Klaus Weber

1 Germany and the Early Modern Atlantic World: Economic Involvement and Historiography

Two world wars, a slump in international trade lasting from 1914 until well into the 1950s, and Germany's cultural and political alienation from its western neighbors contributed to the idea that the integration of Germany into a global economy only began in the 1950s. Not only the lay audience needs to be reminded that the nineteenth century already saw a spectacular growth in maritime trade and that from around the middle of the century, German industrial products (in particular in the electrical and chemical sectors) were in fierce competition with British manufactures on markets around the world. Even more overlooked is the early modern involvement of German cities and territories with the Atlantic World, which date back to the very beginnings of European expansion. The following contribution will remind us of these connections: participation in the Iberian expansion across the Atlantic, participation in the slave trade operated under the Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, French, and British flags, massive investments in plantations established in those countries' colonies, and the production of barter commodities for the purchase of enslaved Africans on a very large scale.

The second part of this text will offer a brief overview of the historiography on the topic, as the mentioned German entanglements are inseparable from the writing of their history for several reasons. Some of the early historians writing and publishing on these issues in the late nineteenth century were themselves involved in colonialist politics of the Wilhelmine Empire, aiming anew at the African markets that had been purchasing German-made goods since the sixteenth century. The relevant historians of the subsequent generation were in turn deeply enmeshed in National Socialism. These two expansionist ideologies contaminated the entire field of study to some degree, which explains why it was avoided altogether by younger historians trained during the 1960s. Only since the 2000s has yet another generation of researchers begun to revisit the topic with new questions and methods.

Notes: The research for this article was funded by the German Research Foundation (WE 3613/2-1, "The Globalized Periphery: Transatlantic Commerce and Social and Economic Change in Central Europe, ca. 1680–1850"). I am indebted to Anka Steffen for valuable hints concerning scholarly literature, and to Chris Smith and Stephan Stockinger for ironing my English.

Early German Involvement in the Atlantic Economy

In this context, ‘Germany’ or ‘German’ before ca. 1800 refers to the German-speaking territories of the Holy Roman Empire. Close links between these lands and the Atlantic World were continuously maintained from the fifteenth into the nineteenth century. Several reasons for these ties can be identified: One of them obviously lies in the sugar economy, which Christian orders of chivalry such as the Hospitallers and Templars as well as Italian entrepreneurs developed on Mediterranean islands beginning in the fourteenth century. Having adopted the requisite technologies from Arab captives and through other pathways of cultural exchange during the Crusades, they established sugar plantations and sugar mills from Crete and Rhodes via Sicily, the Balearics, and the Spanish Mediterranean coast to the Algarve coast of Portugal. These plantations usually operated with a mixed labor force of free workers and slaves,¹ and the industry was continually in search of Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, or even German investors. Merchants and businessmen from the wealthy cities of Upper Germany – Ulm, Augsburg, Nuremberg and others – already maintained close ties to Italian cities, trading German-made linen, metalware, and silver for cotton, spices, and other products that the Genoese and Venetians obtained in their Levantine trade. Labor-intensive linen production, widespread in rural Germany and controlled by urban merchants, did not require large sums for initial investment or operation. For the involved entrepreneurs, it was therefore attractive to invest a portion of their profits into the promising and more capital-intensive new sector of the sugar economy.

A well-known example in this context is the “Ravensburger Kompanie,” an early joint-stock company established by producers and traders of linen from Ravensburg, a town situated between Lake Constance and Augsburg. These merchants organized the manufacture of linen in a cottage industry in the Swabian countryside, where labor for spinning and weaving was cheap. The fabrics would then be brought to Ravensburg and largely exported throughout the Mediterranean world, mostly via Genoa. In the 1420s, the Ravensburg entrepreneurs acquired a sugar plantation outside Valencia and soon added a mill. Even though they produced high-quality sugar, they gave up the plant in 1477,² by which time large quantities of sugar at lower prices were pouring in from the Canary Islands recently colonized by Spain. The subtropical climate of the archipelago provided yields that could never be obtained on the Iberian Peninsula. Once again, German investors followed suit: The Welser family, the most

¹ Charles Verlinden, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale* (Ghent: Royal University of Ghent, 1977), 972–977. Barbara L. Solow, “Capitalism and Slavery in the Long Run,” in *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams*, ed. Barbara L. Solow and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1987), 51–55.

² Aloys Schulte, *Geschichte der Großen Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, 1380–1530*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1923).

powerful Augsburg dynasty besides the Fuggers, invested in sugar production on Tenerife and Las Palmas beginning in the early 1500s.³

The Canaries, Madeira, the Cape Verde islands, and São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea were laboratories in which Europeans developed the technologies and logistics enabling them to run plantation colonies in the even remoter “New World.” The Spanish and the Portuguese did so from the very beginning of the conquest, with Germans likewise on board. In 1528, the Welsers acquired an *asiento* (a privilege for carrying out certain commercial operations in the interest of the crown) for the provision of 4,000 African slaves to Hispaniola, the first Spanish colony in the “New World.” Transportation was provided by Portuguese vessels. The Welsers were also involved in the establishment of sugar plantations on the island,⁴ while the Fuggers invested in Brazilian sugar-growing sites from the 1530s and had their own agents present in Brazil and Lisbon.⁵ During the early seventeenth century, sugar was even shipped directly from Brazil to Hamburg, where Sephardic Jews from Portugal established the city’s first sugar refineries.⁶ In the wealthy cities of Upper Germany, substantial capital was obviously available for investments into this expanding sector of the Iberian maritime economy. In this context, it must be kept in mind that Augsburg was Germany’s financial capital until the Thirty Years’ War, with the Fugger and Welser houses representing the city’s two major banking institutions.⁷

From the very beginning, German entrepreneurs were also indirectly involved in the transatlantic slave trade, and this involvement was far more continuous and economically important than occasional direct investments into slaving ventures like that of the Welsers. It consisted primarily in the production of textiles, brassware, ironmongery, and glassware to be bartered in return for slaves from the West African coast, but also included supplying the plantation regions of the “New World.”

3 Albert Vieira, “Sugar Islands: The Sugar Economy of Madeira and the Canaries, 1450–1650,” in *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 47, 67, 69; Eddy Stols, “The Expansion of the Sugar Market in Western Europe,” in Schwartz, *Tropical Babylons*, 261.

4 Jörg Denzer, *Die Konquista der Augsburger Welser-Gesellschaft in Südamerika, 1528–1556: Historische Rekonstruktion, Historiografie und lokale Erinnerungskultur in Kolumbien und Venezuela* (Munich: C. H. Beck 2005), 51–55.

5 Eddy Stols, “Humanistas y jesuitas en los negocios brasileños de los Schetz, grandes negociantes de Amberes y banqueros de Carlos V,” in *Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa, 1530–1558*, ed. José Martínez Millán, vol. 4 (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001), 29–47; Stols, “Expansion of the Sugar Market,” 262–263.

6 Hermann Kellenbenz, “Phasen des hansisch-nordeuropäischen Südamerikahandels,” *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 78 (1960): 87–120; Günter Böhm, “Die Sephardim in Hamburg,” in *Die Juden in Hamburg, 1590–1990: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Universität Hamburg zur Ausstellung “Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg”*, ed. Arnold Herzig and Saskia Rohde (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1991), 24–25, 28.

7 Mark Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

This enormous flow of commodities is not immediately visible because the goods were shipped under the flags of the large slave-trading nations: the Portuguese, British, French, and Dutch. Compared to this indirect involvement, direct German participation was almost negligible – even that of the Brandenburgisch-Africanische Compagnie (1682–1711), a short-lived but all-too-often mentioned slave-trading venture. A contract concluded in 1548 between the Fuggers and the Portuguese crown provides an early example of indirect involvement. The arrangement obligated the Augsburg entrepreneurs “to purvey 7,500 hundredweights of brass bangles, 24,000 saucepans, 1,800 wide bowls, 4,500 barber’s basins, and 10,500 cauldrons. All this brassware, to be delivered within a timespan of four years, was explicitly intended for the Guinea trade.”⁸ Much of the brassware going to Portugal since the fifteenth century came from Nuremberg, which ranked second among the autonomous Imperial Cities in Southern Germany, its success built less on finance and textiles (as was the case in Augsburg) but instead on metal processing. The Portuguese even exported German copper to Asia, where they traded it for spices.⁹

Indirect Involvement: The Slave Trade and Textile Trade

Nevertheless, it was textiles that made up the largest portion of all German-made goods flowing into the markets around the Atlantic basin. This trade persisted from the times of the Ravensburg company (originally focused on the Mediterranean basin) until well into the nineteenth century, when linen was gradually replaced by cotton fabrics as Germany’s major export item. Linen from the German lands was competitive in the Mediterranean and later also in the Atlantic World for two reasons: The reliable rainfall north of the Alps was favorable for growing flax, the raw material for linen, and wages in Central Europe were comparatively low (an essential aspect for the competitiveness of such a labor-intensive product). The wage differential can be explained with the far lower degree of urbanization north of the Alps as well the easier access to precious metals around the Mediterranean basin, which lead to higher wages in the coastal regions. It is true that silver mining also flourished in Saxony, Bohemia, and in the Harz Mountains, but Portuguese and Italian merchants – in particular the Genoese – had access to African gold obtained from the Tuareg, who dominated the caravan trade with gold-rich sub-Saharan Africa.

⁸ Mark Häberlein, “Jakob Fugger und die Kaiserwahl Karls V. 1519,” in *Die Fugger und das Reich: Eine neue Forschungsperspektive zum 500jährigen Jubiläum der ersten Fuggerherrschaft Kirchberg-Weißenhorn*, ed. Johannes Burckhardt (Augsburg: Wißner, 2008), 80.

⁹ Jürgen Pohle, *Deutschland und die überseeische Expansion Portugals im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Münster: LIT, 2000), 169; Mark Häberlein, *Aufbruch ins globale Zeitalter: Die Handelswelt der Fugger und Welser* (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2016), 14.

Among the goods bartered for gold were Spanish, French and Italian silk as well as German linen, fustian, and metalware.¹⁰

The overall volume of linen exported from the German lands increased with the colonization of the Americas and the Spanish Price Revolution it triggered. Already during the 1540s, the Spaniards discovered the silver yields of Zacatecas (in Mexico) and Cerro Rico (in Peru), where local indigenous populations had never practiced mining. When the Spanish introduced the technology with the support of hundreds of mining experts brought in from Germany, an ever-increasing volume of silver became available. Silver pesos minted in the Americas were shipped to Seville and Cadiz, filling the coffers of merchants and the crown. The unprecedented increase in the volume of species caused inflation, the so-called Price Revolution. It began in the Spanish American mining regions, spread to the south and then to the north of Spain and, with some delay, reached the northern and eastern sections of Europe and even Asia. The rise in prices was followed by a rise in wages, which made labor-intensive industries less competitive on export markets. This was especially true for Spain, where textile production went into decline, with the Castilian wool industry representing the most prominent example. High-quality Spanish wool was now increasingly exported to England, where wages remained lower. In Portugal, a similar process was triggered by gold from the province of Minas Gerais in Brazil, mined from the 1690s and mostly shipped to Lisbon.¹¹

Neither Portugal nor Spain were able to meet the Spanish American demand for manufactures with their domestic production – at least not at competitive prices. Increasing shares of goods shipped across the Atlantic from Iberian ports were thus no longer of Spanish or Portuguese origin but instead came from more northerly and easterly regions of Europe, and even from Asia. This also applied to the barter goods used in the slave trade, with Portugal being by far the biggest slaving nation. The demand for these barter goods remained comparatively low until the 1660s and 70s, when the sugar production on Jamaica and minor Caribbean islands expanded dramatically. A similar sugar revolution began in Saint-Domingue in the 1690s, turning the French colony into the world's biggest sugar producer. These sugar revolutions caused a massive demand for labor that could no longer be satisfied with workers from Europe who either contracted to go or were sent as convicts. Such workers, known as “indentured servants” in the British and as “engagés” in the

10 Marc Bloch, “Le problème de l’or au Moyen Age,” *Annales d’histoire économique et sociale* 19 (1946): 1–34; John Day, “The Bullion Famine of the 15th Century,” *Past & Present* 79 (1978): 3–54; Marian Małowist, “Portuguese Expansion in Africa and European Economy at the Turn of the 15th Century,” in *Western Europe, Eastern Europe and World Development, 13th-18th Centuries: Collection of Essays of Marian Małowist*, ed. Jean Batou and Henryk Szlajfer (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 389.

11 Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934); Fernand Braudel, “Monnaies et civilisation, de l’or du Soudan à l’argent d’Amérique,” *Annales d’histoire économique et sociale* 1 (1946): 9–22.

French Caribbean, became more expensive not only due to the increasing labor demand on the plantations but also because the European economies were recovering from the wars of the seventeenth century: The growing European demand for labor caused a general rise in wages. Plantation owners therefore increasingly turned to unfree African workers,¹² and slave traders consequently needed more and more barter goods to pay for them. During the entire sixteenth century, Europeans had brought no more than 300,000 Africans to the “New World” on slave ships (with ca. 50,000 perishing on the voyage). In the first quarter of the eighteenth century alone, the number was more than 700,000, and in the following quarter it approached 1.5 million men, women, and children (of whom ca. 270,000 perished). The overall peak, with around 100,000 slaves shipped annually, would be reached in the late eighteenth century.¹³ The sugar revolutions and the labor demand they triggered thus led in turn to a massive increase in the need for textiles (and other goods) to be traded for slaves. In addition, they caused an increased demand for workwear on the plantations.

Linen was best suited to this purpose because its fibers are far more robust than cotton fibers. At the same time, linen is pleasant to wear in humid tropical climates – at least if it is not of a gruff and scratchy quality. A 1744 report by British merchants to the Parliament stated that “[. . .] all the Negroes and the poor White People [in the West Indies] are generally clothed with German linens, from 6d to 9d an Ell, called Osnaburghs.”¹⁴ “Osnaburghs” or “Osnabrughs” (or “ozenbriggs” in an older spelling) refers to the Westphalian city of Osnabrück situated in one of the major linen regions in the German lands. By the time of the mentioned report, linen production in Swabia and other provinces around Lake Constance could no longer meet the increasing demand all around the Atlantic basin. Fabrics from Westphalia, Hesse, Pomerania, and Silesia were now also being channeled into these markets, preferably via the ports of Bremen and Hamburg and, to a lesser extent, via Baltic ports like Stralsund. French, Dutch, and British ports had become important places of transit. The labeling demonstrates that the products from particular German and Swiss-German regions had made a name for themselves as “Weser flaxen,” “true born osnabrughs,” “true born tecklenburghs” (Tecklenburg is a county in the province of Westphalia), or as “creguelas de Westphalia” and “rosas de Westphalia,”¹⁵

¹² Hilary Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627–1715* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

¹³ David Eltis and David Richardson, “A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade,” in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, ed. David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 1–61. See also David Eltis, “Transatlantic Slave Trade – Understanding the Database,” *Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, accessed April 27, 2018, <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/about>.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Karin Newman, “Anglo-Hamburg Trade in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries” (PhD diss., University of London, 1979), 198–199.

¹⁵ Edith Schmitz, *Leinengewerbe und Leinenhandel in Nordwestdeutschland, 1650–1850* (Cologne: Rheinisch-Westfälisches Wirtschafts-Archiv, 1967), 33, 86, 92.

“sangallas” (for a type originating from the Swiss-German town of Sankt Gallen), or “sletias” and “silitias” (for the Silesian linen).¹⁶

The increasing share of linen exported from more northern German lands (Westphalia, Hesse, Pomerania, Silesia) must be seen in contrast to the stagnation or even decline of Southern Germany following the Thirty Years' War. From 1600 to 1650, large cities like Augsburg and Nuremberg lost more than half respectively a quarter of their population, while Hamburg grew from 40,000 to 75,000 inhabitants during the same period.¹⁷ The rise of Hamburg and the textile regions of its hinterland also corresponds to the rise of the Netherlands and Britain, the maritime powers that had succeeded in penetrating the Atlantic trade originally monopolized by Spain and Portugal. German-made goods were now increasingly exported via Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, while the old-established community of German linen merchants in Genoa had shrunk to only a few members.¹⁸ German monarchs and merchant bankers were now investing huge sums into the Dutch West India Company (WIC, founded in 1621) and similar British slaving enterprises. During the 1620s, the Duke of Württemberg held Dutch WIC shares worth 30,000 guilders, and the Augsburg banker Marx Conrad von Rehlingen (1575–1642) invested 56,000 guilders into the Dutch WIC and another 110,000 into British shipping companies, with most of these monies going into the African trade.¹⁹ Bureaucrats of the Holy Roman Empire estimated that Frankfurt banker Johan von Bodeck (1555–1631, originally from Antwerp) invested several tons of gold into the major Dutch maritime companies.²⁰ Von Bodeck and von Rehlingen (both of Protestant faith) were also involved in the textile trade as well as the mining and trading of copper. This business profile positions them as successors of the Welsers and Fuggers, two Catholic families from Augsburg. That they were oriented far less towards the Iberian but rather towards the Dutch and British Atlantic illustrates how general transitions within the German economy were closely related to developments in the Atlantic World. Even the shift of the financial business from Augsburg to Frankfurt can be seen in the context of the expansion of Dutch and British power in the Atlantic regions.

¹⁶ Papers of the guild of linen merchants in the Silesian trading town of Hirschberg (today Jelenia Góra): State Archives, Jelenia Góra, zespół 102, Konfraternia Kupiecka w Jeleniej Górze, jedn. 32, Zoll- und Schiffssachen, report without date, presumably 1749 or 1750. Correspondence of the Irish merchant Cologan, based on Tenerife, with Hamburg trading partners, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Archivo Zárate-Cologan, sección 6.8, libro copiadador de cartas, sign. 116.

¹⁷ Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800* (London: Routledge, 1984), 272–273.

¹⁸ Ludwig Beutin, “Deutscher Leinenhandel in Genua im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 24 (1931): 163–165.

¹⁹ Reinhardt Hildebrandt, *Quellen und Regesten zu den Augsburger Handelshäusern Paler und Rehlingen 1624–1642*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 110, 170–183.

²⁰ Heinz Schilling, “Innovation through Migration: The Settlements of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Central and Western Europe,” *Histoire Sociale – Social History* 31 (1983): 22–23.

Direct Involvement: German Slave Traders and Plantation Owners

Many entrepreneurs from the Hanseatic cities and its hinterland settled in places like London, Amsterdam, Nantes, Bordeaux, Lisbon, and Cadiz in order to gain a foothold in the respective colonial economies. In these economies, plantation slavery was key – and plantations were entirely dependent on the transatlantic slave trade. The activities of these Germans have hitherto barely been visible to researchers because much of their commerce – in particular the lucrative trade with the colonies – was carried out under the flag of the respective host country. The following section will provide a few examples of such individuals.

One of the earliest German slave traders in London that we are aware of was Sir Peter Meyer, who came from Hamburg in 1690 and soon acquired a plantation in Barbados as well as shares in a London sugar refinery. He eventually became a director of the Royal African Company. Abram Korten (1690–1742) hailed from the linen-processing town of Elberfeld (now a part of Wuppertal). He also traded in sugar and held shares in the South Sea Company established specifically for the slave trade with Spanish America. The most prominent among the Anglo-German investors in the slave trade were John Baring (1697–1748, from Bremen) and his sons John (1730–1816) and Francis (1740–1810).²¹ By 1750, they had become members of the Company of Merchants Trading with Africa. The Barings also imported sugar from the British Caribbean until at least 1850 and traded sugar from Cuba, where slavery was abolished as late as 1886. From the eighteenth century onward, they were also very successful as merchant bankers: The Baring Bank was one of the leading houses in the City of London during the nineteenth century.²²

The presence of German maritime traders in Bordeaux also underscores the abovementioned developments. As soon as French possession of Saint-Domingue had been acknowledged with the Treaty of Rijswijk in 1697, French planters began establishing sugar production in the colony with massive backing from the monarchy's financial elite.²³ As a result, the previously small group of Germans in Bordeaux, who were mostly involved in the wine trade, grew significantly and added

²¹ Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung, 1600–1818* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007), 111–112, 143–144, 156–157, 161, 169, 422. The author regrets his previous error of attributing the arrival in London around 1720 to the sons John and Francis Baring. This year can of course only apply to the father. See Klaus Weber, "Mitteleuropa und der transatlantische Sklavenhandel: Eine lange Geschichte," *Werkstatt Geschichte* 66/67 (2014): 20.

²² Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 171; Ann T. Gary, "The Political and Economic Relations of English and American Quakers, 1750–1785" (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1935), 506. Baring Bank went bankrupt in 1995.

²³ Karsten Voss and Klaus Weber, "Their Most Valuable and Most Vulnerable Asset: Slaves on the Early Sugar Plantations of Saint-Domingue (1697–1715)," *Journal of Global Slavery* 5 (2020): 217–219. See also Karsten Voss, *Sklaven als Ware und Kapital: Die Plantagenökonomie von Saint-Domingue als Entwicklungsprojekt, 1697–1715* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2016), 61–76, 135–146.

sugar and other plantation products to their portfolios. Johann Christoph Harmensen from Hamburg, established in the French port city since 1708, even acquired a sugar plantation in Saint-Domingue. Armand Dravemann from Bremen, Ernst Wilhelm Overmann from Hamburg, and Johann Rudolph Wirtz from Switzerland became slave traders, sending their ships to Africa under the French flag. Further examples could be provided as well.²⁴ The most prominent German company in Ancien Régime Bordeaux was Romberg, Bapst & Compagnie. Friedrich Romberg (1729–1819) from the Rhenish city of Iserlohn had started his career with a haulage company operating on the land route between Italy and Brussels. During the American War, he began to build a commercial empire operating under the neutral flag of the Austrian Netherlands: a slave-trading company based in Ghent and serving Cuba and Saint-Domingue, a maritime insurance company in Bruges, and a textile manufacturing plant in Brussels. In 1783, he founded a slaving company based in Bordeaux to serve the French Antilles. Within just a few years, it became the biggest slaving enterprise in the city, its ships flying the French flag. The firm also managed plantations of planters who had become indebted to the company, and some of those plantations eventually became its property. The plantations and many of the outstanding debts were lost during the Haitian Revolution, and Romberg went bankrupt – despite the fact that financiers throughout Europe had deemed his company too big to fail. Prominent banking houses like Bethmann Brothers in Frankfurt raised huge sums to keep it afloat, but to no avail. By 1807, when the accounts were closed, the total losses amounted to 34 million livres tournois, sending shockwaves through Frankfurt and other places of finance.²⁵

More examples of German entrepreneurs involved in plantation slavery can be found in the Danish and Spanish colonial empires. The activities of Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann (1724–1782), who advanced from military purveyor to Danish minister of finance, are relatively well-researched. Von Schimmelmann acquired some of the largest sugar plantations on the Danish Caribbean island of St. Croix as well as a sugar refinery in Copenhagen, and soon began sending his own ships to bring slaves from West Africa. A portion of the barter commodities were produced in the gun manufacture he had established in Denmark as well as in the textile mills he operated on the outskirts of Hamburg, where he held a large noble estate.²⁶ More indirect was the involvement of the Ellermann and Schlieper families. The Ellermanns

24 Eric Saugera, *Bordeaux port négrier: Chronologie, économie, idéologie, xvii^e-xix^e siècles* (Paris: Karthala, 1995), 351–362.

25 Françoise Thésée, *Négociants bordelais et colons de Saint-Domingue. Liaisons d'habitation: La maison Henry Romberg, Bapst & Cie. 1783–1793* (Paris: Société française d'histoire d'outremer, 1972); Klaus Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel, 1680–1830: Unternehmen und Familien in Hamburg, Cadix und Bordeaux* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004), 195–204.

26 Christian Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns im atlantischen Dreieckshandel: Gewinn und Gewissen* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1974).

originated in the villages of Venne and Ibbenbüren near Osnabrück. Johann Arnold Ellermann had established a linen trading house in Cadiz – according to a 1753 tax register, it was the most successful among the roughly 240 German trading houses settled in the city in the period from 1680 to 1830. It was operated by his sons and grandsons until well into the nineteenth century. During the mid-1700s, they ran the firm together with Hermann Schlieper from the cotton processing region around Strasbourg. Schlieper's daughter Francisca Maria Schlieper Quintanilla married Prudent Delaville, son of a slave-trading family from Nantes. Delaville was one of the founders of the *Compañía Gaditana de Negros* intended to improve Spain's modest capacities in the Atlantic slave trade. Schlieper provided his daughter with a dowry worth 65,000 pesos, a huge sum even among the French elite in Cadiz, let alone for a German.²⁷ In 1793, Delaville was assessed as the wealthiest man in Cadiz.²⁸

German merchants in Western European port cities not only traded slaves and owned them at their Caribbean plantations. They also adopted the common practice of their Spanish, Portuguese, and French counterparts of employing slaves in their own households in Europe. Lutger Schroder had come from Hamburg to Cadiz, where he traded in linen and naval supplies. In his will dating from 1709, he mentioned his three slaves Juan, Antonio, and Isabel Maria, who “had served him faithfully” for many years. Upon his death, they were to become the property of his Spanish wife Ana Maria rather than being sold to a third party, and after her eventual death they were “to become free and no more subject to captivity.”²⁹ Slaves from Africa also served in the households of Bernard Dreyer and Heinrich Richters (both from Hamburg) as well as that of Joachim E. Foxlander (from Cologne). These three men had arrived in Cadiz between the 1760s and the 1790s.³⁰ The merchant Franz Riecke, Consul of the City of Hamburg and resident of Cadiz from 1760 until his death in 1795, employed in his house a cook and a further servant from France along with a slave of African descent: “Benito, de color negro.”³¹ This practice was not restricted to Germans living in Atlantic port cities, however: Rebekka von Mallinckrodt has revealed to what extent slaves of African descent also lived in eighteenth-century German lands – not only as “court Moors,” but also as soldiers in the artillery or as pipers serving in Prussian regiments, as servants employed by missionary associations, or as servants in households of the urban upper classes.³²

²⁷ Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 123–130, 273–275.

²⁸ Arnaud Bartolomei, “La naturalización de los mercaderes franceses de Cádiz a finales del siglo XVIII y principios del XIX,” *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 10 (2011): 137, annotation 43.

²⁹ Archivo histórico provincial de Cádiz, Protocolos notariales, sign. 1572, fol. 473–476.

³⁰ Archivo histórico provincial de Cádiz, Protocolos notariales, sign. 4435, fol. 281–286; sign. 3562, fol. 293; sign. 3105, fol. 155–156.

³¹ Archivo histórico municipal de Cádiz, Padrón de 1773, Libro 1006, vol. 2, fol. 129.

³² Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, “Verhandelte (Un-)Freiheit: Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft und innereuropäischer Wissenstransfer am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43 (2017): 347–380.

Impact of the Linen-Slavery Nexus on the German Hinterlands

Textiles made up about half of the value of all barter commodities used in the transatlantic slave trade, followed by various types of metal products, glassware, alcohol, and firearms.³³ Textile production is a labor-intensive industry even today, and textile entrepreneurs have therefore always been in search of cheap hands. The tendency to employ men and women in rural areas increased significantly during the decades after the Thirty Years' War. While exports of French linen from Brittany virtually imploded, the production of linen in the German lands and its export via Hamburg and Bremen increased.³⁴ Comparatively lower wages even in western German provinces like Hesse and Westphalia contributed to this process.

Linen remained Germany's primary export product well into the nineteenth century. The customs records for the province of Silesia provide an overview of quantities and markets. From 1748 to 1788, about seventy-five percent of the linen produced in the province was consistently exported to the ports of the great European maritime powers of Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal – and some of it even directly to the West Indies. Another eight percent was delivered to Rhenish textile regions, most likely to be processed further (e.g. bleaching or dyeing) before likewise being shipped to the Western Hemisphere.³⁵ British customs records give us an idea of the total quantities of German-made fabrics going west via London: In the years around 1700, roughly seventy to eighty percent of all London linen imports came from German lands, and around ninety percent of these were re-exported.³⁶ The port of London thus mostly relayed volumes of German linen adding up to a length of around 11 million meters annually. There is similar evidence for Spanish ports: During the years 1768 to 1786, Simon & Arnail Fornier, a major French trading house in Cadiz, made roughly two-thirds of its considerable textile purchases totaling 12 million reales in Germany (mostly in Hamburg, Bremen, and Silesia).³⁷ If we add Barcelona, which received about 1.1 million meters of German linen annually around 1790,³⁸ the total exports to Spain were also in the range of thousands of kilometers per year.

³³ Herbert Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 87–88.

³⁴ Yves Tanguy, *Quand la toile va: L'industrie toilière bretonne du 16e au 18e siècle* (Rennes: Éditions Apogée, 1994), 75, 105.

³⁵ Alfred Zimmermann, *Blüthe und Verfall des Leinengewerbes in Schlesien: Gewerbe- und Handelspolitik dreier Jahrhunderte* (Breslau: W. G. Korn, 1885), 460–467.

³⁶ Newman, "Anglo-Hamburg Trade," 202.

³⁷ Robert Chamboredon, "Une société de commerce languedocienne à Cadix: Simon et Arnail Fornier et Cie (Nov. 1768-Mars 1786)," in *La burguesía de negocios en la Andalucía de la ilustración*, ed. Antonio González García-Baquero, vol. 2 (Cadiz: Diputación provincial, 1991), 35, 49.

³⁸ Pierre Vilar, *La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne: Recherche sur les fondements économiques des structures nationales*, vol. 3 (Paris: Service d'Édition et de Vente des Publications de l'Éducation Nationale, 1962), 118, 126.

It took around two working hours to weave a meter of medium-quality linen on the handlooms used at the time. This means that the 11 million meters of German linen shipped through London took 2.75 million eight-hour days to produce, which corresponds to a full year of work by 10,000 weavers. In addition, spinning the yarn for a single meter of linen took eight hours – thus amounting to another full year of work by 40,000 spinners.³⁹ Since spinning and weaving were not full-time jobs but rather part-time occupations of the rural population besides their agricultural work, the number of people involved in the production of the 11 million meters shipped through London alone must therefore have been in the hundreds of thousands. The growing and processing of the flax have not even been considered here.

The effects were also felt in glass-producing and copper-processing regions, albeit at a smaller scale. Drinking glasses, beads, and millions of mirrors from Bohemia filled the holds of slave ships.⁴⁰ Copper was mined in Neusohl in the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Empire (now in Slovakia), on the southern slopes of the Harz Mountains, and in minor quantities in other locations. Scandinavian copper complemented the supply to German copper mills. The demand for copper and brass products naturally increased with the expansion of the slave trade and the plantation economy, for example in the shape of the huge copper kettles used in the plantations' sugar boiling houses. The kettles were wear and tear parts to be replaced after a certain period of use.⁴¹ In the Duchy of Holstein situated between Hamburg and Lübeck, dozens of copper plants emerged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some of them employing 200 workers and more. Besides the kettles for the Caribbean sugar mills, their range of products also included sheets for the sheathing of ships' hulls.⁴²

The purchasing power generated in all these proto-industrial regions – typically areas with low agricultural yields, prompting peasants to seek additional income – allowed the import of staple foods from neighboring regions and ultimately promoted population growth. Certain areas of Silesia, Pomerania, Bohemia, the Westphalian linen regions around Osnabrück, and the metal- and textile-processing County of Mark and Duchy of Berg (both east of Cologne) saw their population roughly double over the course of the eighteenth century. In some regions, it even doubled during the period from 1750 to 1800 alone, which was far above the average growth rate for

³⁹ The figures for working hours are based on ethnological studies carried out in the Polish linen-producing region of Masovia by Anna Damrosz, *Artystyczne Tkactwo Ludowe z Porządziana* (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1964).

⁴⁰ Stanley B. Alpern, "What Africans Got for Their Slaves: A Master List of European Trade Goods," *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 23–24, 27.

⁴¹ Nuala Zahedie, "Colonies, Copper, and the Market for Inventive Activity in England and Wales, 1680–1730," *Economic History Review* 66, no. 3 (2013): 809–813.

⁴² Axel Lohr, "Kupfermühlen in Stormarn und Umgebung – '... die an Kostbarkeit und Mannigfaltigkeit in Holstein ihresgleichen nicht hatten'," *Jahrbuch Stormarn* (2016): 33.

rural Germany.⁴³ This did not mean that living conditions improved in all these provinces, however. In Silesia, for example, where serfdom existed well into the nineteenth century, the local linen exporters acquired rural estates with villages and their peasants attached to them. The merchant overlords then put increasing pressure on their serfs to produce the fabrics at minimal cost and for declining real wages.⁴⁴

Of course, the trade described here had an impact on West Africa as well. The effects of the abduction of 13 million people, most of them in the prime of their lives, on the economies and societies of the region have been debated at length and remain difficult to assess. Joseph Miller estimated that the violence accompanying the enslavement of 13 million men, women, and children cost the region a further 13 million lives.⁴⁵ In many areas, the population stagnated or even shrank, and the preference of the European buyers for male slaves caused a gender imbalance in West Africa. In the long run, the influx of huge volumes of manufactured goods also undermined domestic production, especially in the textile sector.⁴⁶

Historiography on German Involvement in the Slave Trade and Slavery

For a long time, historiography on this topic did not take into account the deep involvement of early modern Germany in the Atlantic economy. This is partly due to the development of European historiography over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – from the universalist approaches of the late Enlightenment to nationalist historiography emerging in the mid-1800s and only more recently to global history approaches. A further factor shaping historical research and writing were the ideological divisions that came with National Socialism and the Cold War. The following brief overview can therefore lay no claim to comprehensiveness; it

⁴³ Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 1, 1700–1815 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1987), 69–70; Clemens Wischermann, *Preußischer Staat und westfälische Unternehmer zwischen Spätmerkantilismus und Liberalismus* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), 87–88; Frank Göttmann, “Der Raum zwischen oberer Donau und Schweizer Alpen im 18. Jahrhundert: Eine integrierte agrarisch-gewerbliche Wirtschaftsregion,” *Scripta Mercaturae* 25, no. 1/2 (1991): 1–40; Arthur Salz, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Industrie in der Neuzeit* (Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1913), 283.

⁴⁴ Anka Steffen and Klaus Weber, “Spinning and Weaving for the Slave Trade: Proto-industry in Eighteenth-Century Silesia,” in Brahm and Rosenhaft, *Slavery Hinterland*, 97–102.

⁴⁵ Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 151.

⁴⁶ Colleen E. Kriger, “Guinea Cloth: Production and Consumption of Cotton Textiles in West Africa before and during the Atlantic Slave Trade,” in *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarati (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 105–126.

focuses primarily on the relevant writings of German scholars while also including a few essential titles by non-German authors.

One of the rare examples of the universalist Enlightenment approach surviving into the first decades of the nineteenth century is provided by Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren (1760–1842). His *Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems* (*History of the Political System of Europe*, 1809)⁴⁷ built on the assumption that European history and politics (including those of Germany) could be understood only if Europe's colonial empires and the rivalries between the colonial powers were taken into consideration. Very unusually for his time, Heeren placed a "politico-mercantile" dimension at the core of his narrative, and he did so even in his treatment of ancient history. His books were soon translated into several European languages.⁴⁸

Heeren's approach was marginalized in the course of the nineteenth century as nationalist perspectives attracted more attention from historians like Johann Gustav Droysen (1808–1884), Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896) and others. German historiography, only recently professionalized in universities, became heavily impregnated with their ideology for generations to come. Their nationalist interpretation of German history further overemphasized the medieval expansion of the Teutonic Order in the lands east of the River Elbe as well as the commercial expansion of the Hanseatic League in the Baltic Sea.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, studies in regional economic history still highlighted the essential ties connecting certain trades with distant export markets in the Western Hemisphere, especially in the wake of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iberian expansion into the Atlantic. Examples are provided by Alfred Zimmermann's 1885 work on the Silesian linen trade, Arthur Salz's 1913 book on the Bohemian glass trade, or Edmund Schebek's 1878 edition of sources pertaining to the same industry. Even though Zimmermann's focus lay on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he indicated that the use of Silesian linen as a barter commodity and as workwear for slaves in the Americas dated back to the sixteenth century. Zimmermann (1859–1925) was in fact not only a historian, but also a proponent of Wilhelmine colonial policy: From 1890 onwards, he worked at the Foreign Office and published regularly on colonial history and current colonial politics.⁵⁰ The economic historians Aloys Schulte (1857–1941), Ernst Baasch (1861–1947), and Ludwig

47 Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems und seiner Kolonien von der Entdeckung beyder Indien bis zur Errichtung des Französischen Kayserthrons* (Göttingen: Röwer, 1809).

48 Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren, *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and Its Colonies: From Its Formation at the Close of the Fifteenth Century to Its Re-establishment upon the Fall of Napoleon* (Oxford: D. A. Talboys, 1834).

49 For an overview, see Georg Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography* (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1975).

50 Zimmermann, *Blüte und Verfall des Leinengewerbes in Schlesien*; Salz, *Geschichte der Böhmisches Industrie*; Edmund Schebek, *Böhmens Glasindustrie und Glashandel: Quellen zu ihrer Geschichte* (Prague: Verlag der Handels- und Gewerbekammer, 1878).

Beutin (1903–1958) were all staunch nationalists (Beutin even became a member of the NSDAP), but their work is nevertheless useful.⁵¹ While Schulte's study on the Ravensburg linen company,⁵² Baasch's works on Hamburg,⁵³ and Beutin's publications on German trade via the Mediterranean⁵⁴ can be criticized for positivist shortcomings, they still provide both broad and detailed insights into the economic and political institutions organizing German maritime trade during the early modern period.

From 1870 to 1945, many German historians placed these maritime activities explicitly within a teleology that viewed the Wilhelmine Empire or even the Third Reich as its fulfillment and conclusion. From this perspective, the Brandenburg slave-trading company and the Caribbean adventures of the Dukes of Courland became examples for future endeavors.⁵⁵ The collapse of the German Empire in 1918/19 and the cession of a substantial strip of territory to Poland, which thereby reappeared on the map of Europe, led to the creation of a peculiar strand of German scholarship: "Ostforschung," a revisionist approach to the history of Germany's eastern borderlands. Hermann Aubin (1885–1969), one of its most prominent protagonists, and his brother Gustav Aubin (1881–1938) investigated the cottage industries in these regions.⁵⁶ Though essentially pioneering research, the brothers' work was heavily tainted by ideology, as even the title of one of their books on linen production reveals:

51 On Baasch, see Joist Grolle, "Baasch, Ernst," in *Hamburgische Biografie: Personenlexikon*, ed. Franklin Kopitzsch and Dirk Brietzke, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Christians, 2001), 31–32. On Beutin, see Ernst Klee, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2007), 46.

52 Schulte, *Geschichte der Großen Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft*. See also Aloys Schulte, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels zwischen Westdeutschland und Italien* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900).

53 Ernst Baasch, *Die Handelskammer zu Hamburg, 1665–1915*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Gräfe & Sillem, 1915); Ernst Baasch, *Hamburgs Convoyschiffahrt und Convoywesen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schiffahrt und Schiffahrtseinrichtungen* (Hamburg: Friederichsen, 1896); Ernst Baasch, *Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt und Warenhandel vom Ende des 16. bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Gräfe & Sillem, 1893); Ernst Baasch, *Quellen zur Geschichte von Hamburgs Handel und Schiffahrt im 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Gräfe & Sillem, 1910).

54 Ludwig Beutin, *Der deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet bis zu den Napoleonischen Kriegen* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1933); Beutin, "Deutscher Leinenhandel in Genua," 156–168.

55 Hermann Hofmeister, *Die maritimen und kolonialen Bestrebungen des Großen Kurfürsten, 1640–1688* (Emden: Haynel, 1886); Eduard Heyck, "Brandenburgisch-deutsche Kolonialpläne: Aus den Papieren des Markgrafen Hermann von Baden-Baden," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 2, no. 1 (1887): 129–200; Otto Matthiesen, *Die Kolonial- und Überseepolitik der Kurländischen Herzöge im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940). A brief overview has been provided by Sven Klosa, *Die Brandenburgische-Afrikanische Compagnie in Emden: Eine Handelscompagnie des ausgehenden 17. Jahrhunderts zwischen Protektionismus und unternehmerischer Freiheit* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011), 1–4.

56 Marc Raeff, "Some Observations on the Work of Hermann Aubin," in *Paths of Continuity: Central European Historiography from the 1930s to the 1950s*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann and James Van Horn Melton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 239–249; Michael Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

It deals with the “industrial colonization of Germany’s East.”⁵⁷ After the collapse of 1945, this field of research had to be ideologically decontaminated – at least on its surface. In the title of the 1950 festschrift for Hermann Aubin, the previously popular term of “Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung” (studies in “Volk” and “in the soil of culture”) was replaced with the more innocent “geschichtliche Landeskunde” (historical regional studies), and the label “Universalgeschichte” (universal history) was rediscovered for the transnational aspects of Aubin’s studies – even though many of the contributors to the volume continued to use revisionist vocabulary in their respective contributions.⁵⁸

Hermann Kellenbenz (1913–1990) represents even more of a key figure in the slow transition of German historical research and writing from the nationalist paradigm of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the more recent approaches of global history. Kellenbenz became one of the most prolific authors on the interweaving of German lands with the Iberian expansion in the Atlantic. After studying in Munich and Stockholm, he received his Ph.D. in Kiel in 1938. He was then conscripted into the *Wehrmacht* and wounded during the first months of hostilities. From late 1939 until the end of the war in 1945, he was a researcher at the “Reichsinstitut für die Geschichte des Neuen Deutschland,” the Third Reich’s leading institution for historical research. Its director Walter Frank was one of the most aggressive anti-Semites among German historians. Kellenbenz (who also became a member of the NSDAP) was commissioned to investigate the economic role of the Sephardic merchant community in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hamburg under the working title “Das Hamburger Finanzjudentum im 17. Jahrhundert und seine Kreise” (Hamburg’s seventeenth-century financial Jewry and its circles). He would publish the study as late as 1958 after overhauling the manuscript and changing the title to “Sephardim an der unteren Elbe” (Sephardim on the Lower Elbe).⁵⁹ The Sephardim had in fact been important agents in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century trade between Hamburg and its hinterland on the one hand and their own former homelands of Portugal and Spain along with the respective colonies on the other. Only from the 1690s were they gradually replaced by Huguenots, who played a similar role in the

57 Gustav Aubin and Arno Kunze, *Leinenerzeugung und Leinenabsatz im östlichen Mitteleuropa zur Zeit der Zunftkäufe: Ein Beitrag zur industriellen Kolonisation des deutschen Ostens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940).

58 Senat der Stadt Hamburg, ed., *Geschichtliche Landeskunde und Universalgeschichte: Festgabe für Hermann Aubin zum 23. Dezember 1950* (Hamburg: Nölke, 1950).

59 Helmut Heiber, *Walter Frank und sein Reichsinstitut für die Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1966), 452–457, 1189. Dirk Rupnow, “Continuities in a Historiography Overshadowed by Its National Socialist Past?” in *Key Documents of German-Jewish History*, September 22, 2016. <https://jewish-history-online.net/article/rupnow-kellenbenz> (accessed April 27, 2018).

rapidly expanding trade between Hamburg and France when the latter began to replace Portugal as the major provider of sugar for German markets.⁶⁰

In 1952/53, Kellenbenz was granted a fellowship by the Rockefeller Foundation, which allowed him to spend some time at Harvard's Research Center for Entrepreneurial History, where he came into contact with prestigious scholars including German émigré historian Fritz Redlich and Frederic C. Lane, an expert in Venetian and Genoese history. In 1953/54, he was a guest researcher at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, where he also cooperated with colleagues from the School of the Annales, which had been heavily vilified by conservative German historians from the 1920s until the 1950s for its "materialism." The Rockefeller exchange program was but one element of a policy designed to re-educate German historians – the Western Allies were very much aware of the significant role of historiography in the development of anti-democratic nationalism in Germany. In the case of Kellenbenz, it did the trick: He became an internationally respected scholar, a prolific writer on the topic of German connections with the Atlantic World, and probably the most influential economic historian in Western Germany with an impressive knowledge on archival sources in Germany and throughout Western Europe. The range of contributors to the essay collections and conference proceedings he edited illustrate the international scope of his scholarly networks. He also became a member of the Academies of Science in Copenhagen, Madrid, Brussels, and London⁶¹ and held university chairs in Cologne and Erlangen-Nürnberg. This made Kellenbenz one of only five members of the Nazi Reichsinstitut to attain such a position at a German or Austrian university after the war.⁶²

I dare to claim that this legacy shaped a certain strand of German economic history well into the 1970s and 80s. Hermann Kellenbenz himself cannot be accused of nationalist, anti-Semite, or otherwise racist statements – at least not after 1945. In the scholarly community, he was known as "a man of facts." Yet his writings after 1945 were not simply devoid of any such ideology; they likewise lacked any analytical or interpretative effort. In this regard, his scholarly exchange with historians of the format of Frederic Lane had apparently not been very fruitful. Nevertheless, his command of existing literature and archival material allowed him to write excellent overviews, for example on the eighteenth-century foreign trade of German lands.⁶³

⁶⁰ Klaus Weber, "The Hamburg Sephardic Community in the Context of the Atlantic Economy," *transversal Zeitschrift für Jüdische Studien* 14, no. 2 (2013): 23–40.

⁶¹ Jeanette Granda, *Hermann Kellenbenz (1913–1990): Ein internationaler (Wirtschafts-)Historiker im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2017), 44–76.

⁶² Heiber, *Walter Frank und sein Reichsinstitut*, 553.

⁶³ Hermann Kellenbenz, "Der deutsche Außenhandel gegen Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Forschungen zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, ed. Friedrich Lütge, vol. 8 (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1964), 4–60.

This positivist approach seems to have been even more pronounced in a number of investigations carried out by the following generation of German scholars dealing with the Atlantic dimension of the German economy – some of which were directed or edited by Kellenbenz. While Hans Pohl, Frauke Röhlk, and Ernst Krawehl each described bilateral trade (Germans with Spanish, Dutch, or British partners)⁶⁴ within a rather narrow setting, it was generally non-German historians who embedded the German import and export trade in a wider context: Marian Małowist (1909–1988), Pierre Jeannin (1924–2004), and Elizabeth Karin Newman (a British scholar from the following generation).⁶⁵ Spatial approaches like that of Fernand Braudel (1902–1985) and Immanuel Wallerstein (1930–2019), or analyses of the links between power and economic interest as performed by Frederic Lane (1900–1984), were nonexistent in the works of Pohl, Röhlk, and Krawehl.

This in turn may have been one of the reasons why another group of younger historians barely integrated these studies – let alone Kellenbenz's – with their own research focused on the proto-industries flourishing in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany. The most prominent among these were Peter Kriedte (*1940), Hans Medick (*1939), and Jürgen Schlumbohm (*1942), protagonists of a generation that finally replaced the paradigm of national history with that of social history, applying Marxian concepts and categories as well as historical anthropology approaches. During the 1970s and 80s, they jointly analyzed the internal economic structures and hierarchies of the cottage industries and their impact on rural societies. Linen weaving was by far the most important sector within these industries,⁶⁶ but the social historians hardly considered the distant markets on which the sector depended even though relevant literature was available. Among this literature were Kellenbenz's abovementioned 1964 overview on the foreign trade of the German lands and Wolfgang Zorn's

64 Hans Pohl, *Die Beziehungen Hamburgs zu Spanien und dem Spanischen Amerika in der Zeit von 1740 bis 1806* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1963); Frauke Röhlk, *Schifffahrt und Handel zwischen Hamburg und den Niederlanden in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973); Ernst Krawehl, *Hamburgs Schiffs- und Warenverkehr mit England und den englischen Kolonien, 1840–1860* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1977).

65 Marian Małowist, "The Foundations of European Expansion in Africa in the 16th Century: Europe, Maghreb, and Western Sudan," in Batou and Szlajfer, *Western Europe, Eastern Europe and World Development*, 339–369; Marian Małowist, "Portuguese Expansion in Africa and European Economy," in Batou and Szlajfer, *Western Europe, Eastern Europe and World Development*, 371–393; Pierre Jeannin, "Die Hansestädte im europäischen Handel des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 89 (1971): 41–73; Karin Newman, "Hamburg and the European Economy, 1660–1750," *Journal of European Economic History* 14, no. 1 (1985): 57–94.

66 Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, and Jürgen Schlumbohm, *Industrialization before Industrialization: Rural Industry in the Genesis of Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Hans Medick, *Weben und Überleben in Laichingen, 1650–1900: Lokalgeschichte als Allgemeine Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

(1922–2004) exhaustive 1961 survey of the industrial and preindustrial centers of production for export.⁶⁷ In effect, the generation that had been educated well before 1945 and the one that followed it hardly took notice of each other's writing. Only since around the year 2000 has a third generation begun to integrate approaches of social history with those considering space as a key category. With his case study on Saxon textile production, for example, Michael Schäfer has now demonstrated that industrialization in certain German regions can only be understood in the context of competition on markets in the Caribbean and Brazil, where specific British cotton cloths were beginning to replace German linen from around 1800.⁶⁸

Yet another strand of research disconnected from the economic and social history of early modern German territories was that on the Atlantic slave trade and plantation slavery. This field has made significant progress since the 1970s and 80s, not the least due to its thorough internationalization. Even though some publications have highlighted that a large portion of the barter commodities shipped to Africa came from Central Europe and Asia,⁶⁹ it has been widely assumed that these goods were mostly produced in the respective slave-trading nations. This is in line with the general assumption of English-speaking and even some German-speaking authors that the economy of early modern Germany was largely disconnected from the Western Hemisphere and that Germans were not very adept at bringing their products onto international markets.⁷⁰ Such shortcomings are still suggested in more recent publications.⁷¹ Historians from Germany's neighboring countries to the east who were very much aware of the close ties between Central European regions and the Atlantic World – like Marian Małowist, Maria Bogucka, and Henryk Samsonowicz (Poland), Miroslav Hroch (Czechoslovakia), or Zsigmond Pál Pach (Hungary) – were barely read by scholars west of the Iron Curtain, with Immanuel Wallerstein, Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, and Jürgen Schlumbohm being among the exceptions. Thus the Cold War represented yet another hindrance to the integration of the East into the greater picture of the transatlantic slave trade as a global phenomenon.

67 Wolfgang Zorn, "Schwerpunkte der deutschen Ausfuhrindustrie im 18. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* 173 (1961): 421–446.

68 Michael Schäfer, *Eine andere Industrialisierung: Die Transformation der sächsischen Textilexportgewerbe, 1790–1890* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2016), 202–208.

69 Alpern, "What Africans Got for Their Slaves", 8–10, 12–22, 24.

70 Charles P. Kindleberger, *World Economic Primacy, 1550–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 22; Stanley D. Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 129–133; Christian Kleinschmidt, "Weltwirtschaft, Staat und Unternehmen im 18. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte* 47, no. 1 (2002): 72–86.

71 Nicholas Canny and Philip Morgan, eds., *The Oxford History of the Atlantic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). In this book, too, the Atlantic World ends at the eastern borders of France and the Netherlands.

A turning point was presumably reached around the early 2000s when scholars began to investigate in more detail the communities of German merchants established in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London, Bordeaux, Cadiz, and Lisbon, each of which was home to hundreds of German traders.⁷² The consistent picture across all of these ports shows that most of the Germans making a living there did not originate from the Hanseatic cities but from the specific hinterland regions that produced the export items they distributed to Atlantic markets. Many of them were involved in the production e.g. of glass in Bohemia or of clocks in the Black Forest. They had thus achieved a high degree of vertical integration of the commodity chain, providing them with important knowledge about the qualities in demand on markets in West Africa or in the Americas. This in turn implies that the producers knew full well that much of their production was destined for West African slave markets. In a 1768 report, for example, the Silesian merchants' guild explicitly stated that their "platilles simples" (a specific quality of linen) had always been destined for the French slave trade.⁷³

Conclusions and Perspectives

Until well into the nineteenth century, linen was by far the most important of Germany's export items by value, and correspondingly it represented the major export item registered in the Hamburg customs records. Only these exports allowed German territories to import colonial products that would otherwise have been inaccessible to most of their consumers – and contemporaries were very much aware of this fact. This flow of commodities is also reflected in the Hamburg customs records: During the eighteenth century, sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo were the major import items by value.⁷⁴

These circumstances alone illustrate that German involvement in the slave trade and the plantation economies built on slave labor was neither occasional nor limited

⁷² Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007); Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel*; Jorun Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion: Kaufleute zwischen Hamburg und Portugal im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Wolfgang Henninger, *Johann Jakob Bethmann: Kaufmann, Reeder und kaiserlicher Konsul in Bordeaux* (Bochum: N. Brockmeyer, 1993).

⁷³ State Archives, Jelenia Góra, zespół 102, Konfraternia Kupiecka w Jeleniej Górze, jedn. 335, Consumption außer Landes, Actum Hirschberg, d. 5^{ten} Augusti 1768.

⁷⁴ Klaus Weber, "Die Admiralitätszoll- und Convoygeld-Einnahmebücher: Eine wichtige Quelle für Hamburgs Wirtschaftsgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert," *Hamburger Wirtschafts-Chronik* 1 (2000): 81–112. French version: "Les livres douaniers de l'Amirauté de Hambourg au XVIII^e siècle, une source de grande valeur encore inexploitée," *Bulletin du Centre d'Histoire des espaces atlantiques, nouvelle série*, 9 (1999): 93–126.

to a few well-connected investors and maritime traders. Producing barter commodities for the slave trade was a key element contributing to the growth of economies of proto-industrial regions throughout the Holy Roman Empire, and the additional income generated by hundreds of thousands of rural workers allowed the population in these specific regions to grow. Questions raised by historians from Eric Williams to Joseph Inikori about the stimulus provided by the slave trade and the plantation economies to the industrialization of Western Europe, which have hitherto focused mostly on Britain,⁷⁵ thus need to include Central Europe as well. Inikori, for example, only distinguished Indian cotton from European linen without discerning the proportions of different Central European fabrics.⁷⁶ And the “silitias” mentioned on the website of the United Kingdom’s National Archives, erroneously described as a variety of the cowry shells accepted as coin in West Africa, are of course Silesian linens.⁷⁷

The inclusion of Central Europe in the field of Atlantic history can also stimulate research on consumption, a well-established area of scholarship in the English-speaking world. It is no coincidence that some of the first articles examining early modern consumption of plantation products in German lands were authored by Michael Zeuske, who is also an expert in the history of slavery, and by Peter Kriedte, a specialist for proto-industries.⁷⁸ The increase in consumption of such products even among the lower strata of Central Europe’s rural population can in fact only be properly understood with a view to these two sectors of the Atlantic economy. The quantitative significance of these products shipped to Germany is once again illustrated by the development of industry and trade in Hamburg: Hundreds of refineries sprang up there over the course of the eighteenth century, making the neutral city one of the world’s leading centers of sugar processing and the major port for the transshipping of sugar to Central and Eastern Europe. Complaints by the Chamber of Commerce in Bordeaux show that in this sector, like with linen production, the industry was attracted by wage levels lower than those in Western Europe.⁷⁹

The more it has become apparent that German lands were closely tied into the process of early globalization and that products from and knowledge about the Atlantic

75 Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*; Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

76 Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution*, 515–516, 519.

77 Dawn Littler, “The Earle Collection: Records of a Liverpool Family of Merchants and Ship-owners,” *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire* 146 (1997): 99. See also: The Earle Collection, National Museum Liverpool: Maritime Archives and Library, accessed October 10, 2019, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/e4024133-f616-4db7-b45b-d5b0d0ead32c>.

78 Michael Zeuske and Jörg Ludwig, “Amerikanische Kolonialwaren in Preußen und Sachsen: Prolegomena,” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 32 (1995): 257–302; Peter Kriedte, “Vom Großhändler zum Detaillisten: Der Handel mit Kolonialwaren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1994): 11–36.

79 Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute*, 252.

World were part of everyday life, the more knowledge transfer from the Atlantic to German lands has likewise been scrutinized. Examples are provided in Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft's 2016 essay collection on *Slavery Hinterlands*: Craig Koslofsky and Roberto Zaugg describe barber-surgeons and other skilled men from German territories employed on Dutch and British slave ships as agents of such transfer, and Daniel Hopkins does the same regarding a German botanist traveling the Caribbean and Africa.⁸⁰ Michael Zeuske has compiled a brief survey of travel accounts and geographies popular among German readers, describing the Caribbean and other plantation regions.⁸¹ Reflections of this knowledge in German-language literature and theatre were by no means exotic or marginal phenomena either: They were part of an imagery shared by a wide audience, as Reinhard Blänkner has demonstrated with an essay collection on Heinrich von Kleist's short novel *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* (Betrothal in Saint-Domingue) published in 1811. Among the novel's protagonists are a group of Swiss-German settlers in the French colony who are drawn into tragedy driven by the events of the Haitian Revolution.⁸² Other recent publications describe the links between Swiss-German regions and the plantation economies, in particular on the French Antilles, thereby testifying to the realism of Kleist's novel.⁸³

A further line dividing complementary fields of scholarship should be mentioned, namely the one between the early modernists portrayed here and the historians focusing on the nineteenth and twentieth century. Since around 2000, Jürgen Osterhammel and Sebastian Conrad have notably encouraged new approaches to research on the Wilhelmine colonial empire. Together with other German and non-German authors, they have embedded this empire in a more transnational context and included the analysis of German colonial imagery. Furthermore, they have initiated systematic comparisons of German colonial policy (mostly focusing on the colonies in Africa) with imperial policies concerning Slavic minorities in Germany's eastern borderlands as well as with the subjugation and exploitation of East Central and Eastern European regions during the Second World War.⁸⁴ They hardly refer to the authors investigating

80 Brahm and Rosenhaft, *Slavery Hinterlands*.

81 Michael Zeuske, "Die vergessene Revolution: Haiti und Deutschland in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Aspekte deutscher Politik und Ökonomie in Westindien," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 28 (1991): 291–296.

82 Reinhard Blänkner, ed., *Heinrich von Kleist's Novelle "Die Verlobung in St. Domingo": Literatur und Politik im globalen Kontext um 1800* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2013).

83 Thomas David, Bouda Etamad, and Janick Marina Schaufelbuehl, *La Suisse et l'esclavage des Noirs* (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2005); Niklaus Stettler, Peter Haenger, and Robert Labhardt, *Baumwolle, Sklaven und Kredite: Die Basler Welthandelsfirma Christoph Burckhardt & Cie. in revolutionärer Zeit, 1789–1815* (Basel: Christoph Merian, 2004); Peter Haenger, "Basel and the Slave Trade: From Profiteers to Missionaries," in Brahm and Rosenhaft, *Slavery Hinterlands*, 65–86.

84 Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., *Das Kaiserreich transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871–1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); Sebastian Conrad, *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008). See also Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Joachim

the earlier periods – and vice versa. Causal connections between European colonialism in the Atlantic World and labor exploitation in eastern German provinces and Poland, with serfdom as one instrument of coercion, already existed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Immanuel Wallerstein included this aspect in his prominent study on *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy*: Increasing demand in the Western Hemisphere, be it for grain or for linen, was one of the reasons why labor coercion in the more eastern German lands became even harsher during the eighteenth century.⁸⁵

In regard to future research, it would likely be fruitful to transcend the boundaries between historiographies on and from different regions of the world and ideological backgrounds, as well as the boundaries between research on the early modern and the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Atlantic and Central European worlds.

References

Archival Sources

- Archivo histórico municipal de Cádiz,
Padrón de 1773, Libro 1006, vol. 2.
- Archivo histórico provincial de Cádiz,
Protocolos notariales, sign. 1572, sign. 3105, sign. 3562, sign. 4435.
- Archivo histórico provincial de Santa Cruz de Tenerife,
Archivo Zárate-Cólogan, sección 6.8, libro copiadador de cartas, sign. 116.
- State Archives, Jelenia Góra,
zespół 102, Konfraternia Kupiecka w Jeleniej Górze, jedn. 32 and jedn. 335.
- The Earle Collection. National Museum Liverpool: Maritime Archives and Library. Accessed October 10, 2019.
<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/e4024133-f616-4db7-b45b-d5b0d0ead32c>.

Literature

- Alpern, Stanley B. "What Africans Got for Their Slaves: A Master List of European Trade Goods." *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 5–43.
- Aubin, Gustav, and Arno Kunze. *Leinenerzeugung und Leinenabsatz im östlichen Mitteldeutschland zur Zeit der Zunftkäufe: Ein Beitrag zur industriellen Kolonisation des deutschen Ostens*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940.

Zeller, eds., *Deutschland Postkolonial? Die Gegenwart der imperialen Vergangenheit* (Berlin: Metropol, 2018).

⁸⁵ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

- Baasch, Ernst. *Hamburgs Seeschifffahrt und Warenhandel vom Ende des 16. bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Hamburg: Gräfe & Sillem, 1893.
- Baasch, Ernst. *Hamburgs Convoyschifffahrt und Convoywesen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schifffahrt und Schifffahrtseinrichtungen*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, 1896.
- Baasch, Ernst. *Quellen zur Geschichte von Hamburgs Handel und Schifffahrt im 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Hamburg: Gräfe & Sillem, 1910.
- Baasch, Ernst. *Die Handelskammer zu Hamburg, 1665–1915*. 2 vols. Hamburg: Gräfe & Sillem, 1915.
- Bartolomei, Arnaud. "La naturalización de los mercaderes franceses de Cádiz a finales del siglo XVIII y principios del XIX." *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 10 (2011): 123–144.
- Bechhaus-Gerst, Marianne, and Joachim Zeller, eds. *Deutschland Postkolonial? Die Gegenwart der imperialen Vergangenheit*. Berlin: Metropol, 2018.
- Beckles, Hilary. *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627–1715*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.
- Beutin, Ludwig. "Deutscher Leinenhandel in Genua im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert." *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 24 (1931): 156–168.
- Beutin, Ludwig. *Der deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet bis zu den Napoleonischen Kriegen*. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1933.
- Blänkner, Reinhard, ed. Heinrich von Kleist's Novelle "Die Verlobung in St. Domingo": Literatur und Politik im globalen Kontext um 1800. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2013.
- Bloch, Marc. "Le problème de l'or au Moyen Age." *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 19 (1946): 1–34.
- Böhm, Günter. "Die Sephardim in Hamburg." In *Die Juden in Hamburg, 1590–1990: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Universität Hamburg zur Ausstellung 'Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg'*, edited by Arnold Herzig and Saskia Rohde, 21–40. Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1991.
- Brahm, Felix, and Eve Rosenhaft, eds. *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery in Continental Europe, 1680–1850*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016.
- Braudel, Fernand. "Monnaies et civilisation, de l'or du Soudan à l'argent d'Amérique." *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 1 (1946): 9–22.
- Burleigh, Michael. *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Canny, Nicholas, and Philip Morgan, eds. *The Oxford History of the Atlantic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Chamboredon, Robert. "Une société de commerce languedocienne à Cadix: Simon et Arnail Fournier et Cie (Nov. 1768-Mars 1786)." In *La burguesía de negocios en la Andalucía de la ilustración*, edited by Antonio González García-Baquero, 35–52. Vol. 2. Cadiz: Diputación provincial, 1991.
- Chapman, Stanley D. *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Conrad, Sebastian. *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008.
- Conrad, Sebastian, and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds. *Das Kaiserreich transnational: Deutschland in der Welt, 1871–1914*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.
- Damrosz, Anna. *Artystyczne Tkactwo Ludowe z Porządkiana*. Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1964.
- David, Thomas, Bouda Etemad, and Janick Marina Schaufelbuehl. *La Suisse et l'esclavage des Noirs*. Lausanne: Antipodes, 2005.
- Day, John. "The Bullion Famine of the 15th Century." *Past & Present* 79 (1978): 3–54.
- De Vries, Jan. *European Urbanization, 1500–1800*. London: Routledge, 1984.
- Degn, Christian. *Die Schimmelmans im atlantischen Dreieckshandel: Gewinn und Gewissen*. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1974.

- Denzer, Jörg. *Die Konquista der Augsburger Welser-Gesellschaft in Südamerika, 1528–1556: Historische Rekonstruktion, Historiografie und lokale Erinnerungskultur in Kolumbien und Venezuela*. Munich: C. H. Beck 2005.
- Eltis, David, and David Richardson. "A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade." In *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, edited by David Eltis and David Richardson, 1–61. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Eltis, David. "Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade – Understanding the Database," *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*. Accessed April 27, 2018. <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/about>.
- Gary, Ann T. "The Political and Economic Relations of English and American Quakers, 1750–1785." Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1935.
- Göttmann, Frank. "Der Raum zwischen oberer Donau und Schweizer Alpen im 18. Jahrhundert: Eine integrierte agrarisch-gewerbliche Wirtschaftsregion." *Scripta Mercaturae* 25, no. 1/2 (1991): 1–40.
- Granda, Jeanette. *Hermann Kellenbenz (1913–1990): Ein internationaler (Wirtschafts-) Historiker im 20. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2017.
- Grolle, Joist. "Baasch, Ernst." In *Hamburgische Biografie: Personenlexikon*, edited by Franklin Kopitzsch and Dirk Brietzke, 31–32. Vol. 1. Hamburg: Christians, 2001.
- Häberlein, Mark. "Jakob Fugger und die Kaiserwahl Karls V. 1519." In *Die Fugger und das Reich: Eine neue Forschungsperspektive zum 500jährigen Jubiläum der ersten Fuggerherrschaft Kirchberg-Weißenhorn*, edited by Johannes Burckhardt, 65–81. Augsburg: Wißner, 2008.
- Häberlein, Mark. *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012.
- Häberlein, Mark. *Aufbruch ins globale Zeitalter: Die Handelswelt der Fugger und Welser*. Darmstadt: Theiss, 2016.
- Haenger, Peter. "Basel and the Slave Trade: From Profiteers to Missionaries." In *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery in Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, edited by Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, 65–85. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016.
- Hamilton, Earl J. *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934.
- Heeren, Arnold Hermann Ludwig. *Handbuch der Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems und seiner Kolonien von der Entdeckung beyder Indien bis zur Errichtung des Französischen Kayserthrons*. Göttingen: Röwer, 1809.
- Heeren, Arnold Hermann Ludwig. *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and Its Colonies: From Its Formation at the Close of the Fifteenth Century to Its Re-establishment upon the Fall of Napoleon*. Oxford: D. A. Talboys, 1834.
- Heiber, Helmut. *Walter Frank und sein Reichsinstitut für die Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1966.
- Henninger, Wolfgang. *Johann Jakob Bethmann: Kaufmann, Reeder und kaiserlicher Konsul in Bordeaux*. Bochum: N. Brockmeyer, 1993.
- Heyck, Eduard. "Brandenburgisch-deutsche Kolonialpläne: Aus den Papieren des Markgrafen Hermann von Baden-Baden." *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 2, no. 1 (1887): 129–200.
- Hildebrandt, Reinhardt. *Quellen und Regesten zu den Augsburger Handelshäusern Paler und Rehlingen*. Vol. 2, 1624–1642. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004.

- Hofmeister, Hermann. *Die maritimen und kolonialen Bestrebungen des Großen Kurfürsten, 1640–1688*. Emden: Haynel, 1886.
- Iggers, Georg. *New Directions in European Historiography*. Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1975.
- Inikori, Joseph E. *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Jeannin, Pierre. "Die Hansestädte im europäischen Handel des 18. Jahrhunderts." *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 89 (1971): 41–73.
- Kellenbenz, Hermann. "Phasen des hansisch-nordeuropäischen Südamerikahandels." *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 78 (1960): 87–120.
- Kellenbenz, Hermann. "Der deutsche Außenhandel gegen Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts." In *Forschungen zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, edited by Friedrich Lütge, 4–60. Vol. 8. Stuttgart: Fischer, 1964.
- Kindleberger, Charles P. *World Economic Primacy, 1550–1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Klee, Ernst. *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich*. Frankfurt: Fischer, 2007.
- Klein, Herbert. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Kleinschmidt, Christian. "Weltwirtschaft, Staat und Unternehmen im 18. Jahrhundert." *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte* 47, no. 1 (2002): 72–86.
- Klosa, Sven. *Die Brandenburgische-Afrikanische Compagnie in Emden: Eine Handelscompagnie des ausgehenden 17. Jahrhunderts zwischen Protektionismus und unternehmerischer Freiheit*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011.
- Krawehl, Ernst. *Hamburgs Schiffs- und Warenverkehr mit England und den englischen Kolonien, 1840–1860*. Cologne: Böhlau, 1977.
- Kriedte, Peter. "Vom Großhändler zum Detaillisten: Der Handel mit Kolonialwaren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert." *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1994): 11–36.
- Kriedte, Peter, Hans Medick, and Jürgen Schlumbohm. *Industrialization before Industrialization: Rural Industry in the Genesis of Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Kruger, Colleen E. "Guinea Cloth: Production and Consumption of Cotton Textiles in West Africa before and during the Atlantic Slave Trade." In *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850*, edited by Giorgio Riello and Prasanna Parthasarati, 105–125. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Lehmann, Hartmut, and James Van Horn Melton, eds. *Paths of Continuity: Central European Historiography from the 1930s to the 1950s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Littler, Dawn. "The Earle Collection: Records of a Liverpool Family of Merchants and Shipowners." *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire* 146 (1997): 93–106.
- Lohr, Axel. "Kupfermühlen in Stormarn und Umgebung – '... die an Kostbarkeit und Mannigfaltigkeit in Holstein ihresgleichen nicht hatten'." *Jahrbuch Stormarn* (2016): 30–44.
- Ludwig, Jörg, and Michael Zeuske. "Amerikanische Kolonialwaren in Preußen und Sachsen: Prolegomena." *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 32 (1995): 257–301.
- Mallinckrodt, Rebekka von. "Verhandelte (Un-)Freiheit: Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft und innereuropäischer Wissenstransfer am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43 (2017): 347–380.
- Małowist, Marian. "The Foundations of European Expansion in Africa in the 16th Century: Europe, Maghreb, and Western Sudan." In *Western Europe, Eastern Europe and World Development, 13th–18th Centuries: Collection of Essays of Marian Małowist*, edited by Jean Batou and Henryk Szlajfer, 339–369. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

- Małowist, Marian. "Portuguese Expansion in Africa and European Economy at the Turn of the 15th Century." In *Western Europe, Eastern Europe and World Development, 13th-18th Centuries: Collection of Essays of Marian Małowist*, edited by Jean Batou and Henryk Szlajfer, 371–393. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Matthiesen, Otto. *Die Kolonial- und Überseepolitik der Kurländischen Herzöge im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940.
- Medick, Hans. *Weben und Überleben in Laichingen, 1650–1900: Lokalgeschichte als Allgemeine Geschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997.
- Miller, Joseph C. *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.
- Newman, Elizabeth Karin. "Anglo-Hamburg Trade in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries." PhD diss., University of London, 1979.
- Newman, Elizabeth Karin. "Hamburg and the European Economy, 1660–1750." *Journal of European Economic History* 14, no. 1 (1985): 57–94.
- Poettering, Jorun. *Handel, Nation und Religion: Kaufleute zwischen Hamburg und Portugal im 17. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.
- Pohl, Hans. *Die Beziehungen Hamburgs zu Spanien und dem Spanischen Amerika in der Zeit von 1740 bis 1806*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1963.
- Pohle, Jürgen. *Deutschland und die überseeische Expansion Portugals im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Münster: LIT, 2000.
- Raeff, Marc. "Hermann Aubin und die zeitgenössische Historiographie." *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 48 (1993): 159–167.
- Röhlk, Frauke. *Schiffahrt und Handel zwischen Hamburg und den Niederlanden in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973.
- Rupnow, Dirk. "Continuities in a Historiography Overshadowed by Its National Socialist Past?" In *Key Documents of German-Jewish History*, September 22, 2016. Accessed April 27, 2018. <https://jewish-history-online.net/article/rupnow-kellenbenz>.
- Salz, Arthur. *Geschichte der Böhmisches Industrie in der Neuzeit*. Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1913.
- Saugera, Eric. *Bordeaux port négrier: Chronologie, économie, idéologie, XVIIIe-XIXe siècles*. Paris: Karthala, 1995.
- Schäfer, Michael. *Eine andere Industrialisierung: Die Transformation der sächsischen Textilexportgewerbe, 1790–1890*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2016.
- Schebek, Edmund. *Böhmens Glasindustrie und Glashandel: Quellen zu ihrer Geschichte*. Prague: Verlag der Handels- und Gewerbekammer, 1878.
- Schilling, Heinz. "Innovation through Migration: The Settlements of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Central and Western Europe." *Histoire Sociale – Social History* 31 (1983): 7–33.
- Schmitz, Edith. *Leinengewerbe und Leinenhandel in Nordwestdeutschland, 1650–1850*. Cologne: Rheinisch-Westfälisches Wirtsch.-Archiv, 1967.
- Schulte Beerbühl, Margrit. *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung, 1600–1818*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007.
- Schulte, Aloys. *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels zwischen Westdeutschland und Italien*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900.
- Schulte, Aloys. *Geschichte der Großen Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, 1380–1530*. Vol. 3. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1923.
- Senat der Stadt Hamburg, ed. *Geschichtliche Landeskunde und Universalgeschichte: Festgabe für Hermann Aubin zum 23. Dezember 1950*. Hamburg: Nölke, 1950.

- Solow, Barbara L. "Capitalism and Slavery in the Long Run." In *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams*, edited by Barbara L. Solow and Stanley L. Engerman, 51–77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Steffen, Anka and Klaus Weber. "Spinning and Weaving for the Slave Trade: Proto-Industry in Eighteenth-Century Silesia." In *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, edited by Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, 87–107. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016.
- Stettler, Niklaus, Peter Haenger, and Robert Labhardt. *Baumwolle, Sklaven und Kredite: Die Basler Welthandelsfirma Christoph Burckhardt & Cie. in revolutionärer Zeit, 1789–1815*. Basel: Christoph Merian, 2004.
- Stols, Eddy. "Humanistas y jesuitas en los negocios brasileños de los Schetz, grandes negociantes de Amberes y banqueros de Carlos V." In *Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa, 1530–1558*, edited by José Martínez Millán, 29–47. Vol. 4. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001.
- Stols, Eddy. "The Expansion of the Sugar Market in Western Europe." In *Tropical Babels: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680*, edited by Stuart B. Schwartz, 237–288. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Tanguy, Yves. *Quand la toile va: L'industrie toilière bretonne du 16e au 18e siècle*. Rennes: Éditions Apogée, 1994.
- Thésée, Françoise. *Négociants bordelais et colons de Saint-Domingue. Liaisons d'habitation: La maison Henry Romberg, Babst & Cie. 1783–1793*. Paris: Société française d'histoire d'outremer, 1972.
- Verlinden, Charles. *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*. Ghent: Royal University of Ghent, 1977.
- Vieira, Albert. "Sugar Islands: The Sugar Economy of Madeira and the Canaries, 1450–1650." In *Tropical Babels: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680*, edited by Stuart B. Schwartz, 42–84. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Vilar, Pierre. *La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne: Recherche sur les fondements économiques des structures nationales*. Vol. 3. Paris: Service d'Édition et de Vente des Publications de l'Éducation Nationale, 1962.
- Voss, Karsten. *Sklaven als Ware und Kapital: Die Plantagenökonomie von Saint-Domingue als Entwicklungsprojekt, 1697–1715*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2016.
- Voss, Karsten and Klaus Weber. "Their Most Valuable and Most Vulnerable Asset: Slaves on the Early Sugar Plantations of Saint-Domingue (1697–1715)." *Journal of Global Slavery* 5 (2020): 204–237.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy*. New York: Academic Press, 1974.
- Weber, Klaus. "Die Admiralitätszoll- und Convoygeld-Einnahmebücher: Eine wichtige Quelle für Hamburgs Wirtschaftsgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert." *Hamburger Wirtschafts-Chronik* 1 (2000): 79–108.
- Weber, Klaus. *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel, 1680–1830: Unternehmen und Familien in Hamburg, Cadix und Bordeaux*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004.
- Weber, Klaus. "The Hamburg Sephardic Community in the Context of the Atlantic Economy." *transversal Zeitschrift für Jüdische Studien* 14, no. 2 (2013): 23–40.
- Weber, Klaus. "Mitteleuropa und der transatlantische Sklavenhandel: Eine lange Geschichte." *Werkstatt Geschichte* 66/67 (2014): 7–30.
- Wehler, Hans-Ulrich. *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*. Vol. 1, 1700–1815. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1987.
- Williams, Eric. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

- Wischermann, Clemens. *Preußischer Staat und westfälische Unternehmer zwischen Spätmerkantilismus und Liberalismus*. Cologne: Böhlau, 1992.
- Zahedie, Nuala. "Colonies, Copper, and the Market for Inventive Activity in England and Wales, 1680–1730." *Economic History Review* 66, no. 3 (2013): 805–825.
- Zeuske, Michael. "Die vergessene Revolution: Haiti und Deutschland in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Aspekte deutscher Politik und Ökonomie in Westindien." *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 28 (1991): 285–325.
- Zimmermann, Alfred. *Blüte und Verfall des Leinengewerbes in Schlesien: Gewerbe- und Handelspolitik dreier Jahrhunderte*. Breslau: W. G. Korn, 1885.
- Zorn, Wolfgang. "Schwerpunkte der deutschen Ausfuhrindustrie im 18. Jahrhundert." *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* 173 (1961): 421–447.

Arne Spohr

2 Violence, Social Status, and Blackness in Early Modern Germany: The Case of the Black Trumpeter Christian Real (ca. 1643–after 1674)

This essay investigates the life of a Black man, Christian Real, who was born in West Africa around 1643, sold into slavery at a young age, and eventually brought to the Holy Roman Empire, where he can be traced from around 1657 to 1674.¹ In contrast to the biographies of many other Black people in early modern Germany, Real's is exceptionally well documented: Printed and archival sources allow a reconstruction of key moments in his life, experiences whose highly ambiguous character beckons a comparison with biographies of other Black Africans in the Empire. After being baptized in the Free Imperial City of Lindau, Real was brought to the court of Duke Eberhard III of Württemberg in Stuttgart, where he served first as court servant ("Hofmohr" or "court Moor" in contemporary terminology) and later as trumpeter – one of the first Black court trumpeters in the Empire as far as is currently known.² Yet while in this prestigious position, he became the victim of a violent attack that almost cost him his life. Walking home from a wine tavern during the night of November 11, 1669, he was attacked by four young men who severely wounded him by disfiguring his face. The criminal investigation of this assault fills over 200 pages of a file entitled "Tödliche Verwundung eines Mohren" (The Severe Injury of a Moor) and kept at the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart.³

1 I use the terms "Black" and "white" with the understanding that they are modern constructions. For my understanding of the term "Blackness," see my discussion further below.

2 On "Hofmohren" in early modern Germany, see e.g. Anne Kuhlmann, "Ambiguous Duty: Black Servants at German Ancien Régime Courts," in *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250–1914*, ed. Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 57–73; Sünne Juterczenka, "'Chamber Moors' and Court Physicians: On the Convergence of Aesthetic Consumption and Racial Anthropology at Eighteenth-Century Courts in Germany," in *Entangled Knowledge: Scientific Discourses and Cultural Difference*, ed. Klaus Hock and Gesa Mackenthun (Münster: Waxmann, 2012), 165–182.

3 Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (HStAS), A 210 (Oberrat Stuttgart Stadt und Amt) III, Büschel 43, "Tödliche Verwundung eines Mohren." The file consists of thirty-three individual documents, most of them (presumably) in original numbering, although no. 10 and 12 are missing and other documents

Notes: For a musicological analysis of the material presented in this essay, see my article "'Mohr und Trompeter': Blackness and Social Status in Early Modern Germany," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72 (2019): 613–663. I would like to thank my partner, William Ben Daniels II, for inspiring and encouraging me to explore the history of Black people in early modern Germany.