

destination by road or inland waterway. The best wines (Graves, Médoc) were destined for Breton noble, religious or bourgeois elites, who tended to stockpile the wine and often to correspond on the subject, providing a rich source of information on the subject. Naturally, these famous wines commanded higher prices, not only because of their better quality but also because of factors such as the season, the mode of transport and taxation of alcoholic drinks. According to the author, all of these costs represented a third of the price of the wine sold in the Breton cabarets. This analysis is taken up again in the study of the harbour networks mobilized for the transport of food-processing products. It reveals the existence of a hierarchy of ports: the ports of redistribution worldwide, such as Nantes and Lorient; the regional interfaces which specialize in storage and the redistribution within Brittany, such as Quimper, Vannes and Redon; and the naval base of Brest. We should not forget that the dynamics of these exchanges were linked to the farming of the Breton countryside, in particular cereal production, which represented an important back-cargo for vessels returning towards Bordeaux. They were linked also to local fishing, such as the sardine fishery, and to industrial production, in particular of textiles. The study of networks of trade and transport shows the additional costs engendered by road distribution, and thus explains the small distribution of wine in interior Brittany. Moreover, the trade circuits highlight the variety of actors involved in the trade; traders, wholesalers and retailers; and also the versatility of their activities. Breton agents, qualified to receive wines for the traders of ports of Aquitaine, took then care to redistribute them with wine shopkeepers, both wholesale and retail. They centralized the payment of invoices by the retailers and settled them to their correspondents of Aquitaine by means of bills of exchange. This study thus allows us to examine the involvement of a wide variety of actors in the trade, in particular the small investors of coastal navigation.

Finally, this work looks more broadly at Atlantic trade, through the prism of trade in food and food-processing products. It rests on a study of archives numerous and varied, supported by several useful maps, although some are not as legible as they might be. Some lack sufficient references to allow the reader to determine the sources upon which they are based, such as that on the shipping of wine of Bordeaux, Libourne and Charente Saintonge in Brittany in 1787, and in particular the information concerning Charente Saintonge (p. 47). There are also some errors of editing and spelling, although on the whole the manuscript remains clear and well presented. One notable omission is that conclusions are not provided for individual chapters and sections, which would have given more depth to the argument. Also, in some places the book would have benefited from more international and historiographical context. So, the question of the consumption of wines, and the quality and hierarchy of the prices deserves to be re-examined, because the idea according to which 'the quality determines the hierarchy of the prices' (p. 98) must be studied in conjunction with the history of consumption, which does not appear in the bibliography.

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Aryo Makko and Leos Müller (eds), *I främmande hamn: Den svenska och svensk-norska konsulstjänsten 1700–1985*. Malmö: Universus Academic Press, 2015. 313 pp., illustrations, figures, contributor biographies, notes, bibliography. ISBN: 978-91-87439-17-9, SEK180 (hbk).

From the 1650s, the Swedish state actively supported its expanding shipping industry and maritime trade. Sweden pursued a mercantilist policy, and copied the Cromwellian Navigation Act of 1651, which challenged Dutch domination in the Baltic trade. Sweden also founded consulates in ports and cities, first in Europe, and later worldwide. These not only reported on local political conditions and commercial opportunities, but also assisted in the search for return cargoes and

helped stuck and sick seamen. As a result, the consulates became well connected with the Swedish maritime sector in the years between 1700 and 1985. Unlike diplomats and ministers, consuls engaged less or not at all in Sweden's foreign politics, but always represented an important part of Sweden and Norway's interests abroad. Yet, the Swedish consular service remained for a long time under-researched.

Fortunately, in the last decade the history of Swedish consulates, trade and shipping has regained interest among maritime, economic and diplomatic historians, such as Leos Müller, who has published a monograph (2004) and several articles on the theme. More recently, Utrikesdepartementet (The Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Sjöhistoriska museet and Föreningen Sveriges Sjöfartsmuseum initiated a research project on the subject in 2011 and an international conference in 2014. The conference's contributors to *I främmande hamn* examine the Swedish and Swedish–Norwegian consulates from economic, diplomatic and social perspectives. Their purpose is to consider how the roles and functions of consuls changed in the Swedish–Norwegian maritime world and beyond, and whether long-term patterns can be discerned. With this aim in mind, co-editors Aryo Makko and Leos Müller have divided the book into three parts.

After their brief introduction, the first part of the book starts with two analyses of the consulates from a long-term economic and institutional perspective. In the first chapter, Aryo Makko and Leos Müller present a concise overview of the phased development of Swedish and Norwegian shipping, trade and consulates since the 1650s. In a subsequent chapter, Ferry de Goey analyses the development of the American, British, Western European and also Swedish–Norwegian consulates in the nineteenth century. These changed from patronage-driven networks to professionalized and economically important institutions. Moreover, de Goey, Makko and Müller point out that the consulates' services reduced information and protection costs for merchants and shipowners. This reduction in transaction costs contributed to the rise of overseas shipping and trade. Thus, the consulates' development contributed to the same link that Douglas North identified first in his *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (1990), a link that is also omnipresent in D.W. Allen's study (2012). In a third chapter, Lars Ekström describes his daily routine as a Swedish shipping-consul in Antwerp in the 1960s, at the end of an era of long-term development of the Swedish consulates. Örjan Romefors ends the first part with an excellent research guide to the archives of the Swedish and Swedish–Norwegian consulates.

The second part presents six case studies on how consulates represented Swedish and Norwegian interests in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this period, Russia twice checked Sweden's continental ambitions eastwards, in the 1720s and again in 1809. After the 1720s, Sweden reoriented to the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and its trade and shipping flourished. In 1809, Sweden lost Finland to Russia and established a union with Norway. Four case studies concentrate on North Africa and Southern Europe where Sweden's consulates played an important economic and diplomatic role. Sofia Gustafsson studies the consul of Lisbon, Johan Albert Kantzow, and his network in Portugal, an important trade-partner of Sweden. Kantzow inherited a network of experienced vice-consuls of his predecessor that between 1782 and 1808 enabled him to inform Stockholm of important economic opportunities in Portugal and its colonies. Joachim Östlund concentrates on the reports of three Swedish consuls between 1800 and 1850, and their views on the upcoming French colonial ambitions since their capture of Algiers in 1830 and the slave trade over Tripoli. Although the times of Barbary corsairs and endangered European shipping and sailors were over, Peter Bruce describes how 15 years of negotiations – accompanied by the Swedish consul – passed before Sweden and Denmark ended the payment of tributes to former corsair state Morocco. Gustaf Fryksén highlights the Tulin family that held the position of consul in Tunis between 1782 and 1882. He convincingly argues that the Tulin family belonged to a Levantine community, acted as consuls for other European states and created an impressive cultural network within Europe.

The last two chapters in the second part focus on the rapid growth of the Swedish–Norwegian consular network during the European global expansion in the nineteenth century. In its wake, the merchant fleets of Sweden and Norway gained access to new European colonies and weak non-European states as China and Japan. After the First Opium War (1839–1842) China opened its internal market and ports to European states. Ingrid Myrstad studies how the Swedish–Norwegian consulate in Shanghai since 1847 helped the export of Swedish and Norwegian produce and shipping line services on an attractive market. Jari Ojala offers a fine example of resilience of consular networks at the beginning of the expansion period. He describes how Finnish merchants and ship-owners continued to use Swedish and Norwegian consuls as trade agents after Finland was incorporated into the Russian Empire in 1809. Unfortunately, one misses a chapter on the role of the Swedish–Norwegian consulates in the Americas, where Swedish and Norwegian entrepreneurs rapidly expanded their activities.

The third part shows how Swedish consulates, and new sailor churches and maritime organizations refocused on the sailor's welfare in the years 1900–1985. This reorientation resulted from a process that had emerged since the 1850s. Shipping and trading firms saw their transaction costs reduced by innovations in ship types, marine technology, port infrastructure, communication and administration. Firms started their own agencies abroad, which internalized and reduced their information costs. Furthermore, Norway, and its extensive merchant fleet, separated from Sweden in 1905. As an overall result, the economic role of the Swedish consulates reduced accordingly.

Sometimes, conflicts arose between sailors, sailor organizations and consulates as Tomas Nilsson notes in his chapter on a paternalistic consul in Antwerp and his efforts to introduce a wage control system for sailors. Aryo Makko analyses how consuls in Antwerp, London, New York and Sydney researched and reported crimes on board Swedish ships. They sometimes convicted sailors, but passed on serious crimes to the Swedish authorities. As a result, they performed various forms of social control. Finally, three shorter chapters by Michael Kjörling, Torbjörn Dalnäs and Lennart Johnsson vividly describe and reflect on the supportive role of the Swedish sailor church for its sailors, the welfare arrangements for Swedish sailors, and the Swedish sailor community in Antwerp. Since the 1970s, further technological and administrative innovations have dramatically reduced the need of consular's control and social support. Thus, 1985 marked the end of another era and led to the closure of the majority of the Swedish consulates.

Ifrämmande hamn contains several maps and illustrations, and almost all chapters are based on a mix of secondary literature and archival research. This book is recommended to all who study Sweden's maritime position over the last three centuries and the networks of consuls, entrepreneurs and sailors that have sustained it. One hopes that more initiatives will follow to continue research on the Swedish consulates' endeavours in the years of expansion 1860–1914 and the turbulent years 1914–1945.

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Robert Malster, *Maritime Norfolk*, vols. I and 2. Cromer: Poppyland Publishing, 2012 & 2013. 256 pp. (I) and 272 pp. (II), illustrations (colour + b&w), notes, bibliographies, indices. Vol I: ISBN: 978-0-946148-97-4, £19.95 (pbk); Vol. II: ISBN: 978-1-909796-03-4, £19.95 (pbk).

Norfolk has a long coastline, its history steeped in the ebb and flow of all things maritime. The relationship of Nelson's county with its neighbour, the North Sea, has changed markedly over time, the boundaries being fluid in more than one sense of the term. For centuries, Norfolk's coasts and waterways, whilst often sources of uncertainty and hazard, were also avenues of