

IEHC 2006
XIV International Economic History Congress
Helsinki, Finland, 21 to 25 August 2006

SESSION 16

Merchant Settlements as Intermediaries for European Influences in the Baltic North, or Elsewhere 1650-1850. Economic, Social and Cultural Aspects

Ida Bull
Department of history
NTNU
NO-7491 Trondheim
ida.bull@hf.ntnu.no

Immigrating Merchants to Trondheim in the 18th Century – Intermediaries between Europe and the Trondheim Hinterland

Introduction

In early modern times trade was as a principle restricted to cities. That applies especially to international trade. To import or export goods was allowed only for people having received the right as burgher in a city. Central to this principle was the idea that the city should function as a centre for trade in the region surrounding the city. In Norway in the 17th an 18th century cities were given privileges stating in what region the city was given prerogatives. Cities were given status as central places for trade in the region.¹ At the same time international trade was growing, and cities' function as nodes in an international network of cities grew more important.² But even if trade centred on cities, goods were more often produced in the countryside. The role of the cities was to help to structure spatial division of labour and to integrate regional economy with international economy.³ Merchants of different kinds held important positions in the cities' function as central market places for a region as well as in the cities' function as connecting point towards a larger market.

In the period from mid-seventeenth century up to late eighteenth century overseas merchants established themselves as an elite in Trondheim. In that period Trondheim was

¹ Cities as central places: Walter Christaller: *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland : eine ökonomisch-geographische Untersuchung über die Gesetzmässigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen*, Jena 1933. Paul M. Hohenberg og Lynn Hollen Lees: *The making of urban Europe 1000-1994*, Cambridge 1996. Knut Helle et al.: *Norsk urbaniseringshistorie*, forthcoming 2006.

² Hohenberg & Lees 1996. Knut Helle et al. 2006.

³ Jon Stobart: *The first industrial region*, Manchester 2004.

structured as a port-city connected to the larger European economic network surrounding the North Sea and the Baltic. Merchants immigrated from London, Hamburg, Amsterdam and above all from Flensburg, settled in Trondheim, and monopolised the growing export of the region, consisting of fish, timber and copper. Their position was based first of all on their international network. Many of them had strong family traditions in trade – also in trade on Norway – and they were eager to maintain and shape their connections abroad. Secondly, their position was based on social integration in the elite, in which intermarriage was an important element. Thirdly, they had to establish a basis in the region, where the export goods were to be found. This paper will deal with how immigrating merchants to Trondheim in the late 17th and 18th centuries managed to make their way into their new environment, and handled their position as intermediaries between the international market and the region Trøndelag. I will also make some comments on how the strengthened connection to European economy influenced life in this region.

My work on the merchant families in Trondheim is based on source material mainly on four families, all of them with an origin in the Flensburg region, but through marriage connected also with immigrants from other European regions. Two of these families arrived around the middle of the 17th century, two of them late in the 18th century. From the Angell family, whose first representatives in Trondheim arrived in the 1650's, only a few remainders exist of the archives, the most important source being probate registers of estate. For the Horneman family, dating from the 1660's in Trondheim, some few remains of the archives exist from the first generation, quite a large archive from the second generation. For the Hoë family (from the 1760's in Trondheim) and the Lorck family (from the 1770's in Trondheim) large business archives are kept in the Regional Archives in Trondheim.⁴ In addition, public archives from the magistrate and several other sources are used.⁵

Merchants with an international background

Before the seventeenth century, there was very little international trade originating in Trondheim. Bergen was the international commercial city in Norway, and what was exported

⁴ Thomas Angells stiftelsers arkiv [The archive of Thomas Angell's foundation]: probate register for the estate of Thomas Angell, and some of his relatives, Thomas Angell's last account book, some documents. Regional Archives of Trondheim: private archives 236 Horneman, private archives 280 H. Hoë & co., private archives Lorck.

⁵ This paper is based on my books *Thomas Angell – kapitalisten som ble hjembyens velgjører*, Trondheim 1992; *De trondhjemske handelshusene på 1700-tallet; slekt, hushold og forretning*, Akad. Avhandl., Skriftserie fra Historisk institutt no. 26, Trondheim 1998; *Trøndelags historie*, vol. 2, Trondheim 2005.

from Trondheim went through Bergen. That was changed during the seventeenth century. Several merchants coming from abroad established themselves in Trondheim and built up an international trade from there. But their presence in Trondheim and in the region was not new at the time. From earlier on merchants from Holland, England and Germany had sailed along the Norwegian coast up to Finnmark and traded with the peasants there, buying fish. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century foreigners could quite freely trade with the peasants, but from then on official policy gave privileges to Norwegian merchants and took steps to centralise trade to the cities. Merchants and ship captains from Flensburg reported that from about 1660 they had been chased away from Northern Norway, and were not any more able to trade there.⁶

Quite a few foreign merchants answered to this by establishing themselves in Trondheim, using the city as basis for their trade with Norwegian goods. For some of them their family background is known, and we can trace their kinship traditions to long distance trade to the region in earlier generations. One of them was Henrik Horneman, born in Flensburg in 1644, who married a merchant's widow in Trondheim in 1669. His grandfather is known to have traded on North-Norway in the early 1600's. How Henrik Horneman first came to Trondheim we do not know, but most probably he had been sailing on one of the many Flensburger ships trading on Trondheim. The immigrating merchants kept the contact with their place of origin, as for instance the Englishman Thomas Hammond, who is first traced in Trondheim in the 1650's. He was then travelling as a merchant, but in 1655 he was fined for breaking the rules stating that foreign merchants should not stay the winter in the city.⁷ In 1659 he married in Trondheim and settled there, continuing his trade – now with his brother in London as partner.⁸ Lorentz Mortensen Angell is supposed to have been travelling as a merchant before settling in Trondheim as well. Together with a brother and a sister he arrived in Trondheim on a ship of theirs own.⁹ Even merchants immigrating in the late 18th century could trace their ancestors to the pre-1660 period. Herman Hoë, who arrived in Trondheim as an apprentice in 1766, could look back at a family history in the region: his uncle having achieved citizenship as a merchant in Trondheim in 1725, and an older ancestor

⁶ Flensburg Stadtarchiv, Altes Archiv A.34 Ratsgerichtprot. Nr. 18 (1679-86), fol. 337b, and nr. 19 (1687-92), fol. 86b; Altes Archiv A.305 bd. 1, letter dated 26.5.1688.

⁷ Kåre Hasselberg: *Sakefall I Trondheim 1590-1658*, Trondheim 2002.

⁸ Bull 1992, p. 44ff.

⁹ Bull 1992, p. 28.

having travelled several times on merchant expeditions on Northern Norway early in the 17th century.¹⁰

The men who established themselves as long distance merchants in Trondheim from the mid-seventeenth century on belonged to an international network stretching over the North Sea and Baltic region. Their trade and finances gravitated towards Amsterdam, where they had commissionaires, but they also built up a network connecting themselves to other cities of importance to their trade. Building up this network, kinship relations were of great importance, either to use directly as commissionaires, or to help them access a wider network of contacts.¹¹ The Flensburg-Trondheim connection was only a small part of this network.

Integration in a new domicile

How the new merchants managed to integrate into the city can be analysed using the concepts economic, social and cultural capital.¹² On immigration to Trondheim, a few of the merchants brought capital in money. More important was their experience from international trade through generations and their contacts to the international network. They brought cultural capital as a result of their upbringing in a merchant family and their education connected to a wider network. They brought social capital as a result of family connections and social relationships. As they came to the city as a result of the network of the long distance trade, they were already in a position to integrate into the – however small – circle of people who belonged to this network.

To shape these contacts into an integrated circle able to establish themselves as elite in the city, marriage policy was an important element. When Thomas Hammond changed his hometown from London to Trondheim it was connected to his marriage to Elisabeth Sommerschild, the daughter of another immigrating merchant, Henry Sommerschild or Henry Englishman. The father in law made his fortune on trade in timber and herring, while the son in law continued the timber trade with his brother in London as recipient of his goods. Henrik Horneman is first recognised in the records in Trondheim when he married a merchant's widow. To marry a widow represented a unique possibility to enter into an already established enterprise. The marriage to Anna Tønder, the third wife of her late husband, made Henrik Horneman able to control a considerable fortune and in short time to establish himself

¹⁰ Bull 1998, p. 101.

¹¹ Ida Bull: "Merchant households and their networks in eighteenth-century Trondheim", *Continuity and Change* 17 (2), 2002, pp. 213-231.

¹² Pierre Bourdieu: "Sur le pouvoir symbolique" in *Annales* 3/1977, pp. 405-11. P. Bourdieu: *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, 1979. P. Bourdieu: *Distinksjonen*, Oslo 1995. P. Bourdieu: *Symbolisk makt*, Oslo 1996.

as one of the most influential citizens of his new domicile.¹³ Lorentz Mortensen Angell is another example of immigrants who married into the local elite. He married not only once, but three times. His first marriage was entered into in 1653 with Margrethe Puls, the daughter of an already established immigrating merchant from Hamburg. With this marriage Lorentz entered the leading circle of his new hometown. The marriage also brought him considerable inheritance. His second marriage was with a woman with a strong family background on the coastal Norway and in the North Norwegian fisheries. His third marriage was with a woman who was not wealthy, but the widow of a man who had been trading in copper. Lorentz' three marriages established or strengthened his connections to the merchant elite in the city, the fish-trade interests in Northern Norway and the mining interests in the Trøndelag region. Horneman's marriages represent two marriage strategies, followed by a large number of immigrants. The first strategy was to marry into the established elite of their new domicile, the other to marry into influential families in the surrounding region.¹⁴ Many more examples of first and second marriages establishing important relationships could be mentioned. Marriage seems to have been the deciding factor when men already engaged in business settled in Trondheim. That was probably the case for Lorentz Angell, Thomas Hammond, and Henrik Horneman, all of them entering into useful marriages shortly after their immigration, and all of them probably after having sailed several times on the city, making acquaintances. Later immigrants often came as very young men entering into apprenticeship. When ready to start their business career they often followed similar marriage strategies as the early immigrants.

Not only new immigrants were in need of a useful network. Strategic marriages would be important for second generation immigrants as well. But as their families already were established in the region, their need to use marriage as a means to build their social capital was not equally large. Strategic marriages were important not only for the immigrants. For families established on the place, marriage relations to a person with fresh connections to the international business network would be of importance. Keeping up the international network could be done by marriage. When the son of Flensburger immigrant Christian Andersen Lorck brought his wife from Flensburg, it must mean that the relationship was still functioning.¹⁵

¹³ Henry Berg: *Trondheim før Cicignon*, Trondheim 1951, p. 274. Knut Sprauten: *Hans Horneman og næringslivet i det trondhjemske 1720-1760*, forthcoming.

¹⁴ Øystein Rian: "Giftermål og familie som elitedannende faktor, (*Norsk Historisk tidsskrift*, 4/1990, pp. 471-483.

¹⁵ Andreas Lorck Schierning: *Die Chronik der familie Lorck*, Neumünster 1949, p. 24.

Catherine Hall has for England made a point out of the importance of wives as an informal partner in business, an extra source of capital, an extra pair of hands, extra knowledge and an extra set of family and friends.¹⁶ The merchants in Trondheim were well aware of the importance of marriages. For immigrants the knowledge and connections to family and friends was extremely important. By means of marriage they could construct their social capital in a way that would help them convert it into money capital. A description of Trondheim in 1702 makes it clear that the immigrants had managed to make themselves an elite. The most important merchants are divided in three kinship circles. Around the central persons Albert Angell (a second-generation immigrant), Henrik Horneman (a first generation immigrant) and Jens Hansen Collin (immigrant from Denmark, with a slightly different background than the others, as he came to Trondheim as a civil servant and from that position made his way into business) were gathered their sons, sons in law and brothers in law, to constitute the upper strata of the Trondheim bourgeoisie.¹⁷ Later on these circles integrated further, through intermarriage between the families. In 1708, of the nineteen merchants in the upper strata, all were immigrants or sons of immigrants.¹⁸

The position as elite was not only economic. In addition to being a merchant, Henry Sommerschild was also integrated in the administrative elite in the city as member of the city council.¹⁹ He was not the only one of the immigrating merchants who achieved such positions. Lorentz Mortensen Angell was member of the city council from 1671. His son was president of the city council. When the Danish-Norwegian king in 1660 gave himself absolute power, the city administrations were changed. When Henry Sommerschild, as an early immigrant, was a member of the city council he was elected by the burghers. After 1660 the king had the power to appoint the council. But still the members were often recruited from the city. Several of the long distance merchants of first or second-generation immigrants were appointed to the council. When the merchants Hans Hagerup (married to the daughter of the immigrant Thomas Hammond) and Hans Horneman (son of an immigrant) were appointed members of the council in 1731 it was even made as a point that there *should* be merchants in the council.²⁰ In the city council's consultative board the merchants' position was even stronger. The circle of long distance merchants was heavily involved in governing the city.

¹⁶ Catherine Hall: *White, male and middle class*, Cambridge and Oxford, 1992, p. 180f.

¹⁷ Bjørn Sogner: *Kjøpstad og stiftsstad. Trondheim bys historie*, Trondheim 1962, p. 279.

¹⁸ Bernt Moe (ed.): *Tidsskrift for personalhistorie*, Christiania 1846.

¹⁹ Bull 1992, p. 45.

²⁰ Regional archives in Trondheim: Magistrates archive Db22. Bull 1998, p. 284.

Intermediaries between region and world market

When it was so important for Lorentz Angell to marry into a family with interest in the fish trade, or to marry a woman with connections in the copper trade, the reason was his own involvement in these trades. When merchants from the seventeenth century settled in Trondheim instead of travelling along the coast from abroad, it did not mean that the basis of their trade was changed. The basis was still raw material found in the countryside. Making themselves part of the elite in the city was therefore not enough for the immigrating merchants. Building a network connecting the city to the region was equally important. Fish was an old-established Norwegian trade, but grew in importance from the seventeenth century. The merchants who settled in Trondheim had to build a network to secure the goods. They did that partly by using professional fish traders with a foothold both in Trondheim and in the coastal areas, partly by using employed servants travelling to the fish districts and buying directly from the fishermen, partly by establishing close connections with families controlling coastal resources. Intensive work was needed to be able to compete with the more established fish trade in Bergen. To make this trade effective it was important to create stable contacts and networks that could secure sufficient supplies of fish. Marriage was an important way of creating such networks, and probably many of them could build on family acquaintances from earlier times. When the Flensburg immigrant Otto Beyer in his first marriage in 1739 married Else Lind, he established close connections with a family engaged in the fish trade on the western coast of Norway. Her brother, and for thirty years after his death his wife, had a vessel sailing regularly to Trondheim with fish. The connection between the trader on the coast collecting fish from the fishermen and the city merchant exporting the fish to foreign markets is obvious in this case as in several others.²¹ Herman Hoë married into a similar family in Northern Norway in 1788, and with the marriage he secured large fish deliveries for his export.²² The merchants exporting fish could not rely on marriage connections alone. Networks had to be established in different ways, and Trondheim merchants, who had to compete with the longer established relationships the coastal population had to the merchants in Bergen, had to work hard to secure their fish deliveries. Shaping personal connections through marriage or friendship was one way, liberal credit giving was another. Herman Hoë managed to get control over several trading centres in the fish districts, binding the tradesmen through credit.²³

²¹ Bull 1998, p. 124f.

²² Bull 1998, p. 127.

²³ Regional archives Trondheim, private archive 280 Hoë, 33.1-33.6. Bull 1998, p. 237.

Timber was also among the products that had made the Norwegian trade attractive to foreign merchants. The European need for timber was increasing, and especially the timber trade between England and Trondheim grew in the course of the seventeenth century, while the Irish connection was more important in the eighteenth century. When Thomas Hammond established himself in Trondheim around the middle of the century, it was as a result of this trade. He bought timber from the peasants in the region, but quite soon he got hold of his own land and forest property, to be able to run his own sawmills with material from his own forests. Thomas Hammond's forest property was the basis that his daughter Sara and son in law Albert Angell used to build a substantial timber trade and several saw mills in Trøndelag.²⁴

Copper was the third important export article from Trondheim, and was a new product from the seventeenth century. The Røros mines were opened in 1644, the Løkken mines in 1656, and the Selbu mines in 1713. The Trondheim merchants were engaged in the copper exports from an early stage, and soon even as mine owners. Lorentz Mortensen Angell was already in 1665 an important copper exporter, and his trade connections to Flensburg concerned copper alongside with fish.²⁵ The connection to the mines was the basis not only of copper exports, but also the provisioning of the mines. Even in years with loss on the copper, to own parts in the mines could be profitable. The owners had the right to supply the mining society with all provisions they needed. They were eager to take part in this trade, and if prices on these supplies were high, this could make up for losses on the copper.²⁶ Copper export was therefore combined with trade in corn and other import goods, as well as fish sales to the mining societies. For a fish merchant the market at the mines was a nice supplement, which made him able to find an outlet for all his fish, as the fish sold to the mining people could be of poorer quality than that offered to the market abroad.

Consequences for peasant families – changed working conditions

The fish trade obviously depended on the work of the fishermen. Originally the fish was dried in the fishing districts and sold as stockfish. But in the eighteenth century klipfish was introduced on the market. This was both more capital intensive and more labour intensive.

²⁴ Stein Tveite: *Engelsk-Norsk trelasthandel 1640-1710*, Bergen/Oslo 1961, p. 472. Bull 1992, p. 46. Thomas Angells stiftelsers arkiv, Revisjonsforretning etter Thomas Angell, skifteforretninger etter Albert Angell og Sara Hammond.

²⁵ Regional archive in Trondheim, Trh. notarialprot. 1679-1702, fol. 3b and following. H. Dahle: *Røros kobberværk 1644-1894*, Trondhjem 1894. Stadtarchiv Flensburg, A. Altes Archiv 222a Peter Bischoff. Reisebeschreibung 1677-78. Bull 1992, p. 34.

²⁶ Knut Sprauten: "Rådmann Hans Hornemann og hans virksomhet", *Trondhjemske samlinger*, Trondheim 1980. Ida Bull: "Enkers levebrød i et førindustrielt bysamfunn", [*Norsk*] *Historisk tidsskrift* 1986.

The salt was a costly means of production and the fish had to be washed and dried in several operations. Merchants engaged more heavily not only in the trade, but in the financing and production as well. The new product also engaged the population along the coast more intensely.²⁷

The timber trade also depended on the work of the peasants. Sawmills depended on labour to cut the timber, float it down to the sawmill, saw the timber and bring it to the harbour for shipping. The fact that these merchants had sawmills on their own land served to solve the problem of securing enough labour. The tenant farmers on their land were engaged in the forests and on the sawmills.²⁸ Even the mines depended on the interplay between trade and agriculture. The work in the mines was full-time work, but only for the men in the families. The wages were calculated to be supplied by work on the small plot where wives and children were responsible for agriculture, and where the husbands took part in the work during weekends and harvests.²⁹ The mines also depended on labour from the peasants in the region for coal burning and transport.

The merchants doing long distance trade were obviously depending on raw material from the countryside and on the work of peasants in the region. But following this, the growth of international trade also changed the lives of peasant families in the region. When the trade during the seventeenth century was concentrated to cities, the peasants lost the direct contact with foreign merchants and ship captains. But when the merchants resident in Norwegian cities monopolised the trade, the roads to international markets were at the same time made more regular. The merchants enlarged, utilized and provided a link to an international market for goods produced in the countryside in the region. The peasant families were able to base more of their existence on supplies to and work for the export trade. The new ways of organising trade enabled the region to be more closely integrated into the commercial development in Europe. With their demand for export products the merchants induced peasants along the coast to intensify their fishing, peasants in the forest districts to labour in the timber industry, and peasants near the mines to engage as miners or as transport workers and coal burners. This development was closely connected to what has been called an

²⁷ Atle Døssland: *Med lengt mot havet. Fylkeshistorie for Møre og Romsdal*, vol. 1, Oslo 1990, p. 261. Sprauten, forthcoming. Bull 1998, pp. 39f.

²⁸ Ida Bull: Borger og bonde i jord- og skogbruk. Godsdannelse i Trøndelag på 1600- og 1700-tallet, *Heimen*, 2/1993, pp. 81-90.

²⁹ Eilert Sundt: *Om Røros og omegn; reiseberetning*. Trondheim 1858. Finn Birger Larsen: "Rørosarbeidernes levestandard på 1700-tallet", *Heimen* 1982, pp. 171-182.

industrious revolution.³⁰ This “revolution” is characterised by drawing household members more intensively into productive activities. In Trøndelag this development led more male peasants out of the household more of the time, working in fisheries for months, working in the forest during wintertime, working in the mines most of the week, or transporting deals, copper, provisions to and from Trondheim. The same development forced their wives and children to work more intensively cultivating the land and minding the farm animals. It has been said that a fisherman in this period is two persons, a man engaged in fisheries, and a woman running a farm.³¹ Eilert Sundt, who studied social questions in Norway around the middle of the nineteenth century, stressed the importance of agriculture for the miners’ families. This gave the miners’ wives a proper occupation, and was a considerable contribution to the households’ support.³²

The close connection between industry and agriculture points to the concept of proto-industrialisation.³³ Important characteristics of proto-industrialisation are that there exists an economic and social interplay between agriculture and industry in the way that labour can change between working in agriculture and industry according to need, season and gender; secondly, that the industry is co-ordinated by city merchants; and thirdly, that the industry depends on distant markets.³⁴ The literature on proto-industrialisation has mostly concerned home industry, especially textile industry, performed in the workers’ homes, but organised by merchants who deliver the raw material and sell the products.³⁵ But industry in the pre-industrial era was not restricted to home industry. Other forms of industry, likewise organised by merchants, were organised as manufactures or concentrated because of the access of resources.³⁶ The proto-industrial characteristics can easily be recognised in the activities of the Trondheim capitalists if the criteria, rather than home production, are taken to be interplay between work in agriculture and industry (understood more at household level than at

³⁰ Jan de Vries: “The industrial revolution and the industrious revolution”, *The Journal of Economic History*, 54, 1994, pp. 249-270.

³¹ Reference in : Sølvi Sogner: *Far sjøl i stua og familien hans. Trekk fra norsk familiehistorie før og nå*, Oslo 1990, p. 34.

³² Eilert Sundt: *Om Røros og omegn; reiseberetning*, Trondhjem 1858.

³³ F. Mendels: “Proto-industrialization: the first phase of the industrialization process”, *Journal of Economic History*, 32, 1972. Maxine Berg (ed.): *Markets and manufacture in early industrial Europe*, London 1991. Sheilagh C. Ogilvie: “Proto-industrialization in Europe”, *Continuity and Change*, 8(2), 1993, pp.159-179.

³⁴ M. Berg: *Markets and manufacture*, 1991, p. 4f.

³⁵ Edgar Hovland, Helge W. Nordvik and Stein Tveite: “Proto-Industrialisation in Norway, 1750-1850: Fact or Fiction”, *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 1/1982, pp. 45-55, acknowledge the close connection between the Norwegian industries and agriculture. However, they dismiss the idea that proto-industrialisation played a prominent part in Norwegian economy, on the ground that putting-out system in production of consumer goods was more or less absent, precisely because Norwegian peasants were heavily engaged in production of staple goods for export.

³⁶ Sidney Pollard: “Regional markets and national development”, in M. Berg (ed.): *Markets and manufacture*, London 1991.

individual level), merchants' organisation, and distant markets. Trondheim capitalists invested their capital in the mining industry, equipped the mines with working capital like coal, gunpowder and iron, organised the activity, sold the products – and collected the profits. Based on their landed estates they built up sawmills, and organised the peasants on their lands as “proto-industrial” workers in the timber trade. They invested money in the fish trade by furnishing the fishermen with equipment, and organised the coastal population in klipfish production on the coastal rocks. Fish trade, mining and timber trade were all industries living in a symbiotic relationship with agriculture. All of them depended on workers in the trade working in agriculture as well. Most work in these industries was not full year's work. Only mining gave in principle work all year, but there it was necessary to make allowances for the workers' agricultural work by giving them time off during weekends and harvest seasons. And mining depended also on coal burning and transportation, performed by peasants in the region. All of these industries employed mostly men, except fish processing, where women were heavily involved when the fish were brought to the shores. Work in the industry was not supposed to give the men a wage to support a family. The fact that the family had their basis in agriculture gave work to other family members and was a necessary contribution to the family economy. The interplay between agriculture and industry made it possible to pay wages below subsistence. Agriculture in that way subsidised the industries on which the merchants based their trade.³⁷

For peasant families this involvement in capitalist economy made them able to pay increasing taxes to a more organised state. It also made them able to increase their consumption of new import goods.

Changing consumption

The merchants' export obviously had their counterpart in import. Some of the imports went directly to the running of their different enterprises: gunpowder to the mines, saw blades to the sawmills, salt to the fish production. The most important part of the import, however, was the provisions needed for the workers. In many parts of Trøndelag the climatic conditions made it difficult or impossible for the peasants to produce sufficient amounts of corn. And where people were engaged in industries, their plots were often too small for sufficient food production. The merchants' corn import was thus changing the food market from one based

³⁷ Pat Hudson: "Financing firms, 1700-1850, in Maurice W. Kirby and Mary B. Rose (ed.): *Business enterprise in modern Britain; from the eighteenth to the twentieth century*, Routledge 1994:88-112.

on interchange between corn producing areas in the region and areas producing other kinds of goods to one based more heavily on imports.

The imports did not only consist of necessities however. The merchants themselves imported quite a lot of foreign – more or less luxurious – products for their own use or for sale to their equals in the city or among the countryside elite. The merchants Thomas and Lorentz Angell imported basic goods as corn and malt, but in addition quite a lot of more exclusive household goods, like spices, sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, raisins, almonds and rice, wine and spirits. When their ship masters went to Amsterdam, Hamburg or Dublin, they usually brought two lists of orders, one from the brothers Thomas and Lorentz for equipment to the business activities, one from Sara Angell for goods to the household. She obviously wanted to follow international fashion. Even shoes were ordered from abroad, as when she in 1739 sent her shoe measure with her ship master to Dublin, where he bought a pair of red and a pair of black shoes for herself, as well as two pairs of red and one pair of yellow shoes for her 7-year old daughter Karen, “the heels after the newest fashion for that age”.³⁸ Luxury goods was spread to family, friends and business partners in the countryside as well, as for instance when Thomas Angell supplied the director at Røros mines with wine and books, or when the proprietor Johan Brodtkorb in Helgeland was inspired by his sister and brother in law Herman Hoë in Trondheim to order modern equipment when furnishing a new building. By that occasion he wrote: “Please give me your opinion as to what kind of chairs one should have in the large living room... Inform me about the prevailing fashion”.³⁹

But imported luxuries went not only to members of the upper class. Silk scarves and velvet caps, sugar, coffee and tobacco became available to people also in the countryside. Civil servants complained that imported material and luxury products spread among ordinary people. In 1743 the clergymen in Norway was asked to send in to the authorities reports on their parish and its inhabitants. From Trøndelag, a few reports are preserved. From Frosta was reported that the inhabitants were addicted to sumptuous consumption in clothes. The women were the worst, and the reason was, according to the vicar’s opinion, the close contact with the city Trondheim. In Skogn the conditions were as much to be reproached, while in Åsen and Stadsbygd people were as yet more humble in their clothing.⁴⁰ Gerhard Schøning, headmaster of the grammar school in Trondheim and one of the founders of a scientific society in the city, made in the 1770’s a travel in several parts of Norway, from which he

³⁸ Bull 1992, pp. 155, 218.

³⁹ Bull 1992, pp. 155f. Regional archives in Trondheim, private archives 280 Hoë 17.14, letter 09.07.1792.

⁴⁰ Norwegian National archives, De 43 spørsmål. Bull 2005, p. 381.

wrote a report. Among many other things, he noted to what extent the peasants used homemade or foreign clothes. In Snåsa he praised them for their humble clothing, not using foreign finery. In Stjørdalen, however, peasant wives and girls used silk scarves and caps made of velvet and damask, and the men were not better.⁴¹

The clergymen in 1743 as well as Gerhard Schøning in the 1770's were convinced that it was a bad thing that ordinary people used luxurious goods. In this they had the government's support at the time. The government tried to prevent the population from using imported clothes by way of sumptuary laws, and to induce the merchants to sell cloth produced in Denmark-Norway instead of imported cloth from abroad.⁴² But there was an international discussion going on concerning this prevailing view.⁴³ It may be this discussion which is reflected when Christen Pram, a civil servant sent out to inspect the Norwegian industries in 1804-06, commented on the complaints. He claimed that it was a fact to be praised rather than regretted when people wanted to consume new commodities. The lust for luxury stimulated the industriousness of the people. Fear of hunger could make people industrious, but the availability of new articles of consumption could also stimulate industry.⁴⁴

Conclusion

Trondheim was developed as a network city in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, still building on its status as a central place for the surrounding region. Merchants from abroad settled in the city, taking advantage of the resources in the region, and providing a link to the international economy, enabling the district to develop a more diversified economy. In this process, the merchants were eager to integrate into the leading circles of their new domicile, as well as shaping a network in the region. Marriage strategy was an important means to obtain both objects.

Merchants, resident in Trondheim, monopolised the international trade, and at the same time made the roads to international markets more regular. Their demand for products made the peasants in the region emphasize work for the export industries more than before. The city based networks served to mobilise the resources in the region. In this process, the lives of the people in the districts were changed. Peasant households were drawn more

⁴¹ Gerhard Schøning: *Reise som giennem en Deel af Norge i de Aar 1773, 1774, 1775 paa Hans Majestets Kongens Bekostning er gjort og beskrevet*, Trondheim 1979.

⁴² E. g. Regional archives in Trondheim, Trondhjem stift og amts arkiv Db11 Kongelige reskripter 1759-1760.

⁴³ Bernard Mandeville: *The Fable of the Bees; or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* was printed in London 1714. See: Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger: *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century. Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, N. Y. 2003. The discussion is reflected in the Danish-Norwegian author Ludvig Holberg play, *Mascarade*, published in 1724, where he compares the frugal master with his squandering son.

⁴⁴ Gerd Mordt: *Kristiania-ansjosen og den industrielle revolusjon, Heimen.*, 2003.

intensely into a capitalist economy, and that changed the structure of their work and how the work was organised along gender lines. International trade also started to change consumption, not only among the elite in society, but to some extent even among the peasant population. However, in what ways work relations, gender relations and consumption changed as a consequence of intensified international trade need to be further investigated.