Hamburg in the European Economy, 1660-1750

Karin Newman
The City University, London

Hamburg's acknowledged stature as a major commercial centre in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries makes it surprising that her physical resources were comparatively modest. The population at the end of the sixteenth century was estimated at between thirty-six and forty thousand people; in 1680 it stood at between fifty and sixty thousand and by 1750 was estimated at some ninety thousand.[1] Compared with her peers in the European trading community she fell within the middle and not the upper rank in size.[2] Her territory was small, extending

[1] H. REINCKE, *Forschungen und Skizzen zur Hamburgischen Geschichte*. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv, III, (Hamburg, 1951), 172-3. cf. H. MAUERSBERG who maintains Hamburg's population had reached 75,000 by 1662; *Wirtschafts-und Sozialgeschichte zentraleuropäischer Städte im neuerer Zeit. Dargestellt an den Beispielen von Basel, Frankfurt a.M., Hamburg, Hannover und München*, (Göttingen, 1960), 47.

[2] By the end of the 17th century, London's population had reached over 500,000: D.C. COLEMAN, *The Economy of England 1450-1750*, (1977), 20. Amsterdam's population was at least 200,000 by the end of the third quarter of the 17th century: V. BARBOUR, *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the 17th Century*, (Toronto, 1963), 17. Frankfurt had a population of some 28-30,000 in 1700 according to H. MAUERSBERG, op.cit., 73.

little more than a few kilometres from the city walls and it follows, therefore, that Hamburg itself was neither a large centre of consumption nor of production. Her chief functions were those characteristic of a port: as a place of transit, through which goods passed into and out of the continent of Europe, and as an entrepot, in which goods were bought and sold.

To review these roles in the absence of sound statistical data, confronts one with problems which will be discussed later. The choice of 1678, as a point of departure for an examination of Hamburg's imports, is one dictated by the chance survival of Stade Elbe toll records: it is not an ideally representative year. In 1678, Hamburg's trade was still depressed by the Franco-Dutch conflict which had embroiled much of Northern Europe since 1672.

TABLE 1

HAMBURG'S MAJOR COMMODITY IMPORTS IN 1678[3]

	Value in marks
Raisins	1,068,080
Kaufmannschaft[4]	738,000
Sugar	720,400
Tobacco	636,040
Wine and brandywine	611,711
Leather	384,000
Lemons	342,700
Ginger	329,520
Salt	146,860
Indigo	148,200
Oil	167,560
Sumach	142,080
Dyeing woods	147,380
Figs	126,200
Currants	104,400

And it must be emphasised that these figures reflect only some of Hamburg's sea-borne traffic. They do not include woollen

[3] St. A. Stade. Stade Elbe toll, Rep. 5F 381 nr. 9, 10. from 31 December 1677 - 30 December 1678.

[4] 'Kaufmannschaft' is a contemporary comprehensive label for merchants' goods.

manufactures from any source nor Baltic imports (which usually entered overland via Lübeck) and they do not reflect the trade of Hamburg burghers on their own account. Yet despite these important omissions, the figures will serve to indicate the diverse composition and varied geographical origins of Hamburg's principal imports. In these two respects they are reasonably typical of Hamburg's trade between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries.

TABLE 2

HAMBURG'S SEA-BORNE IMPORTS BY COUNTRY IN 1678[5]

	Value in marks
Britain	1,641,150
Spain	1,641,460
Holland	1,453,349
France	900,680
Archangel	575,340
Portugal	565,160
Mediterranean	189,480

From Spain and her Mediterranean islands, Hamburg imported wool, wine, almonds, capers, figs, raisins, citrus fruits, saffron, olives and oil, and from Spanish colonies, although not directly from them came silk, dyestuffs, snuff, cocoa and sugar. Of these items the two next most valuable were raisins, which accounted for over half of the value of Hamburg's imports from Spain, and wine, which accounted for 17.4 per cent. From Portugal, Hamburg imported a similar range of domestically produced and extra-European goods. Imports of sugar accounted for over one-quarter of Portugal's trade with Hamburg, followed closely by sumach and tobacco. Together, these three alone amount to over 70 per cent of Hamburg's Portuguese imports. The rest was made up of salt, fruit, (including figs and lemons), drugs, oil, oxhorns and wine. From the Streights, Hamburg

[5] St. A. Stade. Stade Elbe toll, loc. cit.

brought cotton yarn, oil, almonds and from the Canaries and Azores arrived small amounts of wine, sugar and Brazil wood. From Italy and Venice, Hamburg drew fruit, especially currants and almonds, as well as oil, capers, rice and occasional cargoes of dates and yellow arsenic. From the Mediterranean area as a whole therefore, currants were the major item, accounting for nearly 45 per cent by value, followed by sugar at 25 per cent, rice at under 10 per cent and calicoes at 1 per cent. In Hamburg's trade with France, wine and brandy accounted for one-third of her imports and tobacco for nearly another 20 per cent. These major items were supplemented by a large variety of goods, including almonds, soft fruit (especialy apples, plums, raisins and lemons) as well as the products of the plantations, including furs, dyes and ginger. Domestic products exported to Hamburg include soap, vinegar, glass, linen, paper and woad. French woollen and other textile exports to Hamburg were insignificant in the late seventeenth century since English and Dutch cloth were well established in Germany, and moreover, Germany itself produced sufficient and cheaper linen both for her own needs and for export.[6]

Hamburg, therefore, in some measure shared with London and Amsterdam in the well established northward movement of produce from the Mediterranean and Southern Europe and she was well placed to participate in its counterpart — the southward flow of Baltic and northern European produce. To an extent second only to Amsterdam, late seventeenth-century Hamburg was a staple for Swedish wire, copper and iron.[7] The precise

[6] F.K. HUHN, 'Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Frankreich und Hamburg im 18. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtingung der Handelsverträge von 1716 und 1769' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Hamburg, 1952), p. 160. Subsequent reference: Huhn, thesis.

[7] P.R.O. Chancery Master Exhibits, Atwood v. Wave, C109/24. ff.37, 45. Hereafter cited as WILLIAM ATWOOD papers. P.R.O. Chancery Master Exhibits, Maresco-David MSS., C114/63-78, (under arrangement), India Office Library and Record Office, Court Minutes of the East India Company 1674-6, p. 187. Riksarkivet,

importance of this role in Hamburg's economy is not easy to assess. Baltic trade was free from the imposition of the Stade Elbe toll and the Admiralitäts and Convoy duties. The Sound Dues records (thanks to Sweden's immunity over much of this period) likewise provide no clue to the scale of westbound Baltic traffic into Hamburg. Few Hamburg ships appear to have entered the Baltic. It was the land route from Lübeck which brought two-thirds of Hamburg's imports from Sweden.[8] Likewise, trade with Denmark was almost wholly overland. Livestock, especially oxen, lean steers and pigs reached Hamburg on the hoof, and were joined by grain, eggs, butter and fish.[9] Icelandic fish supplied by the Danish Icelandic company went direct to Hamburg, the staple for the Company's catch, and the Hamburg trading houses of Persent, Printz and Mumssen supplied the whole of Germany with dried Icelandic fish.[10] An important exception to this land-borne flow of northern European produce was the annual passage of a small fleet of between two and eight ships to Archangel.[11] Its return cargo brought tallow, tar, hemp,

Stockholm, Momma-Reenstierna MS., E.2506, J.J. Hiebenaer to Jacob Momma, Hamburg, 9 December 1671. Ibid., 13 January 1672. Hereafter cited as Momma-Reenstierna MS.

[8] P. Jeannin, 'Die Hansestädte im Europäischen Handel des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Hansische Geschichtesblätter*, (hereafter H.G.B.L.), LXXXIX, (1971), 63-4. E. Harder Gersdorff, 'Lübeck Danzig und Riga. Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Handelskonjunktur im Ostseeraum am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts', *H.G.B.L.*, XCVI, (1978), 109.

[9] St. A. Hbg. J. Klefeker, *Sammlung der Hamburgischen Gesetze und Verfassungen*, VI, (Hamburg, 1768), 498. C. Walther, 'Georg Greflingers Hamburgisches Reisehandbuch und Beschreibung von Hamburg im Jahre 1674', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgischen Geschichte*, (hereafter Z.H.G.), IX, (Hamburg 1894), 130. H. Henningsen, 'Dänemarks Brückenstellung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart', *Mitteilungen der Nordischen Gesellschaft Hamburg-Kontor*, VI, (1940), 47.

[10] E. Baasch, 'Die führenden Kaufleute und ihre Stellung in der Hamburgischen Handelsgeschichte', *Hamburger Übersee-Jahrbuch*, (hereafter H.U.J.), 1, (1922), 45. In 1743, Hamburg merchants ordered 19-20,000 shippounds of fish from the Danish Icelandic Company which accounted for the greatest part of the catch. E. Baasch, 'Die Islandfahrt der Deutschen, namentlich der Hamburger, vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert', *Forschungen zur hamburgischen Handelsgeschichte*, 1, (Hamburg, 1889), 56.

[11] In the period 1604 to 1620 an average of 6 or 7 ships passed between Hamburg

flax, linseed, iron, furs, Turkish yarn, Persian silk, skins, potash, train oil, mats, honey and wax. Leather accounted for nearly sixty per cent of imports from Archangel; of lesser significance was 'Kaufmannschaft', a comprehensive label for merchants' goods which cannot be disaggregated into individual commodities.

Finally, imports from Holland reflected a diversity which can be best dealt with under four heads — (a) products of domestic origin, such as provisions and Dutch manufactures; (b) re-exported goods from the Dutch plantations and East Indies; (c) Far Eastern products; and (d) Southern European goods. 'Provisions' were principally butter, cheese, herrings, codfish and oysters; Dutch manufactures included tobacco pipes, earthenware, furniture, books, cannons, glass, paper, soap, pots and pans, and textiles, among them woollen cloths and sailcloth. Dutch re-exports also included calicoes, dyes, ginger, pepper and spices, sugar, tobacco as well as such South European products as lemons, figs, olives, oranges, raisins and wine. Unfortunately, imports of herrings, 'provisions' and woollens cannot be safely valued, although the former item was considerable. Thus, in the structure of Dutch trade by sea to Hamburg (exclusive of woollens, herrings and other provisions) domestic manufacture accounted for nearly 16 per cent, re-exports of Streights and Southern European goods for 28.5 per cent, Far Eastern goods for 3.8 per cent and Plantation goods for 13.6 per cent by value. In addition, there is a significant proportion described as

and Archangel annually. E. BAASCH, 'Hamburgs Seeschiffarhrt und Warenhandel vom Ende des 16. bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts' *Z.H.G.*, IX, (Hamburg, 1894), 31.37. Between 1644-46 the Archangel trade averaged three large ships annually. M. REISSMANN, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht*, Beiträge zur Geschichte Hamburgs, herausgegeben vom Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, IV, (Hamburg 1975), 62. In 1704 the fleet to Archangel was 10-20 ships. C.F. Menke, 'Die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Beziehungen der Hansestädte zu Rußland im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert', (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Göttingen, 1959), 242.

'Kramwaren und Kaufmannschaft' accounting for 35.4 per cent.[12]

Such were the main commodities which late seventeenth century Hamburg channelled into its German hinterland; but Hamburg also had common links with other areas and the question therefore arises — what were the limits and characteristics of the hinterland which Hamburg supplied? In the early seventeenth century, the impression created by English business correspondence, such as Lionel Cranfield's, is that Hamburg was serving primarily as a link with the great southern German fairs of Frankfurt and Nuremberg. English factors were firmly under the belief that conditions in Nuremberg and Frankfurt largely determined the tone of the Hamburg market. Nuremberg in particular served both Italy and Hungary, and Hamburg was the western terminus of a route that led to the fairs of Frankfurt, Nuremberg and Augsburg and through them to Italy, Hungary, Poland and even to Turkey.[13] To describe Hamburg's hinterland as basically German is therefore misleading since it extended well into Central and Southern Europe, linked up through a complex system of international fairs and long distance trade routes.

The use of these international fairs is a striking feature of the German distributive system, of which Leipzig was the most important. Leipzig was the terminus of the overland route which stretched from Russia through Poland into Germany. From Russia, by this route, arrived high-value, low bulk goods such as furs and wax.[14] Likewise from France, the luxury 'fancy goods' of Paris and Lyon were joined by wine, oil, almonds, capers, olives, Levant coffee, dyes, cotton and tea.[15] From the Iberian peninsula,

[12] St. A. Stade. Stade Elbe toll, loc. cit.

[13] Historical Manuscripts Commission, Sackville (Knole) MS, II, ed. F.J. Fisher [hereafter cited as H.M.C. Sackville (Knole)], passim.

[14] A. Öhberg, 'Russia and the World Market in the 17th century', *Scan. Econ. Hist.*, III, (1955), 123-4. A. Attman, *'The Russian and Polish markets in international trade 1500-1650'*, Göteborgs Universitet, Ekonomisk Historiska Institutionen Meddelanden, XXVI, (Göteborg, 1973), 97, 99, 165.

[15] E. Hasse, *Geschichte der Leipziger Messen*, (Leipzig, 1885), 485.

the dyes, saffron, wool, gums and cocoa were sold beside the fruits, oils and wine of the Mediterranean. Extra-European products of which England, Holland, Portugal and France were the chief suppliers were sold alongside the textiles of France, Flanders, Holland and England.[16] The Leipzig fair attracted German, Dutch, Austrian, Polish, Russian, French and English traders both as buyers and sellers.[17]

The Breslau fair was likewise visited by traders from Poland, Russia, Saxony, Hamburg, Holland, Turkey, Persia and Armenia,[18] and likewise distributed goods to a wide area — to Poland, Hungary, Turkey and Austria. Although the significance of the last as a market for English goods declined in the face of French competition during the eighteenth century, it remained an important market for foreign goods, as did Hungary. According to Robinson and Porter, writing in the 1740s, the Hungarians spent between £ 150,000 to £ 200,000 sterling yearly at the Breslau fairs on goods imported either via Hamburg, or overland from France.[19] In Leipzig, by 1763, English goods were estimated to take first place in value and it was calculated that three-quarters of all English goods imported to Germany passed through this fair.[20]

[16] "Leipzig is a small city... the three annual Fairs attract merchants from France, Italy, Holland. It is accounted the greatest fair in all Europe. The merchants have their commodities in Houses, ... vast quantities of printed callicoes from hence carried there, as also Muslins, silks, velvets and also from Amsterdam and likewise England Rashes and other woollen manufactures, wine, oils, raisins, oranges and lemons and all sorts of Druggs, abudance of furs and much tobacco and several other commodities". St. A. Hbg. Hamburger Bank, Firma Charles Blunt. B.I. Charles Blunt to Theodore Eccleston, Hamburg, 13 June 1724.

[17] E. Hasse, op.cit., 304-5. M. Unger, 'Die Leipziger Messen und die Niederlande im 16. und 18. Jahrhundert', *H.G.B.L.*, LXXXI, (1963), 36.

[18] H. Krüger, *Zur Geschichte der Manufacturen und der Manufacturarbeiter in Preuß en: die mittleren Provinzen in der zweiten Halfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, (Berlin, 1958) 57.

[19] P.R.O. S.P. 80/143 J. Robinson and J. Porter to Lord Harrington, Vienna, 30 November 1740, (N.S.). S.P. 80/157 J. Robinson and J Porter to Lord Carteret, Vienna, 2 February 1743 (N.S.).

[20] E. Hasse, op. cit., 487.

Even, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Hamburg's trade was still linked to the five international fairs of inland Germany, although in the course of the seventeenth century the relative importance of individual fairs had changed drastically. At the beginning of the century Hamburg's links were mainly with Nuremberg, Frankfurt and Augsburg.[21] By the 1680s Hamburg's links with the more northern fairs of Leipzig and Breslau predominated.[22]

The decline in the importance of the southern fairs seems to have been absolute as well as relative and was the result of three major factors. Firstly, there was the contraction of the south German fustian industry,[23] and secondly, a contraction in the overland trade with Italy. Thirdly (and possibly most significant), was the mid-seventeenth century expansion of German linen production in Silesia, Lusatia, Bohemia and Saxony, areas geographically closer to the northern than the southern fairs. This geographic proximity was reinforced with the completion of the Friedrich-Wilhelm canal in 1668 which created a continuous water passage from Breslau to Hamburg. The result was not only a displacement of Nuremberg, Augsburg and Frankfurt by Breslau and Leipzig, but also the decline of south German trading houses, in favour of Hamburg merchants.[24]

This did not mean that Frankfurt disappeared entirely from

[21] H.M.C. Sackville (Knole), passim.

[22] Bodleian Library Eng. Misc. c 563, The Letter Book of Mathew Ashton 1681-1685, (hereafter cited as Mathew Ashton papers).

[23] The south German fustian industry had been declining since before the mid-16th century and the Thirty Years War was the final blow. A.P. WADSWORTH and J. DE L. MANN, *The cotton trade and industrial Lancashire 1600-1780*, University of Manchester, Economic History Series, VII, (Manchester, 1931), 23. Figures of London fustian imports from Germany for 1621/2 and 1633/4 show a decisive decline in fustian imports. A.M. MILLARD, 'The Import Trade of London 1600-1640', I, (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1956), 259.

[24] A. KLIMA, 'English Merchant Capital in Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser. XII, (1959), 40-1. S. KÜHN, 'Der Hirschberger Leinwand- und Schleierhandel von 1648-1806', in *Breslauer Historische Forschungen*, VII, (1938), passim.

Hamburg's orbit. In 1716 Sir Charles Whitworth, former Ambassador to the Czar, reported that Frankfurt took bays, kersies, and serges from Exeter and Tiverton, flannel from London and cloth from Leeds to an estimated value of £ 100,000 per annum with the returns being made in bills.[25] But in 1736 Sir Cyril Wich's secretary reported that re-exports now vied with English goods at Frankfurt; that many of them came from Bremen and Altona; and that their purchasers came mainly from France rather than from Hungary or Italy.

> "Vast quantities of calicoes, woollen cloths and other merchandises, coming from England are sold at Frankfurt Fairs, where the Merchants of Lorraine are the Principal buyers, in order to distribute these goods in France by way of the three Bishoprics."[26]

In fact, by the early eighteenth century Frankfurt dealt primarily in French, German and Dutch goods, few of which seem to have come into England via Hamburg, for Frankfurt had ceased to be a major linen fair. As Whitworth reported, the return for English sales was mainly in Bills.[27]

For the history of the Nuremberg fair the evidence is scanty but its Polish trade was reduced by the late-seventeenth century depression in that country[28] and much of its linen trade was captured either by the fairs of Leipzig and Breslau or by Hamburg merchants purchasing directly in Upper Lusatia, Bohemia, Silesia and Saxony. Neverthless, Nuremberg mer-

[25] P.R.O. S.P. 81/173, C. WHITWORTH, 'Report on the Trade of Germany, April 1716. (Hereafter cited as C. Whitworth, Report).

[26] P.R.O. S.P. 82/57, 216, John Mattheson to Mr Tilson, Hamburg, 28 September, 1736.

[27] C. Whitworth, Report. The Dutch Resident, Bosch, in reports written in Frankfurt a.M. in 1752 and 1753 to the States General observed that not a small part of trade between Frankfurt and England which hitherto went over Hamburg and Bremen now took the route through Holland. E. BAASCH, 'Hamburg und Holland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', *H.G.B.L.*, XVI, (1910), 99.

[28] P.R.O. S.P. 88/13, ff. 160-1. Francis Sanderson to the Secretary of State, 15 December 1674.

chants continued to trade in English cloths, particularly crown rashes, serges and bays as well as Dutch camlets, crepons, silk estoffs and cottons,[29] which were then distributed to Austria and Hungary.[30] But both these trades were also in decline in the late seventeenth century, due in part to short term factors such as civil unrest in Hungary which depressed that market at least until 1686[31] and to the war between Austria and Turkey in the same decade. More significant was a long term factor, namely the increased competitiveness of Hamburg as a distributor of goods into central and southern Europe after the completion of the Friedrich-Wilhelm canal in 1668.

Augsburg indeed retained some trade with Italy.[32] English and Dutch cloths were found in Venice, brought partly by ships but much more by land from Augsburg "to which place it is brought overland from Hamburg."[33] Moreover, Augsburg continued to distribute goods received from Amsterdam, Leiden, Hamburg, Leipzig and Frankfurt[34] but this was on a smaller scale than earlier in the century.

Germany, however, was not Hamburg's only hinterland. Apart from Poland, Hungary, Austria and Italy, which at various times were served indirectly through Germany, Hamburg had direct links with other countries. With Denmark and Holstein there were close commercial and financial ties. Danish merchants

[29] Gemeente Archief, Amsterdam (G.A.A.), Particulier Archieven, P.A.I., Burlamachi MS., 442, K. Richter to Benjamin Burlamachi, Nuremberg, 3 June 1687. (Hereafter cited as Burlamachi MS.).

[30] Ibid., 426, Jacob Blommart Jnr. to Burlamachi, Nuremberg, 8 July 1687, Ibid., 431. Andreas Ingelstatter, Nuremberg, 3 June, 30 June 1681, 22 September 1682, Ibid., 434 Zacharias Kriner & Co., Nuremberg, 24 February 1682, 30 January 1685.

[31] Burlamachi MS., 434, Zacharias Kriner & Co to Burlamachi, Nuremberg, 24 February 1682, 30 January 1685, 30 March 1686.

[32] Burlamachi MS., 244, Hans Adam Gio Adamo to Burlamachi, Augsburg, 24 April 1687, Ibid., 248 Wollwein & Aichorn to Burlamachi, Augsburg, 6 January 1689.

[33] P.R.O. C.O. 390/2, f. 35, 20 May 1718.

[34] Burlamachi MS., 235, Anthoine Egckhart to Burlamachi, Augsburg, 7 August 1687. P.R.O. S.P. 99/48 John Dodington to Lord Arlington, Venice, 24 October 1670, f. 50.

and shopkeepers looked to Hamburg as an entrepot of German and foreign products, and in Hamburg they boutht the products of England, as well as plantation and Far Eastern goods.[35] Between 1763-72 Hamburg and Lübeck provided one fifth of Denmark's imports.[36] Danish purchases of textiles in Hamburg were very significant,[37] and included velvets, silks, linens and a substantial amount of English woollens. Sales of English woollens to Danish merchants and shopkeepers were estimated by John Gore, Governor of the Hamburg Company, to have reached between £ 60,000 and £ 70,000 per annum before 1726 when the King of Denmark prohibited Danish trade with Hamburg.[38] Drink was also imported, especially French wines and brandy wine, German beer and Rhenish wine. Molesworth, the English resident at Copenhagen, observed of the Danes: "They are much addicted to Drinking; the Liquors that are most in vogue with Persons of Condition, are Rhenish Wine, Cherry Brandy, and all sorts of French wine".[39]

In addition there was the sea-borne trade to Archangel, already referred to. The annual Russian fleet took with it woollen textiles, including English perpetuanas, dozens, flannels and stockings as well as small amounts of linen and lace. Metals were also important, among them iron, copper and steel, tin and wire. Nuremberg piece goods and quick-silver were joined by re-

[35] P.R.O. C.O 388/27, Bundke T.4. Edict of Frederick IV of Denmark prohibiting trade with Hamburg, 10 December 1726.

[36] J. JØORGENSEN, 'Hamburg, Lübeck, Kopenhagen und der dänische Provinzstandthandel um 1730', *H.G.B.L.* LXXXV, (1967), 97.

[37] Both Mathew Ashton and Samuel Free remarked upon the importance of the Danish market for English woollen textiles. Bodl. Eng. Misc. c 602, Letter Book of Mathew Ashton, 1678-1695. Ashton to J. Kitchingman, Hamburg, 4 November 1679. Burlamachi MS., 316, Samuel Free & Co. to Burlamachi, Hamburg, 27 July, 7 August 1685. See also Burlamachi MS., 230, Holtz to Burlamachi, Copenhagen, 22 October 1681.

[38] P.R.O. C.O. 388/37, Bundle Y. 109, John Gore to the Board of Trade, 10 August 1737.

[39] R. MOLESWORTH, *An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692*, (1694), 93.

exports such as sugar, imported from France and refined in Hamburg, oil, syrup, raisins, almonds, currants and figs — the produce of southern Europe as well as tobacco, ginger, and indigo from the Plantations. There was also a busy overland link via Lübeck to Sweden and Baltic ports which Hamburg merchants used for communication and trade.[40] For example, Matthew Ashton of Hamburg forwarded English letters to Narva and Dantzig.[41] English cloth was sent from Hamburg to Dantzig and Stockholm via Lübeck[42] and Ashton sent sugar to Narva via Lübeck, the proceeds of which were invested in Rhine flax which was consigned to John Preston at Leeds.[43]

Thus, in effect, Hamburg had two neighbouring hinterlands — the North German hinterland, which she dominated, and the Danish and Baltic hinterland, which she served.

In performing her principal function as a supplier of foreign commodities to Germany, Hamburg had to face some competition. But the competition was handicapped for, in the most part, alternative access to Germany by sea lay through ports in foreign territory. The ports of the rivers Rhine and Meuse stood in the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands. Most of the German Baltic coastline was in foreign hands. Livonia, Estonia and Courland were subject respectively to Sweden, Poland and Russia. The river Oder dominated by Prussia was the only river from the Baltic into the interior of Germany; the river Vistula gave access to Poland, whilst the river Trave only partially crossed the Holstein isthmus. From the peace of Westphalia until 1719, West Pomerania which incuded the ports of Stettin,

[40] For example, J. Hiebenaer of Hamburg received Swedish copper and iron from Jacob Momma via Lübeck and Wismar. R.A. Momma-Reenstierna MS., E. 2506, J. Hiebenaer to J. Momma, Hamburg, 16 and 23 January, 8, 29 May, 14 August, 16 October 1669; 13 May, 16 December 1671; 10 May 1672; 25 January, 12 April 1673.

[41] Mathew Ashton papers, M. Ashton to William Kettlewell, Hamburg, 6 December 1681; M. Ashton to Thomas Smith, Hamburg, 7 April 1682.

[42] Ibid., M. Ashton to John Williamson, Hamburg, 22 July 1684; Ibid., to H. Moxon, Hamburg, 22 July 1684.

[43] Ibid., M. Ashton to Richard Baron, Hamburg, 26 August 1684.

Wismar and Stralsund was in Swedish hands. Some of the southern states, Austria and the hereditary lands, had access to the Adriatic Sea, but Trieste and Fiume were insignificant as suppliers of goods to Austria or the hereditary lands during the first half of the eighteenth century, despite being made into free ports in 1719.[44]

Thus, competition arose mainly from Bremen, Lübeck, Emden and the Netherlands ports. Whilst Bremen became in the early eighteenth century a significant outlet for Westphalian linens destined for London[45] and Exeter[46], with respect to England's exports she suffered from two major disadvantages. Firstly Bremen was for much of the period embedded in foreign territory, for from the Peace of Westphalia until 1719 when Hanover purchased Bremen Verden,[47] it was Swedish-owned. Secondly, economic factors militated against the use of Bremen. The rivers Weser, Fulda and Were formed a comparatively small river network extending into the interior of Germany: moreover this river system lay between the two more important rivers, the Rhine and Elbe. Like the Rhine and Elbe, the Weser was burdened with tolls but to an even greater extent. Between Bremen and Minden, a distance of 27 miles, there were 21 toll stations[48] compared with 25 toll stations between Hamburg and Silesia.[49] The high cost of tolls on the river Weser discouraged the

[44] P.G.M. Dickson, 'English Commercial Negotiations with Austria', in A. Whiteman, J.S. Bromley (eds.), *Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants: Essays in Eighteenth Century History*, (Oxford, 1973), 94.

[45] G.A.A. P.A. 88, Brants MS., 927, "I have opportunity to sell all kinds of linen. All day I sell Silesian linen Osnabrig and raw Hessens which come from Bremen". Noah de la Fontaine Wicart to David Leeuw, London, 23 July 1714.

[46] G.A.A. P.A. 88/924, "Two ships daily expected from Bremen bringing quantities of Divers sorts of German linens". John Ellwill to David Leeuw, Exeter, 28 July 1714.

[47] J. Lisk, *The Struggle for Supremacy in the Baltic 1600-1725*, (1971), 191.

[48] H.J. v. Witzendorff, 'Beiträge zur Bremischen Handelsgeschichte in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, XLIII (1951), 345.

[49] J. Marperger, *Schlesischer Kaufmann oder ausführliche Beschreibung der Schlesischen Commercien und deren jetzigen Zustandes* (Breslau, Leipzig, 1714), 11.

sending of goods to Frankfurt.[50] Moreover, commodities coming into and leaving Bremen were liable to pay custom duty to the Danish Crown at Elsflets in the County of Oldenburg. The Elsflets toll, of one per cent of the value of goods, was a considerable burden on trade as noted by Mr. Elkin in a letter to the Board to Trade:

> "The greatest Clogg to the Trade and Navigation of this Citty is the Toll which must be paid att Elsfleth in the County of Oldenburg, belonging to the King of Denmarck, whereby most all the Valuable goods and Manufacturyes are, in a Manner banish'd from the River of Weser:... Only the Coarsest sorts of Woollen Manufacturys are directly exported thither, from the Port of London and also Tobacco, Sugar, Rice, Solleather, Calfskinns, Ginger, Lead, Logwood and the like sort of Voluminous and not very valuable goods, and From North of England, or Humber, and Tyne and Scotland, Northern Cloth, Salt, Coals, Corn, Salmon, Herring, Saltfish, etc... But the best Sort of Woollen and Silk Manufacturys, and also all valuable goods from the Plantations, and East Indies, Turkey etc. whereof ye sd Citty of Bremen and Adjacent Dominions consume great quantityes, all come indirectly by way of Altona situated on the Elbe near Hamburg, which is a free Port and all the Countrys between the Elbe and Weser can have the Valuable necessary goods from thence with less charges of Land Carriage than the Elsfleth Toll amounts to..."[51]

Bremen's hinterland was also somewhat smaller than Hamburg's and she could offer fewer returns.

Hamburg's second rival, Lübeck, is situated in the western corner of the Baltic on the river Trave. Her geographical position as an entry point into Germany was unfavourable from the Atlantic point of view, partly because the river only partially crossed the Holstein isthmus, but more significantly because access by sea lay through the Sound which added 150 miles to the journey. Lübeck was not only more distant than either Emden, Bremen or Hamburg, but shipping was subject to the Sound dues

[50] H.J. v. Witzendorff, op. cit., 345.

[51] P.R.O. C.O. 388/25, Bundle S. 91, Mr. Elkin to the Board of Trade, 6 December 1726.

and the danger of passing the Catgut. The additional risk, length and cost discouraged the use of Lübeck. Moreover, the Baltic and Sound froze for longer periods than the river Elbe and therefore access was restricted by weather conditions. In 1688, William Carr observed that Lübeck "is now exceedingly run into decay, not only in territories, but in wealth and trade also".[52]

Emden, which had been used for short periods by the Merchant Adventurers and the Dutch during the sixteenth century had already entered into a decline by the beginning of the seventeenth century.[53] Suffering from difficulties of distribution and the unstable political situation of the 1580's[54] it had seen the dwindling, not only of its Baltic trade but also of its trade to Iberia and the Mediterranean.[55] Its services to the Danish hinterland had been eclipsed by those of Hamburg. Bremen had taken its linen trade and its remaining contacts with England were insignificant by the mid-seventeenth century.[56]

The other chief entry into Germany was by way of Holland. Contemporaries spoke of a divided German market: Upper Germany which was served by the Rhine and Maes and Lower Germany which was served by the river Elbe and its tributaries. A line from the town of Zwolle in Holland to Ratisbon marks this division. According to Whitworth, Upper Germany was capable of absorbing an increased supply of foreign goods, but only if access was improved since the river Rhine "is rendred almost useless, at least to England by the many Duties and Burthens in the Passage".[57] Between Holland and Frankfurt lay

[52] W. CARR, *Travels Through Flanders, Holland, Germany, Sweden and Denmark*, 5th ed. (1725), 129.

[53] B. HAGEDORN, *Ostfrieslands Handel und Schiffahrt vom Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Westfalischen Frieden (1580 - 1648)*, Abhanlungen zur Verkehrs- und Seegeschichte, I (Berlin, 1912), 507.

[54] C.S.P. For. 1585-6, 422. P.R.O. S.P. 82/5, 56.

[55] B. Hagedorn, op. cit., 508-9.

[56] B. Hagedorn, op. cit., 510.

[57] C. Whitworth, Report.

five principalities, each charging tolls, the levels of which were a considerable handicap to trade, as concluded by the conference on the level of duties on the Rhine, held in 1699. Duty increases in 1665 from 23 Reichstaler per Last to 36 and 38 Reichstaler had encouraged a diversion of trade for all but the bulkiest goods to land routes or by way of the river Elbe.[58] However, the cost of tolls on the river Elbe was also considerable. In the late seventeenth century there were 29 tolls between Pirna and Hamburg,[59] and as the accounts of the shipper L. Kleeditz show, in 1674 he earned 2,833 talers from freight and paid out 1,723 talers in toll money.[60] The burden of tolls was so high that rulers frequently exempted their own goods from payment of toll.[61]

The river Rhine was also burdened by staple rights. The right of staple enjoyed by Cologne, Mentze and Frankfurt involved landing and reloading commodities, with attendant delays and added porterage and commission charges. Freight on the river Rhine was almost as expensive as the land route and slower. Consequently, fine goods and cloths which could bear the cost of transport tended to go by land.[62] But the Dutch sent spices, drugs, oils, rice, whalebone, tin, copper, brass wire, sugar, tea, coffee, wine, dried fruits and fish into southern Germany by the Rhine,[63] and according to Huet, "there is not a Town near the Rhine and the Rivers that flow into it, but consumes a World of Goods of the growth and manufacture of Holland, in exchange of

[58] H. Mauersberg, op. cit., 307-8. The Venetian Secretary in England observed in September 1671 that the exorbitant duties levied by the princes of the Rhine would prevent the import to the Netherlands of Rhenish wines. C.S.P. Venetian 1671-73, 102.

[59] K. Blaschke, 'Elbschiffarhrt und Elbzolle im 17. Jahrhundert', *H.G.B.L.*, LXXXII, (1964), 49.

[60] Ibid., 48.

[61] E. Pitz, *Die Zolltarife der Stadt Hamburg. Deutsche Handelsakten des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, XI, (Wiesbaden, 1961), 446-7.*

[62] *H. Mauersberg, op. cit., 307.*

[63] *E. Baasch, Holländische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, (Jena, 1927), 292. J. Marshall, *Travels through Holland in the years 1768, 1769 and 1770*, 1, (1772), 111.

their own".[64] Holland also traded into Germany by land. Into the area between the river Weser and Rhine, namely Westphalia, Cassel, Brunswick, Hanover and Bremen, she traded in calicoes, muslins, indigo, cochinille, spices and drugs.[65] But the Northern ports were competitive with the land routes used by the Dutch. For example, to transport 300 pounds weight of goods to Frankfurt from Amsterdam cost from ten to eleven dollars, compared with nine to ten from Bremen and seven to eight from Hamburg and Altona.[66] Hamburg's competitive position as a route into southern Germany was reinforced by the Transito Order of 1727 which allowed most transit goods through free of payment of the Werkzoll.[67]

The difficulty of access to the South German market through Holland as well as the high cost of transportation and transit duties is illustrated by the problem facing sales of English cloth by this route. Transit duties through Holland were considerable. A bale of northern cloth of 15 pieces paid at least 30 guilders, compared with much lower costs in Bremen, Hamburg and Altona. These burdens account for the fact that "The English Piece of Cloth is hardly to be found in several Considerable Towns" in southern Germany.[68] Of the south German towns, Frankfurt received the most English stuffs, mainly by land carriage from Magdeburg; Augsburg received English goods, "only at second and third hand from Amsterdam or Frankfurt, which are therefore so inconsiderable... they are not worth mentioning, they coming much too dear by the length of Carriage and other charges".[69] Nuremberg received English

[64] P. Huet, *A View of the Dutch Trade in all the States, Empires, and Kingdoms in the World*, 2nd ed. (1772), 63.

[65] P.R.O. C.O. 388/25, Bundle S.91, Mr Elkin to the Board of Trade, 6 December 1726.

[66] C. Whitworth, Report.

[67] E. Pitz, op. cit., 508, The Transito Order, 20 October 1727.

[68] C. Whitworth, Report.

[69] Ibid.

goods via Hamburg and the Elbe to Magdeburg where they were unloaded and sent overland. Nevertheless, in spite of the costs of land and river transport and the transit duties, it was estimated that in 1765 one third of English woollens arriving in Amsterdam were sent into Germany.[70]

Whilst Austria could be reached through both Holland and Hamburg, in was the route from Hamburg that was cheaper. In February 1688 Ludwig Becceler, a Hamburg merchant, in a letter to Burlamachi of Amsterdam extolled the cheapness of sending goods to Vienna from Hamburg.

> "Concerning the carriage of heavy goods to Vienna in Austria, there is no better, shorter and cheaper way, than from here by water to Berlin, where one pays for a great pass of 2000 to 2500 pounds free of all tolls at most 12 Rtl and proportionately less for smaller weights, which for heavy or large wares of 320 pounds amounts to 1½ to 2 Rtl for freight. From Berlin by water to Breslau, I believe a ship-pound costs 3/4 Rtl, and then from Breslau by land to Vienna. From here to Vienna a ship-pound costs barely 6-7 Reichstaler".[71]

Moreover, the risks and costs of transporting goods into Austria by way of Holland and the river Danube from Ratisbon favoured Hamburg as a supplier for, as Whitworth noted in 1716, "this Water Carriage labours under much the same incumbrances with that of the Rhine, there being no less than 19 Tolls from hence (Ratisbon) to Vienna".[72] Another contemporary, Mr. Clement noted in 1713 that sending goods from Hamburg to Vienna was cheaper than via Holland.[73]

[70] P.R.O. C.O. 388/95, BUNDLE I. 13, 'Particulars of the Trade carried on between the different Ports of HM Dominions and Rotterdam and the other ports of the Mase' in Mr Wolters letter of 16 July 1765.

[71] Burlamachi MS., 306, Ludwig Becceler to Burlamachi, Hamburg, 14/24 February 1688. 1 ship-pound approximately 300 pounds. Rtl = Reichstaler. 1 Reichstaler is equivalent to 4/6d sterling.

[72] C. Whitworth, Report.

[73] The cost of transporting goods to Austria from Holland by land to Ratisbon and by the river Danube to Vienna was estimated at six pence per pound. But via Hamburg,

Hamburg as a transit centre, then was well placed to meet all competition,[74] even Dutch, and the most obvious explanation of Hamburg's success was her location on the river Elbe. The mouth of the Elbe (if not Hamburg itself) was ice-free except in exceptionally cold winters; its course penetrated deep into the interior of Germany; the Elbe with its canal links to the river Oder formed 763 kilometres of navigable waterway into the interior of Germany as far as Breslau in Silesia. Whitworth commented on Hamburg as the major port of Germany:

> "Our commerce with Germany is chiefly carried on by Hamburgh, which perhaps may boast a trade as extensive as almost any other town in Europe; its exports and imports exceed those of many great Kingdoms, even in Germany itself. Its situation, indeed, affords it many great advantages with respect both to its foreign and domestic trades. Its port is commodious; into the Elbe, upon which it stands, fall many other great navigable rivers, after a course through some of the largest, richest and most trading parts of Germany: hence this city is furnished with all the products and manufactures of Austria, Bohemia, and upper and lower Saxony. By the Havel and the Spree it carries on a trade with the Electorate of Brandenburgh; and by a canal from the Spree to the Oder, its commerce is extended into Silesia, Moravia, Poland, and almost to Hungary".[75]

Thus, England was presented with two channels into Germany: the outlets to deep water with the cluster of ports at the mouth of the Elbe and Weser, or the cluster of ports at the mouth of the Rhine and Maes.

However, there is a major difference between Hamburg and

by river to Breslau and then by land the cost was less, though the journey took longer. B.L. Sloane MS., 3811, f. 34v. 'Some Observations on ye Trade of Austria and ye adjacent inland parts of Germany, principally in respect to English commodities', S. Clement to the Secretary of State, 1713.

[74] In 1720 Mr Oxenford informed the Board of Trade that Hamburg took three-quarters of England's exports of woollen manufactures to Germany. *J.C.T.P.*, 1718-22, 229, 15 November 1720.

[75] C. WHITWORTH, *State of the Trade of Great Britain in its Imports and exports progressively from the year 1697*, (1776), XXV.

the Dutch and Belgian ports. The Dutch and Belgian ports were located in a densely populated and comparatively highly industrialised part of Europe, which in itself constituted an important market, and processed many of the goods that passed through it. Antwerp, Rotterdam and Amsterdam were near to each other and to such other centres as Ghent, Brussels and Dusseldorf. This area, as Dr. David Ormrod has shown, was a good consumer of goods; corn imported from England went into Dutch distilleries; coal fuelled Dutch industries: and German linen was bleached and finished in Holland.[76] From the English point of view, therefore, the role of the Netherlands as a channel to the south German market was subordinate to its role as a market and supplier in its own right. With the German ports, the opposite seems to be true. Each of these ports was embedded in relatively poor agricultural regions which were not significant as industrial producers nor as markets. Furthermore, the inland towns that were important as centres of production and consumption were scattered and far removed from the ports. For example, Hanover was 180 kilometres distant from Hamburg, Berlin was 285 km., Leipzig 370 km., and Vienna 700 kilometres. Given these distances, which were in all cases great, the port through which merchants chose to trade was not necessarily the nearest. Prosperity went to the port with the best communications, and in this respect Hamburg, linked up as we have seen through the fairs with inland and distant towns, had distinct advantages. Thus, although from the viewpoint of the Atlantic powers and England in particular, the role of Hamburg as a consumer and supplier was subordinate to its role as a channel into the Empire, Hungary and Poland, Hamburg possessed the geographical and political requirements to act also as an outlet for a distant hinterland. This is the role which now requires examination.

[76] D. Ormrod, 'Anglo-Dutch Commerce 1700-1760', (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Christ's College, Cambridge, 1973).

In the context of international trade, northern Germany's range of exports tended to be somewhat narrower than that of her imports, but like her imports they were diverse in character and in origin. The products of Hamburg's hinterland included linen and yarn, the products of Westphalia, Silesia, Bohemia, Saxony and Lusatia. In addition timber, especially masts, planks, spars and staves came from Brandenburg, Prussia, Lower Saxony, Mecklenburg and Bohemia in significant quantities. Metals in the form of bars, sheets, wire and as manufactured objects were also exported; copper, iron, steel, brass, and tin arrived from Sweden, Saxony, Austria, the Harz mountain, Hungary and the Erzgebirges: and manufactured objects came from Frankfurt and Cologne. Polish and Austrian products included furs, arsenic, vitriol, antimony, quicksilver and wine from Hungary. Finally, grain (especially rye and wheat) which grew in Denmark, Holstein and the mid and lower Elbe region reached Hamburg.

Linen, metal and timber were, in order of importance, Hamburg's major staple exports in the first half of the eighteenth century. However, the picture is somewhat complicated by grain exports. Grain was both an import and export commodity.[77] Hamburg imported grain from both Russia and England. Yet Hamburg also regularly exported moderate amounts of grain. In 1740 Hamburg's stocks of rye were estimated at 10,000 Lasts, compared with an annual consumption of 6,000 Lasts.[78] Indeed, it is a feature of Hamburg's role as a staple that she appears to have been sensitive to changes in the European demand for grain, and responsive to the fluctuating state of its harvests. Grain was sent

[77] Hamburg's importance as a grain exporter reached a peak in 1650. W. NAUDE, *Deutsche städtische Getreidenhandelspolitik vom 15-17. Jahrhundert mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Stettin und Hamburg*. (Leipzig, 1889), 60, Cf. E. Baasch, who observed that Hamburg's grain trade reached a peak in the beginning of the 17th century. E. Baasch, Hamburgs Seeschiffarht, op. cit., 40.

[78] P.R.O. S.P. 82/61, 160, C. Wich to Lord Harrington, Hamburg, 12 December 1740 (N.S.).

to France in the deficit years of 1694 and 1709[79] and Italy in the 1730s.[80]

The exclusion of the grain trade with Holland from the Hamburg custom records is of some significance. Dutch imports of grains from Hamburg and the Elbe were consistently regular. For example, the Dutch resident in Hamburg, Van den Bosch, wrote in February 1716, "There comes yearly to the Elbe and mostly to Hamburg between 2-3,000 smacks, hoys and other vessels, which in summer make 4, 5, or 6 voyages. They come mostly from Holland in ballast and fetch timber and grain".[81] In 1719, between 25 and 30,000 Lasts of grain were shipped from the Elbe to Holland.[82] In 1753, Hamburg, Bremen and the north-west coast exported 2,840½ Lasts of barley, wheat, rye and oats to Amsterdam, which accounted for 12 per cent of Amsterdam's grain imports.[83]

However, linen was Hamburg's major export to Western Europe and accounted for between 46 and 63 per cent of the total value of Hamburg's exports in the early eighteenth century. Next in importance were metals, including tinplate, copper, iron and steel wire, which combined accounted for between 7 and 16 per cent of Hamburg's exports by value during the War of the Spanish Succession. Third in importance was timber, which accounted for between 1 and 6 per cent of Hamburg's exports. Apart from grain, (which was a constant feature of the trade to

[79] P.R.O. S.P. 75/27, 51, Mr Awbrey to Mr Tilson, Copenhagen, 18 March 1709, (N.S.) Ibid., Copy of a letter from a British Merchant at Copenhagen to Secretary Boyle, Copenhagen, 4 May 1709.

[80] L. Beutin, *Der Deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet bis zu den Napoleonischen Kriegen*, (Neumünster, 1933), 66.

[81] Quoted in E. Baasch, 'Die Börtfahrt zwischen Hamburg, Bremen und Holland', *Forschungen zur Hamburgischen Handelsgeschichte*, II, (Hamburg, 1898), 27-8.

[82] E. Baasch, 'Hamburg und Holland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', op. cit., 75.

[83] F. Röhlk, *Schiffarht und Handel zwischen Hamburg und den Niederlanden in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und zu Begin des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Vierteljahrsschrift für Soziale-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft LX, 131-2.

Holland), Hamburg also traded in Rhenish and Hungarian wine, wax, and miscellaneous products.

England, Spain and Portugal were the principal recipients of Hamburg's major export, linen. According to the Admiralität and Convoy duty records, 1702-13, linen and yarn accounted for around 80 per cent of Hamburg's exports to England (exclusive of the Merchant Adventurers' trade) and linen alone represented about half of Spain and Portugal's imports from Hamburg.[84]

Metals also went mainly to Portugal and England but they played a proportionately larger part in Hamburg's exports to France, the Mediterranean and Archangel. In late seventeenth-century France, Hamburg copperwire was more highly esteemed than Swedish,[85] and although from Hamburg she took only one quarter of the amount of Latten wire she received from Sweden,[86] it was to Hamburg she looked for substantial amounts of Hungarian copper and lead. Likewise, to the Mediterranean, Hamburg sent primarily metal goods, including tin plate, lead, copper, Swedish and German iron. Literary evidence in abundance shows that Holland also took its share of Hamburg's major exports — linen and yarn, timber and grain.[87] Small quantities of linen were also exported to Sweden[88] and Archangel.[89]

Thus to most of the countries with which Hamburg dealt, her exports largely reflected the resource endowment of Germany, rather than capital or factor endowments. Flax and hemp culture were widespread in Germany and the manufacture of linen was

[84] E. Baasch, 'Zur Statistik des Ein-und Ausführhandels Hamburg Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts', (Hereafter cited, Zur Statistik), *H.G.B.L.*, LIV, (1929), 118, 125, 129, 138-9.

[85] P.R.O. Maresco-David MS., A.&S. Vrouling to Jacob David, 15 and 18 September 1676.

[86] Ibid., T. Legendre to Jacob David, 28 January 1676.

[87] F. Röhlk, op. cit., 131-2, 145-6. 157.

[88] P.R.O. C.O. 388/18, Bundle 0.93, The Toll tax on goods imported into Sweden, 22 September/3 October 1715.

[89] E. Baasch, 'Zur Statistik', op. cit., 135.

an integral part of an agricultural economy. Hamburg, as the major port of exit for linen, was therefore the principal beneficiary of Germany's natural endowment.

However, Hamburg was not merely a place of transit where goods passed from water to land transport or vice versa; it was also a busy market place where goods were bought and sold, a banking and financial centre linked to a multilateral exchange system, and it was the home of a highly cosmopolitan merchant community. The size of the mercantile community has been established at 560 merchants in 1619[90] and at 937 overseas traders (exclusive of the Merchant Adventurers and traders to Holland) in 1644-46[91] — figures which shed some doubt on Sir William Swann's list of only 382 overseas traders in 1665[92] (exclusive of the Merchant Adventurers and the Portuguese of whom there were 120 in 1663).[93] A consistent characteristic of this mercantile community is the large proportion of foreign *vis à vis* native merchants. H. Reincke has shown that between 1669 and 1699 54.9 per cent of merchant burghers were non-Hamburgers by birth and that for the seventeenth century as a whole 50-60 per cent of merchant burghers were immigrants.[94] In addition there were merchants who lived in Hamburg not as burghers but as members of the 'Strangers Contract'. The 'Strangers' List of 1695 has 167 names[95] and that of 1724 lists 123 persons.[96].

The most prominent foreign merchants groups in seventeenth century Hamburg were the Dutch and Flemish, the Portuguese and the English. After the fall of Antwerp and during the first

[90] H. Mauersberg, op. cit., 194.

[91] M. Reissmann, op. cit., 77.

[92] P.R.O. S.P. 82/10, 227-8, 229-30.

[93] H. Kellenbez, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe. Ihre Wirschaftliche und politische Bedeutung vom Ende des 16. bis zum Beginn des. 18 Jahrhunderts*, Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft XL, (Wiesbaden, 1958), 41.

[94] H. Reincke, Forschungen, op. cit., 184; M. Reissmann, op. cit., 214.

[95] M. Reissmann, op. cit., 134, 215.

[96] St. A. Hbg. Senate CI VII Lit Db Nr. 20, Vol. 1, fasc. 3.

half of the seventeenth century a wave of Dutch families settled in Hamburg. In the first half of the seventeenth century 425 Dutch families entered Hamburg under the 'Strangers Contract',[97] which in return for an annual payment conferred citizens rights upon them. In addition, others gave up their nationality and became notable burghers — men such as W. Amsinck, Peter Juncker and Cornelis de Hertoghe.[98] The new settlers used their capital, ships and overseas business connections from their new home. The Dutch were prominent in the trade to Holland, and according to Sir William Swann there were 175 merchants in Hamburg who were in partnership with Dutchmen or were their commission agents.[99] In 1644-46 of 535 merchants trading to Iberia 73 were Dutch, 30 Portugese and the remainder German. Of the 230 traders to France in 1644-46, 64 were Dutch.[100] Moreover, these merchants of Dutch origin were prominent for their wealth. The largest deposits in the Bank of Hamburg in 1619 were held by traders of Dutch origin, incuding the brothers Rudolf and Arnold Amsinck, Carell Groendal, Peter Verpoontern and Hans de Hertoghe.[101]

Portuguese merchants also settled in Hamburg. The first known trader arrived in Hamburg in 1572. By 1615 there were three and in 1656 there were 119 Portuguese families resident in Hamburg. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese were mainly concerned in commodity trade, especial-

[97] G. Steinbrincker, 'Hamburger kaufmännische Fahrengersellschaften', (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Hamburg, 1962), 81.

[98] M. Reissmann, op. cit., 220.

[99] Mr. Skinner wrote, "there are above 400 Dutch merchants in Hamburg", in 1652. P.R.O. S.P. 82/8, Part 2, 205.

[100] M. Reissmann, op. cit., 48, 53.

[101] In 1619, of the 30 Portuguese in Hamburg, 28 had an account in the Hamburg Bank. Their deposits totalled 16, 327, 915 Marks or 4.4 per cent of the total. H. Kellenbez, op. cit., 255-256. Of the 42 firms with deposits exceeding 100,000 Marks in 1619, 32 were Belgian, 2 south German, 2 Portuguese, 6 Hamburgers. P. Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, translated and edited by D.S. Ault and S.H. Steinberg, (1970), 357.

ly to the Iberian peninsula, but also to Holland, France and the Mediterranean. They dealt in sugar, spices, pepper, salt, gold and silver, silk, pearls and jewels.[102] In addition there were German merchants born outside Hamburg: in 1644-46 there were 89 merchants of German origin.[103] The 'Strangers Contract' of the early seventeenth century included Beckman, Röver, Von Spreckelsen, Rodenburg, Rentzel and Schrottering, as well as the Italians Abbondio Somigliano and Silvio Tensino.[104] But in addition to these Dutch, Flemish, Portugese and German merchants who had migrated to Hamburg for a mixture of political, religious and economic reasons there was also a sizeable English community from 1611 when the Merchant Adventurers resumed their residence.[105] The English merchants, unlike their foreign counterparts, were mainly concerned with the trade to England. Moreover they appear to have been largely factors and commission agents for their principals who were Englishment resident in England. They were less deeply rooted in Hamburg than others, and usually expected to return to England after a number of years.

The economic preponderance of foreigners in Hamburg's trade was observed by Lübeck in 1609 in a note of protest which claimed that, "hardly a hundredth part" of Hamburg's trade was carried out by the town's own burghers.[106] This can be seen to be an exaggeration and yet reflects an important truth. Hamburg, like Antwerp, Bruges and Amsterdam before her was able to attract large numbers of merchants by her willingness to grant religious freedom and commercial privileges. The City not only granted extensive privileges to the Merchant Adventurers, but to

[102] H. KELLENBENZ, *op. cit., 26, 36, 111-113. 252.*

[103] M. REISSMANN, *op. cit., 46.*

[104] H. Kellenbenz, op. cit., 253.

[105] In 1620, 111 persons lived in the 'English House'. H. HITZIGRATH, *Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Hamburg und England von 1611 bis 1660*, Beilage zum Bericht über das 6. Schuljahr der Realschule in Hamm. (Hamburg, 1912), 21.

[106] P. Dollinger, op. cit., 357.

all nationalities. Hamburg displayed a willingness to allow foreigners to trade on an equal footing with her burghers.

A second feature, consequent upon the first, is that immigrant merchants formed just over half the merchant community in the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century were still numerous. However, the balance between these groups was capable of change. Between 1685 and 1700, 35 French refugees arrived in Hamburg.[107] After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Hamburg's foreign community received into their ranks some notable French protestants of whom the most important were Boue and Godeffroy, and from Basle, His and Chapearouge.[108] The French presence was increasingly important after the War of the Spanish Succession. In contrast, whilst merchants of Dutch origin retained their prominent position in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in terms of numbers and wealth[109] the opposite was true of the English and Portuguese. The Portuguese community halved in number in the late seventeenth century, from 120 families in 1663 to 58 in 1697. The most important decline came in 1698 when Manuel Teixeira, the richest of the Portuguese, left Hamburg with his numerous relations, including members of the Nunes, Henriques, Soares and Bravo families. The early eighteenth century witnessed a further decline to 27 in 1732.[110] In the Iberian trade, instead of Portuguese merchants, there were now German and Dutch — these were now the importers of sugar, tobacco and spices and the other goods for which the Portugese were first renowned. Similarly, the number of English merchants in Hamburg also

[107] M. Reissmann, op. cit., 216-231.

[108] E. Baasch, *Die Führenden Kaufleute*, op. cit., 44.

[109] Of the 160 subscribers to Hamburg's first insurance project in 1720, 138 were Dutch, 4 English. P.E. Schramm, *Kaufleute zu Haus und über See. Hamburgische Zeugnisse des 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Veröffentlichung der Wirtschaftgeschichlichen Forschungsstelle Hamburg. I. (Hamburg, 1949), 137.

[110] H. Kellenbenz, op. cit., 41, 53-4, 57, 476.

declined, from over 100 in the early seventeenth century,[111] to 40 in 1691[112] and to 13 in 1728,[113] leaving German and Dutch residents in Hamburg to participate more fully in the trade to and from England.

The presence of a large foreign community, together with her extensive commodity trade and her geographical position were factors which helped Hamburg to become a major financial centre holding a key position in the international exchange system, second only to Amsterdam.[114] Thus, Hamburg's merchants and brokers served as the intermediaries in exchange transactions between the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the Baltic.[115] Hamburg's mercantile community was well served by a bank (founded in 1619). "The Bank of Hamburg in reckon'd one of the best and richest, as well as one of the securest in Europe" commented an English writer early in the eighteenth century.[116] All foreign exchange was negotiated through the bank, and all exchange rates were quoted in bank money.[117] Political contingencies assisted in this role, for the Hamburg money market was heavily used by the English, French and Dutch for the remittance of subsidies. For example, Dutch payments to Germany in the 1620s went through the hands of Hamburg merchants, and it has been argued by Professor H. Kellenbenz that subsidy payments during the Thirty Years War were an important factor in

[111] H. Hitzigrath, op. cit., 20.

[112] P.R.O. P.C. 2/74, f. 113v, 30 July 1691.

[113] St. A. Hbg. Hamburg Bank, Firma Charles Blunt, B. 13. Charles Blunt to Simon Warner, Hamburg, 10 February 1728. Cf. W.E. LINGELBACH, 'The Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg', *Am. Hist. Rev.*, IX, (1903-4), 279.

[114] W. BEAWES, *Lex Mercatoria Rediviva: or The Merchants Directory*, (4th ed., 1970), 859.

[115] M. NEUMANN, *Geschichte des Wechsels im Hansagebiet bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, Beilageheft zur Zeitschrift für das Gesamte Handerlsrecht, VII, (Erlangen, 1863), passim.

[116] HAYES, 'Negociator's Mazagine', CL.

[117] H. SIEVEKING, *Die Hamburger Bank 1619-1875*, (Hamburg 1933), 30. Ibid., 'Zum 300 Jahrestag de Grundung der Hamburger Bank', *Z.H.G.*, XXIII, (1919), 62.

developing Hamburg's ascendancy in the international money market. Not only Dutch, but French subsidy payments to Sweden, Hessen and Siebenburgen during the Thirty Years War were handled by a Hamburg trader.[118] During the Nine Years War Dutch remittances to pay for Swedish mercenaries and French remittances to Hanover went by way of Hamburg. The Hamburg money market was also used by the English government for the remittance of subsidies to Denmark and other north European allies in the course of the Nine Years War and during the War of the Spanish Succession.[119] The acceptance and discounting of Bills of Exchange were primarily undertaken by merchants, although there were some people in Hamburg who were principally financiers and only secondarily traders.[120]

Another important characteristic of this cosmopolitan business community is that it owned a considerable merchant marine to tranport goods. As the largest port of Germany, the Hamburg-owned fleet was estimated at 15,000 Lasts in circa 1600 and reached 33,508 Lasts in 1680. The growth of Hamburg shipping during the seventeenth century was as follows:

TABLE 3

HAMBURG MERCHANT SHIPPING 1600-1680

	Number of ships	Lasts	Average Size in Lasts
1600	c 333	c 15,000	45.0[121]
1665	222	—	—[122]
1672	277	21,258	76.1
1674	309	23,822	77.1
1680	—	33,508	—[123]

[118] H. Kellenbenz, op. cit., 261, 265.

[119] C.S.P.D. 1689-90, 438. C.T.B. IX, 476, 1203, 1603. C.T.B. X, 942. C.T.B. XI, 176, 396. C.T.B. XVII, 532. C.T.P. 1708-1714, 226. C.T.P. 1697-1702, 186.

[120] Dr. J.G. VAN DILLEN, *Handboek tot de Economische en Soziale Geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republike*, (s'Gravenhage, 1970), 460.

[121] P. Dollinger, op. cit., 344.

[122] P.R.O. S.P. 82/10, 217-221. 'A Ships List 1665', Sir William Swann.

[123] These figures should be treated with caution since the Hamburg flag was a 'flag

The size of Hamburg's fleet reflected her position as the principal port of Germany and as a major European entrepot.

Hamburg's provision of shipping was not confined by either winter or war: it was always available for hire. In the early seventeenth century Hamburg ships were employed in Portugal's Brazil trade,[124] and Middleburg merchants engaged in the Spanish trade hired Hamburg ships.[125] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Danish Icelandic Company employed Hamburg ships in their fishing trade.[126] Few Hamburg ships found their way into the Mediterranean trades because of their vulnerability to Algerine and Barbary pirates. Hamburg merchants freighted English ships in the seventeenth century[127] and in the eighteenth century increasingly employed the cheaper Danish and Swedish ships for their Mediterranean trade. However, Hamburg ships were increasingly employed in the London trade for the Hamburg Company, (as the remnants of the Merchant Adventurers are now called) abandoned the customary practice of hiring only English ships.[128]

of convenience', especially for the Dutch at war. Thus Pierre Jeannin has shown that of the 309 ships listed as Hamburg owned in 1674, only 193 can be identified in the ships list of 1672. Of the ships listed as Hamburg owned in 1672 only 47 appear in the list produced by Sir William Swann, the English resident in Hamburg, for 1665. Therefore, in 1672, 83% of the ships listed as carrying the Hamburg flag, had carried it less than 7 years. P. JEANNIN, 'Zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Handelsflotte am Ende des 17. Jahrhunder', *Z.H.G.*, LVII (1971), 67, 71-2. Modern historical analysis therefore supports Charles II's view of Sir William Swann's list which was "so numerous a Catalogue of ships as are capable of driving all the Trade of the Dutch under pretence of Hamburg vessels". P.R.O. P.C. 2/58, Vol. 5, 89, 31 March 1665.

[124] E. BAASCH, *Die Anfänge der Hamburg-Amerikanischen Handelsbeziehungen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Hamburg und Amerika.* Hamburgische Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die Entdeckung Amerika, 1 (Hamburg, 1892), 11.

[125] H.M.C. MA Lord de l'Isle and Dudley, II, 500.

[126] E. BAASCH, 'Die Islandfarht der Deutschen', op. cit., 56.

[127] St. A. Stade, The Stade Toll, op. cit.

[128] P.R.O. S.P. 104/212, John Ward, Governor of the Hamburg Company in London to Secretary of State, St. John, 17 March 1710/11. P.R.O. C.O. 388/27, Bundle T.14, Abraham Henckel and James Brockman to the Board of Trade, 5 April 1728.

Hamburg's credentials as an entrepot were less impressive than Amsterdam's. In winter she remained frozen up longer than her Dutch rival. But she shared in some degree the other characteristics of Amsterdam. The pattern of Hamburg's trade made it also an important centre from which multilateral trade could be financed, and an important centre for commercial and political information.[129] One of the greatest advantages of Hamburg was that its connections with other money markets were such that funds could easily be remitted to them. Thus an Englishman in Hamburg could remit to London or Amsterdam by Bill of Exchange if he so wished, or to use either centre to meet Bills drawn on him from the Baltic.

The evidence for the second half of the seventeenth century suggests that Hamburg had assumed a crucial role in the system of multilateral exchange settlements centred on Amsterdam. As Violet Barbour has observed, seventeenth century Hamburg "was not only Amsterdam's rival for the commerce of Europe, but was also an outpost or subsidiary of Amsterdam's trade and capitalism... The exchange business carried on between these two commercial cities was greater than their trade in commodities.[130] The links with London were less close but perhaps no less important. With an unfavourable balance of trade in the Baltic and Eastland, English debts in the area had to be settled by bills of exchange cleared either at Amsterdam or at Hamburg.[131]

Closely linked to Hamburg's role in the financing of commerce was the provision of insurance and banking facilities. The

[129] C.L. Von Griesheim, *Verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage des Tractats: Die Stadt Hamburg in ihrem politischen öconomischen und sittlichen Zustande nebst Nachtragen zu diesem Tractate*, (Hamburg, 1760), 27, observes that at Hamburg resided government representatives from the Lower Saxon Circle, Brandenburg, Hanover, Pomerania, and the Emepor as well as representatives of foreign countries including England, Holland, France Russia, Spain and Portugal.

[130] V. Barbour, op. cit., 127.

[131] E.K. Newman, 'Anglo-Hamburg trade in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', (unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of London) 1979, 40-44.

underwriting of insurance was a natural extension of the commodity trader's business before the establishment of Hamburg's first insurance company in 1765.[132] Insurance of commodities was undertaken mainly in times of insecurity at sea, a feature associated with war. Since insurance was predominantly underwritten by merchants, it is not suprising to find insurances made by merchants at Hamburg.

Essential to Hamburg's commerce was the bank that had been established in 1619 on the proposal of the Merchant Adventurers company and supported by the Dutch and Portuguese Jews. All mercantile transactions amounting to over 400 mark Lubisch went through the bank which was primarily a 'Merchants Bank'. The bank held deposit accounts, details of which are not available since the Bank records were burnt in the fire of 1842.[133] However, from English sources, it is clear that William Gore, a prominent Merchant Adventurer, placed 72,527 mark Lübs and 13 stivers in a deposit account in 1661.[134] The Hamburg Bank was also a 'Lehnbank' (or Pawnbank) — where merchants placed bills of exchange or goods, including silver, gold, jewellery, precious stones, and commodities like sugar, salt, pepper, indigo and especially copper and received money on which they paid 6¼ per cent interest annually. Between 1697 and 1740 the folios of the 'Lehnbank' show that Francis Stratford and company, Nathaniel Remmington, Christopher Watkinson, Charles Gore, Charles Halsey and company, Robert Barclay, William Burroughs and John Broughton used the pawn bank. Of these, Francis Stratford and Co. and Charles Gore had the largest debits: the former's highest debit was some 721,000 marks held between 1711 and

[132] C. AMSINCK, 'Die ersten hamburgischen Assecuranz-Compagnien und der Actienhandel im Jahre 1720', *Z.H.G.*, IX, (1894), 493.

[133] H. SIEVEKING, 'Die Hamburger Bank', in J.G. VAN DILLEN (ed.), *History of the Principal Public Banks*, (1964), 125-7.

[134] Somerset Record Office, Taunton, Gibbs Collection, DD/GB 148, 35.

1713, thereafter falling after the northern war.[135] This compares favourably with Philip Heinrich Stenglin the Emperor's copper agent. In 1745 Stenglin obtained 727,000 marks from the 'Lehnbank' for the Imperial copper, and in 1757 the amount was some 1,033,800 marks.[136]

It is apparent that Hamburg's various international roles were of special importance to England. Englishmen certainly shared in the shipping, insurance and exchange markets centred at Hamburg. From Hamburg some traded to the Iberian peninsula and the Mediterranean, although the records of the Admiralität duty show that early eighteenth century English trade between Hamburg and southern Europe was relatively small.[137]

Of greater importance was the Baltic trade. English dealings from Hamburg included the provision of bills of exchange, the settling of debts arising from Baltic trade (especially from Hull), a commodity trade and advisory services. For example, in 1710, Mr. Stratford and Mr. Stone were agents for the Danish East India Company and owners of the ship and cargo the 'Prince George of Copenhagen'.[138] In 1741 Mr. Metcalf was engaged in the service of the Swedish East India company for whom he visited Bengal, whilst still a member of the Hamburg company.[139] Of greater importance was Englishmen's trade into the Baltic on their own or joint account. John and Charles Banks and Richard Twyford employed their ship 'The Mary' in trade between Norway and England.[140] Edward Halford, William Atwood's

[135] St. A. Hbg. Senate C1 VII Lit Cb. Nr 4, Vol. I 2b fasc. 2. Specifikation der Pfandkonto-Bilanz aus den Hauptbeuchern der Lehn und Wechsel Bank-debitores, fo. 56, 62, 68, 117, 126. Senate C1 VII Lit Cb Nr 4 Vol. 1, fasc. 3, 10, 19.

[136] H. Sieveking, 'Die Hamburger Bank', op. cit., 137.

[137] B.L. Lansdowne MS. 1153B, Sir Paul Rycaut's Book of passes, 1692-99. St. A. Hbg Admiralität-Kollegium F.6 Band 9-10.

[138] C.T.B. XXIV, 305.

[139] P.R.O. S.P. 82/63, James Cope to Lord Harrington, Hamburg, 28 November 1741, (N.S.).

[140] C.T.B. 1660-67, 289.

agent in Hamburg ordered his correspondent in Stockholm to ship copper wire direct for London.[141] Mathew Ashton regularly invested small amounts of money into flax, bought in Narva by Richard Baron and consigned to John Preston of Hull for sale on a commission; the proceeds of which were invested in northern cloth for Hamburg.[142] Moreover, English merchants freighted ships at Lübeck for other Baltic ports to pick up grain, pitch, tar and flax for sale in England.[143] Similarly, goods left Stockholm, Gothenburg, Riga and Danzig for southern European destinations on Hamburg account.[144] In addition, English merchants in Hamburg exported colonial goods into the Baltic via Lübeck and Mathew Ashton sent sugar and tobacco on his own account to Narva.[145]

The examples display Englishmen using Hamburg as an autonomous entrepot and financial centre. But for England as for other Atlantic exporters, Hamburg was Germany's main inlet for domestic products and manufactures — woollen textiles, leather, tin, wrought silk, calfskins, lead and pewter — and for England's re-export trade in plantation and far Eastern goods, notably sugar, pepper, tobacco, dyes, ginger, calicoes and other Indian fabrics. In the course of the eighteenth century, rice, pimento, tea and coffee became increasingly significant, but in the early seventeenth century it was as the gateway for cloth sales in southern Germany that Hamburg had been important.

But in the course of the seventeenth century England's trade

[141] William Atwood's papers, C 109/24, f. 29. Edward Halford to William Atwood, Hamburg, 7 June 1659.

[142] Mathew Ashton papers, M. Ashton to Richard Baron, Hamburg, 10 October 1684.

[143] P.R.O. S.P. 82/17, f. 120, Sir Paul Rycaut to the Earl of Nottingham, Hamburg, 28 February 1689/90.

[144] B.L. Lansdowne MS. 1153B, 35v, 54. P.R.O. S.P. 104/212, The Secretary of State to C. Wich, Westminster, 10 July 1722.

[145] Mathew Ashton papers. M. Ashton to R. Baron, Hamburg, 26 August, 30 September, 17 October, 1684. Ibid., ti J. Whichcot, Hamburg, 30 January 1684/5.

through Hamburg had been affected by two major changes which have already been noted.[146] First, the links with the south German fairs had been weakened, if not broken, largely by the Thirty Years War. England's trade concentrated less on the fairs of Nuremberg, Augsburg and Frankfurt than on those of Breslau and Leipzig. This in turn reflected the second major change. By the 1680's, although south Germany was still served by Hamburg, northern Germany had become the more important both as a supplier of goods and as a market. This switch of emphasis from south Germany to the north marks the development which had brought linen to the forefront as the staple product of Germany. In the early seventeenth century England's linen imports from Germany had been appreciable but had ranked behind those of fustian and silk. By the 1630s linen had become the dominant commodity.[147]

This development was of no less significance for Hamburg than for England. For Hamburg, it strengthened the links with the linen producing areas and consolidated its role as the channel to and from the north German market.

Linen, indeed was to provide Germany's key to the Plantations of England, Spain and Portugal where it found one of its biggest markets. As Germany's demand grew for the ever–expanding products of the tropical and subtropical colonies, so did its market for linen. For England, on the other hand, the links through Hamburg to its linen producing hinterland, were essential to its exports of domestic and colonial goods. Whitworth's report on the trade in 1716 describes it well:

> "The Company of Hamburgh Merchants have for many years furnished most part of the Empire, especially the lower Circles, with our Woollen Manufactures, Stuffs, Tobacco, Druggs, East India, and other Commodities; From thence they are carried to Magdeburg,

[146] See pp. 7-12.

[147] A.M. MILLARD, 'The Import Trade of London 1600-1640' op. cit., 259.

> Leipzig, and Bohemia or Silesia; and from this last Place are again disper'd in smaller Quantities, to Poland, the Ukraine, Hungary and Vienna: The chief returns are made back in all sorts of Linnens, and Flax, from the Lausnitz, and Silesia; Raw Hides, Wax, Tallow, etc. from Poland; with great Quantities of Yarn and Thread, and some Raw Linnens, particularly to Holland".[149]

The relationship in which England and Hamburg played so large a part was, then, a reciprocal one whose intricacies and vicissitudes deserve investigation.

[149] P.R.O. S.P. 81/173, C. WHITWORTH, 'Report on the Trade of Germany', op. cit.