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Introduction

MARGRIT SCHULTE BEERBÜHL

In the eighteenth century the expansion of commerce acquired a new geographical dimension and intensity. European and non-European trade regions were rapidly becoming interconnected on a hitherto unprecedented scale, and attained a new global dimension. Reflecting the global changes that occurred during the last few decades of the twentieth century, new approaches in economic history have dealt with aspects of these early roots of globalization as well as general transnational business and trade relations in the early modern period. One of the core problems of research into the economic and social processes of early modern globalization is to understand the nature and prerequisites of long-distance cooperation and exchange under the adverse conditions created by long and insecure communication and transport routes. It was primarily in this context of risk-reducing strategies and the building of interpersonal and informal trust relations in long-distance trade that the concept of networks has proved to be a useful analytical tool.

The concept of networks has become popular in many disciplines and has produced a rich body of research on commercial and social relations in early modern social and economic history. From an economic vantage point, Mark Casson stresses that networks are 'a powerful way of understanding the historical evolution of economic and social institutions'.¹ Some economic historians see networks as an alternative to institutions and markets, while others, like Casson, emphasize that institutions and markets should not be seen as alternatives, but simply as special types of networks.² Furthermore, some

¹ See Mark Casson's essay in this volume.

² For the concept of networks as an alternative to institutions and markets, see Grahame F. Thompson, *Between Hierarchies and Market: The Logic and*

economic historians and social scientists regard social networks as providing a particularly effective means of acquiring social capital, especially at times of rapid social and economic change,³ or of minimizing economic risks in long-distance trading companies or international firms by establishing trust through social networks.⁴

This volume is particularly interested in networks created in the context of early economic expansion from the late seventeenth to the early twentieth century. Merchants of different ethnic origins engaged in international trade settled in the leading commercial port cities of the time, and mixed with the respective local elites around the globe. This spread of commerce and the concomitant migration of merchants and industrial entrepreneurs produced a particular set of people who might be described as 'cosmopolitan', that is, people, whose contacts were both geographically widespread and based on 'the idea that all human beings, regardless of their political affiliation, do (or at least can) belong to a single community, and that this community should be cultivated'.⁵ Use of the term 'cosmopolitan', however, is not without pitfalls, and its application to the early modern period needs some justification. There is also the question of whether the networks the merchants created were really cosmopolitan or just transnational or global, and whether there is a clear concept of cosmopolitan networks in modern research. These problems will be briefly addressed in this introduction, which will then go on to give an overview of the structure of the volume and the main arguments of the individual essays.

Limits of Network Forms of Organization (Oxford, 2003); for Mark Casson's view, see his essay in the present volume.

³ See e.g. Karoline Krenn, 'Strukturbildung in der Krise: Interlocking directorates und die Deutschland AG in der Weimarer Republik', in Markus Gamper and Linda Reschke (eds.), *Knoten und Kanten: Soziale Netzwerkanalyse in Wirtschafts- und Migrationsforschung* (Bielefeld, 2010), 119–44.

⁴ Johannes Marx, 'Netzwerke als Quelle sozialen Kapitals: Zur kulturellen und strukturellen Einbettung vertrauensvoller Handlungen in Netzwerken', *ibid.* 95–118; Michael Plattner, 'Mobile Eliten in der Internationalisierung multinationaler Unternehmensnetzwerke: Die Rolle hybriden sozialen Kapitals bei der Überbrückung kultureller Distanz', *ibid.* 221–46.

⁵ <<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/cosmopolitanism/>>, accessed 22 Nov. 2010.

The Concept of Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism is not a new concept. Its roots go back to ancient Greek philosophy, in particular, to the schools of the Cynics and Stoics. They first developed the idea of a *kosmopolites*, a citizen of the cosmos who belongs not to the *polis* or city-state, but to a cosmic or global community of citizens.⁶ This philosophical tradition was primarily based on the idea of a moral universalism. In contrast to this universalistic approach, a new cosmopolitanism based on the acceptance of cultural differences and 'the foreign' appeared during the eighteenth century. Its origins lay in the political and religious conflicts of the late seventeenth century. Increased mobility and travelling appeared in response to the expansion of commerce, and along with them came the experience of foreign cultures.

The eighteenth century had many faces. Whereas some historians have paid a great deal of attention to the rise of early nationalism during this century,⁷ others have stressed advances in international trade and the development of new consumption patterns in what has been called the European age of mercantilism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, a global universe became conceivable. Britain rose to become the first imperial and industrial nation in the world. During the eighteenth century economic rivalry and wars encouraged by the mercantilist policies of the European states began to shape the nation-state, and in tandem with nationalism, a new cosmopolitanism emerged. The Enlightenment promoted the idea of the 'cosmopolite', a citizen of the world who identified with something beyond his own nation and showed tolerance towards strangers. The cosmopolitan ideal was closely linked with notions of humanity, pacifism, and the fundamental unity of mankind. It was the aspiration of the intellectual class of the century, of Hume, Voltaire, Kant,

⁶ For a survey of the ideal, see Derek Heater, *World Citizenship and Government: Cosmopolitan Ideas in the History of Western Political Thought* (New York, 1996).

⁷ Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740–1830* (London, 1987); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992). Cf. Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge, 1997), 4 n.6.

Humboldt, and others.⁸ These philosophers called themselves 'cosmopolites', 'cosmopolitans', or 'citizens of the world'.

The encounter with other people and the acquisition of knowledge through travelling had an enormous impact on the imagination of the Enlightenment intellectuals. Hume, Voltaire, and others regarded travelling as an important way of removing prejudices and advancing culture and humanity,⁹ and cultural and geographical experiences of the non-European world also began to be included.¹⁰ Growing knowledge of non-European cultures contributed to an awareness of the similarities between the habits of different European cultures. Rousseau remarked: 'There are no longer any Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, or even Englishmen: there are only Europeans. They all have the same tastes, the same passions and the same customs.'¹¹ According to Edmund Burke, the European elite of his time possessed 'a system of manners and education that was nearly similar to all in this quarter of the globe'. 'When a man travelled', he continued, 'from his own country, he never felt himself quite abroad.'¹²

What these intellectuals perceived was that the wealthier classes were increasingly following the same patterns of consumption. Sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, and other colonial goods began to shape the daily diet throughout Europe. Similarly, throughout Europe people dressed according to the French fashion. Newspapers and other

⁸ For the cosmopolitan ideal of the Enlightenment, see Thomas J. Schlereth, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideals of Franklin, Hume and Voltaire 1694–1790* (London, 1977).

⁹ David Hume to John Hume, 7 Apr. 1738, from John Hill Burton, *Life and Correspondence of David Hume: From the Papers Bequeathed by his Nephew to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and other Original Sources*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1846), i, 257; see also Voltaire to Charles Augustin Ferriol, Comte d'Argental and Grace Bose du Bouchet, Comtesse d'Argental, 21 Sept. 1763, from Theodore Besterman (ed.), *Voltaire Correspondence* (Geneva, 1960), vol. liii, p. 38, letter no. 10602. For similar estimates concerning travel, see Schlereth, *Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought*, 2 and 182.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 23.

¹¹ According to David A. Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as we Know it* (Boston, 2007), 72.

¹² Edmund Burke, *Letters on the Regicide Peace* (1796), ed. E. J. Payne (London, 1912), iii, 80–1. Quoted from Schlereth, *Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought*, 2 and 182.

periodicals spread news about events in distant places. And everywhere in Europe a new associational culture emerged. Debating or reading clubs and societies and coffee houses became centres of communication and the dissemination of knowledge. These observations were at the bottom of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism, and of a belief in a common European history.

Over the last two decades, the ideal of cosmopolitanism has gained a new popularity in the social and political sciences.¹³ Globalization, migration, multiculturalism, and the weakening of the nation-state have put cosmopolitanism back on the agenda of academic research. The revival has mainly been due to the political conception of a transnational democracy and citizenship that stretches beyond the nation-state and national identity.¹⁴ Since then, social scientists have considerably widened the revitalized concept by adding 'more progressive connotations'.¹⁵ The modern concept no longer refers only to a dispositional orientation or a philosophy, but embraces a variety of different connotations. The concept has only recently been recognized as a social process and condition, a mode of behaviour, a practice and competence, and a political project towards building transnational institutions and recognizing multiple identities.¹⁶ Despite attempts to modify the old eighteenth-century image, however, its main features are still essentially based on the traditional Enlightenment cosmopolitanism.

This is not the place to deal extensively with the connotations of modern cosmopolitanism. However, a few aspects which are impor-

¹³ Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, *Das kosmopolitische Europa: Gesellschaft und Politik in der zweiten Moderne* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004); Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice* (New York, 2002); Rainer Bauböck (ed.), *Blurred Boundaries: Migration, Ethnicity, Citizenship* (Aldershot, 1998); Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Der Kosmopolit: Philosophie des Weltbürgertums* (Munich, 2007).

¹⁴ Gerard Delanty, 'The Cosmopolitan Imagination: Critical Cosmopolitanism and Social Theory', *British Journal of Sociology*, 57 (2006), 28–9; David Held, *Democracy and the Global Order* (Cambridge, 1995).

¹⁵ Vertovec and Cohen (eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*, 21; David A. Hollinger, 'Not Universalists, Not Pluralists: The New Cosmopolitans Find Their Own Way', *ibid.* 228.

¹⁶ Gerard Delanty, *The Cosmopolitan Imagination: The Renewal of Critical Social Theory* (Cambridge, 2009), 25; Vertovec and Cohen (eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*, 9.

tant in the context of the present volume need to be mentioned. The modern concept of cosmopolitanism has been re-appropriated as an alternative path or middle way between nationalism and globalization, and between universalism and multiculturalism. A kind of cosmopolitanism that is not devoid of local identification or cultural identity is favoured. It is a 'rooted cosmopolitanism' allowing an identity based on the culture of origin. Unlike universalism it does not dispense with diversity and difference. Waldon and Hall highlight the central role of culture as an instrument for living a meaningful life. But people do not draw only on a single coherent culture based on birth and place. Every person has the choice of embodying elements of many cultures in shaping his or her identity.¹⁷ People show a remarkable capacity to forge their identities and perceptions from diverse encounters with different people and cultures. Modern cosmopolitanism is therefore regarded as the ability to make one's way in foreign cultures and become part of them.¹⁸ People acquire multi-layered or hybrid identities. Thus cosmopolitanism is not a quality people are born with, but something attained during a lifetime. It is a relational process, or, in other words, a process of mediation by which national and global cultures become entangled.¹⁹

The concept of multiple or hybrid identities reflects the high mobility of our modern age and the interconnectedness of diverse ethnic and cultural communities. Globalization has created multi-layered identities and complex loyalties through daily encounters with foreign cultures, for example, on the part of the frequent traveller who journeys to the most distant places and has friends and relatives all around the world, or the local resident who lives in a multicultural neighbourhood.

Cosmopolitanism can arise through the process of increased connectivity and cultural contact, but does not necessarily do so. The outcome of the encounter may be to evoke feelings of hostility and animosity, and thus produce violence and conflict. Especially since 9/11, modern scholars point out that cosmopolitanism also creates

¹⁷ Stuart Hall, 'Political Belonging in a World of Multiple Identities', *ibid.* 26; Jeremy Waldon, 'Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative,' *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform*, 25 (1992), 751-93.

¹⁸ Jonathan Friedman, *Cultural Identity and Global Process* (London, 1994), 204.

¹⁹ David Held, 'Culture and Political Community: National, Global, and Cosmopolitan', in Vertovec and Cohen (eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*, 48-58.

resistance and opposition. Global social changes have boosted adverse reactions, prejudices, right-wing movements, militant and particularistic religious organizations, and terrorism. These represent the dark side of the phenomenon. Nationalism and cosmopolitanism are in a dialectical relationship and have emerged together since the early modern period.

Enlightenment cosmopolitanism was Janus-faced: its other face was nationalism. At the same time as merchants, scientists, and other travellers set off for new, unknown, and distant places, for the first time experiencing the previously unknown and immense diversity of the globe, mercantilism provoked a new national rivalry and wars. Schlereth argued that Enlightenment cosmopolitanism was 'an important reaction and partly also a protest against certain social, religious, economic and political realities of their age, which they considered parochial'.²⁰ The cosmopolitan ideal became commonplace and achieved international popularity with Kant's writings in the 1790s. There have always been times which have been more propitious for cosmopolitanism than others, and the outbreak of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars promoted nationalist tendencies, so that after the turn of the century cosmopolitanism was quietened by rising nationalism.

Studies on modern as well as Enlightenment cosmopolitanism highlight the role of mobility. Travelling, however, is only one way of acquiring a cosmopolitan disposition. Other types of mobility must also be considered. Klaus Bade has pointed out that temporary and permanent migration are constitutive phenomena of humankind, whether forced migration caused by religious or political persecution, labour migration, or other types of voluntary migration. They, perhaps more than other forms of mobility, have contributed to the entanglement of different cultures.²¹ The behaviour and perceptions of a migrant worker or an immigrant were affected not only by his new environment. It was a dialectic process: his arrival and settlement also evoked reactions that influenced the host society.

²⁰ Schlereth, *Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought*, p. xiii.

²¹ See Klaus J. Bade, *Homo Migrans. Wanderungen aus und nach Deutschland. Erfahrungen und Fragen* (Essen, 1994).

Cosmopolitan Networks

Over recent decades, migration research has turned away from the old concept of migration as a linear process of moving from A to B or a simple return migration. Instead, it is seen as a spatial phenomenon. Migrants created networks between their countries of origin and destination countries, with the result that regions became interconnected. The flow of information and the spread of knowledge within these networks through repeated travelling, step and chain migration, letters, and the transport of goods and money cannot be overestimated.²² Social and economic networks have been regarded as a powerful way of understanding the entanglement of people, regions, and knowledge.

Migration-based transnational networks, institutions, and collective activities, however, do not necessarily promote cosmopolitanism, which essentially depends on the aims, strategies, and social composition of its members. Networks represent a dynamic and flexible type of connection and may also inhibit any cosmopolitan modes of activity. Cosmopolitanism cannot be reduced to globalization because it cannot be separated from identities, modes of belonging, and perceptions. As Gerhard Delanty argues, globalization entails not just networks and contacts, but also conflict. Accordingly, a global network may encourage local or nationalist tendencies, or crime and terrorism.²³ In contrast, and drawing on aspects of the definition of cosmopolitanism given above, we define as cosmopolitan those networks whose members not only cross national boundaries through their activities and mobility, but connect distant places and foreign cultures through their activities, and contribute to the generation of knowledge and goods, and to a social and cultural interconnectedness that brings about an understanding of the other as well as

²² Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (eds.), *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Berne, 1999), 9–40; Dirk Hoerder, 'Segmented Macro Systems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing Functions of Migration Processes', *ibid.* 73–86; Jochen Oltmer, 'Einführung: Europäische Migrationsverhältnisse und Migrationsregime in der Neuzeit', *Gesellschaft und Geschichte*, 39 (2009), 6–7; *id.*, *Migration im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2009).

²³ Ulrich Beck, 'The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 18 (2001), 17–44.

a curiosity and interest in engaging with the stranger. From the vantage point of networks, cosmopolitanism is understood as an activity connecting and entangling places and people for the exchange of goods and knowledge.

Given this definition, we do not endorse Pauline Kleingeld's category of an early modern 'market cosmopolitanism' that is equated with Adam Smith's theory of the free market.²⁴ Social relations are the key feature for understanding the mechanisms of networks, a concept which has become so popular in economic history because it offers an interdisciplinary approach which allows non-economic social and cultural phenomena to be integrated into the analysis. In an age that lacked formal institutions, the network approach offers a new understanding of the expansion of commerce towards a world economy. As it highlights the role of actors and linkages, it has given rise to many studies on the expansion of early modern global trade over the last two decades. In publications on the Atlantic trade or the eighteenth century trade, economic historians such as Patrick O'Brien, Perry Gauci, David Hancock, and others regard the commercial elite as the prime mover for the transition to early modern world trade.²⁵ Margaret C. Jacob regards merchants as the vanguard of cosmopolitanism, for 'commerce automatically makes people more open, more accepting [of] strangers'.²⁶ Besides eighteenth-century intellectuals and travellers, merchants were certainly not the

²⁴ For the concept of 'market cosmopolitanism' see Pauline Keingeld, 'Six Varieties of Cosmopolitanism in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 60 (1999), 505–24.

²⁵ Perry Gauci, *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660–1720* (Oxford, 2001); David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995); Patrick O'Brien, 'Merchants and Bankers as Patriots or Speculators? Foreign Commerce and Monetary Policy in Wartime 1793–1815', in John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (eds.), *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, 2000). For similar evaluations see also the studies by Jacob M. Price, and recent publications by Kenneth Morgan, Sheryllynne Haggerty, and many others.

²⁶ Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560–1660* (Oxford, 2008); and Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 2006), 66.

only cosmopolitans. Given increased mobility and the beginning of the age of mass migration, the lower classes who settled abroad also contributed to the entanglement of the world. But we still lack studies of the cosmopolitan practices of the lower classes in the early modern period.²⁷

The essays in this volume focus on cosmopolitan networks of merchants for a number of reasons. Early modern merchants who engaged in long-distance trade had usually received a 'cosmopolitan education'.²⁸ They had learned foreign languages. After their apprenticeships they flung themselves into strange and distant worlds, either as commercial travellers or supercargos, in order to bring back new commodities and fashions that would allow them to achieve commercial success. Long-distance trade allowed merchants to acquire a cultural understanding of the other, enabling them to conduct business and develop commercial and social strategies that allowed them to survive. They organized and financed the flow of goods, information, and innovations which changed consumption patterns and perceptions fundamentally. By transporting goods to Africa or the West Indies they integrated businesses across geographically dispersed areas, bringing people and products together in flexible and novel ways and dispersing news about foreign places and habits.

Another important reason for focusing on the cosmopolitan networks of merchants is that early modern philosophers such as David Hume and Rousseau based their ideal of a 'citizen of the world' and a world society on a political economy of commerce that was decidedly international in outlook and demanded freer market relations. They regarded the merchant class as the most obvious promoters of a cosmopolitan outlook and highly valued their activities. David Hume described merchants as 'the most useful race of men in the whole society'.²⁹ They 'serve every one and [are] the true citizens of the world', for 'English, Dutch, Russian and Chinese merchants tie all

²⁷ A German baker or pork butcher who introduced German bakery goods or German sausages into England, or an Italian chocolate-maker who settled in Germany may have also contributed to the spread of cosmopolitanism.

²⁸ For the recent demand for a cosmopolitan education, see Martha Nussbaum, 'Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism', *Boston Review*, 19 (1994), 3–34.

²⁹ David Hume, 'Of Interests', in id., *Essays*, i. 324, quoted from Schlereth, *Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought*, 205 and 101 n.19.

the individuals of different nations together like threads of silk and bring the peace that is necessary to world commerce'.³⁰ In these sentences the author Michel Jean Sedaine certainly presents an idealized picture of the merchant's world. The reality of commercial life at his time was harder, and merchants' ambitions certainly more mundane. They had to combat a multitude of vagaries such as storms, pirates, wars, envy, and deceit. In order to reduce such risks they operated within trust-based networks. In a low institutional environment, reliable partners were often found among family and kin, co-religionists or compatriots, but long-distance trade also required the acceptance of new non-related or foreign partners.

Networks have an inclusive and an exclusive tendency. Even outward-looking or cosmopolitan networks are never unconditionally or unreservedly open to anyone. Especially in a high-risk environment, where success or failure depends on the reliability and trustworthiness of a network's members, selection and evaluation of those who are to be admitted is necessary. Moreover, the respectability and honesty of those within a network need to be permanently monitored. As some of the essays in this volume show, even the strong ties of family or kinship are no guarantee for the successful functioning of social and commercial relations. This applies to all types of networks.

Overview

The volume starts with a theoretical contribution by Mark Casson on economic and business networks. He underlines the importance of networks for the understanding of the dynamics and development of social and economic institutions, as networks offer efficient solutions to coordination problems. Networks organize and structure the flow of resources and information. Casson points out that because of their complexity, network structures have to be broken down into different types and substructures for the purpose of systematic analysis. Networks are not only endlessly intertwined with others because their members belong to more than just one network; they are also

³⁰ Michel Jean Sedaine, *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, quoted from Schlereth, *Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought*, 205 n.16.

highly volatile as they constantly re-create their internal composition depending on time and circumstances. Innovations and discoveries may alter or end established networks. Casson's essay provides not only a theoretical basis for this volume, but also a very practical one, as he is both interested in a quantifying approach to network analysis and open to the less strict approach of historians. A lack of quantifiable sources means that historians often have to be content to describe network structures, look at their qualitative importance, their impact on social and economic structures, and individual agency.

The essays in this volume mainly cover the early modern period when European merchants began to expand their trading networks around the world. We therefore thought it important to start with the spatial dimension of cosmopolitan networks and focus on some migrant groups and aspects of their networks which have attracted less attention in international research. The following two groups of essays then turn their attention first to the social dimension of networks and, finally, to problems of network stability under external and internal stress.

Transnational merchant networks which spanned a large geographical distance aimed first of all to interconnect spaces in order to organize the flow of goods. Travel, migration, and settlement in foreign places were the basic coordinating features of long-distance networking. The interconnection of regions and distant places also requires acting merchants to overcome social distance, that is, on the one hand, as Casson highlights, the crossing of linguistic and cultural barriers, and on the other, the protection of their interests in a foreign environment. In the case of the Jewish merchant diaspora in the Mediterranean, Daniel Jütte outlines how an economic-political consulship developed in the sixteenth century to protect their interests in the Christian as well as Islamic parts of the Mediterranean. The services which these merchant-consuls provided were also open to Christian clients. The decline of this office began in the second half of the seventeenth century with the rise of national patterns of identification in the consulates.

The essay by Klaus Weber und Margrit Schulte Beerbühl describes the expansionist commercial policy pursued by German merchant families in order to gain access to the European and colonial markets, which they were excluded from by the restrictive policies of

the imperial nations in the eighteenth century. Merchant families from the textile areas of the German hinterland and of the Hanseatic towns established branches in the leading port cities of Europe, which were managed by close family members. This settlement strategy allowed them to overcome mercantilist barriers and to connect not only a number of previously unconnected, or only slightly connected, trade regions in Europe, but also the port cities of London, Cadiz, and Bordeaux, gateways to the non-European world where they had settled. At these points the European trade networks merged into global networks. The migration and settlement strategy of these merchants also resulted in the emergence of a European elite. At local level they established firms in partnership with native merchants; they intermarried while maintaining relations with family members in different parts of the Continent. Their identity and self-perception were certainly not confined, either locally or nationally.

Cosmopolitanism was at all times threatened by adverse social, economic, and political currents. In his essay Bradley Naranch shows how the cosmopolitan culture of Hamburg's overseas merchants, who had settled in many parts of the world, came under threat in the 1860s after the foundation of the North German Confederation. Up to then, Naranch argues, the Hanseatic cosmopolitan model had been a highly successful and cost-effective means of exploiting opportunities in a variety of global markets because it combined trade neutrality with cosmopolitan networking.

In addition to the development of long-distance trade networks which created an economic and cultural cosmopolitanism, local centres such as the major European cities of London, Paris, and Amsterdam with their bourses or exchanges have been the focus of research on cosmopolitanism. As well as the capitals and financial centres, port cities are places of intense economic and cultural interaction. They play host to foreign sailors, merchants, travellers, and ethnic and religious minorities from abroad, who meet daily in the course of business. This constant contact has a quietly corrosive effect on ethnic and cultural boundaries. In her essay on Falmouth, Fowey, and the Isles of Scilly, Helen Doe shows that even such small ports were thriving places of cosmopolitanism with far-reaching international business relations.

Enlightenment cosmopolitanism is seen as a secular movement, while religion or, to be more precise, churches and religious sects are

often regarded as parochial, xenophobic, and enemies of freedom and the liberal tradition. In the ongoing discussion on cosmopolitanism Peter Van Der Veer has recently argued that hardly any systematic attention has been paid to religion. Religious groups like the evangelicals pursued outward activity in converting others, and their goal of transforming peoples lives had a strong civilizing and educational aspect. They were also ardent supporters of the abolition of slavery. Van Der Veer concludes that liberal and evangelical cosmopolitanism had much in common.³¹ From the vantage point of economic history, an analysis of business networks of religious minorities reveals a more complex pattern of economic and intercultural relations. In economic studies of religious business elites, such as the Quakers, the strong cohesion between religious affiliation and business has often been seen as a key to their economic success. However, their success was not exclusively based on their internal support and control of members. Their outward-directed activities and willingness to cooperate and compromise with other economic and cultural networks should not be overlooked. It must also be pointed out that religious networks flourished at the time of the Enlightenment. They were not only local or national, but expanded rapidly beyond national borders.

Frank Hatje and Sünne Juterczenka argue in their essays on the Mennonites, Pietists, and Quakers, that the economic success of their networks was, on the one hand, based on the fact that they generated modes of behaviour, values, and social norms such as honesty, trust, and obligation that were conducive to the advancement of international trade and civil society. Hatje highlights that while economic and religious activities within the Mennonite networks were inextricably interwoven and mutually supportive, their success, on the other hand, was essentially based on their flexibility and openness to cooperation with other religious and ethnic groups. Juterczenka discusses an aspect of the story of the Quakers that is not so well known, namely, their less successful expansion on the Continent. Despite strong internal cohesion, they could not maintain their presence in Continental Europe. In the cases addressed in the two essays, the decline of the religious business networks were

³¹ Peter Van Der Veer, 'Colonial Cosmopolitanism', in Vertovec and Cohen (eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*, 165-79.

caused by adverse outward circumstances as well as by internal structural weaknesses and a tendency to exclusiveness.

The following two essays deal with networks of influence and power. In the first case study, on Milan, Monika Poettinger analyses the transformative influence of foreign merchants on local societies. She also addresses modes of interaction and networking with the host society which generated a range of innovative cultural and economic practices. In the case of Milan, Poettinger elaborates the transformation of the economic and social structure of Milan and Lombardy caused by the immigration and the introduction of foreign skills, knowledge, and goods by German merchants. The maintenance of relations with the country of birth secured a continuous flow of technical innovations which had a long-lasting impact on the north Italian region.

Another type of powerful network is studied by Gareth Cole. He investigates the relationship between private merchants and the Board of Ordnance, which was responsible for supplying the army and navy with weapons and gunpowder. Two of the three components of gunpowder had to be imported from India and the Mediterranean respectively. He highlights the crucial role of the private sector and its trading networks for supplying the British forces with enough of the necessary stores throughout the wars.

The essays in the last section address the problems of networks. As Casson mentions, it is not always a pleasure to belong to a network.³² Networks draw their structural strengths and weaknesses from inherent social and moral norms, but the expectations which members hold of their partners are not always fulfilled. Apart from moral and social weaknesses, inability or deceit may endanger a network. Even networks based on family and kin are not always benign. Family and kin, however, can less easily be excluded from a network than unrelated partners. In her essay on an Atlantic network based on family, Sheryllynne Haggerty discusses the problems which arise for a business network when family members fail. Samuel Rainford's business network continued to work because non-related partners and friends provided the necessary support. Apart from internal factors, long-distance merchant networks were exposed to a multitude of external dangers such as wars, pirates, sudden death, and hostile

³² See Mark Casson's essay in this volume.

competitors in a common market. In her essay on West India merchants, Carolyn Downs explains the importance of a wide range of weak ties which made survival possible in an adverse environment when parts of the network failed, were destroyed, or closed by others.

Networks in Economic and Business History: A Theoretical Perspective

MARK CASSON

I. Introduction

1. *Networks as an Inter-Disciplinary Subject*

Networks are everywhere. In *physics*, there are electrical circuits; in *civil engineering*, structures like bridge trusses; in *information technology* there are telephones and the internet; while in *geography* there are transport systems, such as motorways and railway systems. Agriculture and industry depend upon distribution systems (pipelines, electricity grids) and disposal systems (drainage ditches, sewage systems). In *biology*, the brain is analysed as a network of neurons, and in *anthropology*, family networks are created and sustained through reproduction. *Economists* refer to networks of trade, investment, and technology transfer when discussing international and inter-regional resource flows. *Sociologists* analyse social groups in terms of inter-personal networks, and use network effects to explain 'chain migration' flows, whilst *business strategists* analyse networks of strategic alliances between firms.

Networks are a powerful way of understanding the historical evolution of economic and social institutions. Institutions are often analysed in terms of firms, markets, and the state.¹ Networks are then introduced as a fourth type of institution. This approach is not suffi-

I am grateful to Margrit Schulte-Beerbühl, Paloma Fernandez Perez, Mary Rose, Marina Della Giusta, Zella King, and Bob Jessop for comments on earlier drafts of this essay. Useful comments were also received at the GHIL Seminar at which the earliest version of this paper was presented.

¹ See Douglas C. North, *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York, 1981).

From Westphalia to the Caribbean:
 Networks of German Textile Merchants
 in the Eighteenth Century

MARGRIT SCHULTE BEERBÜHL and KLAUS WEBER

Early modern maritime trade linking Germany with the overseas world has so far been seen as dominated by the Hanseatic port cities. 'Apart from those in its cities of Hamburg, Lübeck and Cologne', wrote Charles Kindleberger, 'the Germany of the Holy Roman Empire lacked effective merchants for the marketing of Rhenish cloth, Silesian linens, and East Prussian grain and timber.' He explained this as a disastrous consequence of the Thirty Years War.¹ More recent research, however, has pointed to the emergence of trade networks from the German textile hinterlands as early as the second half of the seventeenth century, not to mention the sixteenth-century networks of the trading empires of the Fugger and Welser.² It is true that there was a significant decline in the German economy between these two periods, but for a long time the devastations, in particular, the demographic losses caused by the Thirty Years War, have been overestimated, and they were distributed in very uneven ways. While some areas were hit very hard, others barely suffered.³ The effects of the war, however, helped to increase the gap between

¹ Charles P. Kindleberger, *World Economic Primacy: 1500–1990* (Oxford, 1996), 22.

² Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung (1600–1818)* (Munich, 2007); Klaus Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel: Unternehmen und Familien in Hamburg, Cadix und Bordeaux (1680–1830)* (Munich, 2004); Mark Häberlein, *Die Fugger: Geschichte einer Augsburger Familie (1367–1650)* (Stuttgart, 2006), 80; Jörg Denzer, *Die Konquista der Augsburger Welser-Gesellschaft in Südamerika (1528–1556)* (Munich, 2005).

³ Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte, i. 1700–1815* (Munich, 1987), 54–7.

the 'pioneer countries', that is, the Netherlands and England, and the 'late-comer', Germany.⁴

The Spanish-Dutch and Anglo-Dutch Wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries interrupted this well-established route, and much of the trade shifted to the neutral German North Sea ports of Bremen and Hamburg.⁵ This encouraged entrepreneurial merchants from some manufacturing areas in the German hinterland to establish new networks stretching to the major port cities of the western European sea powers, to Russia, and beyond. These networks will be the focus of this essay.

The concept of networks has been much used in a variety of academic disciplines and provides a highly appropriate model for analysing the expansion of long-distance trade in early modern times, and the changes that took place during that period. The commercial network can be seen as a self-organized coordinating mechanism.⁶ It is a concept that focuses on the actors and relational ties, that is, the informal practices of coordination. Early modern trade relied essentially on such informal practices among family, a wider kinship group, and other trust-based personal relations. In this essay we will highlight the social and economic aspects of the emerging trade networks as well as their spatial and temporal dimensions. The spatial dimension of physical networks has been explicitly analysed in historical geography and engineering.⁷ In social and early modern history, for example, in migration history, the spatial dimension has often been referred to only implicitly, although the development of our modern global world has been a deeply spatial phenomenon, and a corollary of spatial mobility was social and economic change.⁸

⁴ For a comparative analysis of pioneer and late-comer see the enduring influence of Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (New York, 1965).

⁵ Carlos Gómez-Cinturión Jimenez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra y el comercio septentrional (1566-1609)* (Madrid, 1988), 269.

⁶ See Stanley Wassermann and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge, 1994); Grahame F. Thompson, *Between Hierarchies and Markets: The Logic and Limits of Network Forms of Organization* (Oxford, 2003).

⁷ See Mark Casson's essay in this volume.

⁸ Sven Kesselring has recently pointed out that the spatial and temporal aspect of networks has been widely neglected in sociological literature. Sven

Many monographs on the emergence of early modern trade networks have focused either on one actor or on a group of actors encompassing one or two generations.⁹ It is often not appreciated that in the early modern period a far-reaching international trade network did not develop wholly within the lifetime of one trader, but frequently had a longer history. It was not unusual for such networks to have a history dating back several generations and to be built on extensive clusters of kinship networks. The development of individual networks or certain kinship-based clusters of networks over a period of several generations is not easy to explore because of the lack of sources, the mobility of the actors, the changes in surnames, and the informal nature of such networks. It requires intense prosopographical research to reveal lines of continuity. Research into the spatial-temporal dimension may reveal some long-term economic and social strategies pursued by Continental merchant families and the structural pattern of the early modern immigrant, or ethnic, trade networks.

This essay will examine the temporal-spatial development of trade networks set up by merchants from manufacturing areas in the German hinterlands, in particular, in three of the leading European port cities of the early modern period: London, Cadiz, and Bordeaux. The following questions will be discussed. What were the reasons for expansion? What were the underlying strategies pursued? What long-term and short-term patterns can be perceived in the expanding trade networks from the textile hinterlands and other manufacturing regions?

Kesselring, 'Topographien mobiler Möglichkeitsräume: Zur sozio-materiellen Netzwerkanalyse von Mobilitätspionieren', in Bettina Hollstein and Florian Strauss (eds.), *Qualitative Netzwerkanalyse: Konzepte, Methode, Anwendungen* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 333-58. See also John Urry, 'Social Networks, Travel and Talk', *British Journal of Sociology*, 54 (2003), 155-75.

⁹ e.g. David Hancock on a group of more than twenty English merchants who traded with the New World between 1735 and 1785. David Hancock, *Citizens of the World* (Cambridge, 1995). One of the few exceptions is Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Association in Northern Europe 1603-1746* (Leiden, 2006). See also David Dickson (ed.) *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Ghent, 2007); Karina Urbach (ed.) *Royal Kinship: Anglo-German Family Networks 1815-1918* (Munich, 2008); Mike Burkhardt, *Der hantische Bergenhandel im Spätmittelalter: Handel - Kaufleute - Netzwerke* (Cologne, 2009).

There are some common features in the political and economic backgrounds of the German trading communities established in the three places under consideration here. Given the political structure of the old German empire, split into a multitude of small states which had many toll stations but no colonies, German entrepreneurs wanting to develop their own long-distance trade had to leave their country and settle in the rising entrepôts of neighbouring powers such as St Petersburg,¹⁰ London, Bordeaux, Cadiz, Livorno, and other western European port cities. As the mercantilist policy of the early modern empires aimed to exclude foreigners from trading with their colonies, the foreign merchants had to settle in the imperial mother countries and eventually acquire citizenship or find native business partners in order to gain legal access to the overseas world. For various reasons, migration to the port cities of the colonial sea powers was of mutual interest to German merchants and their host economies. For German merchants, the expanding colonial empires offered trading areas unhampered by frequent customs and toll stations and provided direct access to their colonial commodities.¹¹ For the colonial sea powers, foreign businessmen, in return, offered outlets for surplus colonial merchandise and capital needed for the development of overseas possessions and the maritime economies in general.

The relevance of the networks investigated here goes beyond the German and even the European context. After all, enormous quantities of German-made commodities, more than half of them textiles, were shipped to western European ports, and much was re-exported to the Atlantic world. German merchants were important agents in the marketing of these goods, and large quantities were also re-shipped by Spanish, French, and British traders. In the first half of the eighteenth century, about 15 per cent of all imports to Britain consisted of linen. As Karin Newman has pointed out, 70 to 80 per cent of all imported foreign linen textiles came from Germany, and 90 per cent of this volume was re-exported across the Atlantic. This means

¹⁰ On Russia see Victor N. Zakharov, *Zapadnoevropejskie kupcy w Rossii: Epocha Petra I* (Moscow, 1996) [Western European merchants in Russia during the Period of Peter I]; Victor N. Zakharov, 'Der Anteil west- und mitteleuropäischer Kaufleute am Außenhandel Russlands im 18. Jahrhundert', *Berliner Jahrbuch für osteuropäische Geschichte* (1997), 29–48.

¹¹ For this and the following discussion see Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute*.

that about two-thirds of all British linen exports were of German origin. Irish linen followed in second place, and English textiles came only third.¹² They served a wide variety of uses: chequered German linens were used for seaman's shirts; Silesian diaper and damasks for table linen; while fine Silesian lawns such as cambrics, imitations of French fabrics, served the fashionable needs of the higher classes.¹³ The cheaper varieties were much in demand among the lower social strata in the New World. As the Jamaican plantation owner William Beckford remarked before the Parliamentary Committee on the linen trade in 1744, 'all the Negroes and the poor White People are generally clothed with German linens, from 6d to 9d an Ell, called Osnabrughs'.¹⁴ Such labelling demonstrates that products of particular regions had made a name for themselves as 'stout Weser flaxen', 'true born Osnabrughs', 'true born Tecklenburghs', or 'Creguelas de Westphalia'.¹⁵

The French and Spanish contexts provide similar examples. The accounts of the important French trading house of Fornier frères, established in Cadiz, reveal that about two-thirds of its textile purchases between 1768 and 1786 were made in Germany. Of the total expenditure of 12 million *reales*, 3 million were spent in Hamburg, 1 million in Bremen, and 2 million in Silesia. Between 1.5 and 2 million *reales* were spent in Holland, probably also on German fabrics, as Dutch ports served as important outlets for Westphalian makes. Only some 35 per cent of the purchases were made in France.¹⁶ At the same time, the Spanish textile industry also absorbed significant quantities

¹² Karin Newman, 'Anglo-Hamburg Trade in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1979), 202.

¹³ *Ibid.* 198–9.

¹⁴ British Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century, Reports and Papers 1742–60, vol. 19: *Report on Linen 1744* (Wilmington, 1975), 19; Mr Ashley similarly reported that the 70,000 Negroes on Barbados were 'usually clothed with Foreign "Osnabrughs"', *ibid.* 18.

¹⁵ Edith Schmitz, *Leinengewerbe und Leinenhandel in Nordwestdeutschland* (Cologne, 1967), 33, 86, 92.

¹⁶ Robert Chamboredon, 'Une société de commerce languedocienne a Cadix: Simon et Arnail Fornier et Cie (Nov. 1768–Mars 1786)', in Antonio García-Baquero González (ed.), *La burguesía de negocios en la Andalucía de la ilustración, Cadiz (Dip. Provincial de Cádiz)*, (1991), ii. 35–53, at 35, 49.

from central Europe. According to Pierre Villar, in 1793 the Catalan industries imported only about 1.2 million ells of linen (equivalent to almost 1.1 million metres) from Hamburg. This was usually printed or dyed before being re-exported as Spanish fabrics.¹⁷ The taste of consumers in Spanish colonial markets is reflected in a report by British merchants on trade in the Caribbean, sent to Parliament in 1806: 'The Spanish traders are very strongly prejudiced in favour of German linens . . . When a Spanish trader goes into a store on a British island, the first article he asks for is German linens.'¹⁸

Herbert Klein has emphasized that German-made linen and calicoes were also sought after in African markets. He claims that on the West African coasts, Indian cottons which 'were in great demand in the seventeenth century', were replaced 'by German-produced linens from Silesia in the early decades of the 1700s as the prime textile import'. The share of German manufactures among the barter commodities used to purchase African slaves cannot be underestimated.¹⁹ This aspect will be examined more closely below.

These observations on overseas markets are confirmed by data from the textile-producing regions of Germany. From the 1740s to the 1780s, more than three-quarters of Silesia's linen production, whose annual value fluctuated between about 3 and 6 million *Taler*, was destined for the Atlantic nations of western Europe and their own exports, and some of it was even shipped directly to the Americas.²⁰ Far smaller territories also exported large quantities. In the late 1780s, the County of Ravensberg, for example, annually exported linen worth some three-quarters of a million *Taler*.²¹ The quantities of cen-

¹⁷ Pierre Vilar, *La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne: recherches sur les fondements économiques des structures nationales*, 3 vols. (Paris 1962), iii, 118, 126.

¹⁸ Otto-Ernst Krawehl, *Hamburgs Schiffs- und Warenverkehr mit England und den englischen Kolonien 1840-1860* (Cologne, 1977), 441.

¹⁹ Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge, 1999), 114. For an overview, see Klaus Weber, 'Deutschland, der atlantische Sklavenhandel und die Plantagenwirtschaft der Neuen Welt (15. bis 19. Jahrhundert)', in *Europe, Slave Trade, and Colonial Forced Labour*, special issue of *Journal of Modern European History*, 7/1 (2009) 37-67.

²⁰ Alfred Zimmermann, *Blüte und Verfall des Leinengewerbes in Schlesien: Gewerbe- und Handelspolitik dreier Jahrhunderte* (Breslau, 1885), 460-7.

²¹ Edith Schmitz, *Leinengewerbe und Leinenhandel in Nordwestdeutschland (1650-1850)* (Cologne, 1967), 81.

tral European fabrics being traded all around the Atlantic basin show that these markets were highly integrated. The merchants portrayed below were key agents in the underlying trade, and the networks they developed enhanced this inter-continental integration.

*The London-Based German Textile Trading Houses
in the Eighteenth Century*

The British capital assumed a primary position among the leading commercial cities of Europe during the course of the eighteenth century. London rose to be the world's first financial city and was home to the first big insurance companies, set up to alleviate the risks that more or less global trade involved. Settling in London was a highly attractive option for the European commercial elite, and not only for German merchants. Britain was interested in foreign merchants settling in the country for a number of reasons. One was that they provided the capital needed both to finance the many wars fought between 1689 and 1815, and to organize far-flung trade. D. W. Jones has already referred to the role of foreign capital in financing the Nine Years War against France (1689-98).²² It continued to finance the monetary needs of the British government in the eighteenth century and, as P. G. M. Dickson has pointed out, the import of foreign capital released English funds for industrial development.²³ Another reason was that the colonies of the emerging British Empire, scattered around the world, still presented a patchy picture. These far-flung territories had to be kept and protected. Their population also had to be fed and markets had to be found for the commodities the colonies produced. At the heart of this tremendous task were the overseas traders. They organized supplies and sales. By managing their own commercial operations, merchants thus helped to build the infrastructure of the empire. And, as David Hancock has remarked, overseas traders not only exported commodities, but with them they

²² See D. W. Jones, *War and Economy in the Age of William III and Marlborough* (Oxford, 1988).

²³ P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Modern Credit* (London, 1967), 336-7.

transported ideas and values which contributed to integrating the dispersed areas into an empire.²⁴

The Nine Years War had already contributed to a certain shortage of enterprising merchants with capital. Foreign merchants began to fill the gap which British merchants had left. There was not only a lack of numbers, but native merchants also turned their capital to more profitable investments.²⁵ Foreign merchants, among them a growing number of Germans, migrated to London to replace them. They contributed to turning the capital into an emporium of world-wide trade by re-exporting the surplus of colonial goods which the British Isles could not consume to the European Continent. The old German states, Russia, and other parts of south-eastern Europe were a profitable market for colonial wares because these countries did not have any overseas colonies to supply them directly with sugar, coffee, and other tropical produce. These countries also delivered a variety of commodities such as linen textiles, timber, and naval stores which Britain on its own could not produce in the quantities required to supply the needs of its colonial residents, its navy, and emerging modern industries.

When did the migration and settlement of German merchants in London begin? Since the late Middle Ages, London's commercial elite had already been international. In the seventeenth century, London's immigrant elite was largely made up of Dutch and Huguenot merchants, while there were few Germans. Only in the eighteenth century did Germans become the largest immigrant group of the Christian faith. After Elizabeth I closed the Steelyard, no more than a handful of German merchants remained in the capital. From the last years of the Commonwealth the number of German merchants began to increase. Although merchants from the Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg constituted a majority among London's eighteenth-century Germans, there were as many from the textile areas of the north-western parts of the Holy Roman Empire as from Hamburg alone (see Table 3.1).

Several factors influenced people to leave the country of their birth. Perhaps more important than Germany's slow recovery from the economic impact of the Thirty Years War was the disruption of

²⁴ David Hancock, *Citizens of the World* (Cambridge, 1995).

²⁵ Jones, *War and Economy*, 257-8.

Table 3.1 Region of origin of German merchants established in London, 1715-1800

Place of birth (states)	Number
Hamburg	79
Bremen	67
Westphalia, Brunswick, Berg, Lippe, Hildesheim ^a	45
Hanover ^a	35
Saxony	29
Brandenburg	18
Hesse/Hesse-Kassel	16
Holstein	15
Prussia	13
Palatinate	10
Silesia	8

^a These small states comprised the textile area of the north-west of Germany and should actually be seen as an early pre-industrial unit. Taken together, more came from this part of Germany than from either Hamburg or Bremen between 1715 and 1800.

Source: compiled by the authors from from William A. Shaw, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Wales 1701-1800* (Manchester, 1923).

the old trading routes via Amsterdam or Rotterdam, and the English Navigation Acts, which excluded foreigners from direct trade with the colonies. Another factor was the commercial policy of the Continental merchant families of keeping competition among themselves within limits. Hermann Jacob Garrels from Leer in East Friesland, for example, gave the reason for his decision to settle in London as 'so viele Brüder sich in einem kleinen Orte schaden, da sie sich hingegen in der Entfernung von Nutzen sey können' (that so many brothers in a small place like Leer would harm each other, while at a distance they could benefit each other). This policy was pursued not only by Germans, but by Continental merchant families in general. For the same reasons, two of the five Dutch Muilman brothers, who were among Amsterdam's leading merchant-bankers, left for London.²⁶

The textile merchant families of the hinterland generally had a very high birth rate of ten or more children. It is clear that their home towns could not provide enough economic opportunities to feed all the children, as towns such as Herford and Elberfeld had several thousand inhabitants.²⁷ Their sons therefore did not emigrate only to London. Brothers and other close relatives of the London-based migrants settled in other important commercial port cities, such as Amsterdam, Bordeaux, Cadiz, and Livorno, to name only a few, thus establishing networks which connected the leading European port cities. As London rose to become the first commercial and financial city of the world, the share of German merchants settling in the British capital (in relation to the total population) was probably topped only by those settling in Amsterdam.²⁸ Depending on place of

²⁶ Ernst Esselborn, *Das Geschlecht Garrels aus Leer* (Berlin, 1938), 130; Peter Muilman, 'Autobiographical Notes of Peter Muilman', at the end of the first volume of his *A New and Complete History of Essex . . . by a Gentleman*, 6 vols. (Chelmsford, 1770).

²⁷ Herford had about 2,700 inhabitants in 1718; Elberfeld about 3,000 in 1700. See Nicolas Rügge, *Im Dienst von Stadt und Staat: Der Rat der Stadt Herford und die preußische Zentralverwaltung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2000), 35; Walter Dietz, 'Die Wuppertaler Garnnahrung', in Horst Jordan and Heinz Wolff (eds.), *Werden und Wachsen der Wuppertaler Wirtschaft: Von der Garnnahrung 1527 zur modernen Industrie* (Wuppertal, 1977), 44.

²⁸ From 1600 to 1800, the proportion of Amsterdam's total population that was German fluctuated between 15 and 25 per cent. Jan Lucassen, 'Immi-

birth, two groups of networks can be distinguished. While merchant families from Hamburg and Bremen connected the European port cities, those from the textile areas of the north west and other parts of the German hinterland had to establish networks by step and chain migration, which linked the hinterland with London via the north German port cities. The branches in the north German port cities served as turnover places to facilitate maritime transport and trade with London and other foreign port cities.

Elberfeld (now Wuppertal), Herford (Westphalia), and adjacent regions were renowned for their linen industries. Linen and linen yarn from Elberfeld in particular had a high reputation for its whiteness and the bleaching techniques used to achieve this. From the sixteenth century on, linens and yarn from Elberfeld were exported to the Dutch Republic, France, and other foreign places.

From Elberfeld and Herford two clearly definable migration chains can be perceived. Both started as combined step and chain migrations at about the time of the English Restoration and continued for more than a century. The first chain migration started from Elberfeld and comprised fourteen merchants. The second, of ten merchants, originated from Herford. Additional chains of migrants from the nearby towns of Remscheid, Osnabrück, Brunswick, and Hanover have to be added to these two chains. All were more or less related by ties of kinship and long-established commercial ties in their home country. These kinship networks were transported to the British capital, where they continued to trade in close cooperation. Only with the coming of the cotton industry did the migration of German textile traders begin to shift from London to the new industrial centres and port cities of the north, although the British capital continued to attract the largest number of immigrants (see Table 3.2).

The first migrants from Elberfeld who have left traces were three Kaus brothers, who arrived in London around 1660. They were joined by three Teschemacher brothers from the same town a generation later. A fourth Teschemacher brother opened a merchant house in Bremen at about the same time. Members of the Wichelhausen family, who were related to the Teschemachers, also settled in

granten in Holland 1600-1800: Een kwantitatieve benadering', in Centrum voor de Geschiedenis van Migranten, *Working Paper 3* (Amsterdam, 2002), 25, table 5.

Table 3.2 Chain migration from Elberfeld and Herford to London, showing year of naturalization

Elberfeld	Herford
1660 Kraus, John	1670 Sirps, Bernard
1667 Kraus, Jasper	1708 Burges, Heydman John
– Kraus, Engel	1710 Voguell, Henry
1685 Teschemacher, John E.	1722 Voguell, Frederick
1691 Teschemacher, John W.	1726 Smith, Conrade
– Teschemacher, Isaac	1739 Pritzler, Theophilus
1706 Iserloo, Engelbert	1739 Smith, George Frederick
1708 Bergmann, Casper	1749 Pritzler, Christopher F. (via London to Zittau)
1718 Korten, Abraham	1753 Klausing, Henry (via London to Petersburg)
1719 Lucas, Peter	1756 Molling, Godfrey
1731 Korten, Peter	1775 Molling, Frederick
1737 Wichelshausen, Godfrey	
1761 Siebel, John Roger	
1791 Teschemacher, John Roger (to Nottingham)	

Source: compiled by the authors from William A. Shaw, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Wales 1701-1800* (Manchester, 1923).

Bremen and London.²⁹ After the turn of the century six more descendants arrived within a decade. The last one came to London in 1758. Migration from Herford followed a similar long-term pattern. The first migrant from Herford, Bernard Sirps, arrived in the 1660s. At the same time, close cousins settled in Bremen and Hamburg. He was succeeded by Heydman John Burges, and Henry and Frederik Voguell. They were all related to each other. The last person to come from Herford was Frederick Molling (Mölling), who became a British citizen in 1775. Thus both groups established family-based trade networks linking their home town, the Hanseatic towns, and London. Those who stayed in Bremen were among the founders of the English Company of Bremen.³⁰

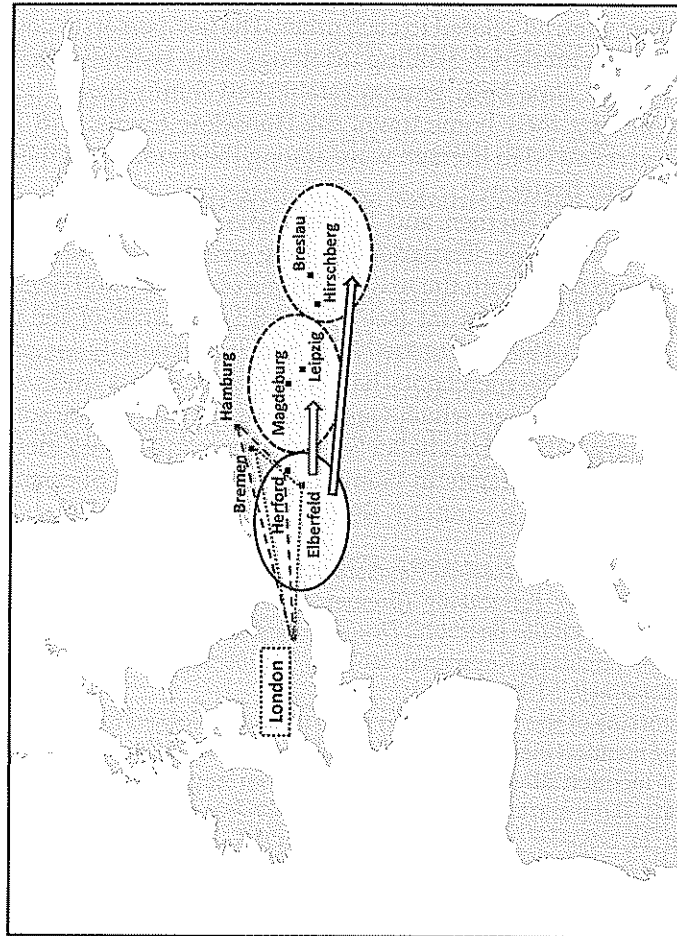
Migration to Bremen and London was part of a more complex pattern of migration. To understand the structure of these networks fully, connections with the textile regions of Saxony and Silesia must also be taken into account (see Figure 3.1). Because of the distance from Silesia and Saxony to the North Sea, it is generally assumed that Silesian or Saxon merchants had hardly any direct trade relations with London.³¹ Linen which was destined for export was sold either in Lüneburg, where the smaller Silesian merchants stored their goods, or directly to merchants in Hamburg, as the bigger Silesian houses

²⁹ Ruth Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Betrachtung* (Bremen, 1963), 220, 226-7; for the London migrants see Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 151.

³⁰ For the Englische Kompanie, see *ibid.* 93, 100 n.177; Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft*, 37-8.

³¹ Historians of the Silesian linen trade such as Siegfried Kühne and Marcel Boldorf mention that English merchants went to Silesia to buy linen, but they do not mention direct relations with, or even migration to, Britain. Marcel Boldorf, *Europäische Leinenregionen im Wandel: Institutionelle Weichenstellungen in Schlesien und Irland (1750-1850)* (Cologne, 2006), 90; Siegfried Kühne, *Der Hirschberger Leinwand- und Schleierhandel von 1648-1806* (Breslau, 1938), 90-1. The merchant house of Frege & Co. had had some direct contact with Britain since the 1770s, but according to Danny Weber it was of little importance. On the other hand he stresses the important trade in textiles between Saxony and England, but mainly refers to British merchants visiting the fairs in Leipzig and other nearby textile places. See Danny Weber, *Das Handels- und Bankhaus Frege & Comp. in Leipzig (1739-1816)* (Stuttgart, 2008), 73-6.

Figure 3.1 Network clusters of German textile merchants, 1660–1800



did.³² Looking at trade from a London perspective presents a somewhat different picture. German merchants in London maintained intensive links with the Silesian and Saxon textile areas, partly by migrating via London to Silesia, partly by settling close relatives in a Silesian or Saxon town. Henry Voguell of Herford, mentioned above, was a major importer of Silesian and Saxon linen, and he travelled frequently between London, Zittau, and other places in Saxony and Silesia. One of Voguell's partners and relatives in London was Christopher Frederick Pritzler, also from Herford. Pritzler later migrated to Zittau, where he established a textile house.³³ Apart from Pritzler, Henry Voguell's most important supplier in Zittau was Carl Christian Besser.³⁴

Peter Hasenclever, a merchant from Remscheid, one of the major towns in the textile and metal manufacturing Duchy of Berg, had started his merchant career in the house of an uncle in Lisbon. When the textile trade with the Portuguese colonies began to decline, he moved to Cadiz and entered a partnership with, among others, Heinrich Böhl.³⁵ From Cadiz Hasenclever migrated to London. His younger brother Francis had meanwhile settled in Hirschberg in Silesia.³⁶ Böhl also left Cadiz and settled in Silesia. Both houses, that of Francis Hasenclever and Böhl & Kaller, became the main suppliers of Roger Siebel of Elberfeld, who had migrated to London in 1758. A surviving balance sheet from the partnership between Roger Siebel of Elberfeld and John Amyand in London reveals that they were important traders of Silesian and Saxon linen textiles.³⁷

³² Boldorf, *Europäische Leinenregionen im Wandel*, 91–2.

³³ The National Archive Kew (hereafter TNA), Probate Records (Prob) 11/ 751.

³⁴ Arno Kunze, 'Der Zittauer Leinengroßhandel', *Zittauer Geschichtsblätter*, 6 (1930), 44.

³⁵ On the Böhl family, see also the section below on Cadiz.

³⁶ For Peter Hasenclever see Sylvia Eichelkraut-Naumann and Tania Ünlüdag, *Peter Hasenclever: Kaufmann und Unternehmer der Aufklärung. Bergische Unternehmergestalten im Umbruch zur Moderne*, ed. Karl-Hermann Beeck (Neustadt a.d. Aisch, 1996), 41–120; Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, 'Commercial Networks, Transfer and Innovation: The Migration of German Merchants to England, 1660–1800', in Stefan Manz, Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, and John R. Davis (eds.), *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain 1660–1914* (Munich, 2007), 19–35.

³⁷ Herefordshire Record Office, Amyand Records J56/VI/13; in addition to

Nor should direct migration from Saxony and Silesia to London be underestimated. A continuing chain migration to London can be perceived. From Saxony it started with Christopher Rose from Zwickau in the 1660s. Like migrants from the north-western textile regions, those from Saxony and Silesia moved to London at intervals of more or less a generation. Nine merchants arrived from Dresden and seven from Leipzig. Chain migration from Silesia started a little later, after the turn of the century.³⁸ In all, thirteen merchants from Silesia settled in London. Migration from both regions continued until the end of the eighteenth century.

This interconnected cluster of trade networks formed the backbone of the community of German textile traders in London. It had developed over a century and each migrant generation had contributed in its own way to this long-term development. From the British capital, German merchants expanded their trade to the most distant places in the world. The geographical scope of the London-based network of course varied greatly, depending on how long it had been operating, and the ability and degree of integration of each immigrant merchant.

Records of the London-based houses are very piecemeal and allow only partial, though interesting, insights into their far-flung trade. John William Teschemacher, one of the three Teschemacher brothers from Elberfeld, had risen into the mercantile elite of London within a decade of his arrival. In 1695-6 he was the second largest exporter of cloth, exporting goods to the value of more than £28,000.³⁹ He imported sugar and other colonial produce from the Caribbean Islands. The commercial relations of his house stretched as far as India. His nephew, a merchant-mariner, died there in 1721. John William also traded with the Baltic and had partners in Vienna

the two houses in Silesia mentioned above, they also traded with Schaeffermeyer of Bautzen and Gottlob Frege & Co. of Leipzig.

³⁸ It started with John Christian Zimmermann, alias Carpenter, from Prieg in 1701. William A. Shaw, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Wales 1701-1800* (Manchester, 1923), 5.

³⁹ The largest one was David Debarry from Hamburg. He exported commodities worth more than £34,000 in 1695-6. See Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 104; D. W. Jones, 'London Overseas Merchant Groups at the End of the Seventeenth Century and the Moves against the East India Company' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 1970), App. II.

and Transylvania.⁴⁰ He did not yet trade with Russia, which was monopolized by the Russia Company. Until the reform of the Charter, the Russia trade was in the hands of a small coterie of merchants, probably numbering no more than about twelve to fourteen. The reform of 1698 opened membership to all English-born and naturalized merchants. Immediately after the opening of the Russia Company, the number of admittances jumped. It soon dropped, however, and annual entries remained low until the end of the Nordic Wars in 1719. Only when negotiations for a commercial treaty with Russia were pending did the number of admittances began to rise again. Neither John William Teschemacher nor his surviving brother John Engelbert seem to have become members of the Russia Company. It was left to their successor in business, John Abraham Korten, to join. He was a relative of the Teschemachers and had started his business career in the house of the two brothers. Korten joined the Russia Company only after he had clashed with it concerning imports from Russia. Since the conclusion of the commercial treaty in 1734, Russia had become Britain's most important eighteenth-century trading partner and Korten's trade with Russia formed the backbone of his company's business. In 1740 he was among the very first naturalized immigrants to become a member of the Russia Company's Court of Assistants.⁴¹

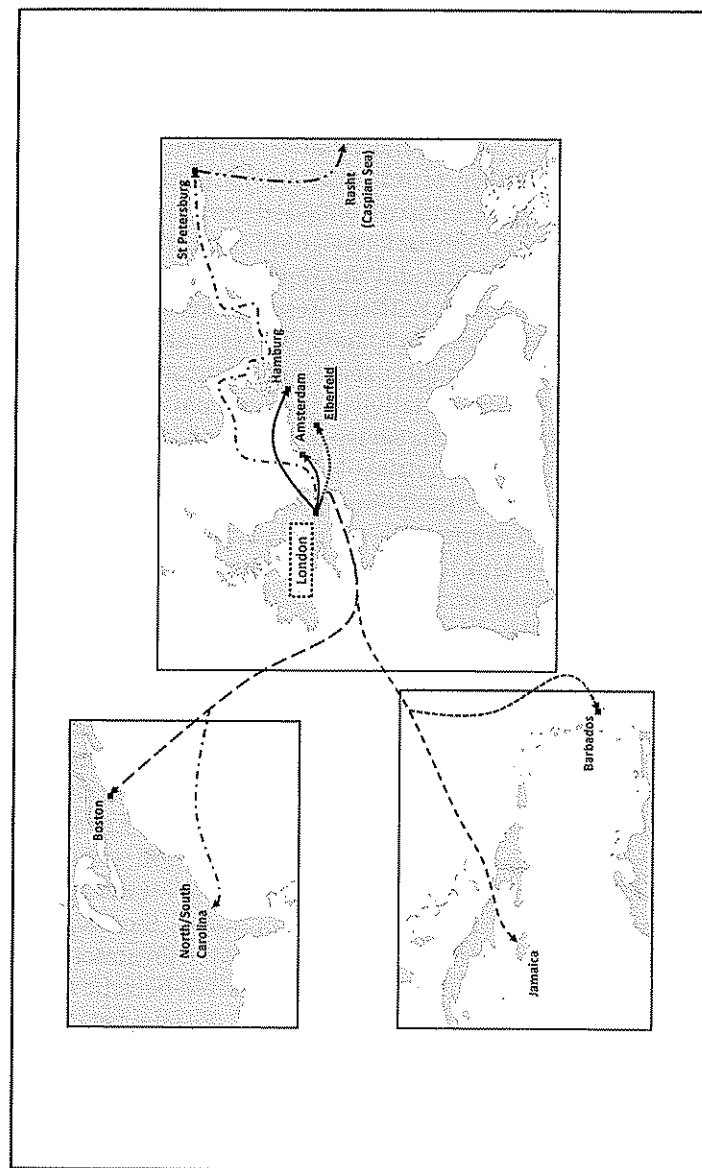
An account book covering the last few years of Korten's life has survived and provides some information on the structure of his trade. In around 1740 his London house was an emporium poised between east and west. His trade relations stretched from the Caribbean and North American colonies in the west to St Petersburg and overland as far as Reschd in Persia in the east.⁴² His home town of Elberfeld continued to be an important prop of his trade and it is interesting to note that, via his London house, the economy of the small German town of Elberfeld participated in an almost worldwide trade. Moreover, Korten's relatives in Elberfeld became shareholders in his ventures in the New World and Russia (see Figure 3.2).

⁴⁰ His nephew was an East India mariner and merchant and died in Calcutta in 1721 (TNA, Prob 11/ 582); for his trade with Vienna and Transylvania see TNA, Prob 11/ 534.

⁴¹ Guildhall Library London, Russia Company, Minute Books, MS 11741/6, p. 173.

⁴² Korten Account Book J56/VI/3, p. 16.

Figure 3.2. Abraham Korten's trading network, 1738-42



Korten's account book also reveals that partners at the remotest ends of his commercial web were the riskiest and most difficult to control. After his death, losses of more than £3,000 had to be written off because merchants in America and Persia were dead, impoverished, bankrupt, or had disappeared.⁴³

Korten's network of business partners in the British capital was closely linked to the Dutch community. In London he was a member of the Dutch Church of St Austin Friars and he organized most of his Atlantic ventures with Isaac van Assendelft, a naturalized British merchant of Dutch birth, and the Barclays. Among his friends and business partners were some of the most prosperous and wealthiest members of the Dutch merchant community, such as the brothers and government financiers Joshua and Gerrard Van Neck.⁴⁴ Both became guardians of his daughter and executors of his will. His account book reveals no connections with the Huguenot community in London, but his daughter, Anna Maria Korten, married George Amyand, a British merchant of Huguenot descent, who had started his business career in the house of Henry Voguell from Herford.

The regulation of succession was often a problem in family enterprises, either because they had no issue or the issue was not deemed fit to take over the business. John Abraham Korten had no surviving male issue when he died in 1742. His younger brother Peter, who had been a junior partner in John Abraham's house at least since 1731, had died in 1735. He was succeeded by Godfrey Wichelhausen, another close relative from Elberfeld, but Godfrey died only a year after John Abraham, so that the house was left to John Abraham's wife and his daughter Anna Maria. The account book was closed in 1746 at the time of Anna Maria Korten's marriage to George Amyand. Succession shifted to the house of Voguell & Amyand. Anna Maria

⁴³ Korten Account Book J56/VI/3, p. 14. His losses, however, were small compared with those of the Schiffner brothers, two Russian-Germans in London. They had accumulated losses of more than £100,000 in eight years, and went bankrupt in 1761 (Lewes Record Office, Schiffner MSS 2802, 2808).

⁴⁴ Joshua and Gerrard Van Neck came from The Hague. Joshua established valuable trading links with the Parisian Protestant firm of Thellusson, Necker & Co and supplied the French Tobacco Monopoly with tobacco from London. During the wars of 1744-8 and 1756-63, trade with France permitted the firm to act as a channel of communication between the two governments. For his services he was created a baronet in 1751 (DNB).

and her mother, née Siebel, moved into the house of George Amyand, which had been the business address of Voguell & Amyand for some years.

The importance of proximity to allow easy encounters and face to face contacts for engineering trust has been highlighted by Mark Casson.⁴⁵ As has been shown in the case of Kortzen, it gave his family and business partners a chance not only for international cooperation and the exchange of commodities, but also for social encounters. London's international commercial elite clubbed together in local societies and coffee houses, and intermarried. These relationships provided the foundation for an outlook and behaviour that may be termed cosmopolitan.

The transition to the next generation included the risk of weakening social and economic ties. The younger generation, especially when born in England, might not have had the same strong relations with the country of their parents' birth, and ties might be further weakened when the business was transferred to a son-in-law or another native-born Englishman.⁴⁶ As long as the market seemed promising, the textile families of Elberfeld and their partners in trade attempted to secure trade links by chain migration. The surviving records do not provide any information on Amyand's relationship with Elberfeld. A decade after Kortzen's death, Amyand's business had become the largest Russia house in western Europe. Moreover, Amyand had become one of the governors of the East India Company and was one of the big government financiers during the Seven Years War.⁴⁷ The family in Elberfeld was keen to continue the business relationship and only a few years after the death of his mother-in-law Anna Maria Siebels, one of her nephews, John Roger Siebel, entered the business and became Amyand's junior partner. When George Amyand died in 1766, his son John was still a minor, and business was transferred to Roger Siebel who took John as junior partner. This partnership ended in 1772, when Roger Siebel returned home. With his return, the migration of merchants from Elberfeld to London came to an end, turning instead to the new industrial regions in the north of England.

⁴⁵ See Mark Casson's essay in this volume, p. 24.

⁴⁶ This could, of course, also happen if the issue was born in Britain.

⁴⁷ Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (2nd edn. London, 1957), 55-6.

There are a number of reasons for the end of the chain migration from Elberfeld to London, which had lasted for more than a century. Competition from the Scottish and Irish linen industries had grown since the beginning of the century, and at the time when the partnership came to an end, Britain was experiencing a major financial crisis caused by excessive speculation. This crisis also affected the textile industry. Personal tensions within the partnership may have been another reason.⁴⁸ The 1770s, moreover, saw the beginning of the industrialization of the cotton industry, not only in Britain but also in the Rhineland, Saxony, and the region of Elberfeld. The spinning industry was mechanized much more slowly in Germany than in Britain, and first attempts to copy British machines were only partially successful.⁴⁹ They could thus not compete with the British textile industry for some decades. However, there was still a high demand for linen yarn, which was used as warp in the worsted industry, and in the 1780s John Roger Teschemacher moved to Nottinghamshire. He established himself there as merchant-manufacturer in the hosiery industry and was also an inventor. He constructed two textile machines for which he received patents in 1791 and 1792 respectively.⁵⁰

The Herford houses of Furstenau, Schroder & Co, and its successor Langkopf, Molling & Rasch appeared in the records of the Virginia and Maryland house of Joshua Johnson of London as large purchasers of tobacco in the early 1770s, while they supplied the Americans with German linen. During the Napoleonic Wars, the house of Molling, Spitta & Co had switched from linen to cotton and in 1812 it exported a large amount of cotton yarn on commission for the Manchester firm of McConnell & Kennedy.⁵¹ Surviving records of

⁴⁸ Herefordshire Record Office, Articles of Partnership Apr. 1769, BA89/8/7. The contract between John Roger and John Amyand explicitly recorded that the uncle Claudius Amyand should not interfere in the business.

⁴⁹ Jörg Engelbrecht, *Das Herzogtum Berg im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution: Modernisierungsprozesse zwischen Bayerischem und französischem Modell* (Paderborn, 1996), 103-4.

⁵⁰ See patent no. 1808 and patent no. 1917 in Bennet Woodcraft, *Subject Matter Index of Patents of Inventions 1617-1852*, pt. 2: *Chronological Index of Patents* (London, 1854), 332, 352.

⁵¹ Letters to and from Molling Spitta and Molling. Rylands Library Manchester, McConnell and Kennedy Papers, MCK/2/1/18-21.

Molling, Spitta & Co reveal that they were also big traders in coffee, sugar, and other colonial goods such as logwood, and Russian goods such as hemp and flax.⁵²

Some of the London-based German merchants, like the Pritzlars of Herford, diversified into manufacturing and insurance. In the eighteenth century London was the largest sugar-refining centre in Britain and one of the Pritzlars mentioned above became a sugar refiner. They ran a refinery at Wellclose Square for several generations. They also sat on the board of directors of the Phoenix insurance company.⁵³

Via London, merchants from Germany's north-western textile areas also traded with Spain and Portugal and their colonies. Apart from the already identified Hasenclever, German merchant families with branches in Cadiz and Bordeaux also had established members in London, like the Bethmans or Luetkens.⁵⁴ In the trade with the Iberian Peninsula they enjoyed the privileges of the Methuen Treaty with Portugal and the Asiento Treaty with Spain. The British merchant navy also carried goods to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the eighteenth century, and at times of war its ships sailed under the protection of the Royal Navy. This was a decisive advantage given the widespread nature of privateering and piracy. In addition, the London-based Germans were connected with well-established German merchant communities in Lisbon and Cadiz.

Linen, Glass, and Cuckoo Clocks: German Merchants in Cadiz

Until the turn of the eighteenth century, Seville had been the Spanish port with the most extensive privileges for trading with Spain's American colonies. During the War of the Spanish Succession, its position was contested by Cadiz, which already hosted an important group of French traders and during the conflict sided with the ultimately successful Bourbon monarchy. Consequently, in 1717, important civil and naval institutions were transferred from Seville to

⁵² TNA, Bankruptcy Records, B3/4549.

⁵³ Guildhall Library, Phoenix Fire Insurance, List of Members for 1782, PX3; Kent's Directory for London, 1791, Directors of the Phoenix Fire Office, Lombard Street.

⁵⁴ See below.

Cadiz. Even though this monopoly-like status in handling and administering the transatlantic traffic was undermined from the 1760s, when other ports were gradually permitted to take part in the lucrative exchanges with Spanish America, even around 1790 Cadiz still managed some 80 per cent of this trade. The city therefore attracted large numbers of merchants from virtually all European nations. The French and the Italian mercantile communities were the most important, given Spanish domination over parts of Italy and the ascent of the Bourbon monarchy to the throne in Madrid in 1700.⁵⁵ While the French community was mostly drawn from the ranks of wealthy or extremely wealthy maritime traders, the Italian community included a large number of smaller businessmen and retailers. The next most important group may have been the Dutch from both the Republic and the Austrian Netherlands, as most sources from Cadiz do not distinguish clearly between the two groups. Whereas the French merchants may have counted some 350 around 1773, the Dutch community was probably only half that size. Another important group was the Irish, while the English, Danish, Swedish, and German communities were even smaller.⁵⁶ The international mixture in this port city was further enriched by merchants from places such as Malta, Ragusa, the Levant, the Spanish colonies, and even by a few Chinese businessmen from Macao.⁵⁷

Given that they left little evidence in much-used official sources such as tax registers, the German group has always been considered to have been numerically small. Yet more recent investigation of

⁵⁵ Antonio García-Baquero González, *Cádiz y el Atlántico (1717-1778): El comercio colonial español bajo el monopolio gaditano*, 2 vols. (Seville, 1976); Manuel Bustos Rodríguez, *Los comerciantes de la Carrera de Indias en el Cádiz del siglo XVIII (1713-1775)* (Cadiz, 1995); Ana Crespo Solana, *La Casa de Contratación y la Intendencia de la Marina en Cádiz (1717-1730)* (Cadiz, 1996); Manuel Bustos Rodríguez, 'Cádiz and the Atlantic Economy (1650-1830)', in Horst Pietschmann (ed.), *Atlantic History: History of the Atlantic System (1530-1830)* (Göttingen, 2002), 411-34.

⁵⁶ Antonio García-Baquero González and Pedro Collado Villalta, 'Les Français à Cadix au XVIIIe siècle: la colonie marchande', in CNRS (ed.), *Les Français en Espagne* (Paris 1990), 173-96; Ana Crespo Solana, *El comercio marítimo entre Amsterdam y Cádiz (1713-1778)* (Madrid, 2001).

⁵⁷ We owe this information about Chinese merchants in eighteenth-century Cadiz to Dr Manuel Ravina Martín, Director of the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz.

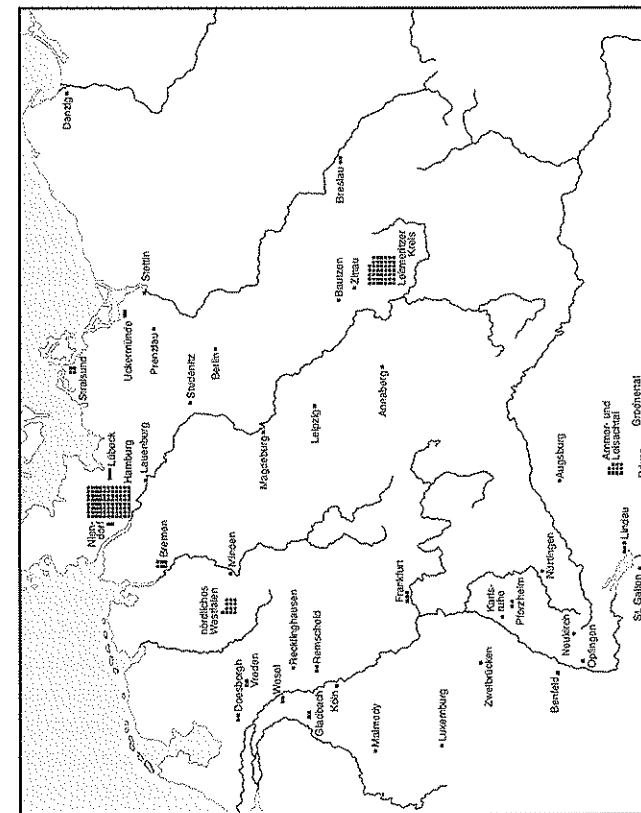
notary archives has shown that at least 239 German traders had settled there between 1680 and 1830. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that the group was larger than around 80 to 100 at any time during the 1780s and 1790s, when it was at its demographic peak.⁵⁸ This estimate includes only the shareholding partners of trading companies. If employees such as bookkeepers, other related professionals, and family members are also included, that figure might easily be doubled.

The nature of the sources used here, mostly wills from notary archives, allows the places of origin of almost all of this group totalling 239 to be identified, revealing some parallels with the German community in London. In Cadiz as in London, merchants from Hanseatic cities do not clearly dominate the German community. Of the 227 individuals whose German home we know, 88 came from Hamburg, while only 6 were from Bremen and 3 from Lübeck. Surprisingly, a dense and discrete cluster of origin occurs in one of the seemingly most remot areas of the Holy Empire, in Bohemia, separated by a mountain range from the northern German lowlands and the North Sea coast. Some 50 Bohemian traders (all German-speaking) were established in Cadiz, the first having arrived during the 1720s. Most came from the village of Haida (today Nový Bor) and its surroundings in the district of Leitmeritz (today Litoměřice), which was famous for glass manufacturing. Another region of origin was the vast proto-industrial area in north-western Germany that was also well represented in London, including the territories of northern Westphalia, the Duchy of Berg, the County of Mark, and the lower Rhineland. This more dispersed cluster consisted of 26 textile and metalware traders. Half of them came from the northern Westphalian linen-producing region around Osnabrück and Bielefeld. The more eastern territories of southern Saxony, Lusatia, and Silesia, which were also well-known textile regions, sent only a few traders to Spain (see Figure 3.3).

A good example of merchants linking the textile manufactures of north-western Germany with Atlantic markets is provided by the Ellermann family. In the literature on the merchants in Hamburg and in Cadiz, traders of that name were assumed to be from Hanseatic cities, but in fact they originated from two villages near Osnabrück,

⁵⁸ Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 352–161.

Figure 3.3 Places of birth of German merchants established in Cadiz, 1680–1830



Source: Klaus Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel: Unternehmen und Familien in Hamburg, Cadiz und Bordeaux (1680–1830)* (Munich, 2004), 402. Reprinted by permission of C. H. Beck Verlag.

Ibbenbüren and Venne. Ibbenbüren in particular had become famous for its tradition of peddling regionally made linen cloth and high quality household knives all over northern Germany, to the Baltic lands in the east, and to Holland in the west.⁵⁹ In the 1720s, probably even before settling in Hamburg, a branch of the Ellermann family business was already present in Cadiz. According to Spanish taxation sources, by the mid-century they had become the single most successful German firm established there.⁶⁰ In the 1730s, when Johann Arnold Ellermann, founder of the Cadiz branch, went to Hamburg, his brother Justus was settled in Amsterdam, most likely as a wealthy merchant, because he possessed real estate within the city. By then, Johann Arnold's brother Georg Heinrich had arrived in Cadiz, while another brother, Hermann, was travelling in Spanish America, a territory actually prohibited to foreigners. In Hamburg, Johann Arnold Ellermann became a distinguished member of the city's chamber of commerce and in 1744 was elected its chairman. Throughout the eighteenth century, about half of Hamburg's merchant elite was composed of newcomers to the city, mostly from northern Germany, so the Ellermanns fit perfectly into this pattern. By 1746, Johann Arnold had sent his first frigate to Cadiz and on into the Mediterranean. The building of this ship had been subsidized by the Senate as the result of a successful lobbying campaign by the very chamber of commerce of which Ellermann was chairman by then. From 1752 to 1761 he also held a seat in the *Bürgerschaft*, the assembly of the Hanseatic citizenry.⁶¹

At that time, he maintained a correspondence with Juan Cologan, a member of an Irish merchant family established in the Canary Islands, an important Atlantic take-off point for smuggling goods into the Americas. The last port at which slave ships en route to Africa could take supplies on board lay in the Canary Islands, and they were one of the major Spanish markets for German linen. Because of the huge demand from Atlantic markets, Cologan was par-

⁵⁹ Hannelore Oberpenning, *Migration und Fernhandel im 'Tödden-System': Wanderhändler aus dem nördlichen Münsterland im mittleren und nördlichen Europa des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Osnabrück, 1996).

⁶⁰ Manuel Bustos Rodríguez, *Los comerciantes de la Carrera de Indias en el Cádiz del siglo XVIII (1713-1775)* (Cadiz, 1995), 223-4.

⁶¹ Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 224-5.

ticularly interested in Westphalian and Silesian linen, which constituted the bulk of Hamburg's exports.⁶² During the 1760s, the Ellermann trading company in Cadiz went into partnership with Johann Jakob Schlieper. Schlieper came from the town of Benfeld, in the Alsatian cotton-processing region, and had married a Spanish woman. In 1776 his daughter, Francisca María, married Prudencio Delaville, a French merchant from Nantes. In Nantes, the Delavilles were one of the leading families engaged in the slave trade, and in Cadiz, Prudencio Delaville and his brother, Armand François, were shareholding partners of the *Compañía gaditana de negros*, at that time the largest Spanish slave-trading business. To supply this company with textiles for the barter trade on African coasts was most probably one of the intentions of this familial and commercial alliance established by the trading house of Hermann, Ellermann & Schlieper.⁶³

Johann Arnold Ellermann's son, Johann Heinrich, and his grandson, Heinrich, continued to run the Cadiz branch throughout the second half of the century. His daughter, Angela Isabel, married Nikolaus Kirchhof, a wealthy Hamburg merchant and senator who had spent some years in Cadiz. This marriage secured the Ellermanns' advancement into Hamburg's highest social and political ranks. The shipping business was kept in the family until at least the 1790s. In 1798-9 the Ellermanns were among the first German shipowners to participate in the neutral trade to Spanish America, decreed in Madrid in 1797 under the conditions of war. Members of the Böhl family (see below) also held shares in the ship. Meanwhile, the Cadiz branch of the family had acquired urban real estate there and had invested in Andalusian saltworks. As late as the 1860s the house was still represented there, under the direction of Heinrich Ellermann, born in Hamburg around 1790. He had married a Spanish woman and then served as consul for the Hanseatic cities.⁶⁴ Merchants like

⁶² In 1753, Cadiz received some 47 per cent of Hamburg's duty-paid linen exports to Spain, while 33 per cent was shipped to the Canary Islands. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Admiraltätskollegium, 371-2, F6, vol. 18 (1753).

⁶³ Bibiano Torres Ramírez, *La compañía gaditana de negros* (Seville, 1973), 40, 80-1; Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 273-5. Johann Peter Hermann, the third partner, was a nephew of the Ellermann founder generation.

⁶⁴ Walter Kresse, *Materialien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Hamburger Handelsflotte 1765-1823* (Hamburg, 1966), 166; Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 120-4.

the Ellermanns built networks that linked Germany's textile regions directly with transatlantic markets.

Another type of far-reaching network was established by peddling merchants from the Alps and south-western Germany. They were not unlike the French networks investigated by Laurence Fontaine, also built on kinship and trade in specific items.⁶⁵ These German peddling merchants traded with items which were less robust than textiles or metalware and required tight vertical integration.⁶⁶ They were quite numerous in Cadiz. Half a dozen had come from the Black Forest area, almost twenty from the Bavarian Ammer valley and the Gardena valley in the Tyrol, and some more from the trading city of Lindau, on Lake Constance. The lands around the lake had produced and exported linen since the medieval period. The Black Forest, however, became known for its export items only much later. From the late seventeenth century, a clock industry developed on the eastern slopes of this poor and remote mountain area. This rural industry experienced an important boom from 1730, the year when a certain Franz-Josef Ketterer, from the village of Neukirch, manufactured a tiny bellows and pipe that imitated the call of the cuckoo, integrated it into the mechanism of a chronometer, and thus invented the cuckoo clock.⁶⁷

The late seventeenth-century take-off of rural manufacturing in regions like Bohemia, the Black Forest, and some areas of Westphalia was enhanced by new methods of marketing. A very specific pattern had been developed by the Bohemian glass traders. Since about 1680, they had expanded their established methods of regional peddling with glassware into more distant regions, and increasingly replaced their backpacks with handcarts or even horse-driven carriages. Trade was carried out by a multitude of small companies whose members

⁶⁵ Laurence Fontaine, *Histoire du colportage en Europe (XVe–XIXe siècle)* (Paris, 1993); published in English as *History of Pedlars in Europe* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁶⁶ Vertical integration here means the concentration of (ideally) all aspects of manufacturing a product into one firm, from the acquisition of raw materials and production processes to distribution.

⁶⁷ Alfred Behr, 'Warum die Schwaben Tüftler sind', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12 Mar. 2002, p. 12. On Ketterer (1676–1753) also see Richard Mühe and Helmut Kahler, *Deutsches Uhrenmuseum Furtwangen: Die Geschichte der Uhr* (Munich, 1983), 124. The claim that this was a Swiss invention was boosted by Graham Greene's *The Third Man*, but must be regarded as fiction.

were linked by familial ties and were, at the same time, involved in manufacturing. They controlled the entire chain from production to packaging, haulage, and sale. By 1700, sales expeditions had reached places as far to the east as St Petersburg and Moscow (1688), and London and Cadiz (1691) to the west. In the decades that followed, Bohemians established permanent trading posts all over Europe: in Trieste, Ancona, Naples, Palermo, and Milan; in Amsterdam (before 1730), Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht; in Porto (1730) and Lisbon; and in at least seventeen places in Spain, most prominently in Cadiz (1720s), Bilbao (before 1733), and Madrid. Northern Europe was covered by trading houses in Hamburg, Copenhagen, and Riga; the Ottoman Empire by houses in Istanbul and Smyrna. Despite the tight Spanish restrictions on foreign trade with its colonies, branches were opened in Lima (1784) and Mexico City (1787). From most of these posts abroad, the pedlars covered vast areas, thus offering their products even in remote villages. In Cadiz alone, some fifty Bohemian merchants had established themselves in the period from 1720 to 1830 (not counting clerks and apprentices). A number of the families connected with the seventeenth-century glass trade remained in business into the nineteenth century: Kreybich, Preysler, Piltz, Palme, and Grosman, to name but a few.⁶⁸

According to contemporary observers, the discipline which Bohemian trading houses imposed on their members, and their celibate lifestyle, meant that they resembled convents more than commercial enterprises. A case study of the branches in Cadiz and Bilbao confirms that company contracts specifically prohibited employees from mixing with the host society, marrying partners from abroad, and even socializing with non-Bohemian merchants. Working days were to start and finish with prayers.⁶⁹ Even though their Catholic

⁶⁸ Ludwig Schlesinger, 'Reisebeschreibung eines deutschböhmischen Glas-schneiders', *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, 8 (1870), 220–35, at 222–6; Edmund Schebek, *Böhmens Glasindustrie und Glashandel: Quellen zu ihrer Geschichte* (Prague, 1878; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1969), 62–3, 88–91, 138; Otto Quelle, 'Die Faktoreien der sudetendeutschen Glashändler in Spanien und Portugal', *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, 11 (1937–8), 387–91, at 388.

⁶⁹ Arthur Salz, *Geschichte der Böhmisches Industrie in der Neuzeit* (Munich, 1913), 253; Schebek, *Böhmens Glasindustrie*, p. lxii. A company contract dated 1782 has been preserved at the Archivo Foral, Bilbao, Sección Municipal, Fondo Corregimiento, sign. 1549/014.

religion posed no obstacle to the creation of matrimonial ties with Spanish families, the five Bohemian-Spanish marriages known in Cadiz took place only after 1800, unlike other cases among foreign traders (both Protestant and Catholic) in Spain. One reason for this endogamous behaviour was certainly Bohemian feudal law, which until 1781 prevented marriage with partners from outside the estate of their overlord. Merchants from this area usually chose wives from their home villages, and frequently travelled back and forth between Bohemia and their places of work. At home, they saw their family and settled their accounts with their partners in the glass manufactories, in which they themselves held shares. Augustin Rautenstrauch, for example, after establishing a trading house in Cadiz, returned to Haida, from where he directed an international enterprise. In the 1790s his sons ran branches in Cadiz, Seville, and Lisbon, one having previously founded a branch in Lima. With assistance from Spanish and Mexican frontmen who helped to circumvent regulations prohibiting foreigners from engaging in direct trade with the colonies, another branch was opened in Mexico City in 1787. This branch continued to exist at least until the 1830s.⁷⁰ Bohemian glass traders are an example of a group that was much more concerned with vertical integration of the business than with social integration into the host societies. Given the vast expansion of their commercial family networks covering key cities in Europe, the Americas, and the Ottoman world, this strategy may be regarded as extremely successful.

Similar distribution networks were achieved by the Black Forest clock industry and by wood carvers from the Alpine valleys, though in these cases there were no legal restrictions on marital options.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Simona Binková, 'La independencia de México vista desde Bohemia: La correspondencia comercial de Hiecke, Rautenstrauch, Zincke y Cía. en los años 1820-1825', *Ibero-Americana Pragensia*, 29 (1995), 189-99, at 190; Bohumil Badura, 'Apuntes sobre los orígenes del comercio vidriero entre Bohemia y México (1787-1839)', *Historica*, 9 (1964), 69-134.

⁷¹ Rolf Walter, 'Träger und Formen des südwestdeutschen Wanderhandels in historischer Perspektive', in Wilfried Reininghaus (ed.), *Wanderhandel in Europa: Beiträge zur wissenschaftlichen Tagung in Ibbenbüren, Mettingen, Recke und Hopsten vom 9.-11. Oktober 1992* (Dortmund, 1993), 101-16; Mark Häberlein, 'Transatlantische Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert: Die Kontakte südwestdeutscher und schweizer Einwanderer in Pennsylvania zu ihren Heimatregionen', in Walter G. Rödel and Helmut Schmahl (eds.), *Menschen zwischen zwei Welten: Auswanderung, Ansiedlung, Akkulturation* (Trier, 2002), 45-60.

There was another reason for developing thorough vertical integration. As in the case of the Bohemian glass industry, these businesses produced highly fragile and precious items which could not be entrusted to general haulage and shipping companies. From packing to long distance transport, unpacking, and sale, these products needed to be in skilled hands. The increase in long-distance distribution of such items made the establishment of long-distance networks inevitable.

Only the commercially most successful families survived Cadiz's steep decline as a major Atlantic seaport caused by the loss of the Spanish mainland colonies. Among them was the Böhl family, originally from Stralsund and present in Cadiz from the mid-eighteenth century. Stralsund, a small port city on Germany's Baltic coast, exported linen produced in the hinterland of Mecklenburg and Pomerania.⁷² Like the Ellermanns, the Böhl family had also established themselves in Hamburg. During the 1810s and 1820s they had acquired vineyards and formed a matrimonial alliance with the British merchant Thomas Osborne, thus laying the foundation for the company that to the present day is still a major player in the production and marketing of Spanish wines, spirits, olive oil, and other foodstuffs.⁷³ In addition to these leading merchants, the networks of the Bohemian traders proved to be surprisingly robust during the difficult period of the Atlantic revolutions. One reason may have been their close-knit familial networks and independence of outside capital, which had become risky during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.⁷⁴ Most of the other German traders left the area between 1790 and 1830, some returning to Hamburg, others seeking new opportunities in London. Both places attracted much of the hitherto illegal direct trade with the newly independent Latin American states.⁷⁵

⁷² David Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770* (Cambridge, 2003), 150; Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 151-3.

⁷³ Javier Maldonado Rosso, *La formación del capitalismo en el Marco de Jerez: De la vitivinicultura tradicional a la agroindustria vinatera moderna (siglos XVIII y XIX)* (Madrid, 2000), 269-70.

⁷⁴ Salz, *Geschichte der Böhmisches Industrie*, 239.

⁷⁵ Also see Walther L. Bernecker, *Die Handelskonquistadoren: Europäische Interessen und mexikanischer Staat im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1988).

Wine-Growing and Slave-Trading: Germans in Bordeaux

In the process of European expansion, France had been a late-comer by comparison with the Iberian countries, the Netherlands, and Britain. It made its first acquisitions in the Caribbean only from the 1650s onwards. But these acquisitions, internationally acknowledged in the Treaty of Rijswijk (1697), proved to be most lucrative. The islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, and especially Saint-Domingue (the western part of the Spanish possession of Hispaniola), became the world's major producers of raw sugar. Because of its extremely fertile soils, Saint-Domingue produced up to three quarters of the sugar consumed in the western world in the late eighteenth century. The island was also 'quickly becoming the world's largest producer of coffee, which had only been introduced [there] in 1723'. The exports of this island alone were 'greater than the combined exports of the Spanish and British Antilles'.⁷⁶ While most of the sugar from British islands was consumed by British domestic markets, France could afford to re-export vast quantities to countries in central and eastern Europe, which lacked their own sources of production. While France was catching up in the process of European expansion, the French shipping industry also joined the rank-and-file of the slave-trading nations, and French Atlantic seaports increasingly adapted to the plantation and slave-trading economy. Nantes became the major domestic port for the French slave trade, and Bordeaux was by far the largest port for receiving and re-exporting colonial goods from the French Caribbean. For a long time, merchants from Bordeaux had developed efficient distribution networks for their wine trade and were therefore in an advantageous position to supplement their stock with products coming in from overseas. In 1717, the port city on the Gironde had handled 20 per cent of the entire French colonial trade, while by the second half of the eighteenth century it was 40 per cent. During the 1780s, more than half of all French re-exports of colonial produce were sent from Bordeaux, which also became France's second most important slaving port. The

⁷⁶ Jean Meyer, Jean Tarrade, Annie Rey-Goldzeiguer, and Jacques Tobie, *Histoire de la France coloniale*, i. *Des origines à 1914* (Paris, 1991), 241-3; Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Oxford, 1986), 56-8, at 57.

slave trade was an extremely capital-intensive business and attracted money not only from France.⁷⁷

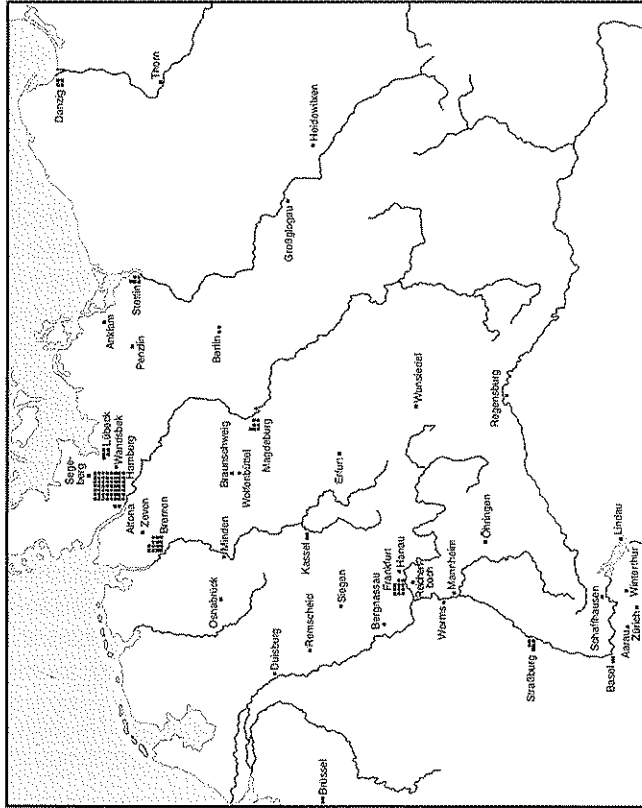
The French colonial economy also had an impact on the profile of the German trading community in Bordeaux. Two hundred and twenty-five shareholding partners or sole owners of trading houses have been identified in Bordeaux for the period 1680 to 1830. Its size, therefore, was similar to that of the community in Cadiz, but unlike in that city, the sources available for Bordeaux do not allow an almost complete identification of their places of origin. However, the German home towns of 181 of these 225 individuals have been established. Seventy-five came from the three Hanseatic cities, and about 50 from places such as Frankfurt, Magdeburg, Strasbourg, and Stettin, buying up French sugar, coffee, indigo, wine, brandy, and so on, to be re-exported to Germany. In contrast to London and Cadiz, German merchants in Bordeaux more commonly came from Hanseatic ports and centres of trading and finance in the German hinterlands (see Figure 3.4). German manufacturing regions were far less represented in Bordeaux than in Cadiz or London. Given the surplus of French sugar production, the neutral city-state of Hamburg almost naturally became one of France's major trading partners, and one of the principal places in the north for processing and re-distributing French sugar and other plantation products. In 1727, about 200 sugar refineries were operative in the Hanseatic city, and by 1805 there were more than 400. In Amsterdam, there were a mere 90 around 1750, in Rotterdam, many fewer.⁷⁸ According to an 1807 report, in 1788 Hamburg had received from Bordeaux alone far more merchandise (worth 35.6 million *mark banco*) than from all English ports taken together (a total of 11.9 million *mark banco*), and most of it consisted of sugar and coffee.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Paul Butel, *Les négociants bordelais: l'Europe et les îles au 18^e siècle* (Paris, 1974), 20-1; Eric Saugera, *Bordeaux port négrier: Chronologie, économie, idéologie, XVII^e-XIX^e siècles* (Biarritz, 1995).

⁷⁸ Astrid Petersson, 'Zuckersiedergewerbe und Zuckerhandel in Hamburg: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Kontinentalsperre', *Hamburger Wirtschafts-Chronik*, NS 1 (2001), 53-81, at 55-8; Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 387, 392; Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford, 1989), 265. Soetbeer claims as many as 450 for the year 1805; see Adolf Soetbeer, *Über Hamburgs Handel* (Hamburg, 1840), i. 18.

⁷⁹ Archives Nationales, Paris, F¹² 566-95 (Commerce et industrie, départe-

Figure 3.4 Places of birth of German merchants established in Bordeaux, 1680–1830



Source: Klaus Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel: Unternehmen und Familien in Hamburg, Cadix und Bordeaux (1680–1830)* (Munich, 2004), 403. Reprinted by permission of C. H. Beck Verlag.

This dense flow of goods from France to the Elbe estuary was managed by the Germans in Bordeaux and by the small but economically extremely successful community of Huguenot merchants settled in Hamburg.⁸⁰ The most successful Germans in Bordeaux had also established matrimonial ties with families from the city's economic elite, mostly sugar planters, wine growers, and shipowners. The high proportion of Protestants among these French-born businessmen increased the chances of smooth integration for the Lutherans from Hansa towns. Some of them succeeded in extending their own business into the French plantation empire. Among them was Johann Christoph Harmensen, who had arrived in Bordeaux in 1708, and soon married a French woman. By the 1740s, when tax registers listed his trading house as pre-eminent among the Germans established there, the family had already acquired a major plantation on Saint-Domingue. It was probably registered in his wife's name. Johann Christoph's son Michael lived there for many years. Thus the Harmensens were certainly slave owners. In 1763, the father Harmensen was granted a noble title by August III, King of Poland and Prince Elector of Saxony, in acknowledgement of the services he had rendered to Saxon textile manufacturing, most likely by deliveries of cotton and tropical dyes such as indigo. The title was recognized by the French king in 1768. The Harmensens were also among Bordeaux's leading wine merchants, at least into the 1830s. When the French Caribbean was lost, the wine business remained the region's only lucrative sector of any scale and was enthusiastically developed. Hanseatic families such as the Schylers, Harmensens, and Cruses, newcomers in 1814, were major players in this field. They owned wine estates and explored new markets in eastern Europe and the United States.⁸¹ The Schyler family's wine-trading business is still one of the leading firms in this sector.

ments hanséatiques). The figures are taken from a Hamburg report, dated 30 June 1807 and directed to France, on the devastating commercial consequences of the blockade. In this context, the figures for trade with France may have been deliberately exaggerated, but certainly reflect the importance of this sector of Hanseatic trade.

⁸⁰ Klaus Weber, 'La migration huguenote dans le contexte de l'économie atlantique: l'exemple de Hambourg', in Guido Braun and Susanne Lachenicht (eds.), *Les états allemands et les huguenots* (Munich, 2007), 125–36.

⁸¹ Pierre Jeannin, 'La clientèle étrangère de la maison Schröder et Schyler, de

German entrepreneurs not only employed slaves on their plantations; a number of them also became slave traders. At least six of their trading houses in Bordeaux, among them Dravemann (from Bremen), van Döhren (from Hamburg), and Overmann & Meyer (from Hamburg), sent their own ships to African coasts, flying the French flag. In total, German companies directed about thirty Bordeaux-based slaving expeditions, which account for about 7 per cent of the 411 slavers that left from the Gironde between 1700 and 1793.⁸² German capital was certainly involved in expeditions directed by French shipowners, but far more significant was a less obvious economic link with the slave trade. The total volume of German-made manufactures used as barter goods to buy slaves on the coasts of Africa, including by merchants of other nationalities, is unknown, but it must have been significant. Sources rarely offer information on the origin of such goods, but where such information is available, the proportion of German manufactures is surprisingly high. One of these rare examples is provided by the slave ship *Amiral*, which left Bordeaux for the Guinea coast in 1744. As with most slavers, the bulk of its cargo consisted of textiles. Of the total of 5,095 bales of cotton and linen it had on board, 1,440 came from Nantes, only 675 from Rouen, and 260 from Amsterdam, but as many as 2,720 from Hamburg. The German economist Johann Georg Büsch (1728–1800) highlighted the importance of German linen on African markets, providing the example of a slaver leaving the French port of Lorient in 1720 with its cargo made up entirely of textiles imported from Hamburg.⁸³ These isolated observations confirm Herbert Klein's more general statement concerning German linen increasingly competing with Indian cottons on African markets (quoted above). The African di-

la Guerre de Sept ans à la Guerre d'Indépendance', *Bulletin du Centre d'Histoire des Espaces Atlantiques*, NS 3 (1987), 21–83; Paul Butel, 'Des négociants allemands de Bordeaux aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles: les Schröder & Schyler et les Cruse', in Alain Ruiz (ed.), *Présence de l'Allemagne à Bordeaux du siècle de Montaigne à la veille de la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Bordeaux, 1997), 57–64.

⁸² Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 198.

⁸³ Saugera, *Bordeaux port négrier*, 246, 352. Eric Saugera notes that the load carried by the *Amiral* was a typical cargo destined for West African markets. Johann G. Büsch, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Hamburgischen Handlung nebst zwei kleineren Schriften verwandten Inhalts* (Hamburg, 1797), 88–9. Büsch took this information from a report by the French voyager Desmarchais.

mension of German trade in Bordeaux and its links with the French plantation economy are probably best personified in the merchants Friedrich Romberg and Johann Jakob Bethmann.

Born in 1729 in a small village close to the iron-manufacturing city of Iserlohn, Friedrich Romberg learned his logistical skills as head and founder of a Brussels-based long-distance haulage enterprise linking Flanders with Italy. Another important aspect of his business was provisioning the French navy ports of Brest and Cherbourg with naval supplies such as ropes, masts, hemp, and tar. During the American War, which was a boom period for the neutral flag of the Austrian Netherlands, he also became an important shipowner. Within a few years he had established the shipping company *Frédéric Romberg fils & Ricour* in Ostend, a maritime insurance company in Bruges, the slave-trading company *Romberg & Cie* in Ghent dealing mainly with Cuba, and a calico factory in Brussels. In 1783 he also set up the Bordeaux slave-trading company *Romberg, Bapst & Cie*. Minor shareholding partners in this firm were Georg Christoph Bapst, who came from a family of financiers originating in the Palatinate, and the Brussels banking brothers Walckiers. All these business ventures were supplemented by shares in the textile and ironware production of the Iserlohn area. In 1784 Romberg was knighted by Emperor Joseph II.⁸⁴

Within a few years, Romberg, Bapst & Cie became the major slave-trading and plantation company in Bordeaux, its expeditions extending as far as Mozambique. During this feverish boom period in the plantation economy rising slave prices had made many planters debtors of the slave traders. The latter increasingly took over indebted plantations, or at least their management, in order to satisfy their claims with the produce of these estates. Romberg, Bapst & Cie acted in the same way. On the outbreak of the revolution, the company owned or managed some twenty plantations on Saint-Domingue, producing predominantly cotton and indigo. It permanently had five or six ships in service, representing a capital of around 400,000 *livres tournois*. The pay for the 200 seamen employed on them represented running costs of 100,000 *livres* per annum (excluding

⁸⁴ Françoise Thésée, *Négociants bordelais et colons de Saint-Domingue. Liaisons d'habitation: La maison Henry Romberg, Bapst & Cie 1783–1793* (Paris, 1972), 23–6; Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 195–8.

officers).⁸⁵ The enormous turnover of capital and its customers' unreliability meant that the shipping company ran into crisis. By 1788, the total sum owed by the planters was 4.72 million *livres*. In the following year, a consortium of twelve Bordeaux trading houses—seven of them led by Germans, prominent among them Johann Jacob Bethmann—raised 4.15 million *livres* to prevent the collapse of Romberg's firm. But its downfall was accelerated by the slave revolt on Saint-Domingue, which started in 1791 and ultimately led to the Haitian Revolution. Further efforts were made, but they only increased total financial losses. When the final settlement of accounts was made in 1807, losses amounted to the impressive sum of 34.24 million *livres*. The company's bankruptcy had repercussions on important European financiers, and almost ruined Bethmann, the most reputable member of the German community in Bordeaux.⁸⁶

Johann Jakob Bethmann (1717–92) was established in France as early as 1740 and, through his marriage to the daughter of the wealthy Bordeaux shipowner Pierre Desclaux, soon became one of the city's major shipping magnates. His marriage into this elite family also gained him a licence for direct trade with Canada and the French Caribbean. During the Seven Years War he served the French navy by supplying the overseas colonies. This proof of loyalty cost him some of his vessels, but he was rewarded after the war by lucrative shipping contracts. In the course of his business life, he sent ships to the colonies on least 53 occasions (mostly with the participation of other shareholders), and he commissioned the building of at least five new vessels. Bethmann also owned shares in an unknown number of ships registered in Lorient, Dunkerque, and Bayonne. His cosmopolitanism is reflected in his Frankfurt citizenship, which he never gave up, and his citizenship of the town of Grandson, near Neuchâtel. When travelling in Europe, he always used his Swiss passport. Although he enjoyed privileges that were usually granted only to Frenchmen, he never became a French subject. In 1766, he successfully applied for the post of Imperial consul in Bordeaux, and in 1776 was granted an Imperial knighthood. During the 1780s, when the *Droit de l'Exclusif*, the legislation excluding foreigners from direct

⁸⁵ Jean Tarrade, *Le commerce colonial de la France à la fin de l'ancien régime: l'évolution du régime de l'Exclusif de 1763 à 1789* (Paris, 1972), 46; Thésée, *Négociants bordelais*, 51–72, 38–9.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 195–7, 200.

trade with the colonies, was gradually dismantled, he wound down his shipping to the Caribbean. As early as 1765, ironically, he had signed a petition organized by the *Chambre de Commerce* arguing against early attempts to introduce a liberal policy of this sort on the grounds that the admission of 'foreigners' would ruin the business.⁸⁷

Johann Jakob Bethmann was a brother of Johann Philipp and Simon Moritz Bethmann, who ran the Frankfurt banking house Gebrüder Bethmann. At that time, their bank and that run by the Metzler family were the dominant banking houses in the German financial capital. The Metzler family, too, was present in Bordeaux, where Wilhelm Peter Metzler (1711–61) was married to Marie Pauline Boyer, from a Huguenot family with branches in the Caribbean and in Hamburg. Their son, Peter Heinrich (1744–1800), was to marry Johann Jakob Bethmann's daughter, Katharina Elisabeth, who would eventually become the sole heir to the Bethmann fortune in Bordeaux. The younger sons Jean Albert (1742–67) and Peter Metzler (1748–1823) would represent the family business on Saint-Domingue, Guadeloupe, and Martinique. Given the considerable capital demands of the Atlantic slaving and plantation economies, Atlantic ports such as Nantes and Bordeaux maintained close links with merchant bankers in the financial capitals of Germany and Switzerland,⁸⁸ who in turn maintained close relations with central European cotton and linen processing industries. On the Continent, the Frankfurt bank Gebrüder Bethmann acted as the primary capital lender to rural proto-industries all over Germany. It ran large Saxon copper mines on leasehold, copper being one of the crucial raw materials in Atlantic shipbuilding. The Bethmann bank had developed its own particular commercial profile which distinguished it from major banking houses in Atlantic port cities. It made almost 90 per cent of its profits in rural manufacturing areas like the Rhineland and Saxony, with not one of its major clients established in places with

⁸⁷ Wolfgang Henninger, *Johann Jakob von Bethmann 1717–1792: Kaufmann, Reeder und kaiserlicher Konsul in Bordeaux*, 2 vols. (Bochum, 1993).

⁸⁸ For the Swiss aspects of the slave trade and plantation complex see Thomas David, Bouda Etemad, and Janick Marina Schaufelbuehl, *Schwarze Geschäfte: Die Beteiligung von Schweizern an Sklaverei und Sklavenhandel im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Zurich, 2005); French-language edition, *La Suisse et l'esclavage des noirs* (Lausanne, 2005).

more than 50,000 inhabitants.⁸⁹ Of course, this does not mean that Gebrüder Bethmann was only a Continental enterprise. On the contrary, it financially linked rural manufactures with the Atlantic markets on which these depended.

Even though the French textile industries were far more competitive than those in Spain, large quantities of German-made textiles and metal products arrived in French ports, most of them destined for re-shipping to Hispanic and African markets. In 1753, about 75 per cent of the linen registered in Hamburg duty registers for export to France was destined for Bayonne, where an important community of Basque merchants channelled it to Spain and its American colonies through both legal and illegal channels. But far larger quantities of textiles were traded to Spain directly.⁹⁰ Given the huge amounts of colonial produce purchased by German traders in Bordeaux and other French ports, Hamburg's balance of trade with France (which roughly reflected that of the Holy Empire) was negative, while that with Spain was positive. The German manufactures sold to the Hispanic world were largely paid for by American silver, which in return allowed the import of consumer goods such as coffee and sugar, and of raw materials such as cotton and indigo, from France. In short: 'Germany paid for its consumption of colonial goods with linen,'⁹¹ and most of them came from France. Banking houses such as those of Bethmann and Metzler were key organizers of the financial transactions necessary to keep these exchanges running smoothly.

Given the region's wine-growing sector, which was far better developed than the one in the hinterland of Cadiz, quite a number of the most successful German maritime merchants in Bordeaux also invested part of their profits in vineyards. Given the orientation towards markets in northern Europe, investors of British, Dutch, and German background were in a good position to compete with French-born wine growers and exporters. In the French context, the pattern of acquiring estates and titles was far more evident than in Spain.

⁸⁹ Friedrich Zellfelder, *Das Kundennetz des Bankhauses Gebrüder Bethmann, Frankfurt am Main, im Spiegel der Hauptbücher (1738-1816)* (Stuttgart, 1994).

⁹⁰ Klaus Weber, 'Les livres douaniers de l'Amirauté de Hambourg au XVIIIe siècle, une source de grande valeur encore inexploitée', *Bulletin du Centre d'Histoire des espaces atlantiques*, NS 9 (1999), 93-126, at 107-9.

⁹¹ Josef Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt, 1958), ii. 231.

A striking example is the Luetkens family, which had been established in Bordeaux since 1685. In the early seventeenth century, their ancestors had been very active in Hamburg's trade with Spain, and some of them had established themselves in Seville and San Lucar.⁹² Shifting their focus from Seville to Bordeaux may be regarded as an adjustment of their business to the political and economic decline of Spain and the rise of France. Once settled in Bordeaux, they started to export wines to Hamburg and into the Baltic basin, and soon also traded sugar, indigo, and other colonial goods coming in from the French Caribbean. As early as 1686, they began to grow wine in the south of Bordeaux, and by 1728 possessed their own vineyards in Vertheuil, in the far more prestigious Médoc region. Charles de Luetkens, born in 1744 into the third generation, was the first French-born Luetkens to acquire nobility, as Seigneur de La Tour-Carnet. By the time the French Revolution broke out, he had accumulated the titles of Conseiller du roi, Contrôleur de guerre, Écuyer, and Contrôleur ordinaire du roi. Nevertheless, the family survived. During the period of the Directory, Charles's son Jean-Jacque Luetkens figured at number ten on Bordeaux's rich list, based on the tax registers. Since the mid-eighteenth century, family members had always married into families from the elite of the local Calvinist minority. Jean-Jacque's son Charles Oscar, who died in 1875, was the mayor of the small wine-growing town of Saint-Laurent du Médoc, and later became Conseiller general of the Département Gironde, a function then inherited by his son Henri-Michel. The Luetkens had thus advanced from merchant to *ancien régime* nobleman, and from nobleman to *notable de la République*.

Conclusions

Investigation of the spatial-temporal development of commercial networks has shown that the German merchants connected the proto-industrial regions of their home country with leading Atlantic port cities of the European Continent and with the British capital. These networks took a long time to develop and many were extremely long-lived, lasting more than a hundred years and including three

⁹² *Hamburgisches Geschlechterbuch* (Limburg, 1966), 201-22.

generations and more. Adding to Mark Casson's description of commercial networks, two fundamental types have been identified here, distinguished by composition of membership and configuration: on the one hand, merchant networks created by members of well-established merchant families from the Hanseatic port cities and their hinterland; and on the other hand, pedlars' networks created by tradesmen from Bohemia, the Black Forest, and a few other remote rural areas. The inner core of both was based on family and kin.

The trading networks directed exclusively towards London belonged to the first type. They can be subdivided according to the place of birth of their protagonists: either port city or rural hinterland. Those merchants from the proto-industrial hinterland linked their home town to London via the north German port cities. They also developed networks incorporating other textile areas of Germany, partly via London, and partly by the direct migration of close relatives, for example, from Westphalia and Remscheid to Silesian and Saxon towns. The overland network thus created between the German textile regions of Westphalia, Saxony, and Silesia was both cause and consequence of the high demand for linen in the British Empire from the late seventeenth century. From London, the German merchant houses distributed their produce to the most distant places of the empire and beyond. Those merchants from port cities created seaborne networks connecting the Hanseatic towns with London and other European ports. Yet the distinction between these two sub-types is to some extent an analytical one. In everyday business merchants linked both sub-types of networks and, in all, created a European trade which spread beyond the European context. In addition to business, they were also variously interlinked through friendships, clubs and societies, and intermarriage. As their family and kinship links went beyond national borders, they formed what may be called a European commercial and cosmopolitan elite. The enlightenment philosophers, at any rate, derived their image of cosmopolitanism from groups of merchants like the ones described here.

German merchants in London, Cadiz, and Bordeaux used these port cities as entrepôts, both to export German goods, mainly linen, across the Atlantic, and to import colonial produce into Germany and other central European countries. Among the Germans in Cadiz, too, both sub-types of networks of textile merchants existed. Since the late seventeenth century merchants had been coming from the Hanseatic

cities and the proto-industrial areas where the fabrics were produced. A clearly distinct type of network emerged from the early eighteenth century, with pedlars from specific, highly specialized German manufacturing regions going to Cadiz to distribute the sophisticated products of their respective home villages, namely, glassware, carved wooden artwork, and clocks. The textile merchants of the first type of network sought social integration into the Spanish merchant community, while the highly specialized peddling traders mostly avoided family and business alliances. One reason for this was the fragility of their commodities, which demanded special skills from packaging and haulage to ultimate sale to the customer. This requirement also meant that they developed a far-reaching peddling trade on the Iberian Peninsula. It seems that the Bohemians developed the geographically most extended networks, with branches in places as remote as Lima and Mexico City. The German peddling networks were remarkably resilient in the face of the financial turbulence of the period from about 1800 to 1820. Their businesses survived far into the nineteenth century, while most of the smaller and medium-sized German merchant houses in Cadiz were either bankrupted or retreated from Spain during those years.

In contrast to London and Cadiz, Bordeaux attracted few protagonists from rural areas. This port city was not so much a market for central European manufactures, but rather exported colonial produce from the French Antilles and wine from its own hinterland. Most of the Germans on the Gironde estuary therefore belonged to the above-mentioned type of well-established merchant families from Hamburg and lesser trading cities such as Magdeburg, Stettin, and Strasbourg, where their business partners or family members organized the distribution of consumer goods such as sugar and coffee. Some of the most successful Germans were also closely involved with the plantation economy in the French Caribbean. Bordeaux's role as Europe's major entrepôt for colonial commodities and Hamburg's unique position as a place for processing and redistributing these products in the north were the key reasons why the transactions of the Germans established there, and hence the spatial dimensions of their commercial networks, tended to be bilateral, while those of the Germans in London and Cadiz were multilateral, linking various cities and regions in Germany and the Atlantic world.

A comparison of the three places examined here demonstrates

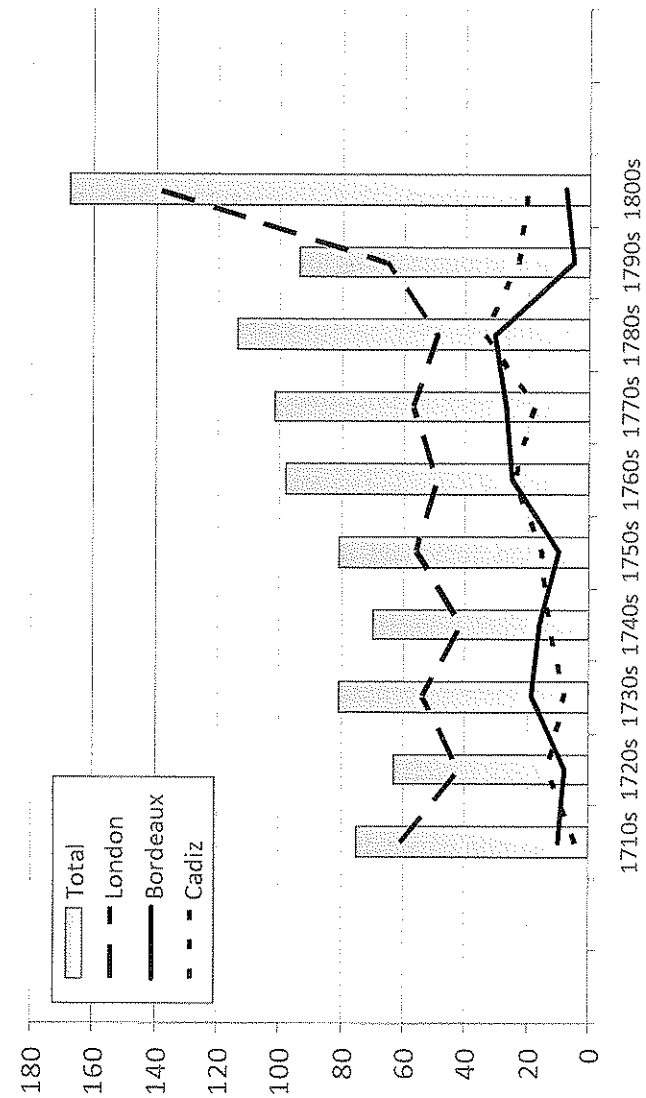
how swiftly the spatial patterns of the commercial networks adapted to economic and macro-political changes. A graph showing rising immigration rates for German merchants in Cadiz and Bordeaux from the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth indicates dynamic growth of German trade in these places, in particular during the 1770s and 1780s. During this period, the communities in Cadiz and Bordeaux grew considerably (see Figure 3.5). The situation changed dramatically when the Atlantic revolutions struck both port cities. The Spanish and the French networks of German trading families were doomed with the loss of Spanish and French Atlantic colonies. With Spanish American countries becoming independent and Saint-Domingue lost as a result of the Haitian Revolution, places such as Bordeaux and Cadiz immediately lost their role as springboards to overseas colonies. In Bordeaux, the outbreak of the French Revolution caused a sharp demographic decline in all communities of foreigners. Only those German merchants who had invested in rural and urban property, probably no more than a dozen, survived the crisis. In Cadiz, the decline was somewhat delayed, but because of a lack of alternative investment opportunities such as were available in Bordeaux, for example, the ultimate impact was even harsher. By around 1815, apart from the above-mentioned Bohemian firms, only three of the larger German textile trading houses were still there.⁹³

Migration to Britain also increased during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Given the lack of any immigration controls before the outbreak of the French Revolution, no estimates are possible. With reference to London, Figure 3.5 reflects only the wealthy elite of migrants who could afford the cost of naturalization by private act of Parliament.⁹⁴ Their numbers remained fairly constant throughout the eighteenth century, except for a sharp rise during the last decade.

⁹³ Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 151-2.

⁹⁴ On the history of naturalization and denization see Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, ch. 1 and ead., 'British Nationality Policy as a Counter-Revolutionary Strategy during the Napoleonic Wars: The Emergence of Modern Naturalization Regulations', in Andreas Fahrmeir, Oliver Faron, and Patrick Weil (eds.), *Migration Control in the North Atlantic World* (Oxford, 2003), 55-70.

Figure 3.5 Migration of German merchants to Cadiz, London, and Bordeaux, 1710-1810 (number of individuals arrived and settled per decade)



During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, a number of merchant families shifted their networks from the French and Spanish seaports to London, to benefit from its rise into Europe's leading commercial and financial centre. Britain became a refuge not only of the French nobility. Many Continentals, among them well-known bankers such as Hope & Co from Amsterdam, fled the approaching French armies and crossed the Channel, despite the restrictive immigration laws of 1793. Although no reliable quantitative data is available on the numbers that sought refuge in Britain, the surviving Home Office records suggest a steep increase. The number of naturalizations and denizations jumped in the 1790s. Among the merchants who fled to Britain from the German states were not only Protestants but also a very considerable number of Jews and Catholics. Even German merchants from Portugal and Spain applied for British nationality. James Henry Mislér, for example, a Hamburg merchant from Cadiz, explained in 1811 that he had applied for refuge because he did not wish to return to his home town of Hamburg while it was occupied by Napoleon.⁹⁵

Unlike the German merchants in Cadiz and Bordeaux, most of the Germans in London remained in trade. The dynamic growth of British trade and industry from the 1770s encouraged merchants to invest in the new industries or turn to insurance and finance. However, after the Atlantic revolutions and the end of the Napoleonic era, much of the German trade with the Americas was managed directly via Hamburg, Bremen, and Rotterdam, given the free trade policy adopted by the now independent states of the Americas. In all, the networking migration strategy of the German merchant families contributed to the emergence in the early modern period of a European and a global trade upon which the expansion of German export trade and shipping after the foundation of the nation-state in 1871 was built.

⁹⁵ TNA, Home Office Papers, HO 1/6 James Henry Mislér; see also HO 1/4 Hans Gottlieb Cropp's application.

Between Cosmopolitanism and German Colonialism: Nineteenth-Century Hanseatic Networks in Emerging Tropical Markets

BRADLEY D. NARANCH

Introduction

They were telegrams that no one would ever wish to receive, even in an age when such electronic communications were still something of a novelty.¹ Both messages, bound for Hamburg, were nearly identical in content and had travelled a long distance to reach their final destination. They began their trans-Atlantic journey as hand-written messages originating in the heart of Brazilian sugar country. Upon arrival in the Bahian city of São Salvador, they were then transcribed into short telegrams of fewer than twenty words each and dispatched on separate sailing vessels bound for Lisbon and Bordeaux. This was a precautionary measure to ensure their swiftest possible delivery to locations on the Atlantic coast where there were direct telegraph connections to northern Germany. The first arrived in Lisbon on the afternoon of 17 April 1863. Two days later, the message finally made it to Hamburg. The second later reached the French mainland at 7 a.m. on 21 April and was wired by 9 a.m. that same morning. It was a costly but effective method of sending the Schramm and the Jencquel families, two prominent merchant clans who resided in the Hanseatic port city, the sobering news that their relative, Adolphine, was dead.

¹ Dwayne R. Winseck and Robert M. Pike, *Communications and Empire: Media, Markets, and Globalization, 1860–1930* (Durham, NC, 2007). For accounts that stress the competitive dynamics of the growth of global communications networks, see Jill Hills, *The Struggle for Control of Global Communication: The Formative Century* (Urbana, Ill., 2002); Daniel R. Headrick, *The Invisible Weapon: Telecommunications and International Politics 1851–1945* (New York, 1991).