1693	28,696	61,488	337	497
1694	31,322	55,521	349	2,754
1695	19,126	75,084	414	236
1696	709	42,130	410	2,153
1697	119	37,288	698	583
1698	3,339	68,314	844	2,041
1699	9,523	93,816	769	3,151
1700	2,797	27,248	549	456
1701	163	6,422	263	72
1702	517	18,902	212	711
1703	104	17,514	313	331
1704	65	27,926	229	1,061
1705	483	3,272	127	298
1706	505	4,871	98	227
1707	63	5,128	115	428
1708	-	8,249	223	499
1709	-	12,902	80	501
1710	39	1,448	32	326
1711	1,000	2,002	36	102
1712	760	9,627	34	124
1713	4,745	13,515	81	115
1714	1,449	15,371	12	97
1715	5,618	58,119	119	3
1716	2,846	25,969	111	264
1717	608	23,815	93	585
1718	74	41,087	144	935
1719	62	41,564	229	1,752
1720	9	30,546	277	785
1721	-	46,726	435	446
1722	102	64,008	354	2,566
1723	61	79,012	279	2,713
1724	-	84,678	437	5,434
1725	5	121,374	506	3,599
1726	64	129,434	415	5,248
1727	36	86,701	546	9,806
1728	1,008	95,618	489	15,392
1729	3,432	86,676	437	12,806
1730	3,505	125,557	811	6,238

Table 2.1 (cont'd)

Year	Grain (last)	Flax and Hemp (skpd,)	Timber (thousand pieces)	Iron (skpd.)
1731	5,520	103,230	708	20,842
1732	935	85,996	827	25,860
1733	525	96,130	782	24,213
1734	4,660	76,860	908	17,045
1735	1,924	113,664	786	22,981
1736	1,125	103,697	586	21,248
1737	2,683	120,054	648	20,283
1738	6,310	113,084	766	22,664
1739	15,310	125,998	634	25,259
1740	30,595	90,873	534	28,524
1741	20,908	125,751	852	26,308
1742	30	144,884	1,067	34,937
1743	142	79,405	1,035	26,865
1744	55	144,884	742	23,145
1745	1,545	117,379	731	23,076
1746	912	169,356	599	30,638
1747	16	202,238	673	30,880
1748	58	133,856	402	19,789
1749	-	142,051	600	51,884
1750	82	184,140	737	119,787
1751	207	154,986	705	61,309
1752	-	213,276	887	90,148
1753	2,681	173,833	1,124	57,429
1754	1,644	216,989	997	61,121
1755	2,596	217,155	888	83,296
1756	1,240	227,996	441	52,349
1757	279	217,412	254	43,579
1758	326	181,497	553	61,644
1759	107	259,123	684	92,793
1760	1,467	162,835	449	70,282
1761	16,030	140,927	255	107,565
1762	17,767	219,679	346	98,031
1763	6,697	199,967	733	87,066
1764	5,778	208,923	941	117,504
1765	5,591	185,513	1,161	174,370
1766	3,109	170,789	1,206	83,169
1767	1,630	300,660	1,030	145,444
1768	2,840	208,535	1,200	171,526
1769	8,031	235,908	1,566	239,429
1770	7,677	226,230	1,401	237,211
1771	17,958	283,350	1,461	231,899
1772	33,576	207,974	1,381	180,772
1773	14,100	250,607	1,453	240,639
1774	24,635	291,606	1,354	217,177
1775	29,294	234,770	1,135	169,706
1776	9,794	257,513	1,194	217,393
1777	10,686	311,843	1,387	255,351
1778	12,949	327,406	1,021	142,217
1779	13,076	320,435	1,145	210,299
1780	8,481	286,960	1,122	196,197
1781	5,382	350,468	703	340,531
1782	10,210	343,156	722	171,096
1783	23,683	237,181	1,632	188,530

Source: N.E. Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol. 2.

Table 2.2 Exports of Grain from Russia, 1680-1783 (last)

	Riga						Reval						Narva			St. Petersburg				
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Hamb.	Bremen	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Nor.	Swe.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Fra.	Port.	Other
1680	10,121[2]	6,658	6,011	128	44	475	8,191[3]	4,947	4,766			181	235	225	10					
1681	14,006[2]	11,085	9,626	451		1,008		8,480	6,987			1,493	537	252	285					
1682	11,415[2]	10,439	8,366	215	185	1,673	10,036[3]	12,534	11,576			958	1,134	311	823					
1683	13,659[2]	12,085	9,917	40	11	2,117		8,684	8,287			397	769	506	263					
1684	9,462[2]	6,507	5,304		141	1,062		12,758	10,660		291	1,807	315	315						
1685	7,579[2]	5,028	3,317	297		1,414		5,075	4,558	89	56	372	165	165						
1686	6,098[2]	4,004	3,792	35	1	176		2,518	2,333			185	82	82						
1687	6,360[2]	4,796	4,384		32	380		2,525	2,263		262		84	84						
1688	7,035[2]	4,531	4,409			122		1,656	1,612			44								
1689	6,880[2]	4,327	4,088	184	2	53	10,893[3]	5,299	5,256			43	145	145						
1690	7,395[2]	5,597	4,817	412	21	347		5,869	5,869				397	315	82					
1691	3,860[2]	2,292	2,161			131		6,590	6,590				78	78						
1692	5,853[2]	4,087	3,610			477		8,829	8,723		106		157	157						
1693	19,616[2]	13,369	12,645		8	716		13,930	13,738			192	1,397	1,397						
1694	31,936[2]	23,316	22,022			1,294		7,377	7,175			202	629	626	3					
1695	15,663[2]	10,864	10,161			703		7,682	7,502			180	580	580						
1696	4,878[2]	524	476			48		185	185											
1697	6,698[2]	119	119																	
1698	7,579[2]	2,943	2,868			75	3,674[3]	393	393											
1699	12,115[2]	8,821	7,681	77	799	264		702	583		75	44								
1700	40[2]	238	161	31	46			2,517	2,004		284	229	42	20	22					
1701								163	73		90									
1702	585[2]	483	483					34	34											
1703	145[2]	104	104																	
1704	510[2]	65	65																	
1705	1,216[2]	483	483																	
1706	1,711[2]	505	505																	
1707	1,355[2]	63	63																	
1708	410[2]																			
1709	41[2]																			
1710	46[2]	36	36					3	3											
1711	502[2]	476	446			30		524	69			475								
1712	953[2]	598	598					162	162											
1713	3,708[2]	2,659	2,377		232	50		2,074	2,036			38				12	12			
1714	1,461[2]	1,009	930		5	74		434	434							6			6	
1715	1,334[2]	1,180	1,107		64	10		4,373	4,373							65	65			
1716	1,544[2]	1,035	1,035					1,761	1,696			65				50				50
1717	453[2]	214	189		25			394	394											
1718	209[2]	74	51			23														
1719		62			5	57														
1720		9	9																	
1721																				
1722		102	75			27														
1723								28				28				33				33
1724																				
1725																5	5			

Table 2.2 (cont.)

	Riga						Reval						Narva			St. Petersburg				
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Hamb.	Bremen	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Nor.	Swe.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Fra.	Port.	Other
1726	1,000[5]	63	53			10		1	1											
1727								34				34				2	2			
1728		245	245					743	743							20	20			
1729		1,753	837			916		1,679	1,299	73		307								
1730		850	813			37		2,655	2,655											
1731		2,044	2,040			4		3,389	3,359	30			87	87						
1732		661	490		72	99		274	137	137										
1733		465	455			10		60	60											
1734		2,821	2,537		174	110		1,752	1,752				87	87						
1735		1,602	1,416		145	41	1,483[6]	322	292			30								
1736		561	368			193	9,281[6]	564	311	172		81								
1737		1,532	965		66	501	4,991[6]	1,151	846	305										
1738		4,085	3,493		338	254	5,639[6]	2,184	1,988	195		1	41	41						
1739		9,318	8,752		102	464		5,705	5,522	183			287	287						
1740		18,327	16,323	668	665	671		10,724	10,052	283		389	1,229	1,299		315	209			106
1741		11,316	9,009	422	755	1,130		3,582	3,355	91		136	1,088	1,027	61	4,922	4,004			918
1742		30				30	2,827[4]													
1743		142	133			9														
1744							737[4]	55	55											
1745		939	240		180	519		596	501	95			10		10					
1746							3,471[4]	912	912											
1747							362[4]						16		16					
1748																58				58
1749																				
1750		72											10		10					
1751		97	97				111[6]	110	110											
1752							64[6]													
1753		1,232	746		115	371	11,702[6]	1,449	1,014	199		236								
1754		603	114			489		1,041	764	102		175								
1755		1,161	634		160	367		1,435	770	204	28	433								
1756		971			193	778		269	166	103										
1757		195	189			6		84		84										
1758	464[7]	275				275	7,461[4]									51				51
1759	32[7]	20				20		51	51							36	36			
1760	2,011[7]	1,130	788	138		204		337	337											
1761	15,124[7]	13,448	7,657	3,685	1,489	617		2,582	1,888	35		659								
1762		13,410	5,000	5,401	2,087	922		4,156	2,417	128	15	1,596				201	201			
1763		5,413	2,020	1,481	512	1,400		1,284	346	92	105	741								
1764		4,994	2,843	759	527	765	5,881[4]	784	525	30		229								
1765		3,663	642	1,065	299	1,657		1,736	351	235	187	963	13		13	179	179			
1766		1,736	479	587	6	664		1,373	463	200		710								
1767		514	266	53	20	175		831	617	141		73				285	285			
1768		1,476	1,119	30	21	306		948	774	86		88				416	284			132
1769		4,272	3,051		134	1,087		1,306	1,184	28	94					2,453	1,244	180	427	602
1770		5,099	3,778	319	212	790		1,317	1,263	2		52				1,261	429	416	371	45

	Riga						Reval						Narva			St. Petersburg				
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Hamb.	Bremen	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Nor.	Swe.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Fra.	Port.	Other
1771		11,773	7,366	1,647	514	2,246		3,980	2,813	156		1,011	60	60		2,145	564	618		963
1772		24,058	13,597	5,212	2,955	2,294	4,806[4]	3,942	2,665	229	24	1,024				5,576	1,537	380	648	3,011
1773		10,462	8,068		444	1,950	2,053[4]	2,079	1,945	80	54					1,559	166	520	416	457
1774		15,092	10,580	576	858	3,078	143[4]	4,916	3,760	158	211	787				4,627	685	561	552	2,829
1775		19,433	14,641	1,585	1,568	1,639	2,825[4]	7,839	5,400	169	114	2,156				2,022	18	220	67	1,717
1776		4,597	3,976		212	409		4,619	4,049	247	225	98				578	85		211	282
1777		5,190	4,091			1,099		3,317	3,197	43	75	2				2,179	31	284	737	1,127
1778		7,559	5,624	201	527	1,207	2,512[4]	2,515	2,130	113	208	64				2,875	722	60	548	1,545
1779		6,359	2,689		608	3,062		3,160	2,656	211	200	93	7	7		3,550	136	80	1,397	1,937
1780		5,091	1,979		36	3,076		2,376	2,093	61	102	120				1,014	31		800	183
1781		3,982	1,201	461	94	2,226		868	541	63	45	219				532			532	
1782		7,916	5,182	126	135	2,473		1,705	1,222	56	212	215				589		265	268	56
1783		17,749	7,574	430	1,707	8,038		3,027	1,751	24	307	945	199		199	2,708	164		944	1,600

Sources:

1. All exports through the Sound from N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol.2.
2. E.Dunsdorfs, 'Der Auszenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert', Conventus Primus Historicolum Balticorum Rigae 1937 (Riga, 1938).
3. A.Soom, Der Handel Revals in Siebzehnten Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1969).
4. Bundesarchiv,Koblenz, Revaler Stadtarchivs, Ag.219, 220, 229, 230.
5. A. Semeonov, Izuchenie istoricheskikh svedenii o Rossiskoi vneshnei torgovle i promyshlennosti so poloviny XVII-go stoletiya po 1858 god (St. Petersburg, 1859).
6. G. Etzold, Seehandel und Kaufleute in Reval nach dem Frieden von Nystad bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Marburg/Lahn, 1975).
7. A.F.Busching (ed.), Magazine für die neue Historie und Geographie, IX (1775).

Table 2.3.1 Exports of Flax and Hemp from Russia, 1680-1783 (skpd)

	Riga				Reval				Narva				St. Petersburg			
Year	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both
1680	40,139	1,902	20,465	17,772	675	272	403		7,179	2,118	2,992	2,067				
1681	49,385	5,371	24,232	19,782	951	331	620		7,933	2,681	5,252					
1682	56,907	5,659	31,634	19,614	1,631	950	468	213	9,298	4,927	4,255	96				
1683	57,339	4,772	41,349	11,218	483	322	154	7	10,813	4,394	6,287	132				
1684	39,357	3,395	30,283	5,679	606	94	512		9,712	2,166	7,323	223				
1685	61,939	4,582	48,407	8,950	481	60	324	97	10,737	2,103	8,574	60				
1686	79,353	15,852	48,183	15,318	1,562	851	687	24	12,563	4,235	8,203	125				
1687	44,030	6,212	30,756	7,062	844	407	437		13,740	5,570	8,014	156				
1688	55,833	4,854	44,709	6,257	725	382	343		9,494	3,250	5,624	620				
1689	54,649	3,386	41,059	10,204	1,061	406	489	166	8,868	2,731	5,437	700				
1690	35,668	3,817	24,536	7,315	1,168	795	235	138	6,724	3,038	3,315	371				
1691	42,861	3,634	25,732	13,495	334	73	153	108	9,310	4,582	4,728					
1692	46,502	1,316	37,492	7,694	507	125	304	78	9,879	3,908	5,865	106				
1693	49,749	1,550	46,206	1,993	786	270	516		10,953	5,537	5,416					
1694	42,113	1,125	40,107	881	471	93	378		12,937	5,188	7,671	78				
1695	56,101	1,917	49,771	4,413	514	139	230	145	18,469	4,100	12,333	2,036				
1696	32,829	2,175	27,194	3,460	4	2	2		9,297	2,752	5,831	714				
1697	31,379	80	30,234	1,065	435	222	213	138	4,146	1,190	4,142	4				
1698	60,797	1,181	56,552	3,064	140	16	31	93	4,939	2,438	4,939					
1699	77,337	4,184	66,673	6,480	129		129		11,394	4,956	11,394					
1700	8,572	4,721	1,201	2,650	817	474	258	85	17,951	8,908	8,836	115				
1701	5,530	1,150	1,154	3,226	635	635			257	257						
1702	18,181	1,556	11,205	5,420	721	708		13								
1703	17,040	622	9,841	6,577	474	463	11									
1704	27,627	2,212	14,721	10,694	299	88		211								
1705	3,145	1,289	507	1,349	127	116	6	5								
1706	4,613	1,957	1,107	1,549	258	51	2	205								
1707	5,122	1,132	628	3,362	6	6										
1708	8,227	2,063	5,384	780	22	2	14	6								
1709	12,671	1,842	8,337	2,492	231	218	13									
1710	970	500		470	478	295	10	173								
1711	2,002	866	1,136													
1712	9,627	3,984	5,643													
1713	12,459	2,319	7,759	2,381	221	187	34						835	779	56	
1714	13,526	1,660	6,395	5,471	638	89	276	273					1,207	113	120	974
1715	20,387	2,753	12,147	5,487	898	555	30	313	490	490			36,344	2,204	32,338	1,802
1716	19,438	2,216	11,934	5,288	948	596	66	286					5,583	2,634	2,773	176
1717	17,361	2,428	8,812	6,121	145	145			184	151		33	6,125	1,026	2,959	2,140
1718	20,459	1,207	18,827	425	249	161	88		478	346	132		19,901	1,151	16,536	2,214
1719	25,931	5,763	11,746	8,422	354	103		251	1,229	595	634		14,050	466	11,291	2,293
1720	21,124	1,915	16,406	2,803	62	51	11		1,726	1,664	62		7,634	284	6,886	464
1721	34,684	4,490	25,030	5,164	263	263			1,498	1,152	346		10,281	64	9,720	497
1722	32,959	10,234	15,847	6,878	849	863	13		4,575	4,238	337		25,625	1,295	23,529	801
1723	44,863	9,784	28,686	6,393	1,039	1,020	19		4,209	3,460	749		28,901	1,725	26,308	868
1724	45,871	7,211	34,265	4,395	1,299	910	1	388	5,758	3,876	291	1,591	31,750	1,661	20,347	9,742
1725	71,450	6,585	62,673	2,192	719	534	15	170	6,771	5,526	1,245		42,434	1,599	37,496	3,339

	Riga				Reval				Narva				St. Petersburg			
Year	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both
1726	66,339	7,454	54,142	4,743	555	144	401	154	8,184	7,803	268	113	54,212	1,627	46,665	5,920
1727	60,267	4,050	52,828	3,389	664	391	273		4,347	3,538	791	18	21,029	664	18,880	1,485
1728	53,808	11,543	39,964	2,301	318	269	49		6,503	6,114	389		34,989	1,128	27,422	6,439
1729	57,022	12,956	35,095	8,971	528	217	6	305	5,277	5,184	93		23,849	1,303	18,982	3,564
1730	58,649	11,761	33,326	13,562	882	765	39	78	6,959	5,149	1,777	33	59,070	2,258	47,381	9,431
1731	48,062	10,065	30,671	7,326	1,036	849	187		7,649	7,244	405		46,483	2,621	42,007	1,855
1732	46,547	12,315	24,257	9,975	1,606	1,184	65	357	7,031	6,508	523		30,812	1,015	29,376	421
1733	47,092	6,929	38,351	1,812	414	303	111		6,644	5,818	826		41,980	531	41,449	
1734	28,808	8,793	18,087	1,928	454	339	76	39	8,115	7,509	606		39,483	5,121	34,362	
1735	62,085	7,385	52,435	2,215	311	184	23	104	8,052	6,732	1,320		43,266	416	42,594	256
1736	53,471	11,622	39,617	2,232	1,019	708	311		8,191	7,102	1,089		41,016	335	40,637	
1737	65,746	25,022	39,416	1,308	1,887	1,452	435		9,301	9,258	43		43,120	620	42,250	250
1738	51,443	14,910	36,533		1,780	1,079	701		7,927	7,166	761		51,934	1,467	50,467	
1739	64,200	16,000	48,003	197	1,110	628	482		5,812	4,715	1,097		54,876	2,408	52,468	
1740	31,260	12,889	18,371		263			263	6,917	6,130	787		52,028	3,292	48,736	
1741	55,834	12,268	42,915	651	578	269	309		11,342	9,976	1,366		57,997	2,811	55,186	
1742	56,722	14,223	42,499		199	119	80		12,978	12,278	700		74,122	1,914	72,208	
1743	40,473	7,501	32,972						6,419	5,525	894		32,513	992	31,519	
1744	53,118	3,936	49,182		202		202		5,077	4,940	137		86,487	1,399	85,088	
1745	60,267	11,759	48,608		325	236	89		10,300	9,710	590		46,387	2,659	43,728	
1746	75,993	19,733	56,260		1,534	842	692		10,818	10,438	380		81,011	1,986	79,025	
1747	75,572	21,362	54,173	37	1,581	897	684		16,998	16,345	653		108,087	8,417	99,671	
1748	54,486	18,169	36,315		1,373	775	598		12,378	12,294	84		65,623	6,727	58,894	
1749	61,376	19,665	41,711		385	195	93	97	11,911	11,508	403		68,526	6,029	62,497	
1750	62,611	25,994	36,617						11,279	10,310	969		110,250	8,583	101,667	
1751	54,416	16,919	37,497		344	268	76		17,261	16,697	564		82,965	6,630	76,335	
1752	66,464	22,253	43,697	514	1,260	682	578		12,773	10,548	2,225		132,779	5,472	127,307	
1753	58,416	19,140	39,276		1,207	730	477		10,968	10,335	633		103,242	9,254	93,988	
1754	71,198	26,840	44,144	214	1,796	1,419	377		23,007	22,684	323		120,988	5,460	114,997	531
1755	41,211	12,482	28,313	416	1,775	1,450	314	11	19,195	17,713	1,482		154,974	9,875	145,099	
1756	59,895	19,983	39,912		596	508	88		11,581	11,009	572		155,924	8,993	146,931	
1757	67,013	20,903	45,991	119	588	534	54		10,123	9,283	840		139,688	8,585	130,817	286
1758	57,861	21,216	36,595	50	114	114			8,594	7,944	650		114,905	14,434	100,471	
1759	69,910	26,750	43,160		468	405	63		11,384	10,495	889		177,370	21,123	156,247	
1760	50,318	15,450	34,868		148	25	123		7,648	7,378	270		104,721	9,415	95,306	
1761	48,664	20,090	27,982	592	1,861	1,554	307		12,912	12,411	501		77,490	12,330	65,160	
1762	78,228	23,704	54,508	12	2,482	2,184	298		11,704	11,648	56		127,271	11,366	115,903	
1763	68,514	25,496	42,821	197	3,997	3,929	68		28,306	24,449	3,857		99,202	17,267	81,935	
1764	59,631	24,155	33,841	1,635	3,207	2,955	252		21,216	19,538	1,678		124,869	12,358	112,511	
1765	45,603	18,266	27,337		2,688	2,552	136		14,541	12,944	1,597		122,681	7,199	115,482	
1766	45,671	28,120	17,256	295	3,617	3,446	171		15,619	15,252	367		105,882	5,772	100,110	
1767	153,287	19,713	132,825	749	974	931	43		10,741	10,493	248		135,658	11,541	124,117	
1768	51,465	31,765	19,700		1,828	1,648	180		17,681	16,996	685		137,564	12,847	124,717	
1769	56,621	32,088	24,532		2,026	1,915	111		21,313	20,506	807		155,950	14,226	141,723	
1770	63,016	33,083	29,933		2,969	2,861	108		15,778	15,307	471		144,467	17,485	126,982	

	Riga				Reval				Narva				St. Petersburg			
Year	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both	Total Through Sound	Flax	Hemp	Both
1771	57,864	30,768	27,096		329	251	78		22,649	21,295	1,354		202,508	17,170	185,338	
1772	63,222	31,475	31,747		2,790	2,542	248		19,904	19,051	853		122,058	13,816	108,242	
1773	56,945	24,860	32,085		965	709	256		7,337	7,016	321		185,360	8,960	176,400	
1774	88,393	35,765	52,628		2,960	2,415	545		13,565	12,662	903		186,688	17,504	169,184	
1775	78,687	41,576	37,111		8,238	7,471	767		19,084	18,630	454		128,761	20,296	108,465	
1776	75,822	37,945	37,877		5,244	4,913	331		14,423	13,756	667		162,024	21,456	140,568	
1777	66,893	32,829	34,064		9,440	8,537	903		19,455	19,136	319		216,057	29,614	186,443	
1778	78,975	34,391	44,584		8,685	8,272	413		12,653	12,234	419		227,093	22,480	204,613	
1779	77,131	36,675	40,456		5,336	4,415	1,921		6,764	6,503	261		231,204	23,498	207,706	
1780	110,346	46,626	63,720		7,292	6,964	328		14,080	13,888	192		155,244	18,915	136,329	
1781	96,263	32,187	64,076		10,698	10,611	87		15,952	15,670	282		227,555	28,435	199,120	
1782	69,983	29,194	40,789		12,378	11,622	701		16,130	15,159	971		244,665	26,501	218,164	
1783	72,682	33,860	38,822		15,979	14,557	1,422		13,950	13,355	595		134,795	32,261	102,534	

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol.2.

Table 2.3.2 Destination of Exports of Flax and Hemp from Russia, 1680-1783 (skpd)

	Riga							Reval					Narva					St. Petersburg						
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Iberia	Fra.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	France	Iberia	Other
1680	50,126[2]	40,139	28,269	9,020	301	355	2,194		675	523	152			7,179	2,867	3,933	379							
1681	62,360[2]	49,385	36,024	10,747	72	583	1,959		951	826	121	4		7,933	2,396	4,880	657							
1682	61,119[2]	56,907	28,647	19,197	655	6,345	2,063	2,096[4]	1,631	1,045	374	212		9,298	1,354	7,934	10							
1683	71,257[2]	57,339	32,627	21,418	512	605	2,177		483	373	110			10,813	2,155	8,639	19							
1684	53,833[2]	39,357	26,390	11,277	308	88	1,294		606	548		58		9,712	3,244	6,374	94							
1685	75,833[2]	61,939	36,999	21,880	874	682	1,504		481	480		1		10,737	3,854	6,716	167							
1686	94,189[2]	79,353	49,463	26,025	750	547	2,568	2,776[4]	1,562	1,294	268			12,563	2,582	9,791	190							
1687	55,483[2]	44,030	20,560	19,512	685	1,846	1,427		844	639	185	20		13,740	2,538	11,202								
1688	71,463[2]	55,833	23,822	27,121	1,616	1,909	1,365		725	439	286			9,494	931	8,563								
1689	73,918[2]	54,649	27,017	25,519	948		1,165		1,061	565	496			8,868	3,171	5,697								
1690	68,964[2]	35,668	18,210	13,420	2,148		1,890		1,168	312	856			6,724	1,795	4,929								
1691	69,475[2]	42,861	19,815	21,488	376	8	1,174		334	334				9,310	1	9,266	43							
1692	72,249[2]	46,502	21,118	24,544	308		532		507	489		18		9,879		9,879								
1693	79,735[2]	49,749	29,838	18,939			972	1,285[4]	786	786				10,953	2,267	8,868								
1694	66,118[2]	42,113	25,437	15,836	508		332		471	449		22		12,937	1,123	11,814								
1695	92,056[2]	56,101	32,639	20,436	1,372	579	1,075	1,331[5]	514	368	146			18,469	5,631	12,835	3							
1696	87,870[2]	32,829	10,661	19,213	700		2,255		4	4			17,678[3]	9,297	65	9,195	37							
1697	54,238[2]	31,379	12,769	16,978			1,632	511[4]	573	276	297			5,336	804	4,528	4							
1698	85,882[2]	60,797	35,543	18,189	256	3,521	3,288	264[4]	140	140				7,377	391	6,986								
1699	101,572[2]	77,337	33,247	30,835	1,723	8,679	2,853		129	107		22		16,350	2,972	13,142	236							
1700	16,590[2]	8,572	7,362	995		81	134	1,405[5]	817	402	409	6		17,859	1,077	16,635	147							
1701	10,007[2]	5,530	5,109				421		635	42	425	168		257		257								
1702	51,575[2]	18,181	11,847	5,445	138	31	720		721	112	600	9												
1703	43,598[2]	17,040	11,330	5,435		19	256		474	474														
1704	67,529[2]	27,627	15,000	11,457			1,170		299	11	288													
1705	24,692[2]	3,145	2,215	788			142		127	53		74												
1706	24,366[2]	4,613	2,620	1,727			266		258	48		210												
1707	24,929[2]	5,122	3,631	830	1		660		6	6														
1708	44,192[2]	8,227	4,713	1,421			2,093		22	20		2												
1709	43,918[2]	12,671	10,451				2,220		231	18	213													
1710		970	970						478	478														
1711	14,275[2]	2,002	1,047	919			36																	
1712	20,331[2]	9,627	6,191	3,435			1																	
1713	28,005[2]	12,459	9,191	2,700	206	195	167		221	221									835	132	233			470
1714	26,902[2]	13,526	8,180	3,491	286	1,200	369		638	638									1,207	727	191	176	113	
1715	27,315[2]	20,387	13,916	5,764	289	35	383		898	898				490		490			36,344	5,208	29,924			1,212
1716	40,700[2]	19,438	13,342	5,435			661		948	755	152	41							5,583	992	4,579			12
1717	29,655[2]	17,361	4,989	11,647			725		145	142		3		184		184			6,125	822	5,303			
1718	28,700[2]	20,459	8,994	11,206			259		249	249				478	31	447		15,722[8]	19,901	4,941	14,806	154		
1719		25,931	16,419	8,394	271	17	830		354	354				1,229	212	945	72		14,050	9,214	4,337	193		306
1720		21,124	14,906	3,671		2,160	387		62	62				1,726	230	1,496			7,634	1,847	4,560	48	1,086	93
1721		34,684	24,592	9,222	218		652		263	263				1,498	879	570	49		10,281	4,398	5,681			202
1722		32,959	19,524	9,386	1,501	3	2,545	2,731[7]	849	762		87		4,575	226	4,349			25,625	10,194	13,047			2,384
1723		44,863	25,772	16,415	503	129	2,044	2,083[7]	1,039	978		61		4,209	134	4,075			28,901	7,554	18,925		221	1,221
1724		45,871	17,763	23,583	172	576	3,777	2,008[7]	1,299	1,299				5,758	623	5,135			31,750	9,989	17,688	1,222	358	2,493
1725		71,450	38,232	29,830	419	385	2,584	2,269[7]	719	719				6,771	593	5,959			42,434	15,021	26,253		48	1,112

	Riga							Reval					Narva					St. Petersburg						
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Iberia	Fra.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	France	Iberia	Other
1726	95,257[8]	66,339	40,976	21,901	393	130	2,939	2,368[7]	699	699				8,184	244	7,760	180	55,298[8]	54,212	19,510	31,149	42	308	3,203
1727		60,661	19,976	38,106	394	529	1,656	1,512[7]	664	307	224	133		4,347	14	4,087	246		21,029	5,031	14,385		213	1,400
1728		53,808	27,626	23,160	923	121	1,978	1,577[7]	318	318				6,503	56	6,447			34,989	10,453	22,392	220	951	973
1729		57,022	17,573	36,614	1,199	429	1,207	3,610[7]	528	466		62		5,277	916	4,361			23,849	4,896	17,223			1,730
1730		58,649	28,585	25,173	890	1,028	2,973		882	882				6,956	980	5,753	223		59,070	10,843	44,307		840	3,080
1731		48,062	29,073	15,964		1,632	1,393	2,185[7]	1,036	934		102		7,649	341	7,308			46,483	15,892	25,682	1,782	226	2,901
1732		46,547	22,855	21,201		1,136	1,355	2,691[7]	1,606	1,593		13		7,031	424	6,493	114		30,812	3,456	25,320	1,325		711
1733		47,092	22,001	23,014	391	507	1,179		414	414				6,644	27	6,517	100		41,980	3,549	35,998	1,232	743	458
1734		28,808	15,461	10,893	1,107		1,347	997[7]	454	454				8,115	491	7,495	129		39,483	5,965	32,436		12	1,070
1735		62,035	28,868	30,268	680	726	1,493		311	311				8,052	792	7,076	184		43,266	9,161	32,689			1,416
1736		53,471	34,260	16,512		282	2,417		1,019	743		276		8,191	239	7,721	231		41,016	10,522	29,438	144		912
1737		65,746	25,697	32,401	3,699	347	3,602		1,887	1,799		88		9,301	244	8,520	537		43,120	8,075	34,261		69	715
1738		51,443	23,168	21,337	2,394	1,230	3,314		1,780	1,630		150		7,927	344	7,310	273		51,934	18,538	31,722	562		1,112
1739		64,200	25,051	30,219	4,183	110	4,637		1,110	912		198		5,812	794	4,721	297		54,876	8,377	44,813		208	1,478
1740		31,260	5,267	19,228	2,394	746	3,625		667	652		15		6,917	283	6,210	424		52,028	8,673	41,286	249	368	1,452
1741		55,834	22,526	24,475	809	1,740	6,284		578	520		58		11,342	77	9,312	1,953		57,997	4,391	50,541	359	340	2,366
1742		56,722	17,918	27,663	3,629	1,674	5,838	1,119[7]	398	275		123		12,978	589	11,504	885		74,122	12,890	58,943	1,006		1,283
1743		40,473	17,091	18,881	302	1,776	2,423							6,419	15	6,211	193		32,513	3,888	25,722	779	613	1,511
1744		53,118	28,564	21,369	1,808		1,377		202	202				5,077	137	4,260	680		86,487	16,201	68,014		304	1,968
1745		60,367	16,505	35,885	3,925	547	3,505		325	231		94		10,300	98	7,700	2,502		46,387	5,726	37,764	953	611	1,333
1746		75,993	27,901	32,711	7,393	1,511	6,837		1,534	1,474		60		10,818	764	4,641	5,413		81,011	15,110	62,301	319	850	2,431
1747		75,572	23,675	41,019	4,095	971	5,812		1,581	1,074		507		16,998	1,721	12,583	2,694		108,087	15,241	88,165		1,009	3,672
1748		54,484	14,774	26,002	3,069	3,558	7,081		1,373	672		701		12,378	191	9,913	2,274		65,621	13,431	44,840	4,441		2,909
1749		61,376	24,149	19,823	4,660	4,824	7,920	908[6]	385	258		127		11,764		7,844	3,920	79,568[9]	68,526	8,769	47,863	8,425	1,039	2,430
1750		62,611	19,337	25,208	5,296	5,754	7,016	770[6]						11,279	100	10,247	932		110,250	8,458	95,719	4,179	398	1,496
1751		54,416	19,883	13,710	6,909	6,138	7,776	1,629[6]	344	344				17,261	781	14,442	2,038		82,965	15,861	49,267	13,881	1,508	2,448
1752		66,464	20,343	20,410	13,005	4,794	7,912	2,116[6]	1,260	522	301	437		12,773	367	8,706	3,700		132,779	18,936	83,967	23,224	1,219	5,433
1753		58,416	20,113	14,365	12,777	5,104	6,057		1,207	709		498		10,968	98	6,832	4,038		103,242	22,370	66,060	8,515	3,197	3,100
1754		71,198	22,865	22,125	7,733	9,520	8,955		1,796	597	2	1,197		23,007	398	18,161	4,448		120,988	12,504	77,453	25,491	1,888	3,652
1755		41,211	8,768	11,250	4,796	6,726	9,671		1,775	204		1,571		19,195	5	13,743	5,447		154,974	11,439	128,215	7,024	4,099	4,197
1756		59,895	16,825	26,955	5,816	276	10,023		596	409	187			11,581	517	9,373	1,691		155,924	31,045	119,669	739	1,741	2,730
1757		67,013	22,636	22,258	3,218	1,898	17,003		588			588		10,123		6,074	4,049		139,688	30,025	78,703	4,978	12,546	13,407
1758	79,962[9]	57,861	24,770	13,705	9,656	708	9,022		114	1		226		8,617		7,121	1,496		114,905	9,896	91,611	2,303	5,613	5,482
1759	94,905[9]	69,910	19,582	27,294	8,634		14,400		468			468		11,375	211	8,268	2,896		177,370	17,578	150,005	2,325	2,089	5,373
1760	74,894[9]	50,318	18,885	11,494	4,092	332	15,515		148	25		123		7,648		4,450	3,198		104,721	12,751	82,237	594	2,602	6,537
1761	81,068[9]	48,664	14,053	15,498	8,566	38	10,509		1,861	22	569	1,270		12,912		7,438	5,474		77,490	2,505	64,010	497	6,274	4,204
1762	80,509[9]	78,224	31,053	24,593	12,203		10,375		2,482	53		2,429		11,704		7,905	3,799		127,269	25,463	92,760		3,028	6,018
1763		68,514	19,037	21,753	9,519	4,403	13,802		3,945	305		3,210		28,306	130	20,675	4,649		99,202	6,856	75,928	5,365	4,842	6,211
1764		59,631	9,180	22,658	8,671	4,209	14,913		3,207	721	55	2,431		21,216	874	16,862	3,480	145,650[9]	124,869	5,087	98,347	9,290	2,334	9,811
1765		45,603	14,470	14,717	2,914	978	12,524		2,688			2,688		14,541		12,267	2,274		122,681	1,926	96,764	12,830	3,050	8,111
1766		45,671	8,770	16,106	5,300	1,173	14,322		3,617	42		3,575		15,619	151	14,065	1,403		105,882	9,053	69,995	17,500	2,874	6,460
1767		153,287	124,793	16,970	4,085	245	7,194		974	31		943		10,741	163	7,767	2,811		135,658	19,096	93,421	11,960	3,486	7,695
1768		51,462	12,676	20,386	4,365	150	13,885		1,828	53		1,775		17,681	745	14,643	2,293		137,564	9,168	89,636	17,463	14,217	7,080
1769		56,620	12,073	18,570	6,073	3,567	16,337		2,026	97		1,929		21,313	306	19,472	2,179		155,949	14,000	104,837	12,890	12,977	11,245
1770		63,016	14,326	26,052	4,701	3,066	14,871		2,969	404		2,565		15,778	36	13,840	1,902		144,467	4,953	101,033	14,316	8,690	15,475

	Riga							Reval				
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Iberia	Fra.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Other
1771		57,864	14,489	23,130	3,642	661	15,942		329			329
1772		63,222	13,431	23,504	5,782	3,827	16,678	294[6]	2,790	311		2,479
1773		56,945	13,662	18,502	7,616	4,182	12,983	303[6]	965	82		883
1774		88,393	25,397	27,972	14,711	1,897	18,416	600[6]	2,960	185	251	2,524
1775		78,687	10,088	29,745	16,319	2,559	19,976	736[6]	8,238	1,261	415	6,562
1776		75,822	12,054	20,867	14,342	3,486	25,073		5,244	644		4,600
1777		66,893	17,561	13,231	16,094	235	19,772		9,440	744	10	8,656
1778		78,975	19,781	19,649	22,609	729	16,207		8,685	663		7,968
1779		77,131	17,849	15,225	22,282	117	21,658		5,336	781	982	3,573
1780		110,346	21,722	45,098	9,875	1,908	31,743		7,290	187	65	7,038
1781		96,263	8,488	40,936	14,515	2,278	30,046		10,698			10,698
1782		69,983	9,574	17,257	14,081	5,561	23,510		12,378	279	115	11,921
1783		72,682	18,602	14,723	14,062	2,857	22,438		15,754	112		14,263

	Narva					St. Petersburg						
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	France	Iberia	Other
1771		22,649		20,834	1,815		202,508	9,710	153,039	13,286	11,468	15,005
1772		19,904	114	17,410	2,380		122,058	11,950	66,453	20,417	13,913	9,325
1773		7,337	70	6,045	1,222		185,360	19,427	104,128	35,329	14,880	11,596
1774		13,565		11,206	2,359		186,688	5,633	123,635	30,526	10,130	16,764
1775		19,084	124	14,938	4,022		128,761	2,231	97,513	14,391	3,904	10,722
1776		14,423	262	11,551	2,610		162,024	6,226	104,236	35,333	4,123	12,106
1777		19,453	61	14,897	4,495		216,057	21,508	131,880	40,071	6,815	15,783
1778		12,653	427	10,232	1,994		227,093	36,116	119,989	50,481	5,597	14,910
1779		6,764	71	4,360	2,333		231,204	40,284	158,932	4,579	7,857	19,552
1780		14,080	362	10,155	3,563		155,244	26,225	102,085	6,053	4,254	16,627
1781		15,952		12,585	3,367		227,555	1,667	164,109	25,273	9,780	26,726
1782		16,130	136	12,447	3,547		244,665	5,952	124,776	73,126	15,241	25,570
1783		13,950		10,761	3,189		134,795	11,852	68,865	16,352	7,530	30,196

Sources:

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3. Kh.A.Piirimyae, 'Sostav, ob'em i raspredenie Russkogo vivoza v 1661-1700 gg. cherez Shvedskie vladeniya v Pribaltike na primere torgovli g. Narvi', Skandinavskii Sbornik, V (1962).
4. A.Soom, Der Handel Revals in Siebzehnten Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1969).
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6. Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Revaler Stadtarchivs, Ag.225-9, 233-6.
7. G. Etzold, Seehandel und Kaufleute in Reval nach dem Frieden von Nystad bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Marburg/Lahn, 1975).
8. A. Semeonov, Izuchenie istoricheskikh svedenii o Rossiskoi vneshnei torgovle i promyshlennosti so poloviny XVII-go stoletiya po 1858 god (St. Petersburg, 1859).
9. A.F.Busching (ed.), Magazine für die neue Historie und Geographie, IX (1775).

Table 2.4 Exports of Timber from Russia, 1680-1783 (thousand pieces)

	Riga							Reval				Narva					St. Petersburg					
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Fra.	Ibe.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Ibe.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Fra.	Ibe.	Other
1680	676[2]	444	238	19	154		32	228	228			52	45	7								
1681	490[2]	255	182	1	47		25	238	236	2		69	60	9								
1682	1,019[2]	255	153	19	18	9	56	170	164	6		47	47									
1683	1,011[2]	464	313	16	105		30	186	184		2	126	118	2		6						
1684	859[2]	404	264	4	133		3	111	111			63	53	3		7						
1685	1,079[2]	481	207	10	248	1	15	195	195			102	99	3								
1686	1,327[2]	753	397	12	325	1	18	332	313	5	14	161	149			12						
1687	1,306[2]	584	296	20	266		2	355	353		2	242	242									
1688	1,437[2]	712	236	84	381	11		536	536			285	283	2								
1689	587[2]	216	175	36		5		97	97			78	78									
1690	387[2]	80	54	3		15	8	136	136			171	165			6						
1691	663[2]	143	134	3	2	4		99	99			115	112			3						
1692	465[2]	82	75	5		1	1	150	148	2		63	63									
1693	740[2]	116	109	6			1	112	112			109	109									
1694	784[2]	160	131	6	21	2		119	119			70	64	2		4						
1695	909[2]	91	81	5		3	2	133	133			190	190									
1696	881[2]	148	127	11		10		158	158			104	103	1								
1697	986[2]	367	340	8	19			172	172			159	159									
1698	1,230[2]	423	261	20	138	1	3	184	184			237	236	1								
1699	821[2]	189	150	12	26	1		209	198	6	5	371	318	53								
1700	58[2]	17	7	2	8			256	249	6	1	276	199	77								
1701	190[2]	89	73		2		14	162	160		2	12	12									
1702	376[2]	93	87	6				102	101	1		17	17									
1703	377[2]	77	72	2	1		2	215	215			21	21									
1704	554[2]	181	162	15	3		1	48	48													
1705	262[2]	87	78	9				40	40													
1706	79[2]	17	16				1	81	81													
1707	235[2]	48	34	9	1	1	3	67	67													
1708	387[2]	159	140				19	64	50		14											
1709	183[2]	59	44	11			4	21	21													
1710		17	17					15	15													
1711	76[2]	36	36																			
1712	31[2]	34	34																			
1713	141[2]	81	75	2	1	3	2															
1714	246[2]	12	4	6		1	1															
1715	162[2]	119	114	1	4																	
1716	157[2]	111	96		15																	
1717	138[2]	92	83	4	5												1		1			
1718	194[2]	121	107		10		4	12	12			3	3				8	7	1			
1719		164	144	1	19			19	19			46	46									
1720		141	124		15			25	22	3		111	111									
1721		155	120		34		1	4	4			276	254	22								
1722		157	105	6	45	1		21	21			176	170	5	1							
1723		133	108		24		1	3	3			140	134	4		2						
1724		197	150	3	44							240	238	2			3	1		2		
1725		261	237	2	18	2	2					244	235	6	3							

	Riga							Reval				Narva					St. Petersburg					
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Fra.	Ibe.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Ibe.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Fra.	Ibe.	Other
1726		187	180		7							226	222	2		2	2			2		
1727		170	148	5			17	2	2			372	368	3		1	2	2				
1728		153	101	24	24	4		8	8			325	316	9			3	3				
1729		164	95		68	1		8	8			258	244	14			5	5				
1730		395	233	8	153		1	15	15			383	363	19		1	18	7	3	8		
1731		220	211		8		1	9	9			463	444	17		2	16	11	5			
1732		243	186	24	32		1	16	16			558	528	30			10	6	4			
1733		375	238	79	58			9	9			531	508	21		2	4	2		2		
1734		369	233	118	17		1	6	1	5		532	506	22		4	1	1				
1735		417	367	44	4		2	2	2			367	339	19		9						
1736		241	175	46	20			11	11			299	260	39			35	28	7			
1737		192	119	54	4		15	8	8			397	375	16		6	51	36	1	9	5	
1738		173	126	15	19		13	17	11		6	515	494	19		2	61	61				
1739		161	139	11	10		1	11	11			434	416	15	2	1	28	25			3	
1740		140	110	5	15	10		22	22			321	306	2	8		51	50	1			
1741		275	146	34	87	7	1	30	30			405	394	9	2		142	140	2			
1742		524	443	16	49	16		24	24			476	466	7		3	43	42	1			
1743		288	124	12	108	33	11	33	32		1	704	687	10	3	4	10	1	9			
1744		275	181	45	26	19	4	47	47			382	375	5	1	1	38	38				
1745		142	95	4	5	14	24	29	29			560	552	4	1	3						
1746		258	175	55	15	8	5	16	16			311	304	1	6		14	14				
1747		329	193	60	32	32	12	31	31			268	262	1	4	1	45	43			1	1
1748		204	118	42	40		4	55	49		6	140	130	2	8		3	3				
1749		224	111	65	35	13		65	65			311	265	4	4	38						
1750		213	74	71	40	17	11					508	468	8	27	5	16	5	10	1		
1751		192	48	99	22	18	5	62	48	5	9	435	323	39	29	44	16	15		1		
1752		296	99	97	53	37	10	59	44	6	9	489	295	142	32	20	43		15	28		
1753		331	94	122	27	80	8	44	37	4	3	554	379	119	7	49	195	16	138	38	2	1
1754		327	128	50	28	111	10	60	50	4	6	538	380	76	32	50	72	4	44	18		6
1755		174	70	47	25	24	8					490	308	88	36	58	224	13	185	25	1	
1756		229	128	33	18	26	24	2	2			26	26				184	14	151		19	
1757		199	101	26		39	33	15			15						40		40			
1758	357[3]	194	110	27	6	28	23					261	231	9	11	10	98	8	90			
1759	222[3]	210	165	20		6	19	74	73		1	333	287	17		19	67	4	62			1
1760	507[3]	280	221	23		24	12	82	82			1	1				86		86			
1761	465[3]	238	150	39	1	33	15	1	1			11	11				5		5			
1762		171	119	27		8	17	58	58			113	109			4	4		4			
1763		314	172	38	44	35	25	50	50			269	189	62	1	17	100	1	91			8
1764		370	204	56	40	41	29	36	25	6	5	331	156	133		42	204	1	202			1
1765		394	195	76	20	72	31	66	46	9	11	335	125	168	23	19	366	34	299	1	2	30
1766		498	274	125	26	43	30	56	47		9	462	211	230	4	17	190	11	136	10	5	28
1767		407	210	81	29	52	35	57	57			281	153	88	3	37	285	25	190	12	10	48
1768		432	257	100	24	14	37	55	55			393	212	76	20	85	320	9	245	26	7	33
1769		566	349	119	18	19	61	82	78		4	373	209	93		71	545	34	430	5	2	74
1770		452	242	113	16	51	30	107	103	4		327	177	118		32	515	1	457	3	1	53

	Riga							Reval				Narva					St. Petersburg					
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Fra.	Ibe.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Ibe.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Holl.	Eng.	Fra.	Ibe.	Other
1771		478	333	101	20	15	9	112	112			361	199	104		58	510	4	423	2		81
1772		431	238	76	61	26	30	188	171		17	351	170	166	11	4	413	18	317	6	6	66
1773		408	231	53	45	61	18	155	150		5	325	189	100	13	23	565	14	481	6	2	62
1774		343	187	42	63	35	16	160	151		9	392	244	141		7	459	12	368	20	8	51
1775		377	240	42	34	39	22	215	196		19	209	135	47		27	334		276	15	5	38
1776		315	136	83	47	11	38	136	106		30	300	236	61		3	443	16	362	17		48
1777		502	248	87	50	75	42	144	141	2	1	299	212	87			442	1	335	31	9	66
1778		454	232	62	56	55	49	88	74		14	321	219	100		2	158		129	7	1	21
1779		450	264	106		12	68	75	50		25	319	283	36			301	30	229		2	40
1780		511	334	83		45	49	80	79	1		239	218	21			292		244			48
1781		272	6	146	4	55	61					2	2				429		379	2		48
1782		506	209	31	154	77	35	37	29	1	7	76	76				103		80	8	1	14
1783		519	169	77	154	75	44	133	111	1	21	319	274	45			661	27	471	56	40	67

Sources:

1. All exports through the Sound from N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53) vol.2.
2. E.Dunsdorfs, 'Der Auszenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert', Conventus Primus Historicolum Balticorum Rigae 1937 (Riga,1938).
3. A.F. Busching (ed.), Magazine für die neue Historie und Geographie, IX (1775).

Table 2.5 Export of Iron from Russia, 1680-1783 (skpd.)

	Riga					Reval			Narva			St. Petersburg				
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Engl.	Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Engl.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Engl.	Other	Total Through Sound	To England	Holland	Iberia & Med.	Other
1680						48		48								
1681		96	60		34	48		48								
1682		166	157		9	12	12									
1683		163	112		51	6		6	56	56						
1684		330	176	54	100				32	32						
1685		87	87						49		49					
1686		97		53	44				164	84	80					
1687		174	92	44	38	267		267	366	269	97					
1688		889	137	65	687	227	71	156	528	528						
1689		1,542	913		629				574	574						
1690		237	129		108	696	546	150	751	651	100					
1691		566	364	21	181	89		89	1,797	1,548	249					
1692		785	320		465	18	12	6	1,380	1,380						
1693		162	162			40		40	295	295						
1694		259	259						2,495	2,431	64					
1695		197	48	149		15	15		24		24					
1696		1,048	624	104	320				1,105	1,105						
1697		137	72		65	75	48	27	371	296	75					
1698		1,125	349	124	652				916	916						
1699		2,224	495	191	1,538				927	468	459					
1700		153			153	39	18	21	264	264						
1701		51			51	12	12		9	9						
1702		30			30	681	681									
1703		331	267	45	19											
1704		1,061	1,061													
1705		298	298													
1706		227	155	38	34											
1707		428	315		113											
1708		499	176	94	229											
1709		447			447	54	54									
1710		100			100	226		226								
1711		102	102													
1712		124	124													
1713		115		32	83											
1714		97			97											
1715						3		3								
1716												264	262	2		
1717												585	346	239		
1718		298	270	28								637	470		167	
1719		153	137	16		466		466				1,133		438	635	60
1720		110			110				70	70		605	96			509
1721												446				446
1722		117			117							2,449	203	1,104	464	678
1723		190		97	93							2,523	1,260	400	634	229
1724		252	201		51	463		463				4,719	3,208	445	423	643
1725		533	219	127	187							3,066	670	1,621	618	157

	Riga					Reval			Narva			St. Petersburg					
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	To Eng.	Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Eng.	Other	Total Through Sound	To Eng.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	To England	Holland	Iberia & Med.	Other
1726		485	196		289								4,763	1,387	1,967	188	1,221
1727		1,551	1,446	105									8,255	4,223	1,976	572	1,484
1728		947	785		162				207	207			14,238	8,138	3,990	1,757	353
1729		483	432	26	25	73		73					12,250	7,587	3,161	1,189	313
1730		529	297	142	90								5,709	3,979	1,384	32	314
1731		424	301	123									20,418	12,280	5,653	1,024	1,461
1732		1,231	1,055	176					675	620	55		23,954	20,574	2,017	536	827
1733		1,318	1,308		10				225	225			22,670	18,771	1,922	300	1,677
1734		566	373	191	2	92	92						16,387	12,989	1,463	1,405	530
1735		325	227	2	96								22,656	17,017	4,601	560	478
1736		354	228		126	748	748						20,146	16,954	821	1,991	380
1737		1,355	1,281	56		2	2						18,926	15,705	1,218	1,814	189
1738		2,264	2,187		77				72	72			20,328	16,533	1,363	1,888	544
1739		792	597	168	27								24,467	19,472	2,869	1,936	90
1740		238	36	47	155				272	272			28,014	21,318	3,893	2,439	364
1741		79		50	29				429	429			25,800	21,933	1,829	948	1,090
1742		164	164						614	614			34,159	31,523	1,181	645	810
1743		992	933		59				201	192	9		25,259	21,274	903	1,362	1,820
1744		1,344	1,145	83	116								21,801	18,589	1,761	802	649
1745		2,624	2,510		114				140	140			20,312	17,093	1,375	1,148	696
1746		663	346		317				108	108			29,867	24,415	2,667	2,165	620
1747		1,049	673		376								29,831	25,942	700	2,276	913
1748		1,835	1,277	49	509				223	223			17,731	14,167	903	2,005	656
1749		256	205		51				2,158	2,158			49,470	39,529	4,644	1,948	3,349
1750		390		69	321				1,224	1,224			118,173	103,477	3,636	6,575	4,485
1751		822	150		672				2,931	2,931			57,556	45,910	5,184	2,914	3,548
1752		211			211				3,040	2,970	70		86,897	70,903	3,362	2,934	9,698
1753		575	56	72	447				72		72		56,782	44,752	3,243	3,728	4,999
1754		58		46	12								64,063	48,780	3,279	3,981	8,023
1755		74	74						229	229			82,993	68,827	5,083	6,022	3,061
1756		386	217		169				321	321			51,642	44,662	3,551	2,399	1,030
1757		389	126	2	261								43,190	31,054	5,171	3,834	3,131
1758	733[2]	552	217	98	237				189	189			60,903	48,501	7,473	2,489	2,440
1759	500[2]	1,193	1,013		180				583	488	95		91,017	82,239	4,889	1,825	2,064
1760	1,518[2]	1,031	767		264				234	234			69,017	59,541	3,864	3,388	2,224
1761	1,080[2]	679	525		154				1,117	832	285		105,517	98,563	3,126	1,650	2,178
1762		1,406	149	751	506	40		40	348	318	30		96,237	71,134	19,573	3,183	2,347
1763		876	139	214	523	82		82	4,478	3,559	920		81,630	66,457	5,516	4,568	5,089
1764		553	227		326				2,120	1,808	132	131,762[2]	114,831	99,708	4,583	3,474	7,066
1765		2,730	2,356	333	41	401		401	1,849	1,849			169,390	147,683	8,289	4,879	8,539
1766		950	739		211				1,127	1,127			81,092	65,351	3,789	1,611	10,341
1767		152	122		30				108		108		145,184	110,037	6,550	2,828	25,769
1768		907	349	7	551				2,743	1,547	1,196		167,876	141,792	3,435	4,425	18,224
1769		505	20	8	477				2,720	562	2,158		236,204	198,832	9,003	6,912	21,457
1770		618	383		235								236,593	203,069	4,039	7,311	22,174

Year	Riga Total	Riga Total Through Sound	Riga To Eng.	Riga Holl.	Riga Other	Reval Total Through Sound	Reval To Eng.	Reval Other	Narva Total Through Sound	Narva To Eng.	Narva Other	St. Petersburg Total	St. Petersburg Total Through Sound	St. Petersburg To England	St. Petersburg Holland	St. Petersburg Iberia & Med.	St. Petersburg Other
1771		3,898	3,756		142	435	435		315		315		227,251	196,491	2,586	5,601	22,573
1772		753	109	36	608	421		421	10		10		179,588	150,944	5,377	6,827	16,440
1773		938	442	40	456				94	94			239,607	203,050	5,731	7,352	23,474
1774		979	342	60	577	567	567		1,081	592	489		214,550	174,147	3,610	11,219	25,584
1775		937	234		703				913	630	283		167,856	144,830	808	5,841	16,377
1776		2,039	335		1,704	70		70	850	850			214,434	179,199	1,613	9,569	24,053
1777		679	241	30	408	1		1	94	94			254,577	204,772	7,422	10,495	31,888
1778		159	60		99	100		100	63	63			141,895	106,435	8,809	6,607	20,044
1779		435	60	145	230	578	528	50	204	204			209,082	172,958	8,772	12,970	14,382
1780		3,721	1,039	444	2,238				1,093	1,033	60		191,383	159,954	5,679	6,259	9,491
1781		2,481	200	79	2,202				3,672	3,422	250		334,378	298,481	720	10,247	24,930
1782		4,713	2,322	31	2,360	373	340	33	1,048	1,048			164,962	116,770	1,990	13,774	32,428
1783		4,686	2,230	80	2,376	1,123	883	240	2,287	1,780	507		180,434	141,516	2,861	10,633	25,424

Sources:

1. All exports through the Sound from N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol.2.
2. A.F. Busching (ed.), Magazine für die neue Historie und Geographie, IX (1775).

Table 2.6 Average Exports from Russia through the Sound, per decade, by port.

Grain (last)

Decade	Riga	Reval	Narva	St.Petersburg
1680-9	6,945	6,448	347	
1690-9	7,193	5,156	324	
1700-9	194	271	4	
1710-9	734	973	0	17
1720-9	217	249	0	6
1730-9	2,394	1,806	50	0
1740-9	3,075	1,587	234	530
1750-9	463	444	1	9
1760-9	5,006	1,534	1	353
1770-9	10,963	3,768	7	2,637

Flax and Hemp (skpd)

1680-9	53,893	702	10,034	
1690-9	47,534	463	10,663	
1700-9	11,073	359	1,812	
1710-9	14,216	393	238	12,006
1720-9	48,878	644	4,885	28,070
1730-9	52,605	1,050	7,568	45,204
1740-9	56,520	704	10,499	67,278
1750-9	60,900	815	12,490	129,309
1760-9	65,799	2,278	16,168	119,129
1770-9	70,695	4,696	15,170	180,622

Timber (thousand pieces)

1680-9	457	245	123	
1690-9	180	147	159	
1700-9	83	106	33	
1710-9	79	5	5	3
1720-9	172	7	237	2
1730-9	279	10	448	22
1740-9	266	35	388	35
1750-9	237	32	363	96
1760-9	367	54	257	211
1770-9	421	138	320	414

Iron (skpd)

Decade	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
1680-9	354	61	177	
1690-9	674	93	333	
1700-9	353	79	27	
1710-9	99	70	0	665
1720-9	467	54	27	5,331
1730-9	916	84	97	19,566
1740-9	924	0	415	28,224
1750-9	465	0	859	71,321
1760-9	979	78	1,684	126,698
1770-9	1,144	217	362	208,543

Source: N.E. Bang and K. Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol. 2.

Table 2.7 Percentage of total exports from Russia through the Sound, by port (with percentage excluding St. Petersburg in brackets).

Grain

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St.Petersburg
1680	56.2	41.8	2.0	
1690	47.2	49.5	3.3	
1700	8.5	90.0	1.5	
1710	92.3	7.7	0	
1720	100.0	0	0	
1730	24.3	75.7	0	
1740	59.9 (60.5)	35.0 (35.4)	4.1 (4.1)	1.0
1750	87.8	0	12.2	0
1760	77.0	23.0	0	0
1770	66.4 (79.5)	17.2 (20.5)	0	16.4
1780	60.0 (68.2)	28.0 (31.8)	0	12.0

Flax and Hemp

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St.Petersburg
1680	83.6	1.4	15.0	
1690	81.9	2.7	15.4	
1700	31.5	3.0	65.5	
1710	67.0	33.0	0	
1720	69.1 (92.2)	0.2 (0.3)	5.7 (7.5)	25.0
1730	46.7 (88.2)	0.8 (1.3)	5.5 (10.5)	47.0
1740	34.4 (80.5)	0.7 (1.7)	7.6 (17.8)	57.3
1750	34.0 (84.7)	0	6.1 (15.3)	59.9
1760	30.9 (86.6)	0.1 (0.2)	4.7 (13.2)	64.3
1770	27.9 (77.1)	1.2 (3.6)	7.0 (19.3)	63.9
1780	38.5 (83.8)	2.5 (5.5)	4.9 (10.7)	54.1

Timber

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St.Petersburg
1680	61.3	31.5	7.2	
1690	20.7	35.1	44.2	
1700	3.1	46.6	50.3	
1710	53.1	46.9	0	
1720	50.9	9.0	40.1	
1730	48.7 (49.8)	1.9 (1.9)	47.2 (48.3)	2.2
1740	26.2 (29.0)	4.1 (4.5)	60.1 (66.5)	9.6
1750	28.9 (29.5)	0	68.9 (70.5)	2.2
1760	62.4 (77.1)	18.2 (22.6)	0.2 (0.3)	19.2
1770	32.3 (51.0)	7.6 (12.1)	23.3 (36.9)	36.8
1780	45.5 (61.6)	7.2 (9.6)	21.3 (28.8)	26.0

Iron

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
1680		100.0		
1690	14.1	41.3	44.6	
1700	33.6	8.5	57.9	
1710	30.7	69.3	0	
1720	14.0 (61.1)	0	8.9 (38.9)	77.1
1730	8.5 (100.0)	0	0	91.5
1740	0.8 (46.7)	0	1.0 (53.3)	98.2
1750	0.3 (24.2)	0	1.0 (75.8)	98.7
1760	1.5 (81.5)	0	0.3 (18.5)	98.2
1770	1.3 (100.0)	0	0	98.7
1780	1.9 (77.3)	0	0.6 (22.7)	97.5

Table 2.8 Percentage distribution of exports from the Russian ports between the Sound and Baltic ports

	Riga		Reval		Narva		St. Petersburg	
Year	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Through Sound	Intra Baltic
Grain								
1680	65.8[1]	34.2[2]	60.4	39.6[3]				
1690	75.7	24.3[2]	48.6	51.4[3]				
1700	72.8	27.3[2]	10.7	89.3[3]				
1710	78.3	21.7[2]						
1720	35.4	64.6[2]						
1730	6.3	93.7[8]						
1740			38.7	61.3[5]				
1750			99.1	0.9[6]				
1760	56.2	43.8[4]	13.3	86.7[6]				
1770			82.0	18.0[6]				
1780								
Flax and Hemp								
1680	80.1	19.9[2]	34.7	65.3[3]				
1690	51.7	48.3[2]	61.2	38.8[3]				
1700	51.7	48.3[2]	58.1	41.9[7]	52.6	47.4[9]		
1710								
1720	71.3	28.7[8]						
1730			14.6	85.4[5]				
1740								
1750				100.0[6]			86.1	13.9[8]
1760	67.2	32.8[4]					67.2	32.8[4]
1770								
1780								
Timber								
1680	66.7	33.3[2]						
1690	20.7	79.3[2]						
1700	29.3	70.7[2]						
1710	47.4	52.6[2]						
1720	62.4	37.6[2]						
1730								
1740								
1750								
1760								
1770								
1780								

	Riga		Reval		Narva		St. Petersburg	
Year	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Through Sound	Intra Baltic	Through Sound	Intra Baltic
<u>Iron</u>								
1680								
1690								
1700								
1710								
1720								
1730								
1740								
1750								
1760	67.9	32.1[4]					87.2	12.8[4]
1770								
1780								

Sources:

1. N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gènnum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen,1930-53), vol.2.

2. E.Dunsdorfs, 'Der Auszenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert', Conventus Primus Historicolum Balticorum Rigae 1937 (Riga, 1938).

3. A.Soom, Der Handel Revals in Siebzehnten Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1969).

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APPENDIX 3

Imports

Table 3.1 Total Imports through the Sound into Russia, 1680-1783

Year	Salt (last)	Fish (last)	Cloth Woollens (piece) 1*	2*	Other	Colonial Wares ('000 pund)	Wine (tun)
1680	4,840	453	4,392	3,365	1,123	724	599
1681	5,958	749	4,432	3,376	912	355	498
1682	8,327	221	5,724	3,836	1,564	445	478
1683	6,726	302	3,490	2,822	1,332	434	465
1684	4,812	442	4,937	3,454	1,667	288	616
1685	4,721	503	3,806	2,979	1,240	358	514
1686	6,800	877	5,250	3,720	963	350	458
1687	6,267	739	5,268	3,811	1,270	643	470
1688	7,076	427	5,697	3,441	1,192	535	458
1689	1,913	250	7,842	4,237	2,095	455	206
1690	2,074	513	3,666	3,276	835	410	129
1691	4,778	272	6,088	2,719	301	392	261
1692	3,517	106	3,294	2,677	404	410	73
1693	3,296	212	2,594	2,522	557	402	30
1694	1,656	474	6,783	5,810	595	394	76
1695	4,090	440	10,983	8,278	724	602	150
1696	1,611	333	3,788	2,932	232	603	85
1697	1,647	223	6,529	5,020	880	332	114
1698	6,324	561	8,262	6,193	1,644	587	138
1699	10,938	987	10,846	7,993	1,014	971	385
1700	2,115	365	8,843	6,013	320	702	254
1701	1,292	375	4,805	3,804	1,328	566	195
1702	2,273	199	4,671	3,318	550	469	136
1703	2,414	256	4,054	2,595	1,343	388	50
1704	3,931	59	3,268	2,546	753	502	88
1705	659	46	1,147	1,147	295	154	74
1706	2,710	21	985	839	147	243	87
1707	2,435	14	2,034	1,337	92	112	31
1708	4,030	227	1,262	997	430	225	45
1709	2,030	257	725	579	325	134	6
1710	734	21	185	174	3	114	37
1711	1,046	51	1,016	817	251	154	108
1712	571	16	241	241	129	60	27
1713	1,535	59	1,212	888	77	256	101
1714	670	21	1,095	452	230	289	165
1715	8,362	126	1,278	828	336	333	455
1716	5,585	240	3,125	2,053	1,387	302	481
1717	3,008	294	7,351	4,110	958	481	518
1718	4,589	503	3,226	2,929	994	663	863
1719	3,844	375	7,826	5,643	2,433	712	712
1720	8,848	215	7,840	6,468	3,453	637	1,293
1721	7,978	145	8,388	2,673	5,150	559	952
1722	3,663	754	16,398	8,516	2,589	574	246
1723	5,812	526	18,172	9,469	1,353	1,386	1,421
1724	4,149	212	14,470	5,717	678	1,097	1,427
1725	8,670	357	13,236	7,008	1,169	2,163	1,151
1726	6,359	469	12,270	7,309	3,524	2,587	705
1727	8,215	522	11,936	7,382	4,232	2,114	903
1728	9,590	413	9,322	5,270	2,667	2,199	1,057
1729	6,597	186	10,073	4,785	3,187	822	1,483
1730	8,573	236	11,560	5,082	3,850	1,800	485
1731	4,970	422	13,522	7,051	2,314	1,777	1,110
1732	5,875	263	14,315	4,963	1,985	1,501	617

Year	Salt (last)	Fish (last)	Cloth Woollens (piece) 1*	2*	Other (piece)	Colonial Wares ('000 pund)	Wine (tun)
1733	6,122	275	11,609	6,052	2,767	1,500	991
1734	11,325	306	11,806	4,470	4,367	1,316	624
1735	9,507	145	14,579	3,000	2,494	1,737	1,307
1736	8,438	388	16,206	4,812	2,387	2,092	721
1737	5,648	411	12,603	3,221	2,928	2,365	1,132
1738	7,169	341	14,898	3,163	2,954	2,304	885
1739	7,146	304	14,748	6,543	2,686	2,938	1,043
1740	6,001	593	20,866	4,741	4,708	2,150	999
1741	11,346	841	32,426	8,013	4,795	3,742	1,291
1742	6,121	519	30,308	5,192	6,101	1,821	2,059
1743	14,384	394	30,254	10,154	7,543	2,161	1,906
1744	9,246	622	23,483	7,413	5,186	1,654	1,318
1745	8,222	197	23,845	6,493	5,029	1,827	1,588
1746	6,858	725	20,501	9,899	4,253	1,717	798
1747	6,895	960	19,861	5,072	6,122	1,285	657
1748	5,830	434	25,705	4,147	5,681	1,520	842
1749	7,325	1,253	27,539	4,615	3,325	2,019	2,306
1750	9,416	624	52,925	7,584	5,627	1,632	1,106
1751	11,041	431	40,752	9,984	6,975	2,688	858
1752	7,822	643	32,772	10,080	8,619	1,919	1,896
1753	6,476	445	33,320	7,464	5,906	2,661	2,119
1754	11,999	626	23,393	8,358	7,888	3,886	1,364
1755	6,059	813	24,279	6,693	6,242	2,519	1,971
1756	7,232	920	19,603	9,552	6,772	2,968	2,588
1757	5,766	784	18,456	4,978	3,521	2,119	1,558
1758	8,142	662	22,019	5,498	2,240	2,267	1,994
1759	9,044	789	21,917	4,682	4,704	2,550	3,025
1760	7,938	1,106	10,085	3,563	2,579	2,653	2,335
1761	10,299	779	17,312	4,167	4,432	2,082	2,951
1762	7,610	845	14,274	6,706	4,665	2,420	1,727
1763	12,246	1,319	18,208	8,429	5,094	3,094	3,073
1764	11,789	866	22,823	12,017	5,581	3,565	1,493
1765	6,337	2,297	17,286	10,128	2,701	3,545	3,465
1766	7,447	1,492	22,919	15,053	3,411	3,264	3,182
1767	8,471	798	31,537	17,750	4,018	3,696	2,895
1768	12,843	1,673	27,288	17,672	3,754	4,804	2,363
1769	8,560	1,958	28,972	18,464	3,415	6,308	2,868
1770	10,672	1,191	24,181	12,840	5,869	5,665	3,376
1771	11,002	185	23,015	12,945	4,761	6,649	4,124
1772	18,942	948	21,657	13,638	11,158	6,251	3,511
1773	12,293	1,051	31,262	13,268	15,770	6,917	4,343
1774	8,686	1,397	28,992	12,569	18,605	5,906	5,074
1775	12,155	754	31,383	20,673	11,886	6,815	3,304
1776	8,338	1,162	28,242	15,248	6,909	6,686	2,925
1777	10,825	1,691	25,396	10,510	9,569	7,647	6,036
1778	10,810	1,461	24,337	11,475	27,718	4,571	3,237
1779	5,414	1,140	30,197	15,864	26,225	6,825	5,586
1780	15,814	621	23,566	13,881	16,022	4,435	5,902
1781	7,633	1,017	13,476	3,536	10,708	5,005	4,082
1782	7,243	1,481	26,108	22,291	7,647	8,651	5,201
1783	14,904	1,434	26,381	11,919	14,403	7,665	5,916

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen 1930-53), volume 2.

*Woollens 1. Total imports of woollen cloth of all types.

2. High quality cloths and woollens categorised as 'cloth' or 'woollen cloth' which have been taken to refer to higher quality cloths as these are not generally specified individually.

Table 3.2 Imports of Salt into Russia, 1680-1783 (in lasts)

	Riga						Reval						Narva				St. Petersburg				
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	From France	Iberia	Holl.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	From France	Iberia	Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	From France	Iberia	Other	Total Through Sound	From Spain	Port.	Holl.	Other
1680	4,637[2]	3,485	2,269	751	206	259	958[3]	946	68	294	358	226	409	151		259					
1681	4,321	3,211	2,091	602	342	176		1,861	146	375	980	360	886	547		339					
1682	6,848	4,904	3,744	522	317	321		2,390	313	938	1,038	101	1,033	527		506					
1683	6,915	3,908	2,037	1,186	172	513		2,086	56	1,274	659	97	732	256	160	316					
1684	5,223	3,173	2,402	418	38	315		1,010	117		815	78	629	554	75						
1685	5,237	2,660	2,324	155		181		1,315	327	389	599		746	601		145					
1686	7,868	4,610	3,688	632	94	196		1,562	232	881	449		628	339	230	59					
1687	4,312	3,492	2,531	500	371	90		1,789		1,064	725		986	612	183	191					
1688	7,308	4,258	3,071	859	238	90		2,160	98	1,724	338		658	602		56					
1689	1,834	993	242	187	553	11		875			875		45			45					
1690	2,787	1,569	154	1,038	106	271	331[3]	428		113	291	24	77			77					
1691	3,620	2,817	342	1,307	969	199		1,640		996	644		321		122	199					
1692	6,681	2,170	330	1,584	248	8		1,334		762	572		13			13					
1693	2,905	1,580	54	127	1,231	168		1,557			1,557	2	157			157					
1694	4,845	970	382	236	241	111		466			400	66	220			220					
1695	8,509	2,586	1,022	1,131	238	195		1,449		479	970		55			55					
1696	4,405	1,202	90	126	972	14		360		109	94		49			49					
1697	2,903	1,226		254	940	32		248			248		173			173					
1698	6,823	4,583	1,888	850	1,430	415		1,501	293	491	717		240	124		116					
1699	10,217	8,529	3,335	2,935	1,768	491		1,435	280	722	433		974		720	254					
1700	680	304	157		147			395			329	66	1,416	284	410	722					
1701	309	717	203	317	197			575			575										
1702	4,928	2,067	100	606	1,361	10		206			206										
1703	3,616	2,078		122	1,870	86		296			296		40			40					
1704	5,933	3,851		514	2,793	544		52			52		28			28					
1705	1,460	618	148	80	390			41			41										
1706	6,026	2,588	543	713	1,088	244		122			97	25									
1707	4,371	2,305	1,710		585	10		130			130										
1708	5,849	3,762	2,612	224	859	67		268			268										
1709	2,704	1,925	1,599		311	15		105			105										
1710	178	265	100		165			469			469										
1711	839	599	135		464			447	164		283										
1712	672	284			284			287		86	201										
1713	1,577	1,076	511	240	216	109		459		170	289										
1714	952	351	14		280	57		87			87						232	125		94	13
1715	4,353	4,741	70	2,637	1,856	178		1,541		829	712						2,080		426	133	1,521
1716	2,869	2,750	1,431	102	1,217			1,606	154	194	1,258						1,229		326	167	736
1717	2,970	2,633	1,597	284	597	155		118			28	90	197			197	60			20	40
1718	3,875	2,904	1,324	755	693	132		802		166	548	88					883		56	577	250
1719		2,652	1,839	482	195	136		993	100	630	211	52	62			62	137			137	
1720		6,563	4,395	494	1,624	50		1,623	630	393	600		581		321	260	81			81	
1721		4,682	2,727	1,391	508	56		2,128	155	1,714	151	108	378	129	249		790	90	182	137	381
1722		2,179	843	741	595			844		805	39		358		288	70	282		187		95
1723		4,921	3,184	1,283	398	56		585	134	390	11	50	226	168	26	32	80				80
1724		2,330	1,834	377	42	77		1,008	297	664	47		711	178	361	172	100		72	28	
1725		6,772	3,458	2,874	402	38		946		544	402		821	292	459	70	131		73		58
1726		3,723	3,271	342	110			762		762			1,088	496	500	92	786	287	352	35	112
1727		5,759	4,848	704	132	65		1,305	357	793	155		982	439	376	167	169		169		
1728		4,828	2,356	1,954	203	315		2,736	104	2,311	321		1,967	59	1,887	21	59				59
1729		4,745	2,774	1,755	72	144		1,162		1,088	21	53	468		468		222		152	70	
1730		7,695	5,222	2,194	79	200		195	123	34	38		498		378	120	185		72		113

Year	Riga Total	Riga Total Through Sound	Riga From France	Riga Iberia	Riga Holl.	Riga Other	Reval Total	Reval Total Through Sound	Reval From France	Reval Iberia	Reval Holl.	Reval Other
1731		3,004	2,352	596	16	40		933	277	390	266	
1732		4,613	4,594		9	10		614	151	365	98	
1733		4,513	2,959	1,043	102	409		776	295		110	371
1734		7,802	6,010	854	178	760		2,439	273	1,205	368	593
1735		7,055	5,024	1,548	70	413		1,225		739	116	370
1736		6,568	5,557	585	158	268		967	38	433	112	384
1737		4,927	2,636	1,610		681		342	32	130	105	75
1738		3,726	1,854	1,284	10	578		2,576	169	1,725	93	589
1739		5,898	3,808	1,695	53	342		861	380	186	63	232
1740		4,336	3,313	626	63	334		1,419	873	389	156	1
1741		8,457	6,768	981	565	143		1,635	602	810	223	
1742		3,433	1,641	781	911	100		961	39	454	315	153
1743		9,591	7,851	1,272	175	293		1,537	691	515	238	93
1744		7,605	5,670	1,676	74	185		1,338	169	959	7	203
1745		6,405	5,812	224	232	137		1,439	276	1,063	100	
1746		5,067	2,856	2,009	138	64		1,481	171	1,289	21	
1747		4,699	3,748	755	196			1,380	658	501	221	
1748		4,687	2,559	1,662	301	165		662	52	244	133	233
1749		5,275	2,874	1,800	35	566		1,893	355	1,243	81	214
1750		7,130	4,863	1,730	89	444		1,700	72	1,453	175	
1751		8,200	4,595	2,644	693	268		1,506	72	1,125	56	253
1752		6,612	3,413	2,866	205	128		704		580	56	68
1753		5,294	2,192	2,775	269	58		602		553	49	
1754		10,607	6,644	3,359	449	155		1,145	478	505	162	
1755		4,479	2,555	1,745	39	140		1,084	426	532	70	56
1756		6,125	3,821	1,398	263	643		426		226	200	
1757		5,039	3,482	1,116	441			618	169	449		
1758		7,463	6,297	874	24	268		462		344		118
1759		7,902	5,719	1,937	221	25		934	285	551	98	
1760		5,737	3,991	1,383		363		1,954	299	1,600	55	
1761		8,970	7,193	1,722		55		986	394	338	187	67
1762		5,108	3,502	1,606				2,315	551	1,627	74	63
1763		9,474	5,845	3,182	275	172		2,230	98	1,994	137	1
1764		9,468	3,058	5,914	267	229		1,749		1,624		125
1765		3,900	1,775	2,085		40		2,031		1,917		114
1766		5,728	3,057	2,226	133	312		1,595		1,525	35	35
1767		7,477	4,242	1,696	156	1,383		959		902	35	22
1768		10,651	6,528	3,527	222	374		1,131	86	852	193	
1769		6,120	1,165	3,516	343	1,096		1,440	138	1,171	131	
1770		8,344	3,198	2,973	273	1,900		1,648	134	879	172	463
1771		7,670	1,886	4,843	232	709		2,072	158	1,797	95	22
1772		13,707	5,865	5,588	39	2,215		3,476	134	2,928	155	259
1773		8,345	2,260	3,481	711	1,893		2,658	255	1,988		415
1774		6,965	926	4,831		1,208		1,051		698	103	250
1775		10,432	1,848	6,048	606	1,930		1,402	190	972	240	

Year	Narva Total Through Sound	Narva From France	Narva Iberia	Narva Other	St. Petersburg Total Through Sound	St. Petersburg From Spain	St. Petersburg Port.	St. Petersburg Holl.	St. Petersburg Other
1731	840	264	520	56	193	80	55	21	37
1732	648	608		40					
1733	288	70	185	33	545	292		21	232
1734	805	502	77	226	279		32		247
1735	652	50	507	95	575	45	412		118
1736	780	418	257	105	123				123
1737	305		230	75	74	50	23	1	
1738	555		309	246	312	80	57		175
1739	181		181		206		100	1	105
1740	246		246						
1741	832	166	526	140	422		283		139
1742	901	303	214	384	826		166		660
1743	2,721	1,102	1,328	291	535			74	461
1744	163	138		25	140		96		44
1745	378		378						
1746	310		289	21					
1747	466		270	196	350	210			140
1748	329	72	257		152		54	98	
1749					157		157		
1750	359	174	139	46	227	54	94		79
1751	790	163	489	138	545	284	92		169
1752	374		235	139	132		29		103
1753	177	156		29	403		105	16	282
1754	182			182	65	65			
1755	220		220		276	110	71	35	60
1756	356		302	54	325	60	142		123
1757					109				109
1758	159	75		84	58	33			25
1759	208	144	64						
1760	91		91		159		123		36
1761	155	105		50	188				188
1762	187		187						
1763	138			138	404		361	43	
1764	130		95	35	442				442
1765	189		93	96	217			77	140
1766					124	124			
1767					35			35	
1768	705		389	316	356	123	103		130
1769	148	57		91	852	221	436		195
1770	108	68		40	572	175	279		118
1771	495		187	308	765		312		453
1772	415		415		1,344	395	102		847
1773					1,290	115			1.175
1774	539		539		131	131			
1775	18			18	303	303			

Table 3.2 (cont.)

	Riga						Reval						Narva				St. Petersburg				
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	From France	Iberia	Holl.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	From France	Iberia	Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	From France	Iberia	Other	Total Through Sound	From Spain	Port.	Holl.	Other
1776		5,276	113	3,522	175	1,466		2,184	65	1,775	207	137	58			58	820		528		292
1777		8,780	1,000	5,983	315	1,482		1,545		1,368	123	54	63			63	437	124	204		109
1778		9,412	2,894	4,382	105	2,031		1,274	168	946	160		30			30	94		94		
1779		3,602	377	1,874	220	1,131		1,498	94	1,241	163		105			105	209		109		100
1780		13,271	3,655	7,110	35	2,471		2,301		1,660	239	402	104			104	138				138
1781		5,979	1,534	1,756		2,689		1,216		973		243					438		300		138
1782		5,471	2,841	1,092	11	1,527		1,190		918	49	223	125			125	457	219	133		105
1783		12,300	3,261	4,917	335	3,787		2,144	43	1,462	213	426					460	20	234		206

Sources: 1. All data for imports through the Sound from N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), volume 2.

2. E.Dunsdorfs, 'Der Auszenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert', Conventus Primus Historicolum Balticorum Rigae 1937 (Riga, 1938), pp.469-70.

3. A.Soom, Der Handel Revals in Seibzehnten Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1969).

Table 3.3 Imports of Fish into Russia, 1680-1783 (in lasts)

	Riga					Reval					Narva				St. Petersburg			
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Scand.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Scand.	Other	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Scand.	Other	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Scand.	Other
1680	562[2]	351	336	6	9	71[3]	55	55			47	47						
1681	679	612	523	36	53		79	79			58	42	16					
1682	237	158	126	20	12		55	55			8	8						
1683	370	221	196	3	22		48	48			33	33						
1684	568	393	357		36		42	42			7	7						
1685	460	361	342	19			53	53			89	72	17					
1686	909	627	621		6		103	99		4	147	128	18	1				
1687	755	544	474	63	7		87	87			108	81	27					
1688	497	373	325	31	17		53	53			1	1						
1689	293	238	204	15	19		8	8			4	4						
1690	458	442	161	102	179		33	33			38	4	34					
1691	198	123	122		1		14	14			135	1	122	12				
1692	313	92	76	16			14	14										
1693	285	131	104	27			26	26			55	3	52					
1694	397	430	361	69			15	11	4		29			29				
1695	434	168	141	26	1		10	10			262	32	230					
1696	402	328	88	152	88						5	2		3				
1697	370	217	91	97	29	43[3]	2	2			4	4						
1698	590	488	214	47	227		11	11			62	62						
1699	1,039	771	597	90	84		52	23	29		164	11	131	22				
1700	515	266	208		58		69	69			30	15		15				
1701	218	187	162		25		165	121		44	23	1		22				
1702	404	198	114		84						1	1						
1703	456	236	123	24	89		9	9			11	11						
1704	136	59	9		50													
1705	134	45	4	41			1	1										
1706	129	21	1		20													
1707	223	14	5		9													
1708	442	227	33	83	111													
1709	359	255	120	15	120		2	2										
1710	45	18	18				3	3										
1711	121	44	10	34			7	7										
1712	31	12	12				4	4										
1713	366	48	48				10	10							1	1		
1714	88						2	2							19	19		
1715	174	84	83		1		17	17							25	17		8
1716	257	218	137	63	18		5	5							17	10		7
1717	253	164	14	52	98		45	14	31						85	40		45
1718	199	341	160		181		135	27		108					27	27		
1719		351	59	62	230		16	13		3					8	6		2
1720		40	40				54	23		31					121	50	8	63
1721		106	81	22	3		21	21							18	18		
1722		376	62	102	212		86	33		53					292	34	30	228
1723		279	207	64	8		14	14			1	1			232	131		101
1724		94	25	47	22		10	10							118	23	76	19
1725		126	95	31			95	95							136	13	50	73
1726		306	286		20		9	9			1	1			154	40	114	
1727		201	199		2		22	22							299	124	102	73
1728		236	121	110	5		20	7	13		2	2			155	117	38	
1729		113	88	25			4	4							69	2		67
1730		160	18	139	3		4	4							72	7	65	

Table 3.3 (cont.)

Year	Riga Total	Riga Total Through Sound	Riga From Holl.	Riga Scand.	Riga Other	Reval Total	Reval Total Through Sound	Reval From Holl.	Reval Scand.	Reval Other	Narva Total Through Sound	Narva From Holl.	Narva Scand.	Narva Other	St. Petersburg Total Through Sound	St. Petersburg From Holl.	St. Petersburg Scand.	St. Petersburg Other
1731		179	109	70			9	9			7			7	234	128	105	1
1732		98	91	7			34	34			22	1	21		109	10	99	
1733		136	81	53	2		2	2			23	23			114	66	48	
1734		191	139	50	2		5	5			3	1	2		107	21	85	1
1735		85	36	45	4		2	2			46	46			12	12		
1736		199	139	60			75	12	63						114	26	88	
1737		299	172	124	3		16	16			7	4	3		89	27		62
1738		262	153	108	1		9	9							70	68		2
1739		191	119	72			9	6	3						104	54	47	3
1740		192	82	109	1		149	5	144		1	1			253	44	189	20
1741		444	125	275	44		211	11	200						186	2	184	
1742		241	41	200			215	4	211						62	59		3
1743		112	57	30	25		59	6	53		32	1	31		191	26	109	56
1744		284	25	259			38	6	32						300	23	268	9
1745		72	40	32			7	7							118	11	107	
1746		366	32	334			190	13	177		1	1			168	33	135	
1747		470	86	384			78	7	71						412	44	359	9
1748		244	13	231			73	2	71		1	1			117	34	83	
1749		425	25	400			53	7	46						775	10	765	
1750		540	76	462	2		41	6	35						43	13	30	
1751		339	18	298	23		3	3							89	15	72	2
1752		398	93	303	2		17	17							228	19	208	1
1753		309	22	279	8		6	6			108		108		22	21		1
1754		375	22	350	3		39	5	31	3					212	20	192	
1755		437	111	323	3		116	4	110	2	1	1			259	82	174	3
1756		386	142	151	93		17	4	12	1					517	76	436	5
1757		445	168	232	45		87	2	85		20		20		232	22	210	
1758		482	27	455			1		1		35		32	3	144	23	117	4
1759		567	31	523	13		19	2	17		4		4		199	10	179	10
1760		601	28	568	5		3	3			25		25		477	3	474	
1761		343	8	329	6		162	6	156		18		18		256	5	246	5
1762		307	18	288	1		54	5	49		25		25		459	27	432	
1763		814	87	664	63		225	6	219		25		25		255	1	246	8
1764		735	20	709	6		25	8	17		74		74		32	32		
1765		831	68	632	131		426	10	413	3					1,040	54	878	108
1766		943	75	826	42		270	7	263						279	23	256	
1767		584	35	547	2		83	9	74						131	13	70	48
1768		1,161	35	1,095	31		154	10	144		17		17		341	19	318	4
1769		861	44	802	15		257	6	251		48		48		792	23	728	41
1770		796	10	786			47	9	38		33		33		315	42	273	
1771		127	17	110			35	35							23	15	8	
1772		639	7	632			122	6	116						187	26	150	11
1773		563	101	457	5		132	15	117		30		30		326	43	271	12
1774		624	161	441	22		149	17	127	5	45		43	2	579	126	409	44
1775		363	9	353	1		119	5	114		22		22		250	40	195	15

Table 3.3 (cont.)

	Riga					Reval					Narva				St. Petersburg			
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Scand.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Scand.	Other	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Scand.	Other	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Scand.	Other
1776		505	44	448	13		148	7	137	4	46		46		463	49	407	7
1777		715	109	606			202	12	187	3	31		31		743	118	625	
1778		791	23	768			30	4	26		71		71		569	29	540	
1779		373	27	346			88	3	85		21		21		658	31	622	5
1780		328	38	290			57	5	52		8		8		228	22	197	9
1781		466		466			55		54	1	34		34		462	19	443	
1782		723	22	694	3		128	2	126		14		14		616	9	605	2
1783		853	56	680	117		184	3	181		33		33		364	49	312	3

Sources: 1. All data for imports through the Sound from N.E. Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), volume 2.

2. E. Dunsdorfs, 'Der Auszenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert', Conventus Primus Historicolum Balticorum Rigae 1937 (Riga, 1938), pp. 470-4.

3. A. Soom, Der Handel Revals in Seibzehnten Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1969).

Table 3.4.1 Imports of cloth into Riga and Reval, 1680-1783 (piece)

Year	Riga: Total Through Sound Woollens 1.	2.	Other	From Holland Woollens 1.	2.	Other	England Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Other Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Reval: Total Through Sound Woollens 1.	2.	Other	From Holland Woollens 1.	2.	Other	England Woollens 1.	2.	Other
1680	2,480	1,883	559	1,456	1,384	559	1,024	499					1,062	990	518	934	934	518	128	56	
1681	1,595	1,370	438	945	796	438	650	574					1,625	1,312	438	897	776	438	728	536	
1682	1,264	916	362	604	604	362	612	312			48		1,880	1,624	624	1,080	1,080	624	800	544	
1683	900	800	348	448	448	348	440	340			12	12	1,650	1,502	976	1,222	1,222	976	428	280	
1684	1,423	974	576	758	540	560	587	356	16		78	78	1,594	1,092	995	1,278	868	995	316	224	
1685	1,640	1,345	705	774	705	657	866	640	48				1,110	906	445	934	730	429	176	176	16
1686	2,394	1,896	545	1,338	1,200	545	984	624		72	72		932	684	238	484	460	238	448	224	
1687	3,277	2,186	766	1,764	1,752	766	1,449	370		64	64		1,129	899	348	799	747	348	330	152	
1688	2,542	1,510	510	1,082	1,050	510	1,460	460					953	938	426	905	890	426	48	48	
1689	3,449	2,401	1,825	1,407	1,345	839	2,042	1,056	480				1,656	1,132	218	1,156	1,132	218	100		
1690	1,812	1,670	448	1,418	1,318	448	346	304		48	48		822	582	363	822	582	363			
1691	2,239	1,713	177	559	559	177	1,680	1,154					622	502	92	622	502	92			
1692	1,106	1,078	125	460	460	125	646	618					881	827	279	881	827	279			
1693	1,664	1,608	345	1,416	1,416	345	192	192		56			310	306	164	310	306	164			
1694	4,329	3,456	394	1,931	1,928	394	2,398	1,528					900	900	197	900	900	197			
1695	4,375	2,850	399	1,550	1,550	383	2,825	1,300	16				1,145	1,041	270	1,145	1,041	270			
1696	1,146	984	140	696	696	140	442	280		8	8		360	360	82	360	360	82			
1697	985	957	112	771	761	112	214	196					571	565	67	567	561	67			
1698	3,784	2,445	289	1,003	987	289	2,765	1,442		16	16		210	192	24	176	176	24	34	16	
1699	2,628	2,270	497	1,449	1,449	497	1,166	808		13	13		877	877	164	845	845	164	32	32	
1700													2,157	1,701	300	2,013	1,557	300	132	132	
1701	1,368	1,260	638	1,368	1,260	638							2,730	2,004	672	1,685	1,685	672	1,045	319	
1702	2,763	2,056	435	1,504	1,504	435	1,259	552					1,580	958	107	328	328	91	1,252	630	16
1703	2,993	1,534	1,096	1,683	1,183	1,096	1,310	351					1,049	1,049	243	833	833	243	216	216	
1704	2,639	2,152	474	2,013	1,610	474	626	542					573	338	263	387	212	263	186	126	
1705	551	551	128	342	342	128	209	209					596	596	167	596	596	167			
1706	985	839	147	685	539	147	300	300													
1707	1,903	1,209	74	787	597	74	1,032	538		84	84		131	128	18	131	128	18			
1708	981	728	286	787	554	286	190	170		4	4		281	269	144	281	269	144			
1709	553	407	321	553	407	321							172	172	4	172	172	4			
1710	71	60		71	60								114	114	3	114	114	3			
1711	768	632	136	562	460	136	206	172					248	185	115	248	185	115			
1712	149	149	43			43	149	149					92	92	86	92	92	86			
1713	636	362	39	250	50	39	376	302		10	10		63	63	38	63	63	38			
1714	137	83					137	83					13	13		13	13				
1715	371	282	94	204	121	94	167	161													
1716	2,105	1,319	323	544	535	323	1,561	784					296	254	275	296	254	275			
1717	3,990	1,646	142	556	482	126	3,434	1,164	16				160	160	252	160	160	252			
1718	757	527	44	231	229	36	514	298	8	12			296	288	247	296	288	247			
1719	2,242	1,806	251	409	347	247	988	614		845	845		390	150	281	264	24	223	126	126	58
1720	714	619	527	632	548	527				82	71		289	289	521	274	274	521	15	15	

Year	Riga Total Through Sound Woollens 1.	2.	Other	From Holland Woollens 1.	2.	Other	England Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Other Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Reval Total Through Sound Woollens 1.	2.	Other	From Holland Woollens 1.	2.	Other	England Woollens 1.	2.	Other
1721	678	596	466	512	480	405	85	57	1	81	59		1,203	602	1,240	1,203	602	1,240			
1722	1,954	837	113	568	507	113	1,244	233		142	97		861	669	589	861	669	589			
1723	2,195	1,682	335	1,198	834	311	754	605	24	243	243		640	275	464	600	235	464	40	40	
1724	2,326	1,643	143	1,089	772	100	1,119	791	40	118	80	3	1,815	495	297	1,815	495	296			
1725	1,763	1,241	295	876	608	267	708	609	28	176	24		1,414	318	311	1,414	318	311			
1726	1,831	1,052	917	1,115	700	905	656	305	12	60	47		948	590	287	948	590	287			
1727	1,788	1,292	1,229	672	575	945	1,054	685	272	62	32	12	832	766	1,168	832	766	1,168			
1728	1,388	653	1,446	1,218	527	1,443	130	97		40	29	3	475	106	164	472	103	164			
1729	2,024	1,052	862	832	540	862	1,025	356		167	156		735	269	921	725	263	899			
1730	1,670	988	1,667	1,148	635	1,640	423	257	27	99	96		482	223	1,384	482	223	1,384			
1731	1,978	1,370	974	968	475	967	1,006	892		4	3		1,608	846	498	1,608	846	498			
1732	2,766	287	556	826	206	539	1,940	81	17				687	201	291	687	201	291			
1733	1,259	748	597	919	535	569	330	205	27	10	8	1	121	19		121	19				
1734	633	275	729	439	135	706	172	139	13	22	1	10	429	170	177	429	170	177			
1735	1,217	246	603	501	224	567	714	20	6	2	2	30	436	87	112	436	87	112			
1736	1,250	223	851	475	49	851	775	174					595	5	166	595	5	166			
1737	1,331	515	824	531	95	744	800	420	2			78	672	79	308	672	79	308			
1738	2,137	134	768	988	89	758	1,123	36	10	26	9		756	118	258	756	118	258			
1739	863	228	509	345	107	503	518	121	6				359	214	449	359	214	449			
1740	1,571	84	449	493	46	448	1,052	12		26	26	1	582	359	663	570	347	663			
1741	1,198	292	467	213	14	435	953	278	32	32			787	396	748	787	396	748			
1742	1,043	71	346	360	51	346	663			20	20		480	80	112	480	80	112			
1743	707	133	1,190	435	29	1,178	272	104				12	1,031	10	347	1,031	10	347			
1744	2,617	587	333	1,260	17	329	1,357	570	4				620	340	598	620	340	598			
1745	1,414	85	958	874	38	930	540	47	3			16	612	23	350	612	23	350			
1746	419	48	414	379	48	357	40					57	299	24	243	299	24	243			
1747	1,932	1,780	969	321	169	961	1,609	1,609	2	2	2	6	138	4	366	138	4	366			
1748	1,451	256	243	312	31	241	1,139	225				2	344		39	344		39			
1749	2,408	124	912	287	76	867	2,019	30	45	102	18		58	6	130	58	6	130			
1750	926	355	717	190	11	647	734	344	30	2		40	52	52	97	52	52	97			
1751	1,918	524	607	121	17	570	1,797	507	35			2	55	35	57	35	35	57	20		
1752	1,846	436	639	274	52	615	1,539	370	9	33	14	15	172	77	109	157	77	109	15		
1753	1,045	399	918	165	26	766	846	339	21	34	34	131	157	37	285	82	37	234	75		
1754	2,370	392	636	67	52	610	2,275	317	24	28	23	2	135	117	230	117	117	230			
1755	2,019	1,059	609	242	114	578	1,777	945	31				37	24	205	37	24	205			
1756	3,353	2,257	930	95	91	850	3,258	2,166	80				89	89	212	89	89	212			
1757	4,640	705	1,349	79	79	1,260	4,561	626	89												
1758	10,114	712	679	692		677	9,422	712	2				20	20	49	20	20	49			
1759	8,071	490	517	134	35	371	7,937	455	80			66	58	6	21	58	6	21			
1760	2,226	1,134	629	55		611	2,171	1,134	9			9	52		68	22		68			

	Riga												Reval								
	Total Through Sound			From Holland			England			Other			Total Through Sound			From Holland			England		
Year	Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Woollens 1.	2.	Other
1761	3,639	982	452	136	80	450	3,503	902	2				38	38	55	38	38	55			
1762	1,174	71	554	49	48	542	1,125	23	12				132	132	79	132	132	79			
1763	3,459	1,518	1,025	301	299	1,020	3,158	1,219	5				116	116	161	116	116	161			
1764	4,828	2,994	831	194	194	467	4,634	2,800	49			315	303	239	376	268	204	376	35	35	
1765	2,881	1,869	373	226	224	331	2,655	1,645	42				147	145	179	147	145	179			
1766	4,894	3,177	1,006	212	198	449	4,682	2,979	557				392	344	263	128	82	260	264	262	3
1767	4,579	1,861	414	820	102	304	3,759	1,759	110				744	334	106	195	195	104	549	139	2
1768	1,875	470	134	211	103	130	1,664	367	4				233	220	205	233	220	205			
1769	1,902	952	345	107	69	273	1,795	883	20			52	37	37	193	37	37	193			
1770	1,880	903	127	131	62	115	1,749	841	12				31	31	128	31	31	128			
1771	1,989	1,070	238	107	107	134	1,882	963	84			20	121	121	147	121	121	147			
1772	3,316	2,227	1,097	64	62	163	3,252	2,165	326			608	159	114	158	114	114	158	45		
1773	2,376	1,318	290	39	35	197	2,337	1,283	81			12	750	619	26	14	10	14	736	609	12
1774	2,162	1,040	1,075	146	144	230	2,016	896	14			831	24	24		24	24				
1775	3,459	1,837	433	178	71	138	3,255	1,755	180	26	11	115	319	40	144	58	40	144	258		
1776	3,058	1,644	150	194	39	119	2,851	1,593	31	13	12		1,055	906	83	45	13	83	1,010	893	
1777	2,269	1,267	148	108	79	115	2,161	1,188	33				210	58	72	70	48	72	140	10	
1778	1,470	719	78	135	135	73	1,335	584				5	104	14	8	14	14	8	90		
1779	1,659	851	124	169	169	82	1,490	682	42				89	39	64	39	39	64	50		
1780	1,637	612	95	102	102	59	1,459	434		76	76	36	74	4		8	4		66		
1781	1,263	143	152	93	93	53	1,170	50				99	23	6	6			6	17		
1782	1,519	202	144	134	134	73	1,385	68				71	125	5	8	5	5	8	120		
1783	774	291	30	81	81	8	693	210				22	15						15		

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol. 2.

Table 3.4.2. Imports of cloth into Narva and St. Petersburg, 1680-1783 (piece)

	Narva									St. Petersburg											
Year	Total Through Sound			From Holland			England			Total Through Sound			From Holland			England			Other		
	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other
1680	850	492	46	92	92	46	758	400													
1681	1,212	694	36	78	28	36	1,134	666													
1682	2,580	1,296	54	40	40	54	2,540	1,256													
1683	940	520	8	36	36	8	904	484													
1684	1,920	1,388	96	96	96	32	1,824	1,292													
1685	1,056	728	90	88	88	90	968	640													
1686	1,924	1,140	180	164	112	164	1,760	1,028	16												
1687	862	726	156	94	94	156	768	632													
1688	2,202	993	256	76	76	256	2,126	917													
1689	2,737	704	52	152	152	52	2,585	552													
1690	1,032	1,024	24	208	192	8	1,024	832	16												
1691	3,227	504	32	294	294	32	2,933	210													
1692	1,307	772		12	12		1,295	760													
1693	620	608	48	16	16	48	604	592													
1694	1,554	1,454	4	310	310		1,244	1,144	4												
1695	5,463	4,387	55	96	40	55	5,367	4,347													
1696	2,282	1,588	10	180	180	10	2,102	1,408													
1697	4,973	3,498	701	1,114	1,114	701	3,859	2,384													
1698	4,268	3,556	633	2,202	2,202	633	2,066	1,354													
1699	7,341	4,846	353	3,454	3,454	352	3,857	1,362	1												
1700	6,686	4,312	20	39	39	20	6,647	4,273													
1701	708	540	18			18	708	540													
1702	328	304	8	8	8	8	320	296													
1703	12	12	4	12	12	4															
1704	56	56	16	56	56	16															
1705																					
1706																					
1708																					
1709																					
1710																					
1711																					
1712																					
1713										463	463					463	463				
1714										945	356	230	226	126	200	719	230	30			
1715										907	772	242	326	226	242	581	546				
1716										724	480	789	194	176	705	530	304	80			4
1717										3,201	2,304	564	508	493	564	2,693	1,811				
1718	30	18	8	30	18	8				2,143	2,096	747	575	534	652	1,568	1,562	95			
1719										5,194	3,687	1,901	1,546	1,453	1,901	3,648	2,234				
1720	4	4		4	4					6,833	5,556	2,405	2,184	1,992	2,338	4,627	3,542		22	22	67

Year	Narva									St. Petersburg											
	Total Through Sound			From Holland			England			Total Through Sound			From Holland			England			Other		
	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other	Woollens 1.	Woollens 2.	Other
1721										6,507	1,475	3,504	2,257	1,463	1,243	4,104		2,231	146	12	30
1722	36	32	12	16	16	12	20	16		13,547	6,978	1,875	1,358	1,310	1,200	12,170	5,649	594	19	19	81
1723	220	94	57	14	14	57	206	80		17,532	7,418	497	3,546	3,084	269	13,092	3,738		894	596	228
1724										10,329	3,579	238	2,751	2,329	155	7,382	1,054	83	196	196	
1725	56	54		6	4		50	50		10,003	5,395	563	4,929	3,630	557	4,379	1,193	6	14	14	
1726	153	66	3	61	61	3	92	5		9,338	5,601	2,317	4,723	3,710	1,794	4,326	1,768		289	123	520
1727	25						25			9,291	5,324	1,835	5,288	4,421	1,729	3,988	888		15	15	56
1728	12	12		12	12					7,447	4,499	1,057	2,511	2,246	1,049	4,936	2,253	8			
1729	48	48	2	2	2	2	46	46		7,266	3,416	1,402	2,296	1,489	763	4,785	1,733	95	185	185	544
1730	72	35					72	35		9,336	3,836	799	2,872	2,377	799	6,316	1,431		148	28	
1731	80						80			9,856	4,835	842	3,348	3,216	466	6,477	1,588		31	31	376
1732	18	14					14	14		10,844	4,461	1,138	3,418	2,663	698	7,330	1,702	438	96	96	2
1733	6	6	6				6	6	6	10,223	5,279	2,164	5,827	3,604	1,060	4,279	1,571	804	117	104	300
1734	3	3		3	3					10,741	4,022	3,461	3,743	2,774	967	6,742	992	2,494	256	256	
1735	97	64					97	64		12,829	2,603	1,779	2,759	1,594	1,285	9,726	929	494	344	80	
1736	43	14	1			1	43	14		14,318	4,570	1,369	5,059	2,584	879	9,077	1,804	290	182	182	200
1737	29	29	12				29	29	12	10,571	2,598	1,784	3,771	803	1,408	6,740	1,735	328	60	60	48
1738	1						1			12,004	2,911	1,928	3,598	816	1,546	8,366	2,055	210	40	40	172
1739	22	1	2	2		2	20	1		13,504	6,100	1,726	4,482	3,125	1,398	9,022	2,975	60			268
1740	25	4	3	4	4	3	21			18,688	4,294	3,593	6,617	1,412	3,099	12,071	2,882	84			410
1741	25						25			30,416	7,325	3,580	7,144	2,841	2,922	23,261	4,473	546	11	11	112
1742	7		159	7		39			120	28,778	5,041	5,484	3,522	911	3,512	25,248	4,122	526	8	8	1,446
1743	140	44					140	44		28,376	9,967	6,006	3,714	1,018	3,530	24,662	8,949	1,562			914
1744	3	1	9	3	1	9				20,243	6,485	4,246	4,876	1,547	2,082	15,367	4,938	2,164			
1745	2	1		2	1					21,817	6,384	3,721	6,175	3,512	3,487	15,622	2,852	29	20	20	205
1746	17	11	73	17	11	73				19,766	9,816	3,523	2,963	1,501	3,023	16,803	8,315	494			6
1747	67	32	23			23	67	32		17,724	3,256	4,764	4,481	2,141	3,445	13,188	1,096	1,271	55	19	48
1748	175	88	7			7	175	88		23,735	3,803	5,392	2,895	1,129	4,503	20,740	2,574	889	100	100	
1749	31	16					31	16		25,042	4,469	2,283	2,153	1,386	2,069	22,879	3,073	208	10	10	6
1750	18		2	2		2	16			51,929	7,177	4,811	4,098	2,054	2,921	47,751	5,043	1,886	80	80	4
1751	1,462	1,066					1,462	1,066		37,317	8,359	6,311	5,526	2,731	5,392	31,791	5,628	840			79
1752	10		64	10		64				30,744	9,567	7,807	3,875	1,876	5,764	26,869	7,691	2,043			
1753	39	7	24	3	1	24	24	36	6	32,079	7,021	4,679	2,153	1,948	4,413	29,912	5,059	185	14	14	81
1754	66	58	182				16	8		20,822	7,791	6,840	1,893	1,619	4,713	18,929	6,172	2,127			
1755										22,223	5,610	5,428	1,099	561	4,862	21,124	5,049	566			
1756										16,161	7,206	5,630	1,919	1,469	4,554	13,972	5,495	1,076	270	242	
1757										13,816	4,273	2,172	1,674	930	1,185	12,060	3,261	987	82	82	
1758	30						30			11,855	4,766	1,561	1,561	1,061	1,041	10,294	3,705	520			
1759										13,788	4,186	4,166	1,231	634	2,837	12,557	3,552	1,327			2
1760										7,837	2,429	1,882	502	152	1,575	7,329	2,271	307	6	6	

Year	Narva: Total Through Sound: Woollens 1.	2.	Other	From Holland: Woollens 1.	2.	Other	England: Woollens 1.	2.	Other	St. Petersburg: Total Through Sound: Woollens 1.	2.	Other	From Holland: Woollens 1.	2.	Other	England: Woollens 1.	2.	Other	Other: Woollens 1.	2.	Other
1761										13,635	3,147	3,925	991	740	1,501	12,644	2,407	2,424			
1762	26	7		14	7		12			12,942	6,496	4,032	1,769	1,629	2,758	11,145	4,839	1,274	28	28	
1763	126						126			14,507	6,795	3,908	3,710	2,603	2,525	10,630	4,025	1,383	167	167	
1764	12		4			4	12			17,680	8,784	4,370	5,740	4,135	2,696	11,928	4,637	1,674	12	12	
1765	62	3					62	3		14,196	8,111	2,149	3,337	2,879	1,891	10,839	5,212	258	20	20	
1766			1						1	17,633	11,532	2,142	2,343	2,224	2,037	15,290	9,308	105			
1767	120						120			26,094	15,555	3,498	886	886	2,999	25,060	14,521	499	148	148	
1768	78	28					78	28		25,102	16,954	3,415	2,798	1,755	2,645	22,302	15,199	770			
1769	8	3					8	3		27,025	17,472	2,877	3,244	2,256	2,425	23,780	15,215	452	1	1	
1770										22,270	11,906	5,614	3,525	1,987	4,569	18,743	9,917	1,037	2	2	8
1771										20,905	11,754	4,376	2,769	2,412	3,825	18,101	9,307	531	35	35	20
1772	9	4					9	4		18,173	11,293	9,903	2,299	2,012	8,409	15,869	9,281	1,484	5		10
1773	64	14					64	14		28,072	11,317	15,454	4,617	4,178	13,821	23,351	7,035	1,626	104	104	7
1774	50						50			26,756	11,505	17,530	4,342	3,799	13,851	22,330	7,670	3,570	84	36	89
1775	40						40			27,565	18,796	11,309	4,816	3,521	5,123	22,722	15,257	6,137	27	18	49
1776	200	200	100				200	200	100	23,929	12,498	6,576	4,607	2,231	5,322	19,321	10,266	1,254	1	1	
1777	12	7	5	5	5	5	7	2	3	22,905	9,178	9,344	5,511	1,245	5,023	17,394	7,933	4,229			92
1778	5		8	5		8				22,758	10,742	27,624	2,058	1,954	14,873	20,600	8,688	12,657	100	100	94
1779										28,449	14,974	26,037	2,289	2,192	11,602	26,160	12,762	14,402			33
1780										21,855	13,263	15,927	2,085	1,876	5,932	19,770	11,387	9,995			
1781										12,190	3,387	10,550	283	127	6,776	11,907	3,260	3,512			262
1782										24,464	20,084	7,495	511	511	2,837	23,953	21,573	4,542			116
1783										25,592	11,628	14,373	755	755	10,143	24,765	10,801	4,165	72	72	65

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol. 2.

Table 3.5 Imports of Wine into Russia, 1680-1783 (in tuns)

	Riga						Reval						Narva					St. Petersburg					
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	From France	Ibe.	Holl.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	From France	Ibe.	Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	From Fra.	Ibe.	Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	From France	Iberia	Holl.	Hamb.	Other
1680	421[2]	398	115		246	37	130[3]	136	5		131		65	6		58	1						
1681	376	252	13		223	16		180			174	6	66	5		60	1						
1682	524	277	74		156	47		150	1		136	13	51	14		31	6						
1683	479	269	13		246	10		129	57		71	1	67	8		59							
1684	541	398	85		287	26		100			85	15	118	90		27	1						
1685	529	271	4		238	29		150	9		139	2	93	3		42	48						
1686	690	314	8		299	7		77		1	76		67	20		46	1						
1687	572	310	36		269	5		80	1		77	2	80	3		77							
1688	537	296	31		240	25		144			144		18	1		16	1						
1689	464	189	169		15	5		16			16		1			1							
1690	285	112	67		34	11		16		1	15		1			1							
1691	571	176	132	2	10	32							85			85							
1692	632	51			10	1		11			11												
1693	174	22			22			7			7		1			1							
1694	459	55	14		29	12		19			19		2			2							
1695	511	131	123	3	3	2		15			15		4			1	3						
1696	356	17			16	1		1			1		67			66	1						
1697	280	34			25	9	94[3]	2			2		78			77	1						
1698	494	121	33		79	9		7	4		3		10	4		5	1						
1699	643	292	47	2	150	93		20			19	1	73		2	68	3						
1700	52	76	73		3			154	110		43	1	24			17	7						
1701	311	70	1	1	67	1		125	72		51	2											
1702	476	127	86		38	3		7			6	1	2			2							
1703	260	15			6	9		34			32	2	1			1							
1704	472	83	70	2	7	4		4			4		1			1							
1705	262	65	57	4	4			9			9												
1706	438	77	68		3	6		10			10												
1707	344	21	2		19			10			10												
1708	655	36	6		9	21		9			9												
1709	132	6			6																		
1710	52	27			27			9			9							1					1
1711	330	89			89			19			19												
1712	162	23			23			4			4												
1713	301	64	14	2	26	22		29			29							8			6		2
1714	71	2			2			3			3							160		70	87		3
1715	285	95		3	88	4		143	84		59							217		1	105	104	7
1716	232	109		1	107	1		168		9	159							204	28	3	125	17	31
1717	440	156	87		66	3		35			34	1						327	73		251		3
1718	230	103	9	15	78	1		254		5	249		3			3		503	56	50	392		5
1719		65			62	3		77		4	73		4			4		566	111		407	38	10
1720		112	46	8	58			305	184		121		8			8		868	278		525	25	40
1721		221	146		62	13		155		1	154		4			4		572	1		431	137	3
1722		88	6	3	79			57		1	56		46		2	44		555			404	115	20
1723		265	144	26	88	7		27			27		75	16	3	56		1,054	143	5	595	207	104
1724		126	61	3	65			126	73		53		11			11		1,164	206		618	310	30
1725		119	64	1	52	2		55			55		34	15		19		943	277		479	178	9
1726		86	14	6	57	15		16			16		13			13		590		3	508	60	19
1727		114	28	2	54	30		47			47		19			19		723	97		356	257	13
1728		143	93		41	9		112	91		21		5		1	4		797	60		524	179	34
1729		279	204		62	13		25			24	1	5			5		1,174	428	3	543	196	4
1730		94	40	1	48	5		30			30		20			20		341			263	64	14

	Riga						Reval						Narva					St. Petersburg					
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	From France	Ibe.	Holl.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	From France	Ibe.	Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	From Fra.	Ibe.	Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	From France	Iberia	Holl.	Hamb.	Other
1731		202	143	3	48	8		126	110		16		13			13		769	80		487	143	59
1732		61	19		42		5	30			30		5			5		521	148		316	48	9
1733		175	144		31			18			18		2			2		796	253		451	42	50
1734		100	64	4	30	2		19			18	1	1			1		504	159		225	55	65
1735		324	245	7	30	42		148	113	2	32	1	3			3		832	341	2	360	64	65
1736		54	7	1	43	3		23	4		19		1			1		643	377		187	63	16
1737		303	215	7	49	32		241	176	40	25		3			3		585	326		194	24	41
1738		208	116	6	62	24		21		3	17		3			3		653	303		266	50	34
1739		148	71	1	52	24		28		1	27		8			2	6	859	539		225	62	33
1740		155	77		62	16		92			66	26	8			8		744	375		259	105	5
1741		181	103		23	55		135		15	82	38	7			7		968	630		207	127	4
1742		100			65	35		80		2	48	30	16			15	1	1,863	964		503	319	77
1743		121	11		85	25		66	34	2	30		7	2		5		1,712	1,050		219	252	191
1744		177	92	2	81	3		37			37		2	1		1		1,102	738		266	93	5
1745		147	60		69	18		37			37		2		1	1		1,402	979		292	92	39
1746		46	2		34	10		25			14	11	10			10		717	440		155	97	25
1747		48			27	21		5			5		6			6		598	440		104	36	18
1748		57		14	42	1		2			2		1			1		782	583		114	83	2
1749		294	238		39	17		88	72		16		2			2		1,922	1,513		268	121	20
1750		65	5		39	21		11			10	1	8			8		1,022	266		660	84	12
1751		137	95	2	30	10		22			22		5			5		694	166	90	253	121	64
1752		186	92	4	51	39		21		1	20		2			2		1,687	1,257	19	310	45	56
1753		414	317	4	46	47		348	337	1	10		12			5	7	1,345	1,107		177	55	6
1754		382	281	11	57	33		128	103		7	18	8			8		846	530	8	265	37	6
1755		183		1	58	124		139	117	1	17	4	5			5		1,644	1,368	19	175	19	63
1756		255	134		54	67		17			15	2	7			7		2,309	2,109	24	128	45	3
1757		253	144	1	50	58		135	121		12	2	6			6		1,164	1,034		77	48	5
1758		546	411		63	72		108	101		6	1	20	20				1,320	1,191	2	72	53	2
1759		300	68		53	179		134	116		18		34			34		2,557	2,205	2	159	183	8
1760		396	300		61	35		242	230	1	11							1,697	1,510	9	81	90	7
1761		324	149		67	108		243	218	1	24							2,384	2,221	23	107	33	
1762		212	126		55	37		228	220	2	6		6			6		1,281	1,123		88	64	6
1763		274	144		52	78		224	212		9	3	11			11		2,564	2.269	175	45	58	17
1764		202	98		51	53		115	98	2	15		3			3		1,173	1,084		52	30	7
1765		453	314	15	41	83		121	104		6	11	5			5		2,886	2,634		134	89	29
1766		243	140		53	50		139	101	4	20	14	6			6		2,794	2,647	1	103	37	6
1767		352	237		60	55		117	88	1	25	3	4			4		2,422	2.205	65	134	13	5
1768		260	207		35	18		120	96		24		7			7		1,976	1,522	71	84	23	276
1769		319	254	1	50	14		134	116	6	12		2			2		2,413	2,260	29	92	12	20
1770		193	150		27	16		21			21		92	86		6		3,070	2,701	86	233	28	22
1771		209	153	3	44	9		48		3	24	21	4			4		3,863	3,559	159	64	61	20
1772		248	152	6	51	39		126	81	1	39	5	108	105		3		3,029	2,022	878	53	57	19
1773		605	344	99	68	94		135	106	6	23		6			5	1	3,597	2,363	1,119	56	43	16
1774		431	273	3	125	40		174	127	1	27	19	4		3	1		4,465	3,233	1,028	104	58	42
1775		531	335	52	54	90		114	62	1	38	13	2			2		2,657	1,916	625	57	34	25

Table 3.5 (cont.)

	Riga						Reval						Narva					St. Petersburg					
Year	Total	Total Through Sound	From France	Ibe.	Holl.	Other	Total	Total Through Sound	From France	Ibe.	Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	From Fra.	Ibe.	Holl.	Other	Total Through Sound	From France	Iberia	Holl.	Hamb.	Other
1776		375	164	26	61	124		176	116	3	38	19	8			8		2,366	1,395	825	79	32	35
1777		588	524	5	59			320	282		28	10	6			6		5,122	4,008	706	61	320	27
1778		455	318	51	77	9		49	15	6	25	3	2			2		2,731	1,274	1,109	99	90	159
1779		815	655	25	100	35		37	2	4	31							4,734	2,661	1,566	111	165	231
1780		1,116	872	129	69	46		131	94		19	18						4,655	3,109	1.382	56	5	103
1781		1,177	1,039	5	34	99		77		28	6	43						2,828	1,692	1,023	46	6	61
1782		641	572		54	15		251	233		18							4,309	2,658	1,495	97	4	55
1783		317	278	11	24	4		9		1	8		1			1		5,589	3,751	1,678	70	3	87

Sources: 1. All data for imports through the Sound from N.E.Bang and K.Korst, <u>Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783</u> (Copenhagen, 1930-53), volume 2.

2. E.Dunsdorfs, 'Der Auszenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert', <u>Conventus Primus Historicolum Balticorum Rigae 1937</u> (Riga, 1938), pp.470-4.

3. A.Soom, <u>Der Handel Revals in Seibzehnten Jahrhundert</u> (Wiesbaden, 1969).

Table 3.6 Imports of Colonial Wares into Russia, 1680-1783 (thousand pund)

	Riga					Reval				Narva				St. Petersburg							
Year	Total Through Sound	Holl.	Eng.	Fra.	Other	Total Through Sound	Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total Through Sound	Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total Through Sound	Holl.	Eng.	Fra.	Ibe.	Italy	Hamb.	Other
1680	242	142	75	15	10	199	126	73		283	12	271									
1681	157	74	72		10	119	73	46		80	12	68									
1682	108	69	23	11	5	209	65	142	2	128	5	123									
1683	147	118	25		5	155	99	56		132	51	81									
1684	145	91	38	1	15	144	76	67		148	22	117	8								
1685	141	72	58		10	109	96	13		108	14	94									
1686	162	87	73		1	91	91			97	11	86									
1687	281	204	75	2		237	183	54	1	124	40	84									
1688	206	152	33	1	19	209	168	41		120	22	98									
1689	97	5	53	35	5	213	183	30		145	27	118									
1690	201	141	53	7	3	116				93	5	88									
1691	152	88	45	5	13	76	76			165	17	147									
1692	139	87	16	25	12	212	212			59	2	57									
1693	201	198			3	88	88			113	13	99									
1694	98	78	11		9	152	152			145	13	131									
1695	188	103	46	35	4	159	159			255	15	240									
1696	73	72	1			113	113			417	46	371									
1697	115	115				113	113			104	99	5									
1698	187	140	21	19	8	86	86			315	125	181	9								
1699	184	145	16	7	16	140	104	33	3	647	429	218									
1700	13	13				274	241	31	3	415	38	377									
1701	233	233				318	179	139		15	15										
1702	209	200	8		1	246	52	193		14	14										
1703	238	222	15		1	137	92	45		13	13										
1704	284	231	49	1	4	207	134	74		10	10										
1705	94	94				59	59														
1706	139	132	5		2	103	103														
1707	78	63	14			34	34														
1708	95	92			3	130	130														
1709	40	39			1	94	93	1													
1710	29	29				85	85														
1711	75	75				79	65		14												
1712	24	22	2			36	36														
1713	28	22	1	5		48	48							180	2	179					
1714	21	21				37	37							231	29	144		58			
1715	123	123				107	92		15					103	93	10				1	
1716	176	157	19			126	126							94	70	10			5	8	
1717	132	129	3			64	63							300	243	38	19				
1718	296	266	29			221	221							146	75	54		17			
1719	221	218			3	111	98	2	12	15	15			365	320	38	4			3	
1720	267	261		1	6	175	173	1	1	2	2			194	102	57	33			2	
1721	250	205		33	11	210	210			5	5			134	90	18				21	5
1722	187	169	16		1	152	152			34	29	5		201	145	29			18	14	
1723	252	238	15			189	187	2		45	45			899	455	222	33	136	5	47	2
1724	257	249	4	1	2	181	181			26	26			633	192	147	33			260	
1725	330	324	1	5		417	417			37	37			1,378	879	365				134	
1726	347	328	10	2	5	351	351			112	112			1,777	876	584		10		306	
1727	320	292	27	1		328	327	1		53	46	7		1,413	831	448	5			129	
1728	385	327	44	9	4	418	418			26	26			1,370	409	728				233	
1729	52		24	28		221	220		1	19	19			529	449		5			75	
1730	336	317	4	15		263	263			31	30	1		1,169	505	630				34	

Table 3.6 (cont.)

	Riga					Reval				Narva				St. Petersburg							
Year	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Eng.	Fra.	Other	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Eng.	Other	Total Through Sound	From Holl.	Eng.	Fra.	Ibe.	Italy	Hamb.	Other
1731	209	168	25	1	16	213	209		4	28	28			1,328	1,002	172				154	
1732	301	296	4			294	294			34	34			872	518	202	6			146	
1733	277	249	2	26		233	233			27	27			963	565	168	45			95	90
1734	179	162	15	1	1	273	273			14	14			851	597	110			16	128	
1735	302	266	8	11	17	178	169		9	25	25			1,231	793	180	57		22	179	
1736	296	290	4	1	1	352	352			15	3	12		1,699	716	718	79			176	10
1737	232	151	38	29	14	355	353		2	8	8			1,770	933	559	56		14	202	6
1738	285	272	5		8	336	335		1	5	5			1,678	983	416	54			224	2
1739	350	292	8	5	45	372	372			6	6			2,210	1,450	375	153			233	
1740	158	150		1	6	375	374		1	32	32			1,585	925	204	64			392	
1741	459	306	4	18	131	398	388		10	42	42			2,844	997	871	266			543	168
1742	201	175	13		14	150	139		11	40	36	4		1,430	1,023	49	4			355	
1743	82	68	4	1	10	218	218			16	13	3		1,844	1,127	126	91			366	134
1744	141	119	17		5	179	177		2	20	20			1,314	788	49	113			363	
1745	204	162	30	1	11	193	193			8	8			1,422	732	82	109		51	395	52
1746	78	77				135	135			9	9			1,496	897	103	114		78	304	
1747	109	108			1	108	108			12	12			1,055	752	20	184		4	86	10
1748	117	100	3		14	19	19			3	3			1,381	1,023	217	10			131	
1749	123	96		12	15	132	121		11	4	4			1,760	963	215	294			289	
1750	131	75	7	6	43	140	140			10	10			1,351	854	116	231			143	7
1751	109	87	4	16	3	87	87			5	5			2,372	1,189	468	43	35	207	406	22
1752	110	77	5		28	216	216							1,592	853	275	51	55	80	278	
1753	120	68	19	23	11	193	180	4	9	12	12			2,336	594	792	626			324	
1754	273	69	172	4	29	92	83		9	6	6			3,515	505	1,711	1,124	42		133	
1755	153	88	37		28	262	133		129	23	23			2,080	532	610	601	71		128	137
1756	407	60	321		26	108	107		1	22	22			2,432	518	1,525	215	1		173	
1757	121	79		14	28	99	89		10	21	21			1,878	646	811	138			284	
1758	315	129	128	22	37	56	45	1	10	5	5			1,891	633	719	121			419	
1759	133	73	21	20	19	44	43		1	15	15			2,358	719	977	179			481	1
1760	188	65	118	3	2	54	44		10					2,411	356	1,063	476	13		503	
1761	166	63	4		98	94	72		21	3	3			1,819	705	477	228	8		399	
1762	144	64	68		12	51	46		5	12	12			2,213	599	662	68			884	
1763	386	124	197		64	97	87			5	5			2,606	518	1,194	199	1		693	1
1764	312	94	193		24	118	114		4	9	9			3,127	924	998	433			670	102
1765	268	129	121	5	13	119	116		3	3	1		2	3,155	749	808	902		46	648	1
1766	314	132	61		122	113	84		29					2,837	792	265	644	120		716	300
1767	207	170	22	9	6	106	95			2	2			3,382	1,379	844	620	11	75	452	1
1768	153	127	3	13	11	115	108		8	4	4			4,532	1,453	1,368	494			1,181	36
1769	217	185	8	18	6	103	93			3	3			5,986	1,916	1,665	859			1,540	6
1770	178	141	10	27		69	69			24	10		14	5,393	1,657	1,705	710		9	1,201	111
1771	345	160	148	3	34	120	84	2	35	3	3			6,181	1,171	1,702	1,395	2	30	1,825	55
1772	451	203	128	21	98	152	116		35	23			23	5,625	1,377	282	1,977	367	12	1,545	65
1773	329	195	31	32	72	123	102	13	8	3	3			6,461	1,605	1,188	1,817	508	88	1,256	
1774	385	223	61	22	79	132	102		30	1	1			5,389	1,389	971	2,091	59	34	700	145
1775	496	247	50	40	159	146	87		59	1	1			6,172	870	1.355	2,887	23	1	1,024	12

Year	Riga Total Through Sound	Riga From Holl.	Riga Eng.	Riga Fra.	Riga Other	Reval Total Through Sound	Reval From Holl.	Reval Eng.	Reval Other	Narva Total Through Sound	Narva From Holl.	Narva Eng.	Narva Other	St. Petersburg Total Through Sound	St. Petersburg From Holl.	St. Petersburg Eng.	St. Petersburg Fra.	St. Petersburg Ibe.	St. Petersburg Italy	St. Petersburg Hamb.	St. Petersburg Other
1776	343	242	1	36	64	141	74	28	39	3	3			6,198	1,232	1,089	3,061	149		654	13
1777	259	213	1	20	26	123	80	43		4	4			7,260	1,863	593	4,159	583	60	869	1
1778	247	199	3	34	11	103	81		22	2	2			4,219	1,536	592	1,554	37	11	376	113
1779	233	190	11	9	23	79	73		6					6,512	1,844	1,222	2,029	16	115	916	368
1780	344	217	5	1	121	57	49		8					4,034	230	511	1,950	275	418	585	64
1781	166	128		22	16	51	27		24					4,788	707	1,487	1,234	293	165	871	30
1782	225	144	4	32	44	157	57		100					8,269	1,275	1,253	3,029	1,126	204	1,107	275
1783	253	124	20	64	44	39	39			1	1			7,371	1,087	1,229	3,678	485	63	721	108

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol. 2.

Table 3.7 Imports of Metals and Metalwares into Russia 1680-1783 (lead and tin, skpd; metalwares skpd and by value in rixdollars)

Year	Riga Total Lead	Tin	Metalwares	From England Lead	Tin	Metalwares	Reval Total Lead	Tin	Metalwares	From England Lead	Tin	Narva Total Lead	Tin	Metal-wares	From England Lead	Tin	Metal-wares	St. Petersburg Total Lead	Tin	Metalwares	From England Lead	Tin	Metalwares
1680	213	12	5	213	6		334	6		334	3	85	22		85	22							
1681	114	34	1	114	31		145	30		145	30												
1682		7			7		135	4		135	4	307	15		307	15							
1683	37	10	5	37	10		80			80		234	9		234	9							
1684	6	5	7		4		130	1		58	1	197	37		197	37							
1685	137	13	5	131	13		44	8		44	8	212	23		212	23							
1686	168	24	4	138	24		284	4		248	4	854	20		854	20							
1687	904	28	3	885	27		161			161		497	97		497	97							
1688	33	21	5	33	21		1	2		1	2	1,183	42		1,183	42							
1689	241	42		241	42		121			121		3,513	46		3,513	46							
1690		47	1		47							1,052	76		1,052	76							
1691	56	20		55	20				22			1,117	76		1,117	76							
1692	51	41	1	51	41								90			90							
1693		21	15		20							175	42		175	42							
1694	299	4	20	299	4								94	36		94							
1695		98			98		47			47		690	292		672	292							
1696	113	34		113	34							4,489	342		4,489	342							
1697		3			3							1,001	316		1,001	316							
1698	281	40		278	40			3			2	82	280			278							
1699	205	49	19	205	48							278	267		278	267							
1700												691			691								
1701			8				88	3		88	3												
1702	391	10	2	391	10			9			9	15			15								
1703	172	11		164	11																		
1704		6	1		6																		
1705	9	1		9	1		3																
1706	190	2	1	190	1																		
1707	91	8	10	90	8																		
1708	1	5			5																		
1709	1		2																				
1710																							
1711		1			1																		
1712																							
1713	3	1	1		1																		
1714	10			10			5											11	29		11	29	
1715		1	7		1														79			79	
1716	613			613			4											1,336	39	8	1,336	39	
1717	129	11		129	11													1,368	132	8	1,364	132	
1718	282	11	1	16	11				7										187	10		187	
1719	20	1						6			6							4,687	100	128	4,687	100	
1720	51		2	50			214		2									397	60	23	125	60	

	Riga						Reval					Narva						St. Petersburg					
Year	Total			From England			Total			From England		Total			From England			Total			From England		
	Lead	Tin	Metalwares	Lead	Tin	Metalwares	Lead	Tin	Metalwares	Lead	Tin	Lead	Tin	Metal-wares	Lead	Tin	Metal-wares	Lead	Tin	Metalwares	Lead	Tin	Metalwares
1721	294	9	6	286	9		181	1		168								1,387	32	108	1,363	25	
1722	170	5		125	1		229		27									2,820	205	160	1,472	205	
1723	150	38		149	36		339			153								2,552	435	24	1,783	433	6
1724	587	11	19	583	11		21											3,020	399	3	3,011	398	
1725	219	3	1	215	2		13						1			1		106	230	11	106	224	
1726	186	48	6	161	48		13	2				18			18			487	302	43	484	301	
1727	156	46	1	156	46		22	4				16			16			940	340	90	688	339	
1728	631	16	30	631	14		5											1,529	601	96	1,529	599	14
1729	509	101	3	509	101		29					62			62			193	427	121	192	426	
1730	58	2	4	58	2		59			39		140	8		140	8		1,076	694		1,076	693	
1731	272	42		265	42		67			67			10			10		482	357	226	409	356	
1732	39	47	4	39	47		11	1				122	2	RD60	122	2		294	289	RD 850	294	289	RD 850
1733	29	7		22	6		19							RD51				375	180	50 RD 250	249	173	RD 250
1734	68	42		68	42		35	1				82		RD124	82		RD124	2,646	507	14 RD 500	2,386	507	RD 500
1735	89	7	1 RD 121	89	7	RD 109	21	2						RD512			RD100	2,621	411	9 RD 164	2,403	399	RD 164
1736	253	11	36 RD 464	253	11	RD 464	20					40	2		40	2		1,367	458	20 RD 200	1,205	458	RD 200
1737	295	39	RD 596	295	39	RD 596	49		1			48		RD 50	48			1,193	336	360 RD 580	879	333	RD 580
1738	575	50	RD1,856	520	50	RD1,604	58	4		58	4							846	462	RD 560	700	455	RD 560
1739	640	77	8 RD 700	639	77	RD 700	49											2,809	682	53 RD 756	2,517	676	RD 756
1740	782	11	1 RD1,100	417	11	RD1,100	28						2			2		3,582	560	93 RD 500	3,519	553	RD 500
1741	210	67	3 RD1,340	210	67	RD1,302	23	5				50			50			4,301	1,284	63 RD 2,218	3,951	1,284	RD 2,218
1742	73	15	1 RD1,176	73	15	RD1,176							19			19		33	701	60 RD 4,586		276	RD 4,586
1743	837	17	RD 260	837	17	RD 160	50	2					2			2		1,187	1,035	2 RD 530	1,175	1,035	RD 530
1744	174	30	RD1,000	174	30	RD1,000	92	2				2	2					1,208	171	75 RD 8,086	1,207	169	RD 8,068
1745	660	38	27 RD2,189	660	33	RD2,189	65	1										824	965	102 RD 3,488	813	964	RD 3,488
1746	60		10				21	8										2,263	895	57 RD 7,260	2,164	894	RD 7,260
1747	55		RD 960	55		RD 960							1			1		3,406	404	RD 3,876	3,353	404	RD 3,876
1748	389	86	RD1,440	389	86	RD1,440	13					15	7	RD182				848	265	48 RD 2,952	808	265	RD 2,952
1749	368	44	4	332	44		58											1,590	558	86 RD 2,128	1,362	500	RD 2,128
1750	428	57	28 RD1,920	417	57	RD1,920	16											921	524	38 RD 2,870	921	461	RD 2,870
1751	1,136	86	9 RD1,738	1,135	86	RD1,738	39			6		364	67		364	67		3,269	1,241	123 RD10,083	3,132	1,218	RD 9,758
1752	547	36	14 RD 576	538	36	RD 576	82	6				38			38			1,696	1,829	172 RD17,318	1,690	1,718	RD17,280
1753	345	36	149 RD1,830	343	36	RD1,830	134	75	6	98	75	77	75		77	75		1,810	623	44 RD 5,624	1,805	546	RD 5,642
1754	91	115	21 RD 423	91	115	RD 408	20					38			38			2,075	1,321	100 RD10,953	2,070	1,206	RD 7,572
1755	375	67	202 RD3,641	369	67	RD1,614	22					305	1		305	1		2,555	857	119 RD 8,865	2,226	778	RD 6,879
1756	1,791	123	2 RD8,924	1,780	123	RD8,924	6	2	12			69			69			2,685	767	79 RD 4,186	2,685	765	RD 4,186
1757	478	51	64 RD5,405	478	51	RD4,380	10											2,894	1,627	70 RD21,016	2,894	1,455	RD21,016
1758	2,752	177	68 RD2,752	2,736	177	RD3,320	42											3,766	1,719	207 RD 3,060	3,710	1,590	RD 3,060
1759	915	68	72 RD6,323	915	68	RD4,756	37											3,785	1,645	87 RD11,034	3,785	1,071	RD 9,090
1760	513	90	172 RD5,870	513	90	RD5,366	28											1,473	832	21 RD 1,656	1,473	758	RD 1,656

Year	Riga						Reval					Narva						St. Petersburg					
	Total			From England			Total			From England		Total			From England			Total			From England		
	Lead	Tin	Metalwares	Lead	Tin	Metalwares	Lead	Tin	Metalwares	Lead	Tin	Lead	Tin	Metal-wares	Lead	Tin	Metal-wares	Lead	Tin	Metalwares	Lead	Tin	Metalwares
1761	400	81	108 RD4,080	400	81	RD3,972	68	2										415	1,116	15 RD 4,032	406	977	RD 4,032
1762	174	4	RD3,110	174	4	RD3,110	43											1,640	1,684	23 RD 3,606	1,604	1,637	RD 3,528
1763	498	92	14 RD1,200	498	92	RD1,200	72	1				62		RD152	62		RD152	2,241	1,541	56 RD 7,304	2,152	1,345	RD 7,804
1764	467	136	7 RD 624	467	136	RD 624	139	4		80								4,152	645	117 RD 384	4,083	270	RD 348
1765	972	169	12 RD5,814	881	169	RD4,976	86	2		47		234			234			1,417	1,925	83 RD 2,110	1,275	1,344	RD 2,110
1766	406	134	10 RD4,992	350	134	RD4,992	158	19	14	102	18							2,273	958	27 RD 7,700	2,182	886	RD 1,440
1767	882	139	44 RD2,064	745	139	RD2,064	58	4		9	4	115			115			554	1,176	85 RD 2,740	554	1,094	RD 2,740
1768	499	45	48 RD3,603	499	45	RD3,603	4		4 RD356									3,318	1,182	3 RD 5,528	3,287	1,072	RD 5,528
1769	388	61	34 RD 640	297	61	RD 552	35	2	17					RD384			RD384	4,535	2,484	16 RD 8,542	3,710	2,341	RD 8,542
1770	148	52	21 RD 566	93	52	RD 566	35		RD 55									3,345	2,238	36 RD17,684	3,345	2,067	RD17,684
1771	111	72	87 RD2,439	37	72	RD2,364	11		60 RD 33					RD720			RD720	1,086	726	187 RD12,275	1,086	726	RD12,210
1772	206	61	178 RD1,728	199	61	RD1,728	63	3	21 RD315	14		9			9			2,350	351	6435 RD 6,285	2,320	350	RD 6,210
1773	288	65	159 RD1,956	388	65	RD1,890	71	13	18	48	11	45			45			5,118	1,514	3491 RD 349	4,952	1,514	10 RD 76
1774	366	56	181 RD 593	347	56	RD 593	47		35 RD 25	231	2	231	2					8,223	2,792	229 RD1,980	8,123	2,770	10 RD 1,980
1775	722	112	277 RD 504	703	112		282	5	67	219	3							3,987	1,604	149	3,823	1,604	
1776	1,231	57	333 RD1,680	1,129	57		201	29	69	131	26							3,358	3,555	224 RD 1,512	3,325	3,555	
1777	1,011	22	270	1,011	21		116	2	101	104	2	73			73			5,685	2,388	186 RD 115	5,603	2,388	
1778	2,244	82	273	2,244	81	30	59	1	70	38								4,211	518	360	4,206	513	
1779	646	29	228	646	29		164	2	38	125	2							2,599	1,640	25	2,505	1,640	
1780	2,003	49	215	2,003	47		58	1	20	34								2,382	1,094	330	2,381	938	
1781	466	5	403	466	4				7									4,608	1,694	529	4,006	1,621	23
1782	947		149	594			23	2	29									7,232	2,069	658	5,125	2,066	
1783	179	23	65	121	23		22		16			29			29			4,142	1,695	309	3,061	1,667	

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53) vol. 2.

Table 3.8 Imports of Coal into Russia 1716-1783 (chalders)

	Riga			Reval			Narva			St. Petersburg		
Year	Total Through Sound	From Eng.	Scot.	Total Through Sound	From Eng.	Scot.	Total Through Sound	From Eng.	Scot.	Total Through Sound	From Eng.	Scot.
1716	146	146								170	170	
1717	108	108								231	231	
1718										36	36	
1719												
1720										151	151	
1721	80	80		48	48					140	114	26
1722	165	165		244	244		106	106		769	769	
1723	165	165		52	52					54	54	
1724	227	227								116	96	20
1725	129	129		120	120					363	363	
1726	116	116		48	48		77	77		592	571	21
1727	181	181		32	32					659	659	
1728	101	101								534	534	
1729	102	102								181	181	
1730	40	40		88	88		408	408		782	782	
1731	78	78					192	192		426	396	30
1732	96	96					496	496		68	68	
1733	246	246					6	6		171	171	
1734	112	112					160	160		85	85	
1735	322	322		88	88		156	156		1,109	1,109	
1736	102	102					52	52		157	58	99
1737	214	214					224	224		141	141	
1738	194	194								40	40	
1739	234	230	4				296	296		546	516	30
1740	618	618					160	160		469	469	

Table 3.8 (cont.)

Year	Riga Total Through Sound	Riga From Eng.	Riga Scot.	Reval Total Through Sound	Reval From Eng.	Reval Scot.	Narva Total Through Sound	Narva From Eng.	Narva Scot.	St. Petersburg Total Through Sound	St. Petersburg From Eng.	St. Petersburg Scot.
1741	482	390	92				104	104		489	459	30
1742	146	146					48	48		192	192	
1743	437	437					8	8		128	128	
1744	177	177					24	24		220	220	
1745	1,108	1,108		56	56		500	500		346	346	
1746	521	488								455	299	156
1747	1,030	1,030					90	90		333	313	20
1748	1,011	1,011					32	32		244	244	
1749	759	759					4	4		139	139	
1750	304	304								735	735	
1751	977	977					160	160		186	186	
1752	492	464	28				56	56		112	112	
1753	1,172	1,140	8	56	56					593	593	
1754	716	716					4	4		252	252	
1755	380	380					96	96		636	636	
1756	720	720								777	777	
1757	1,614	1,593	22							754	729	25
1758	1,860	1,815	45				26	26		755	744	11
1759	1,163	1,090	73							216	200	16
1760	304	304					64	64		1,050	965	85
1761	813	813					29	29		853	853	
1762	394	322	72							872	872	
1763	2,320	2,320					262	262		609	598	11
1764	969	969		28	28		264	264		1,021	849	46
1765	212	212		56	56		240	240		639	594	45

Table 3.8 (cont.)

Year	Riga Total Through Sound	Riga From Eng.	Riga Scot.	Reval Total Through Sound	Reval From Eng.	Reval Scot.	Narva Total Through Sound	Narva From Eng.	Narva Scot.	St. Petersburg Total Through Sound	St. Petersburg From Eng.	St. Petersburg Scot.
1766	644	644		192	192					240	240	
1767	414	414		12	12					644	640	4
1768	756	756								802	790	12
1769	568	568		80		80	18	18		527	524	3
1770	112	112		48	16	32				341	337	4
1771	679	679								688	587	101
1772	492	480		200		200	30	30		707	485	222
1773	227	227					40	40		924	765	84
1774	217	216	1				1	1		734	605	129
1775	417	417		66	66					690	618	72
1776	120	120								832	460	372
1777	444	384	60							939	570	369
1778	2,037	1,957	80	248	248					1,949	1,063	886
1779	784	784					45	45		1,323	807	498
1780	691	628	63							791	406	385
1781	392	392					44	44		1,505	764	741
1782	361	361								445	242	203
1783	309	301	8							869	690	179

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol.2.

Table 3.9 Imports of General and Small-Wares into Russia, 1680-1780 (in rixdollars)

Year	Total Through Sound	Riga Total	Riga From Holland	Riga England	Riga Other	Reval Total	Reval From Holland	Reval England	Reval Other
1680	50,780	21,180	20,580	600		26,600	26,600		
1690	10,010	7,690	7,350		340	2,180	1,380		800
1700	1,430								
1710	1,396					496	496		
1720	62,951	9,719	9,694		25	9,780	9,500		280
1730	77,789	13,381	12,011	1,146	224	8,207	7,822	385	
1740	116,703	11,764	10,138	1,376	250	10,339	10,329		
1750	125,684	14,040	8,559	5,101	380	5,030	5,030		
1760	110,953	9,071	4,736	4,335		3,383	3,383		
1770	258,726	22,654	15,174	7,264	216	7,380	7,380		
1780	475,938	51,952	12,481	27,921	11,550	6,231	3,221	2,205	805

Year	Narva Total	Narva From Holland	Narva England	Narva Other	St. Petersburg Total	St. Petersburg From Holland	St. Petersburg England	St. Petersburg France	St. Petersburg Other
1680	3,000	2,600	400						
1690	140	140							
1700	1,430	1,350		80					
1710					900		900		
1720					43,452	30,810	9,492	150	3,000
1730	230	106	124		55,971	22,398	14,627		18,946
1740	1,424	1,012	412		93,186	56,884	21,036	644	14,622
1750	183	183			106,431	63,855	36,836	690	5,050
1760					98,499	38,130	35,639	16,140	8,590
1770	1,508	1,372	136		227,184	52,100	73,891	67,135	34,058
1780	1,200	180	1,020		416,555	62,841	178,396	136,881	38,437

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), volume 2.

Table 3.10 Average imports into Russia through the Sound, per decade, by port

Salt (last)

Decade	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
1680-9	3,469	1,599	675	
1690-9	2,723	1,041	227	
1700-9	2,021	219	148	
1710-9	1,825	680	25	770
1720-9	4,650	1,309	758	270
1730-9	5,580	1,092	555	249
1740-9	5,955	1,460	634	236
1750-9	6,885	918	282	214
1760-9	7,263	1,639	174	277
1770-9	8,253	1,880	183	596

Fish (last)

1680-9	350	58	50	
1690-9	319	17	75	
1700-9	150	16	2	
1710-9	132	29	0	37
1720-9	199	28	0	154
1730-9	183	31	10	120
1740-9	285	107	6	258
1750-9	427	34	16	194
1760-9	718	165	23	406
1770-9	549	107	29	411

Cloth-Woollen (piece)

1680-9	2,096	1,359	1,628	
1690-9	2,406	669	3,206	
1700-9	1,473	926	779	
1710-9	1,122	167	3	1,939
1720-9	1,666	921	55	9,809
1730-9	1,510	614	37	11,422
1740-9	1,476	495	49	23,458
1750-9	3,530	77	162	25,073
1760-9	3,145	216	43	17,665
1770-9	2,363	286	37	24,178

Table 3.10 (cont'd)

Decade	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
Cloth-other (piece)				
1680-9	663	522	97	
1690-9	292	170	183	
1700-9	359	191	6	
1710-9	107	129	0	745
1720-9	627	596	7	1,569
1730-9	807	364	2	1,699
1740-9	628	359	27	4,259
1750-9	760	126	27	4,159
1760-9	376	168	0	3,219
1770-9	376	83	11	13,376
Wine (tun)				
1680-9	297	116	62	
1690-9	102	9	32	
1700-9	57	36	2	
1710-9	73	74	0	248
1720-9	155	92	21	844
1730-9	182	68	6	650
1740-9	132	56	6	1,181
1750-9	272	106	10	1,458
1760-9	303	168	4	2,159
1770-9	445	120	23	3,563
Colonial Wares (thousand pund)				
1680-9	168	168	136	
1690-9	153	125	231	
1700-9	142	160	46	
1710-9	111	91	1	202
1720-9	264	264	35	852
1730-9	276	286	19	1,377
1740-9	167	190	18	1,613
1750-9	187	129	23	2,180
1760-9	235	97	4	2,868
1770-9	327	118	6	5,941

Source: N.E. Bang and K. Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol. 2.

Table 3.11 Percentage of total imports into Russia through the Sound, by port (with percentage excluding St. Petersburg in brackets)

Salt

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
1680	72.0	19.5	8.5	
1690	75.7	20.6	3.7	
1700	14.4	18.6	67.0	
1710	36.1	63.9	0	
1720	74.2 (74.9)	18.3 (18.5)	6.6 (6.6)	0.9
1730	89.8 (91.7)	2.2 (2.3)	5.8 (5.9)	2.2
1740	72.3 (72.3)	23.6 (23.6)	4.1 (4.1)	0
1750	75.7 (77.6)	18.1 (18.5)	3.8 (3.9)	2.4
1760	72.3 (73.7)	24.6 (25.1)	1.1 (1.2)	2.0
1770	78.2 (82.6)	15.4 (16.3)	1.0 (1.1)	5.4
1780	83.9 (84.7)	12.9 (14.6)	0.7 (0.7)	2.5

Fish

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
1680	77.5	12.1	10.4	
1690	86.1	6.4	7.4	
1700	72.9	18.9	8.2	
1710	85.7	14.3	0	
1720	18.6 (42.6)	25.1 (57.4)	0	56.3
1730	67.8 (97.6)	1.7 (2.4)	0	30.5
1740	32.4 (56.3)	24.9 (43.7)	0	42.7
1750	86.5 (92.9)	6.6 (7.1)	0	6.9
1760	54.3 (95.5)	0.3 (0.5)	2.3 (4.0)	43.1
1770	66.8 (90.9)	4.0 (5.3)	2.8 (3.8)	26.4
1780	52.8 (83.5)	9.2 (14.5)	1.3 (2.0)	36.7

Cloth-Woollen

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
1680	56.5	24.1	19.4	
1690	49.4	22.4	28.2	
1700	0	24.4	75.6	
1710	38.4	61.6	0	
1720	9.1 (70.9)	3.7 (28.7)	0 (0.4)	87.2
1730	14.4 (75.1)	4.2 (21.7)	0.6 (3.2)	80.8
1740	7.5 (72.1)	2.8 (26.7)	0.1 (1.1)	89.6
1750	1.7 (93.0)	0.1 (5.2)	0.1 (1.8)	98.1
1760	22.0 (99.0)	0.2 (1.0)	0	77.7
1770	7.8 (98.4)	0.1 (1.6)	0	92.1
1780	6.9 (95.7)	0.3 (4.3)	0	92.7

Cloth - Other

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
1680	49.8	46.1	4.1	
1690	53.7	43.4	2.9	
1700	0	93.7	6.3	
1710	0	100.0	0	
1720	15.3 (50.3)	15.1 (49.7)	0	69.6
1730	43.3 (54.6)	35.9 (45.4)	0	20.8
1740	9.5 (40.3)	14.1 (59.4)	0.1 (0.3)	76.3
1750	12.7 (87.9)	1.5 (11.9)	0.3 (0.2)	85.5
1760	24.4 (90.2)	2.6 (9.8)	0	73.0
1770	2.2 (49.8)	2.1 (50.2)	0	95.7
1780	0.6 (100.0)	0	0	99.4

Wine

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
1680	66.4	22.7	10.9	
1690	86.8	12.4	0.8	
1700	29.9	60.6	9.4	
1710	73.0	24.3	0	
1720	8.7 (26.4)	23.6 (71.8)	0.6 (1.9)	67.1
1730	19.4 (65.3)	6.2 (20.8)	4.1 (13.9)	70.3
1740	15.5 (60.8)	9.2 (36.1)	0.8 (3.1)	74.5
1750	5.9 (77.4)	1.0 (13.1)	48.8 (9.5)	44.3
1760	17.0 (57.1)	10.4 (42.9)	0	80.8
1770	5.7 (63.1)	0.6 (6.7)	2.8 (30.1)	90.9
1780	18.9 (89.5)	2.2 (10.5)	0	78.9

Colonial Wares

Year	Riga	Reval	Narva	St. Petersburg
1680	33.4	27.5	39.1	
1690	49.0	28.3	22.7	
1700	1.8	39.1	59.1	
1710	25.5	74.5	0	
1720	41.9 (60.2)	27.4 (39.4)	0.3 (0.4)	30.4
1730	18.7 (53.3)	14.6 (41.8)	1.7 (4.9)	65.0
1740	7.3 (27.9)	17.5 (66.4)	1.5 (5.7)	73.7
1750	8.0 (46.7)	8.6 (49.7)	0.6 (3.6)	82.8
1760	7.1 (77.7)	2.0 (22.3)	0	90.9
1770	3.1 (65.7)	1.2 (25.3)	0.5 (8.9)	95.2
1780	7.8 (85.7)	1.2 (14.3)	0	91.0

Table 3.12 Percentage distribution of imports into the Russian ports between the Sound and Baltic ports

Year	Riga Through Sound	Riga Intra Baltic	Reval Through Sound	Reval Intra Baltic
Salt				
1680	75.8[1]	24.2[2]	98.7[1]	1.3[3]
1690	56.3	43.7		
1700	44.7	55.3		
1710				
1720	74.9	25.1		
1730				
1740				
1750				
1760				
1770				
1780				
Fish				
1680	62.4	37.6	77.5	22.5
1690	96.5	3.5		
1700	51.7	48.3	4.7	95.3
1710	40.0	60.0		
1720				
1730				
1740				
1750				
1760				
1770				
1780				
Wine				
1680	94.5	5.5	100.0	
1690	39.3	60.7		
1700	61.9	38.1	2.1	97.9
1710	51.9	48.1		
1720	44.8	55.2		
1730				
1740				
1750				
1760				
1770				
1780				

Sources:

1. N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund, 1661-1783 (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol.2.

2. E.Dunsdorfs, 'Der Auszenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert', Conventus Primus Historicolum Balticorum Rigae 1937 (Riga, 1938).

3. A.Soom, Der Handel Revals in Siebzehnten Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1969).

Table 3.13 Imports of Metalwares into Russia from England 1697-1780 (£ sterling)

Year	Total	Brass	Copper	Iron	Pewter	Tin
1697	1,995	559		169	1,267	
1698	n.a	n.a	n.a.	n.a	n.a	n.a
1699	2,434	25		225	2,184	
1700	1,202	32		169	1,001	
1701	1,551	17		288	1,246	
1702	3,516	14	17	701	2,784	
1703	3,684	154	11	573	2,910	36
1704	2,092	42	4	196	1,795	55
1705	n.a	n.a	n.a.	n.a	n.a	n.a
1706	3,067	14	111	172	2,765	5
1707	1,754	18		359	1,377	
1708	1,411	173		531	707	
1709	2,179	75		395	1,709	
1710	3,503	43	2	997	2,461	
1711	3,342	219		617	2,506	
1712	n.a	n.a	n.a.	n.a	n.a	n.a
1713	1,670	129	266	403	872	
1714	1,193	139		492	562	
1715	3,551	43		730	2,778	
1716	3,329	46	931	690	1,662	
1717	4,201	60	3	810	3,328	
1718	4,681	43		540	4,098	
1719	6,099	14		649	5,436	
1720	1,649	3		450	1,196	
1721	2,630	3		352	2,275	
1722	836	10		220	606	
1723	1,637		11	34	1,592	
1724	773	10		458	305	
1725	1,077	1		22	1,054	
1726	442	83		121	238	
1727	417			28	389	
1728	1,244	7		161	1,076	
1729	1,819	42	318	52	1,407	
1730	2,298	135		191	1,972	
1731	2,095	47		131	1,909	8
1732	1,568	389	27	165	959	28
1733	1,462	25	9	322	1,103	3
1734	879	140	5	140	594	
1735	2,327	46		147	2,129	5
1736	1,090	70	11	104	905	
1737	1,244	74		467	703	
1738	987	113		232	642	
1739	732	37		168	523	4
1740	1,081	12	58	436	575	
1741	4,253	143	11	1,148	2,951	
1742	2,127	14		585	1,528	
1743	4,137	349	3	1,235	2,550	
1744	989	108	7	823	51	
1745	1,133	132	3	490	498	10

Table 3.13 (cont'd)

Year	Total	Brass	Copper	Iron	Pewter	Tin
1746	1,893	165	1	890	832	5
1747	1,039		54	755	230	
1748	1,511	76		997	438	
1749	2,121	143		844	1,134	
1750	3,890	281	3	1,337	2,269	
1751	7,229		10	1,675	5,534	10
1752	5,688	201	22	1,882	3,583	
1753	2,168	169	56	1,088	855	
1754	4,023	360	1	1,348	2,314	
1755	3,969	178	1	1,543	2,247	
1756	3,424	250	1	1,505	1,668	
1757	4,042	50	1,272	1,227	1,493	
1758	1,641	117		884	640	
1759	2,195	419	29	1,007	740	
1760	1,937	309		1,099	529	
1761	2,123	513	1	1,429	180	
1762	1,833	464		1,171	198	
1763	2,943	208	14	2,372	349	
1764	7,670	2,355	1	4,304	1,010	
1765	4,618	1,248	5	2,617	748	
1766	6,196	1,081	3	2,903	2,209	
1767	4,358	1,304		2,268	786	
1768	3,878	892	5	2,674	307	
1769	5,034	1,005		3,366	588	75
1770	5,871	1,088	8	4,006	703	66
1771	7,232	1,434	134	5,116	448	100
1772	6,828	1,373	4	5,080	371	
1773	9,280	1,698	1	6,617	964	
1774	6,823	2,004	16	6,036	771	
1775	8,346	1,445		5,993	758	150
1776	11,155	2,529	155	7,650	621	200
1777	8,634	883		7,466	285	
1778	14,181	1,971	3,827	7,985	398	
1779	22,278	2,390	9,291	10,211	161	225
1780	6,956	460		6,191	305	

Source: PRO, Ledgers of the Inspector General, Imports and Exports, England and Wales (Customs 3).

Table 3.14.1 Imports of Luxury Wares into Russia from England 1697-1780 - Household Wares (£ sterling)

Year	Total	Silver Plate	Glass & Earthen-ware	Window glass	Clocks & Watches	Specified Furniture*	Wall-Paper	Misc. Goods
1697	218			31		187		
1698	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1699	323			60		263		
1700	268			123		145		
1701	559	4	17			481		57
1702	702		29	3	19	495		156
1703	2,248	968	30	7	26	354		863
1704	915	30	30			78		777
1705	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1706	471		20			83		368
1707	227		30			33		164
1708	654		30			72		552
1709	566	45	37		11	65		408
1710	4,750	2,893	43		180	118		1,516
1711	1,897	618	106	6	23	119		1,025
1712	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1713	1,127	38	97	27	83	386		496
1714	2,748	189	75		30	313		2,141
1715	1,768	137	101		127	229		1,174
1716	985		102		86	294		503
1717	3,109	1,231	108	8	168	126		1,468
1718	1,585	7	23		75	1		1,479
1719	1,077	47	29			111		890
1720	490	109	22			50		309
1721	896	259	28		15	225		369
1722	859		46		204	91		518
1723	572	107	17	2		306		140
1724	358		22	2	19	26		289
1725	151	50	4		45	30		22
1726	12,364	12,050	14			70		230
1727	659	120	8		60	364		107
1728	1,500	205	23	3	90			1,179
1729	824		9		15	200		600
1730	13,095	1,560	160		143	55		11,177
1731	6,659	1,590	10	41	30	441		4,547
1732	2,951	508	9		30	131		2,273
1733	2,968	1,500	19	5		234		1,210
1734	3,104	2,290	34		30			750
1735	1,788	610	73		68	369	25	643
1736	2,064	603	5			128		1,328
1737	3,442	1,974	11		120	226		1,111
1738	2,155	198	13			990		954
1739	1,260	45	5			38		1,172
1740	2,600	1,230	16	13		14		1,327
1741	2,251	594	16	6	244	167		1,224
1742	1,916	437	14			487		978
1743	5,376	967	14	10	12	721		3,652
1744	3,043	622	14			140		2,267
1745	6,249	1,823	12	40		20		4,354

* Chairs, clockcases, looking glasses, upholstery, escritoires, cabinetwares, joinery.

Year	Total	Silver Plate	Glass & Earthenware	Window glass	Clocks & Watches	Specified Furniture*	Wall-Paper	Misc Goods
1746	2,872	200	20	18		315		2,319
1747	3,088	150	34		15	69		2,820
1748	2,033	147	90			226		1,570
1749	2,987	140	17	34		563		2,233
1750	2,421	160	101		6	367		1,781
1751	2,394	171	96	1		562		1,564
1752	5,011		73	2		184	520	4,232
1753	3,033	26	12	361	15	190		2,429
1754	3,196		5	15		1,607		1,569
1755	4,676	292	66	710		1,053		2,555
1756	8,843	3,956	16	23	128	285		4,435
1757	4,276	430	35	354	247	176		3,034
1758	2,444		72	16		393		1,963
1759	3,028	102	26			474		2,426
1760	3,800	190	22	10		196		3,382
1761	2,255	220	8	12		609		1,406
1762	2,063	150	23	51		90		1,749
1763	4,962	1,000	82	1,370	83	405		2,022
1764	7,077	1,150	150	626		1,567		3,584
1765	8,003	440	60	995		543		5,965
1766	13,147	364	44	3,707	249	910	66	7,805
1767	12,019	37	69	5,885	39	653	107	5,229
1768	5,020	121	78	1,606	396	593	326	1,900
1769	9,789	100	84	1,846	135	167	453	7,004
1770	13,541		66	4,622	38	668	251	7,896
1771	21,465		268	4,674	448	328	292	15,455
1772	18,170	12	96	1,555	75	1,010	118	15,304
1773	21,413	470	572	348	1,343	475	811	17,394
1774	29,072	85	439	2,297	169	220	462	25,400
1775	28,184	11,062	397	966	1,699	884	368	12,808
1776	32,493	11,887	702	3,855	1,523	217	172	14,137
1777	23,445	6,090	979	2,552	2,182	269	433	10,940
1778	17,062	1,530	896	1,840	1,012	304	502	10,978
1779	16,873	327	1,225	1,082	788		325	13,126
1780	11,947	310	734	1,814	746	155	137	8,061

Source: PRO, Ledgers of the Inspector General, Imports and Exports, England and Wales (Customs 3).

Table 3.14.2 Imports of Luxury Wares into Russia from England - Carriages, Saddlery and horses (£ sterling)

Year	Total	Coaches	Chariots	Saddlery	Horses
1697	156		135	21	
1698	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1699	153	125	20	8	
1700	107	50		19	38
1701	680	50	40	590	
1702	504		60	444	
1703	215	100		115	
1704	115	25	20	70	
1705	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1706	86		40	46	
1707	218	25	40	153	
1708	416			416	
1709	180		60	120	
1710	183	125		28	30
1711	331	100	160	71	
1712	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1713	110		80	30	
1714	22			22	
1715	58	25	20	13	
1716	21			21	
1717	64	25	20	19	
1718	9			9	
1719	30		20	10	
1720	10			10	
1721	67		60	7	
1722	10				10
1723					
1724	42		20	22	
1725	2			2	
1726	2			2	
1727					
1728	14			14	
1729	44	25		19	
1730	14			14	
1731	67			7	60
1732	11			1	10
1733	168		20	18	130
1734					
1735	15			5	10
1736	12			2	10
1737	2			2	
1738	2			2	
1739	27		20	7	
1740	128	50	20	28	30
1741	151	125		16	10
1742	3			3	
1743	118	50	40	28	
1744	50	25	20	5	
1745	60	25		25	10

Year	Total	Coaches	Chariots	Saddlery	Horses
1746	26		20	6	
1747	74			54	20
1748	54	25	20	9	
1749	20		20		
1750	5			5	
1751	345			345	
1752	41	25		6	10
1753	5			5	
1754					
1755	20		20		
1756	115			25	90
1757	73			3	70
1758	113		20	3	90
1759	163		160	3	
1760	285		220	5	60
1761	310		220		90
1762	157		60	7	90
1763	150				150
1764	371	50	220	1	100
1765	2,068	625	1,020	53	370
1766	1,416	325	620	21	450
1767	402	100	200	27	70
1768	734	50	160	24	500
1769	718	100	220	8	390
1770	190	25	120	5	40
1771	1,418	225	740	23	430
1772	2,173	675	1,020	38	440
1773	2,158	525	960	53	620
1774	3,451	1,025	1,620	46	760
1775	2,118	350	560	28	1,180
1776	2,448	600	680	38	1,130
1777	2,160	350	340		1,470
1778	2,690	450	620		1,620
1779	3,362	250	280	162	2,670
1780	3,045	575	360		2,110

Source: PRO, Ledgers of the Inspector General, Imports and Exports, England and Wales (Customs 3).

APPENDIX 4

Re-exports

Table 4.1 Imports of English Cloth into Russia, 1697-1780 (£ sterling)

Year	Total	Woollens: High Quality Cloths	Kerseys	Dozens	Stuffs	Bays	Flannel	Low Quality Cloths	Other Woollens	Stockings	Other Cloth: Cottons	Silk	Calico
1697	26,629	15,019	1,586	1,878	13	717	25	4,217	3,069	47		58	
1698	11					11							
1699	23,428	10,843	1,301	3,660	118	353	41	1,608	5,152	170		186	
1700	43,138	20,956	3,734	6,870	910	1,554	12	2,204	6,508	429		142	
1701	49,343	36,857	350	4,296	629	281	5	1,818	4,730	301		77	
1702	65,214	46,635	1,308	4,134	977	921	33	1,856	8,767	427		156	
1703	115,205	75,848	3,576	468	2,699	14	48	6,377	24,906	456		814	
1704	120,997	90,361	1,659	5,430	1,321	664	54	3,639	16,529	608		733	
1705	n.a.												
1706	85,036	64,793	414	7,128	426			1,811	10,676	212		175	
1707	152,831	124,226	696	14,376	971	358	26	4,523	7,073	402		180	
1708	160,814	113,302	1,788	1,548	1,040	458	23	6,152	34,722	1,479		284	17
1709	110,074	82,561	2,204	961	1,247	1,003	85	6,288	13,394	2,101		226	7
1710	183,268	120,675	3,769	4,184	15,166	3,398	149	5,812	24,964	4,019		1,131	
1711	97,432	24,992	3,482	7,694	26,816	969	33	16,921	16,394	133			
1712	n.a.												
1713	35,053	27,004	118	179	267	93	3	2,148	4,624	164		454	
1714	75,639	49,184	1,117	116	3,549	8,962		2,354	9,861	35		463	
1715	79,217	63,475	308	310	876	1,553	23	1,218	10,329	186		940	
1716	92,130	80,893	695	2,599	2,106	683	88	2,130	1,769	824		343	
1717	69,266	51,813	1,218	6,731	1,432	2,107	136	1,524	2,845	1,218		242	
1718	54,168	38,459	699	1,575	1,350	2,116	147	4,638	4,856	37		291	
1719	38,119	24,029	392	4,473	933	2,035	144	1,470	4,239	35		369	
1720	75,135	48,638	541	17,120	810	649	543	1,737	4,633	95		369	

Table 4.1 (cont.)

		Woollens									Other Cloth		
Year	Total	High Quality Cloths	Kerseys	Dozens	Stuffs	Bays	Flannel	Low Quality Cloths	Other Woollens	Stockings	Cottons	Silk	Calico
1721	85,155	61,508	1,844	8,610	2,165	3,249	43	1,944	4,640	95		1,057	
1722	45,920	27,317	1,608	11,592	749	314	122	1,114	2,695	217		1,044	192
1723	48,434	16,962	1,115	25,578	828	182	86	1,348	2,060	39		236	
1724	25,148	4,605	575	19,475	247	85	42	889		16		114	
1725	20,072	6,946		11,855	1,005	92	2	82	3	17		53	18
1726	8,155	2,062		5,213	466		220	78		23		93	
1727	13,416	1,860		9,650	576			255	1,021			54	
1728	14,779	4,234	69	9,440	806		9		7	25		189	
1729	22,273	3,943	221	15,015	1,318	173	49	212	608	360		292	82
1730	17,185	7,262	53	7,655	510	39	54	1,351	9	19		233	
1731	26,510	4,550	18	19,047	1,354	928	9	570	1	1		32	
1732	37,166	8,271	18	24,990	2,288	224	154	731	139	167		184	
1733	29,739	618	2,065	12,700	832	1,867	57	597	10,175	117	60	651	
1734	21,964	509	8	17,716	1,451	578	68	673	227	54	31	649	
1735	34,736	522	7	24,701	1,633	5,984	433	970	13	29		444	
1736	23,189	716		17,380	2,070	34	652	1,263	250	48	20	664	92
1737	28,753	9,513	74	11,983	3,413	910		1,552	361	3		944	
1738	51,924			47,447	2,166	1,178	108	583	154	71		217	
1739	50,820	270	2,100	45,838	1,799			387	25	163	60	178	
1740	46,110	29	2,508	36,023	2,546	3,042		1,422	326	66		148	
1741	75,732	2,315	74	66,573	3,977	214	22	347	1,415	239		556	
1742	53,334	7,320	59	28,733	2,999	12,208	81	1,166	278	67		416	7
1743	75,055	916		61,798	6,965	420	119	930	345	522		3,026	14
1744	37,484	270		32,807	3,378	465	95	365	60	18			26
1745	41,446	360		37,049	2,643			219	75	287		809	4
1746	66,709	23,130		41,171	1,217	75	173	587		93		312	13
1747	41,913	835	1,726	35,721	924	1,162	54	1,107		182		551	55

Table 4.1 (cont.)

		Woollens									Other Cloth		
Year	Total	High Quality Cloths	Kersey	Dozens	Stuffs	Bays	Flannel	Low Quality Cloths	Other Woollens	Stockings	Cottons	Silk	Calico
1748	120,583	1,134	944	109,814	3,260	1,567	1,151	1,104		354		363	26
1749	83,772	9	1,410	76,791	1,696	2,550	388	95		541		713	6
1750	86,797	68	9,891	68,014	5,564	691	479	769		1,263		269	69
1751	103,268	12	617	94,648	5,892	668	27	845		432		624	133
1752	58,821	3,791		40,144	7,788	1,470	1,107	1,581		2,245	169	831	239
1753	76,278	2,746	1,050	62,491	6,643	1,047	190	879		928		337	14
1754	44,436	1,623	254	30,721	7,853	2,168	763	310		761		1,648	
1755	58,728	104	332	42,893	8,666	1,709	1,538	1,273		643		1,073	21
1756	35,396	1,844	140	23,153	6,713	1,402	1,433	216		51	60	603	98
1757	29,593	3,882	1,062	19,396	4,012	503	173	240		74		210	
1758	73,827	1,080	144	66,134	5,083	73	18	241		908		459	5
1759	21,986	118	7	17,924	3,058	298	135	38		384		815	128
1760	18,259	509	589	11,471	2,506	2,298	359	278		141	200	220	
1761	25,838	212	345	19,262	4,050	622	1,015	72		175		284	
1762	24,186	1,058		11,744	6,140	1,204	2,315	805		529		258	
1763	28,311	54	916	17,606	3,714	2,618	1,204	883		1,032		132	97
1764	33,546	1,514	266	24,187	4,087	1,068	183	594		1,454	220	183	1,827
1765	28,496	2,067	807	13,802	6,889	3,471	515	45		597		233	64
1766	46,094	4,310	1,795	18,383	13,827	3,310	1,067	1,355		1,441	196	408	
1767	59,482	6,639	796	19,304	23,653	3,584	2,656	398		1,694	147	1,011	310
1768	44,263	3,422	1,291	21,654	9,443	2,816	2,804	499		1,257	55	504	743
1769	58,291	3,019	460	23,118	22,250	4,749	1,373	374		1,977	400	574	179
1770	47,772	5,799	463	22,116	12,320	2,417	1,002	548		2,316		418	815

Table 4.1 (cont.)

		Woollens									Other Cloth		
Year	Total	High Quality Cloths	Kersey	Dozens	Stuffs	Bays	Flannel	Low Quality Cloths	Other Woollens	Stockings	Cottons	Silk	Calico
1771	53,607	1,565	325	25,439	16,723	3,600	2,043	262		2,070	19	989	452
1772	53,986	15,769	631	17,322	11,606	3,020	3,502	375		673	322	481	1,378
1773	72,191	2,958	5,443	18,349	12,225	28,689	1,391	756		1,015	813	535	3,927
1774	62,731	3,403	280	34,755	13,792	2,091	2,911	588		1,003	2,698	687	3,629
1775	58,646	4,256	22	19,512	17,132	2,633	2,519	639		6	11,670	468	8,096
1776	64,964	6,977	245	24,609	16,105	5,183	2,426	1,055		1,973	6,121	2,034	8,145
1777	57,635	3,012	1,086	24,339	9,337	5,716	621	261		463	12,518	1,301	12,140
1778	65,271	4,372	60	23,166	12,880	5,314	932	408		580	16,801	2,424	20,090
1779	140,491	5,724	237	75,642	15,732	20,415	3,406	296		1,162	17,429	4,051	20,487
1780	66,925	17,780	132	25,780	6,719	6,783	940	288		9,699	10,783	2,880	13,992

Source: PRO, Ledgers of the Inspector General, Imports and Exports, England and Wales (Customs 3).

Table 4.2 Imports of Dyestuffs into Russia from England, 1697-1780.

(£ sterling)

Year	Total	Indigo	Cochineal
1697	651	221	0
1698			
1699	1,586	544	0
1700	3,473	302	0
1701	3,876	2,974	0
1702	1,081	774	0
1703	4,446	1,715	0
1704	1,162	391	0
1705			
1706	1,036	826	0
1707	8,911	7,111	0
1708	1,168	885	0
1709	450	0	0
1710	3,725	2,857	0
1711	357	277	0
1712			
1713	1,015	0	0
1714	1,961	423	0
1715	6,567	199	0
1716	760	0	0
1717	1,338	512	0
1718	1,163	921	0
1719	0	0	0
1720	0	0	0
1721	246	0	0
1722	310	212	0
1723	315	0	0
1724	1,361	661	0
1725	898	558	0
1726	5,971	5,463	0
1727	1,407	344	0
1728	2,137	412	0
1729	3,234	2,565	0
1730	896	896	0
1731	2,204	2,201	0
1732	591	0	0
1733	1,307	241	0
1734	834	393	0
1735	2,691	796	0
1736	2,712	1,208	0
1737	3,455	1,448	0
1738	2,404	1,542	0
1739	898	734	0
1740	3,036	2,490	0
1741	4,567	3,413	442
1742	2,505	377	1,139
1743	4,937	2,119	2,153
1744	249	249	0
1745	509	509	0
1746	887	390	411
1747	0	0	0
1748	911	770	0
1749	0	0	0
1750	342	342	0

Table 4.2 (cont'd)

Year	Total	Indigo	Cochineal
1751	7,559	3,229	3,152
1752	3,685	3,391	0
1753	1,972	1,626	0
1754	3,142	387	0
1755	709	410	0
1756	3,254	2,346	226
1757	1,298	455	773
1758	1,904	747	875
1759	938	0	0
1760	1,076	148	718
1761	2,249	634	893
1762	2,217	1,108	215
1763	6,545	2,301	1,252
1764	3,056	190	295
1765	8,264	3,723	0
1766	16,748	10,672	4,025
1767	7,002	2,954	916
1768	35,397	22,017	2,366
1769	35,237	19,943	4,718
1770	28,640	15,381	0
1771	22,700	9,569	798
1772	13,524	9,221	1,850
1773	30,220	13,246	10,517
1774	37,252	17,548	14,271
1775	29,126	11,697	16,275
1776	21,876	12,068	2,652
1777	20,897	12,811	5,461
1778	14,109	6,903	4,176
1779	20,246	10,698	2,858
1780	8,824 4	2,207	2,126

Source: PRO, Ledgers of the Inspector General, Imports and Exports, England and Wales (Customs 3).

Table 4.3 Re-exports of Raw Silk from Russia, 1680-1780 (pund)

	To Holland		England	
	From Narva	St. Petersburg	Narva	St. Petersburg
1680				
1681				
1682				
1683	3,036			
1684				
1685				
1686				
1687				
1688				
1689				
1690				
1691				
1692				
1693				
1694				
1695	12,200			
1696				
1967				
1698	3,900			
1699	100			
1700				
1715				
1716				
1717				
1718				
1719		3,600		
1720				
1721				
1722		23,000		
1723		18,300		
1724		32,100		
1725		47,000		
1726		59,100		
1727		133,050		
1728				
1729				
1730		94,100		
1731		140,300		
1732		80,800		
1733		20,400		

Table 4.3 (cont'd)

Year	To Holland From Narva	St. Petersburg	England Narva	St. Petersburg
1734		24,400		
1735		39,300		
1736		48,850		
1737		33,600		
1738		42,600		
1739		15,000		
1740		48,300		
1741		80,600		
1742		53,400		6,900
1743		47,400		35,572
1744		234,000		27,750
1745		111,600		51,026
1746		67,250		29,984
1747		72,200		30,735
1748		39,450		15,600
1749		30,985		32,430
1750		122,641		2,266
1751		29,646		11,722
1752		20,373		14,396
1753		48,150		2,444
1754		24,292		11,752
1755		2,550		
1756		16,669		350
1757		27,349		3,483
1758		8,141		14,404
1759		3,446		
1760		811		
1761				
1762				
1763		2,630		
1764		400		
1765				
1766		6,460		
1767		11,555		
1768				
1769				37
1770		260		
1771				
1772				
1773				
1774		149		
1775				
1776		1,122		
1777				102
1778				
1779				
1780				

Source: N.E.Bang and K.Korst, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennum Øresund (Copenhagen, 1930-53), vol.1.

Table 4.4 Exports of beaver skins from England, 1697-1780 (£ sterling)

Year		Year	
1697	-	1739	109
1698	-	1740	423
1699	954	1741	1,690
1700	426	1742	602
1701	1,775	1743	771
1702	1,807	1744	-
1703	-	1745	399
1704	5,208	1746	268
1705	-	1747	-
1706	814	1748	270
1707	5,875	1749	191
1708	3,102	1750	67
1709	2,001	1751	1,463
1710	-	1752	621
1711	1,674	1753	40
1712	-	1754	458
1713	4,071	1755	-
1714	2,248	1756	146
1715	1,679	1757	-
1716	1,439	1758	447
1717	2,544	1759	884
1718	1,758	1760	780
1719	693	1761	124
1720	136	1762	261
1721	-	1763	2,032
1722	940	1764	2,533
1723	201	1765	1,039
1724	487	1766	2,367
1725	-	1767	485
1726	712	1768	545
1727	52	1769	3,556
1728	-	1770	3,273
1729	1,193	1771	5,753
1730	879	1772	5,588
1731	2,078	1773	5,584
1732	1,126	1774	10,918
1733	806	1775	12,653
1734	365	1776	8,978
1735	544	1777	7,795
1736	-	1778	11,782
1737	-	1779	5,867
1738	228	1780	5,373

Source: PRO, Ledgers of the Inspector General, Imports and Exports, England and Wales (Customs 3).

APPENDIX 5

Balance of Trade

Table 5.1 Russian trade balance, 1742-1780, and England's contribution to Russian trade, 1697-1780. (thousand rubles)

Year	Total Imports	Imports from England	Balance	Total Exports	Exports to England	Balance
1697		250			154	
1698		-			74	
1699		394			207	
1700		1,020			699	
1701		853			342	
1702		1,013			276	
1703		1,702			256	
1704		1,631			670	
1705		730			337	
1706		1,031			66	
1707		1,777			286	
1708		1,681			432	
1709		1,123			463	
1710		1,700			291	
1711		1,130			550	
1712		455			415	
1713		539			477	
1714		876			261	
1715		990			742	
1716		1,247			711	
1717		1,199			796	
1718		826			997	
1719		577			367	
1720		937			579	
1721		1,005			562	
1722		612			443	
1723		640			586	
1724		275			770	
1725		275			880	
1726		335			848	
1727		263			540	
1728		300			836	
1729		384			504	
1730		552			868	
1731		465			462	
1732		622			1,107	
1733		515			1,199	
1734		442			1,209	
1735		660			980	
1736		424			819	
1737		486			1,215	
1738		780			961	
1739		738			1,149	
1740		799			1,295	
1741		1,329			1,338	
1742	3,568	795	2,773	4,567	1,546	3,021
1743	4,501	1,475	3,026	4,241	1,131	3,110

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

Year	Total Imports	Imports from England	Balance	Total Exports	Exports to England	Balance
1744	3,703	649	3,054	5,916	1,604	4,312
1745	3,899	925	2,974	5,249	1,455	3,794
1746	4,193	1,235	2,958	5,268	1,154	4,114
1747	3,499	801	2,698	5,402	1,450	3,952
1748	4,304	1,932	2,372	4,624	1,841	2,783
1749	4,508	1,495	3,013	5,536	1,475	4,061
1750	6,013	1,570	4,443	7,153	2,316	4,837
1751	5,957	2,041	3,916	6,596	1,403	5,193
1752	7,003	1,320	5,683	7,932	1,756	6,176
1753	5,915	1,245	4,670	7,458	2,192	5,266
1754	5,160	941	5,209	7,241	1,812	5,429
1755	6,642	1,116	5,526	8,183	2,642	5,541
1756	6,601	1,017	5,584	8,005	2,444	5,561
1757	6,084	803	5,281	8,195	1,917	6,278
1758	6,353	1,494	4,859	8,663	1,722	6,941
1759	8,003	684	7,319	9,602	4,471	5,131
1760	7,358	644	6,714	9,875	2,475	7,400
1761	7,181	733	6,448	9,724	3,870	5,854
1762	8,162	930	7,232	12,762	3,240	9,522
1763	9,190	1,124	8,066	11,140	3,919	7,221
1764	9,671	1,016	8,655	11,494	4,694	6,800
1765	9,200	1,114	8,086	13,099	5,110	7,989
1766	9,175	1,625	7,550	11,608	3,796	7,812
1767	8,893	1,874	7,019	11,610	4,657	6,953
1768	10,856	1,878	8,978	12,972	4,615	8,357
1769	11,680	2,466	9,214	14,518	5,837	8,681
1770	11,374	2,410	8,964	14,989	5,430	9,559
1771	10,727	2,888	7,839	17,136	6,892	10,244
1772	15,563	2,240	13,323	15,670	5,016	10,654
1773	13,571	3,363	10,208	18,142	4,830	13,312
1774	13,596	4,283	9,313	17,604	6,334	11,270
1775	12,469	3,334	9,135	18,557	5,368	13,189
1776	13,007	3,902	9,105	17,968	6,385	11,583
1777	14,644	3,198	11,446	20,486	7,215	13,271
1778	12,704	1,495	11,209	19,174	6,176	12,998
1779	14,369	4,963	9,406	18,791	7,244	11,547
1780	15,477	3,008	12,469	19,657	7,330	12,327

Sources: Russian trade statistics are from H.Storch, Supplementband zum fünften, sechsten und siebenten Theil des historisch statistischen Gemaldes des Russischen Reichs (Leipzig, 1803), table 1, the first year for which data is available is 1742. English trade with Russia is broken down in the English customs records (PRO., Kew, Customs 3) by commodity and includes details of both value and volume. However, the prices are Book of Rates valuations which were rarely adjusted and, therefore, are not comparable with their Russian equivalents as they do not reflect market prices. In order to try to arrive at a more representative value, a price index has been constructed utilising Amsterdam prices given in N.W. Postumus, Inquiry into the History of Prices in Holland (Leiden, 1946). Using a 1742 base year each commodity has been allocated a weighting in the index according to the proportion it contributed to imports or exports. The commodities individually identified are flax, hemp and iron for imports and cloth, pewter and tin for exports. A residual has been included for those commodities not weighted individually. The total annual value of imports and exports so derived has been converted from Dutch guilders into rubles using the annual exchange rates given in Storch, op.cit., table 3. Scottish customs records which are given in SRO Customs 14, are only available from 1755-1774 (with 1763 and 1769 missing) and as Scotland's direct trade with Russia was very small, this data has not been included in the calculations.

APPENDIX 6

Transactions Costs

Table 6.1 Freight Rates between Britain/Holland and Russia, 1700-1782

	St. Petersburg					Riga				Archangel
Year	Coal (keel)	Flax (ton)	Hemp (ton)	Iron (ton)	Deals (ton)	Coal (keel)	Flax (ton)	Hemp (ton)	Plank (ton)	General (last)
1700										
1701								f20 - 24[6]		
1702										
1703							f25[6]			
1704							£5.5.0[5]			£7.0.0[5]
1705										
1706										
1707										
1708										
1709										
1710										f29[6]
1711										
1712										
1713										f28[6]
1714										
1715										
1716										f23[6]
1717										f21[6]
1718										f30[6]
1719										
1720										f20[6]
1721										f18[6]
1722										
1723										
1724										
1725			f29-32[6]							

Table 6.1 (cont.)

Year	St. Petersburg Coal (keel)	Flax (ton)	Hemp (ton)	Iron (ton)	Deals (ton)	Riga Coal (keel)	Flax (ton)	Hemp (ton)	Plank (ton)	Archangel General (last)
1726										
1727										
1728										
1729										
1730										
1731										
1732										
1733										
1734										
1735										
1736			£2.10.0 +	5.0[1]						
1737				18.0[1]						
1738			f17[6]							
1739										
1740			f24[6]							
1741										
1742			f26–30[6]							
1743										
1744			f22–28[6]				f16–18[6]			f26[6]
1745			£3.10.0)+	10.0–12.6[1]						
1746			£4.10.0)				£1.12.6)[8]			
1747			f20–30[6]				1.9.0)			
1748		£3.10.0[9]	f28[6]							f29[6]
1749			f23–26[6]							
1750			£2.5.0)[4]				£2.0.0)[4]			
			£2.2.6) + free				£1.17.6)			
							£2.5.0)			

Table 6.1 (cont.)

Year	St. Petersburg Coal (keel)	Flax (ton)	Hemp (ton)	Iron (ton)	Deals (ton)	Riga Coal (keel)	Flax (ton)	Hemp (ton)	Plank (ton)	Archangel General (last)
1751			f25[6]						£1.5.0[9]	
1752			f23–24[6]	5.0)[10]						
1753				£1.0.0)						
1754										
1755							f11.4[6]			
1756										
1757	£4–5[2]		f22.5–30[6]							
1758		£2.18.0[9]	f28[6]							
1759	£6.10.0[2]		f27[6]	£3.10.0[2]	5.0[2]					
1760			f30[6]							
1761										
1762	£6.15.0)[2]		f30[6]	f27[6]						
1763	£4.0.0)[2]									
1764	£5.0.0									
1765	£5.5.0)[2]		£3.0.0 +	5.0[7]						
1766	£3.3.0)									
1767										
1768										f25[6]
1769										f26[6]
1770	£4.0.0[2]		£1.10.0 +	10.0	+ £2.15.0[2]					
1771			f22[6]	7.6)	+ £2.17.6[2]					
1772				£1.12.6)[2]						
1773										
1774			£2.0.0[3]				f19[6]			
1775	£3.0.0[2]			12.6	+ £3.10.0[2]					

Table 6.1 (cont.)

Year	St. Petersburg Coal (keel)	Flax (ton)	Hemp (ton)	Iron (ton)	Deals (ton)	Riga Coal (keel)	Flax (ton)	Hemp (ton)	Plank (ton)	Archangel General (last)
1776							f21.6[6]			
1777							f19[6]			f28-31[6]
1778	£6.0.0[2]									f50-51[6]
1779										f44-46[6]
1780						£7.7.0[2]	f31-36[6]			f50-54[6]
1781	£6.6.0[2]		£4.0.0 + £2.5.0[2]							f74-75[6]
1782	£7.7.0) £7.0.0)[2]									f75-76[6]

Sources:
1. SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN
2. NRO, Carr Ellison MSS, ZCE10/14.
3. WRH, CS96/1986, 2259.
4. Bank of Scotland, BLC, English and Foreign Letter Book 6/24/1
5. Guildhall, Christ's Hospital Collection, 11,892A.
6. J.Knoppers, Dutch Trade with Russia from the time of Peter 1 to Alexander 1 (Montreal, 1976).
7. CRO, Account of the Brig 'Eleonor', D.Ben.
8. HUL, Sykes Family Papers, DDSY101/47, 6 August 1746.
9. WRH, CS96/2158 Waste book of the Nanie and Jenny, May 1750.
10. R.Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry (London, 1962), pp.223-4.

Table 6.2 British Insurance Rates 1700-70 (£ sterling)

Year	Rate (Per £100)	Policy	Journey	Special Terms
1700				
1701				
1702				
1703				
1704	£3. 0. 0[3]	1.6d.		
1705				
1706				
1707				
1708				
1709				
1710				
1711				
1712				
1713				
1714	£1.10.0[4]		London/Archangel	
1715				
1716				
1717				
1718				
1719				
1720				
1721				
1722				
1723				
1724				
1725				
1726				
1727				
1728				
1729				
1730				

Table 6.2 (cont'd)

Year	Rate (Per £100)	Policy	Journey	Special Terms
1731				
1732				
1733	£4. 0. 0[2])		St. Petersburg/Bristol	
	4. 4. 0[2])		St. Petersburg/Bristol	
1734				
1735				
1736	£1.10. 0[2]	4.6d	Bristol/Stockholm	
1737	£1.15. 0[2]		St. Petersburg/Bristol	
1738				
1739				
1740	£4. 0. 0[2])	4.6d	Sound/Bristol	
	5. 0. 0[2])		Sound/Bristol	
1741	£8. 0. 0[3])		St. Petersburg/London	
	5. 6. 0[3])		St. Petersburg/London	
1742				
1743				
1744				
1745				
1746				
1747	£4. 4. 0[1])	4.6d	London/St. Petersburg	
	6. 6. 0[5])		London/St. Petersburg	£3. 3. 0 if in convoy
1748				
1749				
1750	£1.10. 0[1]	4.6d	Sound/London	
1751	£1.10. 0[6]	4.6d	Riga/Dumfries	
1752				
1753	£2. 0. 0[2])		Danzig/Bristol	
	1.10. 0[2])		Sound/Bristol	
1754				
1755				
1756	£4.10. 0[1])	4.6d	St. Petersburg/London	£2 refund if in convoy
	3, 3, 0[1])	4.6d	Sound/London	
1757	£5. 5. 0[1])		St. Petersburg/London	
	4.10. 0[1])	4.6d	St. Petersburg/London	
1758				
1759	£4. 0. 0[1]	4.6d	London/St. Petersburg	
1760				

Table 6.2 (cont'd)

Year	Rate	Policy	Journey	Special Terms
1761	£5. 5. 0[1]		London/St. Petersburg	
1762	£5. 5. 0[1])	4.6d	London/St. Petersburg	£2.10. 0 if in convoy
	£4. 4. 0[1])		London/St. Petersburg	£2. 4. 0 if in convoy
1763	£2. 2. 0[1]	4.6d	London/St. Petersburg	
1764	£2. 2. 0[1]	4.6d	London/St. Petersburg	
1765	£2. 0. 0[1]	5.6d	London/St. Petersburg	
1766	£1. 5. 0[1]	5.6d	London/St. Petersburg	
1767				
1768				
1769				
1770				

Sources:
1. PRO, CME C.104/143 (2)
2. SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN442
3. Guildhall, Christ's Hospital Collection, 11,892A, 13 January 1704
4. Ralph Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry (London, 1962), pp.223-4
5. Bank of Scotland, BLC, English and Foreign Letter Book, 6/24/1
6. WRH, CS96/2158, Waste Book of the Nanie and Jenny, September 1751.

APPENDIX 7

Prices

PRICES

From the 1570s commercial exchanges between East and West were dominated by the effects of the enormous inflow of American silver which rapidly created an imbalance in stocks of silver throughout Europe with resultant divergences in the purchasing power of that metal between regions. During the seventeenth century those carrying silver from England to Russia could buy four to six times more goods with it than at home and although in the course of the eighteenth century this advantage diminished, as late as the 1760s they could acquire three times more.

Purchasing power of silver of a basket of goods in Russia and Britain, 1660-1779 (in grams of silver)[1]

Russia

	Rye (10 pud)	Butter (0.3 pud)	Sugar (0.6 pud)	Meat (2.5 pud)	Woollen Cloth (2 arshins)	Total
1600-49	40.0	17.6	31.2	47.6	8.5	144.9
1650-99	47.7	7.97	16.7	(17.6)	5.0	95.0
1700-9	6.3	6.9	(8.0)	8.8	1.4	31.4
1710-19	9.5	9.3	(10.3)	12.7	1.8	43.6
1720-29	13.7	10.1	12.6	16.0	2.1	54.5
1730-39	22.7	10.8	(16.8)	21.0	2.1	73.4
1740-49	22.5	13.1	(21.0)	27.0	(2.4)	86.0
1750-59	19.1	13.5	25.0	25.4	(2.7)	86.0
1760-69	21.4	16.6	(55.5)	35.9	3.2	132.6
1770-79	28.8	17.5	83.7	36.5	(4.1)	142.8

Britain

							Relative Russian prices
1600-49	144.5	24.7	181.9	89.8	147.4	588.3	0.24
1650-99	139.4	26.7	107.3	113.4	164.7	551.3	0.17
1700-9	150.5	29.3	112.5	114.6	88.9	493.8	0.06
1710-19	113.2	27.2	95.3	114.6	86.9	437.3	0.10
1720-29	139.2	25.6	72.8	114.6	86.9	439.1	0.12
1730-39	92.3	25.3	85.5	114.6	86.9	404.7	0.18
1740-49	92.3	23.6	100.9	114.6	86.9	418.4	0.21
1750-59	115.3	25.2	(70.0)	114.6	86.9	412.0	0.21
1760-69	129.0	30.0	60.9	133.9	86.9	440.8	0.30
1770-79	148.5	33.6	73.9	153.0	86.9	495.9	0.29

In such circumstances imported English wares were extremely expensive having a price more than four times greater than their Russian equivalents until about 1740 when a diminution in the purchasing power of the precious metal cut the size of this differential by a third. The impact of this change, however, was exactly the opposite in the case of Russian exports. Such goods which could be acquired with very small amounts of silver prior to 1740, thereafter were subject to an enhancement in their price by a reciprocal amount to the decline in the indigenous purchasing power of silver.

Whilst monetary factors thus discouraged exports from, and encouraged imports into Russia in the years after 1740, "real" forces were also at work and to examine these it is necessary to eliminate the effects of monetary changes. To this end and also to afford a comparison with English prices, the silver price of commodities in Russia has been multiplied by the reciprocal of the general price level differential between the two countries in the tables below.

Imports

Woollen Cloth (in grams of silver per arshin)

Years	A Russian Price	B 'Real' Price in Russia	C English Price	D Relative 'Real' Price	E Actual Price Differential
				$\frac{C}{B}$	$\frac{C}{A}$
1600-49	4.5	17.7	19.7	1.11	4.65
1650-99	2.5	14.7	22.4	1.52	8.96
1700-9	0.7	11.7	9.25	0.79	13.2
1710-19	0.9	9.0	4.1	0.45	4.5
1720-29	1.05	8.8	4.1	0.47	3.9
1730-39	1.05	5.8	3.6	0.62	3.5
1740-49	1.2	5.7	3.6	0.64	3.0
1750-59	1.35	6.4	3.6	0.56	2.7
1760-69	1.6	5.3	3.6	0.68	2.1
1770-79	2.05	7.1	3.6	0.51	1.7

Sugar and Honey (in grams of silver per pud)

1600-49	52	217	304	1.40	5.85
1650-99	28	165	179	1.10	6.39
1700-9	13	223	188	0.84	14.4
1710-19	17	172	159	0.92	9.35
1720-29	21	175	122	0.70	5.81
1730-39	28	156	143	0.91	5.1
1740-49	35	167	169	1.03	4.8
1750-59	42	199	117	0.58	2.8
1760-69	93	309	102	0.33	1.1
1770-79	140	482	123	0.26	0.9

English cloth or sugar always in excess of four or five times more expensive than the Russian price for these commodities until circa 1720/30, thereafter became progressively cheaper both as a result of favourable monetary conditions and a rapid fall in English domestic prices until they closed towards parity after 1750.

Exports

Rye (in grams of silver per 10 puds)

Years	A Price in Russia (1) Urals	(2) St.P.	B 'Real' Price in Russia (1) Urals	(2) St.P.	C English Price	D Relative 'Real' Prices	E Actual Price Differential
						$\frac{B2}{C}$	$\frac{A2}{C}$
1700-9	6.3		105		150		
1710-19	9.5		95		113		
1720-29	13.7	15.5	114	129	139	0.92	0.11
1730-39	22.7	13.4	126	74	92	0.8	0.14
1740-49	22.5	15.3	107	73	92	0.8	0.16
1750-59	19.1	13.4	91	64	115	0.56	0.12
1760-69	21.4	18.4	71	61	129	0.47	0.14
1770-79	28.8	21.4	99	74	148	0.5	0.14

Flax (in grams of Silver per pud)

Years	A Price in Russia	B 'Real' Price in Russia
1700-9	20.2	337
1710-19		
1720-29	26.3	219
1730-39	37	206
1740-49		
1750-59	40	190
1760-69		
1770-79	44.5	153

Timber (in grams of silver per sazhen)

1700-9	5	83
1710-19		
1720-29	12.6	105
1730-39	15.8	88
1740-49		
1750-59	21.8	104
1760-69		
1770-79	21.6	74

Iron (in grams of silver per pud)

1700-9	10.1	168
1710-19		
1720-29	11.34	63
1730-39		
1740-49		
1750-59	14.3	68
1760-69		
1770-79	14.0	48

In the case of Russian export commodities, analysis is much more difficult because of deficiencies in the price data. Except for rye, Russian price data for these wares is too patchy to construct an adequate time series. Mironov's series for St. Petersburg prices, though more complete do not afford a comparison with the seventeenth century and present a somewhat distorted picture by using the years 1700/9-1710/19 as a base. The acute depletion of silver stocks during these years enhanced the purchasing power of that metal enormously and acutely depressed silver commodity prices below the levels of the seventeenth century, thereby paving the way for an export boom and countervailing silver inflow once the war was over, which inflated internal prices until they re-established pre-war equilibrium levels in the 1730s. Thereafter, whilst the continuing decline in the purchasing power of silver, arising from increasing Russian monetary stocks, favoured English importers the same movement enhanced export commodity prices making the goods less competitive on international markets unless this movement was offset by falling 'real' prices. Thus in the case of timber where 'real' prices stabilized until about 1760, there was a corresponding enhancement in export prices in line with internal monetary inflation until that date. In the case of grain, iron and flax, however, 'real' changes in the economy by reducing prices particularly from about the 1730s offset the impact of monetary inflation and ensured a remarkable export price stability thereafter.

1. Sources for commodity prices - for Russia, 1600-49, 1650-99, 1776-82 S.G.Strumilin, 'Oplata tryda v Rossii', Planovoe khozyaistvo, 4 (1930) and the same author's 'Vnutrennii rynok Rossii, XVII-XVIII vv.', Istoriya SSSR, 4 (1959) for 1720, collected in Ocherki ekonomicheskoe istorii Rossii i SSSR (Moscow, 1966), pp.42,66,76,168 and B.N.Mironov, 'Revolyutsiya tsen' v Rossii v XVIII veka', Voprosi Istorii, 11 (1971), pp.50-2. For English rye figures, J.E.Thorold Rogers, Agriculture and Prices in England (Oxford, 1887-1902), vols.V and VII; other figures from W.Beveridge, Prices and Wages in England (London, 1939),pp.144-7, 428, 429-31. The value of the ruble and pound sterling from F.B.Braudel and F.Spooner, 'Prices in Europe from 1450 to 1750', in Cambridge Economic History of Europe, V (Cambridge, 1967), p.458 and A.Attman, Dutch Enterprise in the World Bullion Trade, 1550-1800 (Gothenburg, 1983), p.8.

Table 7.1 Prices of Russian exports at the port and in England, 1700-1780

	Hemp (cwt)				Flax (cwt)				Iron (ton)	
	Petersburg		Riga		Petersburg		Riga		Russian	
Year	At port	In England	At port	In England	At port	In England	At port	In England	At port	In England
1700										
1701										
1702										
1703		28-29s.[10]								
1704		24.6-29.6d[10]		28-31s.[10]						
1705										
1706										
1707										
1708										
1709										
1710										
1711										
1712										
1713										
1714										
1715										
1716	R°2.5[2]									
1717										
1718										
1719										
1720										
1721		32.4d[8]								
1722										
1723										
1724										
1725										

Table 7.1 (cont.)

Year	Hemp (cwt) Petersburg At port	Hemp In England	Hemp Riga At port	Hemp In England	Flax (cwt) Petersburg At port	Flax In England	Flax Riga At Port	Flax In England	Iron (ton) Russian At port	Iron In England
1726		25s.[8]								
1727									R^{o}41.07[6]	
1728										
1729				20s.[5]						
1730										
1731		18.6d[8]		17s.[5]						
1732	R^{o}1.93[2]	18.6d[5] 20.6d[8]		20.9d[5]					R^{o}41.06[2]	£14.10.0[5]
1733	R^{o}3.33[2]	21–22.6d[5] 24s[8]		23.6d[5]					R^{o}37.33[2]	£14.10.0[5]
1734		25.6–26s[5] 16.3d[8]		28–29s[5]					R^{o}34.85[2]	£15.5.0[5] £11.10–12.0.0[2]
1735	R^{o}2.75–3[2]			26.6d[5]						£14.0.0[5] £11.15–12.15.0[2]
1736			R^{o}3[2]	21.9d[5]						£12.15.0[5]
1737	R^{o}2.7[2]	20s.[8]		21s.[2]						
1738	R^{o}2.5[2]	20.6d[5] 20s[8]		21.10d[5]						
1739	R^{o}2.6[2]	19.10d[5] 22.6d[8]		21.1d[5]					R^{o}34.22[2]	£13.10.0[5]
1740	R^{o}3–3.10[2]	23–24s[5] 25.6d[8]		27.6d[5]						£14.0.0[5]
1741		26–36s[3] 27.6d[5]		30.5d[5] 30–44s[3]		26–36s[3]				£14.0.0[5] £13–13.10.0[2]
1742		26s[5] 26s[8]		28.6d[5]						
1743		25.9d[5]		28s[5]						£13.15.0[5]
1744		26.6[5] 28.4d[8]		28.6d[5]						£11.15.0[5]
1745	R^{o}4–5[2]	29.6[5] 30.9[8]		31.6d[5]		21s[3]		29–32.6d[7]		£13.2.6[5]
1746	R^{o}3[1]	30.9d[8]			R^{o}5–5.3[9]					
1747		28.3d[8]								
1748		29.6d[8]			R^{o}3–5[9]					
1749					R^{o}4–5[9]					
1750						29–34s[9]	R^{o}5.7[9]	37s[9]		

Table 7.1 (cont.)

Year	Hemp (cwt) Petersburg At port	Hemp In England	Hemp Riga At port	Hemp In England	Flax (cwt) Petersburg At port	Flax In England	Flax Riga At port	Flax In England	Iron (ton) Russian At port	Iron In England
1751		29.6d[8]			R°7.3[9]	37.6d[9]				
1752	R°3.20[1]	22.6d[5] 21.9d[8]		22s.[5]	R°4.7–6.70[1]	26–31s[9]	33s[9]			
1753										
1754		23.6d[8]								
1755		25.6d[5] 25.9d[8]		24.3d[5]						
1756		24.6d[8]								
1757		24[5]–25s[3] 23s.[8]		28.6d[5]						
1758		23s[8]								
1759	R°3.90[1]	25.6d[5] 24.3d[8]		30s[5]	R°[9]7–7.70[1]	34–46s[3]				
1760		26.9d[5] 27.9d[8]		29.9d[5]	R°6.66[9]					
1761		28–30s[5] 30s[8]		31s[5]	R°6.30–.66[9]					£16.10.0[5]
1762		34s[5] 30s[3] 31s[8]		40s[5]		38–44s[3]				£15.10.0[5] £14.0.0[3]
1763		26s[3] 31.6d[3]				32–48s[3]				
1764		30.4d[8]								
1765		27s[5] 30.6d[8]		30s[5]						
1766	R°5.30[3]	30.6d[5] 29.6d[3]	30.6d[8]	35s[5]						
1767		29s[8]								
1768		28.4d[8]								
1769		27s[5] 25s[8]		33s[5]						
1770		25.9d[8]				35s[3]				
1771		33s[3] 23.6d[8]								
1772		25s[8]								
1773		25s[8]								
1774		24s[4]								
1775		28.9d[8]								£15.0.0[4]

Table 7.1 (cont.)

	Hemp (cwt)				Flax (cwt)				Iron (ton)	
	Petersburg		Riga		Petersburg		Riga		Russian	
Year	At port	In England	At port	In England	At port	In England	At port	In England	At port	In England
1776		30.9d[8]								
1777	R^{o}4.80-5[3]	32.4d[8]								
1778		33.9d[8]								
1779		33.9d[8]								
1780		37s[8]								

Sources:

1. PRO, CME, C.104/141-4
2. SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN 426-7.
3. NRO, Carr-Ellison MSS, ZCE10/14-23
4. WRH, James Inglis/Hunter and Smith, CS96/1986.
5. PRO, Kew, Navy Board Minutes, ADM106
6. Hull RO, Broadley Papers, DFB45/46.
7. HUL, Sykes Papers, DDSY/101/91
8. W. Beveridge, Price and Wages in England (London, 1939).
9. Bank of Scotland, BLC, English and Foreign Letter Books, 6/24/1-4.
10. Guildhall, Christ's Hospital Collection, MS11,892A.

Table 7.2 Balance of trade at St. Petersburg 1742-1780 (thousand rubles)

Year	Total Imports	Total Exports
1726	1,550	2,403
1742	2,030	2,480
1743	2,982	2,215
1744	2,524	3,717
1745	2,761	2,796
1746	2,722	2,959
1747	2,383	3,293
1748	3,151	2,414
1749	3,067	3,187
1750	3,427	4,392
1751	4,075	3,448
1752	4,102	4,354
1753	3,241	3,461
1754	3,307	3,514
1755	3,322	4,545
1756	3,629	4,398
1757	3,172	4,419
1758	3,062	4,450
1759	3,563	4,926
1760	3,138	4,611
1761	3,138	4,185
1762	4,092	5,217
1763	5,042	5,157
1764	5,460	5,885
1765	5,071	6,913
1766	5,257	5,775
1767	4,780	6,184
1768	6,328	6,630
1769	6,795	7,640
1770	6,547	7,523
1771	6,785	8,938
1772	7,514	6,451
1773	8,548	8,868
1774	8,830	9,086
1775	6,893	8,300
1776	7,007	8,966
1777	7,626	11,117
1778	6,592	10,210
1779	8,652	11,175
1780	8,656	10,941

Sources: 1726 figures, A. Attman, The Russian and Polish Markets in International Trade (Göteborg, 1973) p. 147,
All others, Voyage de deux francais en Allemagne, Danemarck, Suede, Russie et Pologne (Paris, 1796), IV, 338-41.

Table 7.3.1 Exchange rate of the ruble, 1695-1780

Year	Internal Rate [1]	Annual rate on Amsterdam (stivers)	Annual rate on London (pence)	Interest Rate (%)[1]
1695	89.2/7	114[1]		21.9
1696	89.2/7	95		6.4
1697	89.2/7	95		6.4
1698	89.2/7	95		6.4
1699	89.2/7	95		6.4
1700	41½	50		17.66
1701	49.2/5			
1702	48.4/5			
1703	50			
1704	50	54		8.0
1705	50	73[2]		33.3
1706	50			
1707	50			
1708	50			
1709	50			
1710	50	80⅔-68⅔		49.0
1711	50			
1712	50			
1713	50			
1714	50			
1715	50			
1716	50	59-53		12.0
1717	50	56-53		9.0
1718	42½	61-59		41.17
1719	42½	60-57		37.6
1720	42½	63-56 60[3]		40.0
1721	42½	56 62½-65[3]		31.75
1722	42½	55-50		23.5
1723	42½	54-50		22.3
1724	42½	57-51		27.06
1725	42½	57½-53		30.0
1726	42½	56-51		25.9
1727	42½	53½-48½		20.0
1728	42½	57-48½		25.3
1729	42½	59¼-53¼		32.3
1730	42½	53-49		20.0
1731	42½	58		36.5
1732	42½	50-47		14.1
1733	42½	53½-46½		17.6
1734	42½	53½-46½		17.6
1735	42½	51½-48½		17.6
1736	42½	51¾-47¾		17.06
1737	42½	53½-50¼		22.06
1738	42½	50½-47½		15.3
1739	42½	50-47		14.1
1740	42½	50-47½		14.7

Year	Internal Rate [1]	Annual rate on Amsterdam (stivers)	Annual rate on London (pence)		Interest Rate (%)[1]
1741	42½	50-47½[1]			14.7
1742	42½	49-46½			12.3
1743	42½	47-44½			7.6
1744	42½	48½-44½			9.4
1745	42½	47.7/9-44½			8.6
1746	42½	50½-46			13.5
1747	42½	50½-40			6.5
1748	42½	48¾-44			9.12
1749	42½	45½-44			5.0
1750	42½	47¾-47			11.2
1751	42½	47¾-46			10.0
1752	42½	50-47½			14.7
1753	42½	53-49¼			20.0
1754	42½	53-49½			20.0
1755	42½	51-49			17.6
1756	42½	51¾-48¾			17.06
1757	42½	49¼-44½			11.75
1758	42½	45¾-43¾			5.3
1759	42½	44-41			1.75
1760	42½	42-38¼			-5.9
1761	42½	44¾-42			2.3
1762	42½	47-40¾			3.5
1763	36½	49-45½			28.75
1764	36½	46-44½	55-51[1]		23.1
1765	36½	49-45	51-41½	48[4]	28.75
1766	36½	48-44½	51½-47¾	51[4]	26.03
1767	36½	46¼-43¼	50	49-50[4]	23.3
1768	36½	46-41	50-48	49½[4]	23.3
1769	36½	45-43	50½-48¾		17.8
1770	36½	42-39½	50¼-46		9.6
1771	36½	43¼-41	47-45		15.07
1772	36½	45½-41	48½-45		15.07
1773	36½	42-38½	50¼-46¼	41½[5]	9.6
1774	36½	42¾-38¼	44½-38	43¾[5]	9.6
1775	36½	45½-41½	46-41		17.8
1776	36½	45¼-42½	48½-45½		17.8
1777	36½	43¾-42¼	49-46½	41½[4]	17.13
1778	36½	43¼-41¼	49-47¼		15.75
1779	36½	42½-36½	49-45		13.7
1780	36½	42½-36½	44½-43¾		-1.4

Sources:

1. H.Storch, Supplementband zum fünften, sechsten und siebenten Theil des historisch statistischen Gemaldes des Russischen Reichs (Leipzig, 1803), table III.
2. Guildhall, Christ's Hospital Collection, MS11,892A.
3. Amsterdam, Archiefdienst, Notarial Archives.
4. PRO, CME, C.104/141-4.
5. Sheffield Central Library, Woodhouse Wentworth Muniments, R.195(c).

Table 7.3.2 Exchange rate of the ruble, 1700-1765 - monthly rates

Rate on Amsterdam (stivers)

Year	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
1700												
1701												
1702												
1703												
1704				89-90[3]								
1705												
1706												
1707												
1708												
1709												
1710												
1711											68[4]	62[2]
1712	70[2]									68[2]		
1713												
1714										64[2]	63½[2]	63[2]
1715												
1716	50-54[5]		56-57[5]	56[5]							64[2]	
1717												
1718					65[2]						56[2]	
1719									66-67[2]	62-63[2]	66-67[2]	
1720	69[2]	72[2]										
1721								62[2]	62-63[2]		62½[2]	
1722												
1723			53[4]	51[4]			52[4]					
1724												
1725		54½[9]		55½[4]								

Table 7.3.2. (cont.)

Year	Rate on Amsterdam (stivers)											
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
1726	56[4]											
1727						49½[9]						
1728												
1729	53[4]	55[4]		50[4]								
1730												
1731												
1732												
1733												
1734												
1735					48¾[6]							
1736											51[6]	
1737												
1738					49¼[6]							
1739												
1740		49¾[6]										
1741								50[7]				
1742				46¾[1]		47½–47¾[1]	47–47½[1]	48¼[1]			45[1]	45½[1]
1743	46–46½[1]		46[1]	45¼–45¾[1]	45½[1]	45¼[1]	46[1]	47[1]	45¾[1]	44–45½[1]	44¾[1]	45–46½[1]
1744	44¼–45½[1]	44½–45[1]	44[1]		46¼[1]		47[1]	48[1]	46–47½[1]	48[1]	45–47½[1]	46½[1]
1745	45½–48½[1]	46¾–47[1]	45½–46½[1]	44½–46¼[1]	46½–47[1]	46¾–47[1]	46¾–47[1]	46[1]	46–46¾[1]	44–45½[1]	45¼–47[1]	46¼–47¾[1]
1746	47½–49¾[1]	48¼–49[1]	46–47½[1]	45½–47[1]	46–47¼[1]	47½[1]	45–48½[1]	47¾–48[1]	45¾–47¾[1]	46¾–48½[1]	47–48¼[1]	47½–50[1]
1747	48½–50½[1]	47¾[1]	46–48[1]	46½–47¼[1]	48¼–48½[1]	48–49[1]	48–49[1]	48–49½[1]	49½[1]	49–49¾[1]	47½–49½[1]	48½–49[1]
1748	48½–48¾[1]	49½[1]	46½–47½[1]	47–47½[1]	47–47¾[1]	46–47[1]	46½–46¾[1]	46¼–46½[1]	45¾–46¼[1]	45½[1]	44¼–44½[1]	44½[1]
1749		44[1]	44¼–44½[1]	44¼–44½[1]	44¾–45[1]	45¾[1]	45–45¼[1]	45[1]	44¾–45½[1]	44¼–44¾[1]	44½–44¾[1]	45[1]
1750	44¾–45[1]	45¼[1]	44½–45[1]	44½–45[1]	46[1]	46¼–47½[1]			46¾–48[1]	46¾[1]	47½[1]	47–47½[1]

Table 7.3.2 (cont.)

Rate on Amsterdam (stivers)

Year	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
1751		47–47¾[1]	46¾[1]	46[1]	45¾[1]–46¾[8]	46–46¼[1]	46[1]		46¼[1]	46¾[1]	46[1]	
1752	48½[1]	48[1]	42[1]		46[1]	47¾[1]	47¾[1]	48¾[1]		48½[1]		48½–49[1]
1753	49–49¼[1]	49½[1]	49½–49¾[1]	49½[1]	48¾–49¼[1]	49½[1]	50–50½[1]	51½–52[1]	51¾[1]	51¾[1]	50½–51[1]	52½[1]
1754	52½[1]	53[1]	52¾[1]	50[1]								
1755	50[1]						49¼[1]		41¼[1]	50¾–51[1]		51¼[1]
1756	51–51¼[1]	51[1]	49–50[1]				48½–48¾[1]		49½[1]			
1757			45–47¾[1]	45–47[1]	46[1]		45½–45¾[1]	46[1]		45½[1]	46[1]	
1758	46[1]		44¾[1]	44¾[1]		45[1]	44½–44¾[1]	44¾–45[1]	44¼–44¾[1]	44½[1]	44¾[1]	
1759		44½[1]	43¼[1]	34¼[1]								
1760		41[1]										
1761					42[1]							
1762		41½[1]						41½[1]				
1763												
1764												
1765									48½[7]			

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1. PRO, CME, C.104/141-4
2. Amsterdam, Archiefdienst, Notarial Archives.
3. Guildhall, Christ's Hospital Collection, MS11,892A.
4. RH, Abercairny Muniments, GD24/1/859.
5. HRO, Heathcote Papers, 18M54, coffer 2, box A, packet K.
6. SRO, Dickinson MSS, DD/DN 426.
7. NRO, Carr-Ellison MSS, ZCE10/23.
8. Bank of Scotland, BLC, English and Foreign Letter Books, 6/24/2.
9. Hull RO, Broadley Papers, DFB45/46.

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38219, 38221, 38376 Walter Shairp, 1776-87
32419-22, 32845, 32862 Jacob Wolff, 1744-50 (also includes some letters from Daniel Dumarsq, Chaplain to the British Factory.

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