

**Early Modern Merchant Families.
Foreign Intermediaries in Swedish Cities.
The Gothenburg Market in the 17th Century**

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Session 16, XIV World Economic History Congress (Helsinki, August 21-25, 2006)

Abstract

In this paper the following questions will be raised, illustrated and discussed: Which role did merchant families play in Early Modern merchant settlements in coastal regions? To what extent were merchant families also foreign intermediaries in Swedish cities (towns)? Did such foreign intermediating families have an European impact in these settlements? If so, is it possible to distinguish between different types of influences? How did, for example, the Gothenburg market develop in the 17th Century when migrants settled down and brought their families, international relations and lattice-work webs to the city? These questions and other related questions will be discussed in this paper, in order to bring certain economic, social and cultural aspects into the discussion about *Merchant Settlements as Intermediaries for European Influences in the Baltic North 1650–1850, or elsewhere*.

The paper suggests a closer look into the social, economic and cultural background of the Early Modern merchant families, which was of fundamental interest and relevance for the knowledge of merchant settlements as intermediaries for European influences. When it is possible, the whole family background of both parents and both grandparents must be looked upon, as well as the merchant tradition in the families, in order to perceive, how the relations were distributed. Then we can also better understand why certain merchant settlements could function as intermediaries for European influences and why certain business connections were spread, for example over the Baltic North in Early Modern Time. A certain degree of path dependency then can be traced.

The paper also suggests the constructing of *A Comparative Merchant Family Database*, taking into consideration such factors as family background, geographical contact nets, international relations, trading goods, trading capital and credit markets. Starting with groups of merchant families in Swedish cities in

the 17th and 18th Century, and complemented with merchant books, inventories after dead people and church records, the Tolagsjournaler then could be of vital interest. That is while they give a spectrum of which inhabitants in the city and which skippers, were involved as intermediaries in the over sea trade from and to the coastal regions in Sweden, harbours in other parts of the Baltic Sea Region, and other harbours in Europe or elsewhere. When merchant books and letters are left, we can reconstruct a database of acting merchant settlements in certain cities (towns), their intermediating role in different types of European influences and the extent of their European credit market. Their role as cultural carriers and cultural intermediaries, for example, could then be reconstructed through a combination of inventories with the Tolagsjournaler and the merchant books left.

The questions and the answers in the paper are built on archive studies and former publications within the long time project *Merchant Families on the Early Modern European Market*.¹ The project has, so far, studied two main types of sources, the Gothenburg Tolagsjournaler (additional custom journals) 1638–1700 and two surviving merchant books, one from Gothenburg 1666-1676 and one from Lübeck 1664-1667. The Zulagebücher from Lübeck and the Tolagsjournaler for 1660, 1662 and 1664 from Nyköping and for special test years from Stockholm and Kalmar have been used as complementary sources, as well as Church records, court books and inventories of deceased people in the cities.

The traders in Swedish harbours had to pay tolag for incoming and outgoing cargo. The city of Gothenburg, for example, became almost all of its income from that foreign trade. Therefore it was a keen work to note everything about everybody involved in the trade, so that the city did not miss any money. In Swedish coastal regions with harbours, called staple cities (which were allowed

¹ Christina Dalhede, *Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad 1-3. Resor och Resande i internationella förbindelser och kulturella intressen. Augsburg, Antwerpen, Lübeck, Göteborg och Arboga*. Meddelanden från Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Handelshögskolan vid Göteborgs universitet Nr 81-82, 83 (CD-rom), Warne förlag, Partille 2001; Christina Dalhede, *Augsburg und Schweden ind er Frühen Neuzeit. Europäische Beziehungen und soziale Verflechtungen. Studien zu Konfession, Handel und Bergbau, I. Teilband, 2. Teilband*, Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, St. Katharinen 1998; Christina Dalhede, *Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital – En 1600-talshandel med potential? Fjärrhandelsfamiljerna Jeronimus Möller i Lübeck och Sibrant Valck i Göteborg. Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad 4*. Meddelanden från Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Handelshögskolan vid Göteborgs universitet Nr 96. Christina Dalhede, *Varor & Familjer, Lübeck & Göteborg (CD-rom)*. *Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad 5*. Meddelanden från Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Handelshögskolan vid Göteborgs universitet Nr 97, Warne förlag, Partille 2006; Christina Dalhede, *Tolagsjournaler under tidigmodern tid i Göteborg. Källmaterial och möjligheter. Projektrapporter Göteborg och Europa 1600-1800. Nr 1*. Rapport från ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Handelshögskolan vid Göteborgs universitet Nr 17, Göteborg 2005. The Project, taking place at the Department of Economic History, School of Business History, Economics and Law at the University of Gothenburg is performed in different sections (parts) and has been financed by the Swedish Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet and the Stiftelsen Richard C. Malmstens Minne. The now proceeding part of this project is called *Early Credit Markets in Swedish Cities and Towns in an European Perspective*. It is supported by Handelsbankens Forskningsstiftelser in Stockholm and includes one Dr. phil.-Student, Ekon. Mag. Magnus Andersson and one senior researcher Christina Dalhede (Ass. Prof.).

to be involved in the foreign trade), we can find certain pieces left from the Tolagsjournaler. This is the case, for example, in Göteborg, Stockholm, Norrköping, Nyköping and Kalmar. For the Swedish harbours on the other side of the Baltic Sea, some pieces are left in Stockholm, among other for Stralsund. A full discussion of the sources you can follow in my books.

The paper is divided into four headlined parts, starting with an introduction and followed of a conclusion. The first part is called *The Role of Early Modern Merchant Families*. It deals with the question about their role in the coastal regions. The second part, *Foreign Intermediaries in Swedish Cities*, discusses practical examples of the interaction and intermediation between merchant families, men and women, in Western Sweden. The third part, *Types of Influences*, tries to identify European influences in particular. The fourth part, *The Early Modern Gothenburg Market*, deals with the question about the development of the market and the impact of it from the foreign migrants with an European and “mixed European” background. At the end suggestions will be made for further research and comparisons.

Introduction

In the literature, a coastal region such as Gothenburg in Sweden is often noted as “a hollands colony” or as “the Hollander’s Gothenburg”.² Helge Almquist (1929) gave it as his opinion that the German’s acting cannot measure up with the Hollander’s in Gothenburg and some other researchers have just followed this opinion. However, looking deeper into the archives in Sweden and on the European continent, the sources about the families, show that there were different nationalities in function very early in the Gothenburg history.³ How the concept of nationality has been used is here of importance for the results.

Of course Hollander have played an important role in the Gothenburg history, both in Karl IX’s and Gustav II Adolf’s Gothenburg. But in the case of Gothenburg the concept “holländare” (Hollander) mostly has been used about every foreigner arriving to Gothenburg in the 17th century from netherlandish and holland areas, and this without separating between the real origin of these families. Walloons, Hollander and Germans have been mixed together, and

² Ralph Scander, Karl IX:s Göteborg på Hisingen. En holländsk koloni med svenskt medborgarskap. (Göteborgs hembygdsförbunds skriftserie), Göteborg 1975; Helge Almquist, Göteborgs historia. Grundläggningen och de första hundra åren. Första delen. Från grundläggningen till enväldet (1619–1680). (Skrifter utgivna till Göteborgs stads trehundraårsjubileum genom jubileumsutställningens publikationskommitté I), Göteborg 1929.

³ Dalhede (1998), 1. Teilband, 2. Teilband, passim. Christina Dalhede, Tyskarnas, nederländarnas, holländarnas och skottarnas Göteborg. Om utländska bidrag till Karl IXs och Gustav II Adolfs Göteborg (in: Göteborg Förr och Nu. Göteborgs hembygdsförbunds skriftserie XXVII – 1998, s.25-44), Göteborg 1998. Dalhede 1-3 (2001).

mixed up by (Swedish) historians.⁴ Certain Walloons and Hollander were, for example, in reality of Southern German origin.

Through the method of using the nationality concept for the whole family – including both parents and both grand parents – for three generations, I could prove that the Gothenburg Magistrate did have exactly as many members of every nationality 1623 as was stipulated in the city rules: two Hollanders, three Spanish-Netherlanders, five Germans, seven Swedes and one Scotsman – not mostly Hollander as Almquist thought.⁵

After the Gustav II Adolf's privilege from 1624 there should be twelve councillor in the Gothenburg Council board, four of Swedish, three of German, three of Hollands and two of Scottish nationality.⁶ Almquist's figures for the Hollander are wrong. Calculated after real origin, the Germans had five seats in the board after 1624, not the Hollanders, the Swedes had four, the Spanish-Netherlanders, the Hollanders and the Scotsmen had one seat each.

It was in fact possible to prove that certain so called "Hollander" had their origin from Antwerp in the Spanish Netherlands, and from Hamburg in Northern Germany, Augsburg and Nürnberg in Southern Germany. The so called "Hollander's Gothenburg" was in reality not as holland as earlier researchers have claimed. Instead we must speak of the foreign part of the city as the "Gothenburg of the Germans, the Netherlanders, the Hollanders and the Scots", while they all have played an important role in the history of the city. This results open up for the question about which role the merchant families did play in Early Modern merchant settlements in coastal regions.

The Role of Early Modern Merchant Families

The Early Modern merchant families did have many different and coinciding roles. Of course, we cannot discuss but the most important here. To such roles belonged the fundamental one of building up geographical contact nets to different parts of Europe and over sea, and creating international relations and lattice-work webs.⁷ Religious freedom was very important for these families, too. It was written down in special privileges together with the privileges of free trade to certain areas. This was the case, for example, in Friedrichsstadt in Northern Germany and in Gothenburg in Western Sweden in the 17th Century (Dalhede 1998, 2001). Foreign merchant families were drawn to the city.

In Early Modern business relations the trade and the shipping were central. So were the cargo and the bills of exchange used in connection with the pay-

⁴ Dalhede (in: Förr och Nu 1998), s.25ff.

⁵ The discussion about this can be followed in Dalhede (in: Göteborg Förr och Nu 1998), s.26-44.

⁶ Almquist (1929), s.81ff.

⁷ Dalhede 1-3 (2001), passim. Dalhede, Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital (2006); Dalhede, Varor & Familjer, Lübeck & Göteborg (2006).

ment for and the transport of the cargo. The merchant families had, of course, a vital interest in these fields. They constantly used their social-economic lattice-work webs to be sure of a safe trade. They were in their business mostly depending on the loyalty of the family members and of the long distance relatives until the fifth family links (Dalhede 1998). Still family friends and unknown, but recommended, thrust-worthy persons belonged to the business partners (Dalhede 2001, 2006).

While the merchant families mostly could read, write and count, they also became an economic role in the social society. When it came to taxation of different goods and the quality, the worth of buildings etc. certain merchants were engaged. So was also the case in the religious engagement for church and school, and in the church economy, by keeping the kyrkoräkenskaper (church account books). In the city of Arboga in Swedish Bergslagen merchants used to keep the church account books. One example is the merchant Nicolaus Perner, with his family background from Augsburg and Antwerp. Two examples in Gothenburg were the foreign merchants Paul Rokes and Jacob van Ackern. In Kungälv, a town 20 km north of Gothenburg, ships could anchor on the Nordre Älv by sailing in from and out to a foreign country. There some informations have been found, too, in the 1660ties. The merchants Oluff Rottrij (Rotter) and Tormo Clasen had a dispute concerning the records of the church accounts and some payments for delivered wine and beer to Rotter from Clasens.⁸ Then we also get informations about Tormo Clasen's wife Maria, who had kept her own merchant books 1665–1668. Maria is also noted as a cargo owner by the abroad trade from Gothenburg. For example 1667 she imported goods from Bordeaux in a half free "bojort" of 40 Läster, conducted by the skipper Hans Winter, who was at home in Stettin.⁹

As for the Council Board, the merchants did not willingly take part in such time consuming activities, when they were still active as trading merchants. In Augsburg in Germany they mostly were members or had a family member in the Große Rat, which only had a few, but economic important activities.¹⁰ In Gothenburg we find a similar pattern for the Council Board in the 17th Century.¹¹ In the older days, as they were 45-50 years old, maybe, the merchants agreed to be involved in the Board.

When economic subjects were on the agenda, for example by protests of bills of exchange and bankruptcies, the merchants always played an important role for solving the problems. The Juristische Fakultät in Leipzig about 1600, for example, asked prominent merchants in big merchant settlements such as Venice, Florens, Antwerp and Hamburg, questions about their opinions in special difficult cases by describing one case, and then asking the merchants: In your

⁸ Lisbet Ahlzén-Grahn, Kungälv's rådhusrätts renoverade protokoll 1666–1680. Masch. Kungälv 1998, p.36.

⁹ GLA, Göteborgs Drätselkammare, Stadens räkenskaper, Huvudserien nr 848, 1667.

¹⁰ Dalhede (1998), 1. Teilband. s.116ff, 227-238.

¹¹ Dalhede 2 (2001), s.326-, Dalhede 3 (2001), Bilaga 26.

opinion, who has to pay the money in this case?¹² Every merchant wrote down his opinion and his motivation, and sent the paper back to Leipzig. Then the jury gave their verdict.

Dalhede (2001) could prove that certain merchant families in Augsburg, Antwerp, Lübeck, Gothenburg and Arboga could be regarded as culture carrier and culture intermediaries. They had admittance to literary knowledge depots and were spreading the information about it or actively carrying the culture to other people. They imported, for example, music instruments, songbooks, art, books and upper class furniture to Gothenburg.¹³ For the years 1652–1705 I examined all inventories of deceased people in Gothenburg and Arboga. Every inventory where there were notes about which books the deceased person had in their homes, was chosen for a database, separating the merchant families from the handicraft families. The merchant libraries mostly showed more non-religious literature than religious ones. The libraries of the handicraft workers showed just the opposite possession. When they owned some books then it was religious ones. Interesting enough, there was literature in up to ten different languages present in libraries of merchant families in Gothenburg, in Arboga up to eight different languages. Most of the merchant families who possessed a rich library, had an international family background. They were contributing to the intermediating of European influences to their new settlement.

Foreign Intermediaries in Swedish Cities

In a Swedish city (town) it was not allowed to trade without being a burgher family or a so-called “genantborgare” (who did not live in the city, but paid a certain sum pro year for the trading rights). By studying the burgher lists we can find the names of a certain part of the trading families. In Gothenburg, for example, the burgher lists have survived for certain years, published by Erland Långström.¹⁴ There we find many foreign names among the burghers. In Lübeck we have the Bürger-Annahmepbuch with informations about who has been accepted as a burgher in the city, to what cost, and with which borgensmän at his side he was accepted as a burgher.¹⁵ In Gothenburg we had certain foreign “nederlagshandelsmän” (storehouse merchants), too. In Augsburg there was the Pact-Geding, that is, by paying a certain amount of money pro year, foreign traders, although they were no ordinary burghers, they were allowed to live and to do business in the city.

¹² Christina Dalhede, *Neue Augsburger Quellen zur Kenntnis Europäischer Handekshäuser um 1600* (in: *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 76. Band, 4/89. Hrsg. v. Prof. Dr. Hermann Kellenbenz, Prof. Dr. Hanns Pohl, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Zorn. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1989, s.514-526). Dalhede 1 (1998), s.223ff.

¹³ Dalhede 2 (2001), s.364-406, 425-442, 476.

¹⁴ Erland Långström, *Göteborgs stads borgarlängd 1621–1864*. Göteborg 1926.

¹⁵ Archiv der Freien Hansestadt Lübeck, Bürger-Annahmepbuch 1633ff.

To what extent were merchant families acting as foreign intermediaries in Early Modern Swedish cities (towns)? If finding the trading intermediaries between Swedish cities and other European harbours and settlements, it is possible to reconstruct the structure of their European geographical contact nets and possible influences on the merchant settlements, for example, in behalf of the kind of imported goods, the access and demand of certain sorts of wine, textiles, salt etc.. In certain Swedish harbours there are some very interesting sources left, the Tolagsjournaler (additional custom accounts), which can bring us such suitable facts for a yearly reconstruction of the contact nets and the trading goods, as well as which actors were involved in the deliveries (cargo owners and skippers) and the transport system (the skippers).

By studying the foreign trade in Gothenburg 1638–1695 and making a database from the Tolagsjournaler, I could identify at least 5,794 cargo owners – all men and women of different nationalities – trading with other merchants in foreign and in Swedish harbours. The foreign names were in majority among the cargo owners (lastdelägare). They were living and working in Gothenburg in the 17th Century. About 5-6% in average over the whole period were women, mostly married women and widows. When regarding only special years, there were higher figures for women than 5-6%. In the 18th century the figures for both men and women as intermediaries in the foreign trade probably will rise. In Nyköping there were no women involved in the foreign iron trade 1660, 1662 and 1664, described in the Tolagsjournaler in Nyköping. In Lübeck there were very few women noticed in the Lübecker Zulagebücher in the trade with Swedish coastal regions.

Through the Tolagsjournaler we get in touch with all kind of goods, transported on different kinds of ships, conducted by the skippers of Swedish or foreign origin. The cargo from Gothenburg in the 17th Century mostly went to harbours in Europe, but other destinations, for example West-India, are listed, too. The goods with different qualities and quantities are mostly noted with an epithet of the area where it has been produced: Spanish wine, Rheinisch wine, Rostocker beer, Hamburger beer, Spanish leather, Cadiz salt, Lüneburger salt, Rijssels waren (textiles from Lille), Nürnberger kram (knives, etc.), Brixener Bombasin, Schlesiger Leinwand (Linnen), Osnabrück-Münster-Bielefeldtslärf, Schottish wool etc. There were, for example, twenty-eight different production areas noted for the textiles, coming in to Gothenburg, among them three outside Europe: Syria, East-India and Japan. In Europe we had textiles produced in areas between Russia and Litauen in the North-East, Naples in the South, Spain in the South-West and Scotland in the North-West. The study shows that a goods of differentiated qualities was imported to Gothenburg. For example, there were sixteen different types of salt noted in the Tolagsjournaler, among other Lüneburger salt, black salt, grey salt, Cadiz salt, Spanish salt, Portugal salt and French salt. Foreign influences through the dif-

ferent cargo groups reached Sweden. The merchant families and the skippers were the intermediaries.

Taking into consideration what information we could get out of merchant books, we must underline the difficulties, while there are very few business records from the 17th Century left in Sweden.¹⁶ The purpose of my study *Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital – En 1600-talsbandel med potential?* and the CD-rom *Varor & Familjer, Lübeck & Göteborg* (2006) is to evaluate business records, kept in Merchant family businesses in the Early Modern period. The oldest merchant book in Gothenburg is from the late 17th Century and until now, no one has attempted to make a full evaluation of its contents. In Lübeck, we have a similar situation with very few surviving merchant books from the same period.¹⁷ A volume written 1664–1667, which was returned some years ago from Russia where it had been since Second World War is now housed in the archive in Lübeck.

The book examines the business records of the two merchant traders, in Lübeck 1664–1667 and in Gothenburg 1666–1676. The business records are complimented with additional source materials, such as estate inventories, process records and church books. The sources were asked questions that would help us understand the nature and type of merchants the families represented: we were interested in the families' social, economic and cultural assets (knowledge depots), their geographical contact nets, international relations, the stream of goods, bills of exchange and in the numbers and amounts of credits granted.

By studying the merchant book of Jeronimus Möller in Lübeck 1664–1667 and his letters to the Abraham & Jacob Momma brothers in Stockholm, I could track down the activities of the Möller family in Lübeck.¹⁸ The family members were intermediaries for Swedish bar iron, copper and brass from Nyköping and Stockholm to Lübeck. From there they delivered parts of the goods to merchants in Lübeck, Hamburg, Amsterdam and London, using different transport chains. The Möller family delivered among other salt, wine, tobacco and textiles to Swedish and Norwegian coastal regions. We now know who their customers were and where the customers lived. The Möllers helped the merchants in Nyköping-Nävekvarn and Bodekull with testing cannons in the Lübecker area. The Möller family used fine wine and textiles, such as “laken”, in exchange for cannon balls.

¹⁶ På Riksarkivet in Stockholm there are Leufstaarkiv with a few merchant books from Louis De Geer, the Momma-Reenstierna-Samlingen from the Momma Brothers and in the City Archives and other archives The Suck-Pauli Merchant books.

¹⁷ Marie-Louise Pelus-Kaplan och Michaela Blunck have examined merchant books in Lübeck from Wolter von Holstein in the 16th respective Johann Glandorp and beginning 17th Century.

¹⁸ From the Momma family there are business records left from the 17th Century. Other researchers have regarded certain parts of the Momma-Reenstierna-Samling. Among them are Leos Müller, *The Merchant Houses in Stockholm, c. 1640–1800. A comparative Study of Early Modern entrepreneurial Behavior* (Studia Upsaliensia 188), Uppsala 1998.

The oldest merchant book in Gothenburg was kept by the merchant Sibrant Valck 1666–1676. The Valck family was of German and Dutch origin. Sibrant and his family were involved in the trade with most of the European countries, in long distance trade as well as in the shorter one. Close relatives were working in London, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Zaandam and Stockholm. The Valck family was involved in other companies and had broad geographical contact nets as well as interesting, international business partners.

The traded goods consisted of all kind of goods, mostly wine, iron, fish- and farming products, salt, timber and textiles. The Valck family bought the wines in Spain, France, Amsterdam and Hamburg, distributed the wines to the freedom inns in Western Sweden. Certain kinds of salt was directly imported from Portugal and France. The Valck family was also taking part in the transfer of bills of exchange, 617 “bills-of-exchange-business-transactions” were noted in the period 1666–1676.¹⁹

In combination with business letters left and the Tolagsjournaler, the merchant books can give us a structure of the national and international business relations between different families and settlements. Through these merchant books we can find examples of what business connections with special European and non-European harbours, and customers, the traders in Gothenburg and Lübeck had. Then again, we will meet a majority of foreign names among the locals, as well as their home addresses. Close and distant relatives to the (foreign) merchants in Gothenburg, are proven to be dwelling in London, La Rochelle, Stockholm and Hamburg, for example, helping their relatives in Gothenburg in the business, taking part in the transfer of goods, payments and bills of exchange.²⁰ In her study about Norwegian Merchant Houses Ida Bull looked at the family relatives as a central element in foreign merchant settlements.²¹ Bull also underlined, just as Ferdinand Braudel earlier did, the importance of the so-called “long family”.²²

The Möller family had a geographical contact net including about eighty cities or towns, the Valck family including about seventy. The study revealed similar patterns in international relations in both families. The forms of international relations were also similar. The differences between the families were found in the direction and dimension of these relationships.

¹⁹ Dalhede (2006), Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital, s.240-252.

²⁰ Dalhede (2006), Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital, s.271-286.

²¹ Ida Bull, De Trondhjemske handelshusene på 1700-tallet. Slekt, hushold og foretning. N:o. 26 i Skriftserie fra Historisk institutt.Norges Teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet NTNU, Trondheim 1998, s.4-6, 304-305.

²² Bull (1998), s.7. Ferdinand Braudel, Die Dynamik des Kapitalismus, Stuttgart 1986, s.86. Dalhede (2006), Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital, s.278.

Table 1. Groups of goods in Jeronimus Möller's merchant book in Lübeck 1664–1667 and Sibrant Valck's merchant book in Gothenburg 1666–1676

1. Bergsbruksvaror
2. Skogsbruksvaror, bygg- och skeppsbyggnadsmaterial
3. Böcker och pappersvaror, förpackningsmaterial
4. Fisk- och jordbruksprodukter
5. Kreatur, vilt, hudar, skinn-, läder- och pälsvaror, talg, fett, ljus, färg- och garvämnen
6. Textilier, kläder, textilframställning
7. Möbler och konstverk, pärlor, smycken, juveler, guld och silver
8. Njutningsmedel, drycker och vinättika

Source: Christina Dalhede, *Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital – En 1600-talshandel med potential? Fjärrhandelsfamiljerna Jeronimus Möller i Lübeck och Sibrant Valck i Göteborg. Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad 4* (Meddelanden från Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Handelshögskolan vid Göteborgs universitet Nr 96), Warne förlag, Partille 2006

The products which the merchant families Möller and Valck were trading with, are in my book divided into eight groups of goods. Table 1 shows how this was done, the details and the discussion about it you can find in my book.²³

Wine was a lucrative trading product as well as metals, fish- and agricultural goods. An interesting difference between the Möller and Valck merchant houses was that they focused their trading on different categories of goods. Of the eight groups of goods, the Möllers in Lübeck were involved in one large branch, metals (63%), combined with one middle-sized branch fish- and agricultural products (22%) and in textiles (7%). They also had interest in three similar minor groups: wood, building and ship building products (3%), wine (2%) and livestock, hides, leather, skin (2%). The Valck family in Gothenburg were involved in three almost similar large branches, metals (30%), wine (28%), fish- and agricultural products (24%), then one middle-sized branch, wood, building and ship building goods (13%) with a minor interest in textiles (5%).

The long time project about *Merchant Families on the European Market* now continues with studying merchant books left in the 18th Century, such as Johan Zander's books 1713-1722 and Peter III Ekmans books from the second half of the Century and the Ekman & Co merchant books from the 19th Century until 1860 in Gothenburg. Now a Ph.D-Student, Magnus Andersson, and I are looking at the role of the merchant families in the credit system in Swedish cities in European perspective, especially the function of the bills of exchange.

Through the study of these described sources, it is possible to make a reconstruction of the long time trade pattern in family chains, the geographical con-

²³ Dalhede (2006), *Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital*, s.62ff.

tact nets, the international relations, and the payment distribution in coastal regions. Especially the intermediaries of foreign origin are of vital interest in Swedish cities. Did foreign intermediating families have an European impact in their settlements? If so, is it possible to distinguish between different types of influences?

Types of Influences

Let us give some examples of the interacting of certain merchant families in Gothenburg. In 1666 a letter arrived to the Kommerskollegium in Stockholm.²⁴ The sender was the foreign merchant Nicolaes Preus, who was a burgher in Gothenburg. He was complaining about the grate damages, that he had suffered, when the ship S. Jacob was captured at the Texel by Amsterdam "Caperers". The captured ship and its cargo of timber from Norway was designated to Portugal under the command of the skipper Rejger Jlkens from Gothenburg. This was not the only Early Modern ship in the Gothenburg trade being captured from such caperer. Scotsmen, Danes, and Frenchmen were capturing ships, too.

From the same time, and ten years ahead, it is possible to meet the same Nicolaes Preus in the oldest merchant books left in Gothenburg. Preus is one of at least 1,164 persons, who are noted in the books of the wholesale merchant Sibrant Valck. Sibrant Valck and Nicolaes Preus had a lot in common. They and their families were the two main owners of two ships in Gothenburg, and shareholders in many other ships. For example, we can find the Valck family involved as shareholders in at least sixteen different ships. Both families imported and exported all kinds of goods to and from Gothenburg, for example they imported tobacco, wine and exported bar iron and timber. They could even sell their whole share of the ship and of the cargo, as the ship had just been brought to anchor in another harbour in Europe or as it just was loaded with salt, for example, in a foreign harbour. That means they influenced the market.

Among others these families were keen on wine, that is, they were engaged in the wine trade. The Valck family imported twelve different sorts of wine and took part in the distribution of the wine to the inns in the cities and towns in Western Sweden. The Valcks also delivered wine and brandy to the so-called "Frihetskällarna", freedom inns. Maria Daelders-Valck helped her husband in the business. Among others, she sold wine and brandy to certain customers and kept her own books about how much and to what price she has sold the goods.

The Preus family got the privilege of keeping the new founded inn of the city magistrate 1666 and from the beginning of the 1670ties the Preus held an

²⁴ Riksarkivet (RA) in Stockholm Kommerskollegium. Huvudarkivet. Inkomna skrivelser, äldre serien, EIIIa:6 1666.

inn called “Pryssens krog” at the outskirts of the “high way” to Gothenburg. There the travellers could stay and enjoy the drinks, if they did not manage to arrive in time to pass into the city before the city ports were closed for the evening. There the wife was taking part in the business as well. The role as an innkeeper brought many possibilities of creating new contacts, and transference of European influences.

In Lübeck, where the wholesale merchant family Jeronimus Möller had its seat, Möllers wife, Margaretha Brandes, was involved in the business and kept her own account book. After their husbands had passed away, both Maria Daelders in Gothenburg and Margaretha Brandes in Lübeck had their responsibilities in the merchant houses. They conducted the firms and assisted by their children and sun-in-laws.

One more example from the Western Sweden is the wife Elisabeth Marcus. She was of German origin, but born in Gothenburg, and living in Vänersborg, a town situated about 100 km northeast of Gothenburg. She was married to Daniel Joensson (Ekman). During his lifetime she took part in the business and could deal with her opponents just as good as her husband could.²⁵ She is noted once in Gothenburg 1662 by exporting goods to Amsterdam.²⁶ After the death of her husband 1695, she showed her capacity in her business work and maintained the business in the same form and as widespread as during her husband’s lifetime, now assisted by her two sons. The iron factory was the main occupation, but Elisabeth Marcus–Ekman continued the timber and wood trade as well. She owned a saw-mill at Trollhättan, a town situated south of Vänersborg. She has also kept a special merchant book, where alimentary goods, textiles as *kattun*, *atlas*, *sidendamast* and “*kramvaror*” are noted. The inn, former conducted by her husband, she continued, too. Still 1706 Elisabeth Marcus–Ekman was able to reach the same volume in the iron factory as was reached in her husband’s lifetime, 6,579 Sklb bar iron. Her sons then had their own iron factory, but with a capacity of 2,578 and 3,171 Sklb they did not succeed as well as their mother.²⁷

The Valck, the Preus, the Ekman and the Möller families can all be found as cases in my publications, together with their family tree in three generations.²⁸ In 2001 a study examining the role of Merchant families in five European Cities was published.²⁹ Subjects specifically dealt with were geographical contact

²⁵ Arne Munthes bok om Släkten Ekman. Handelshuset Ekman & Co:s föregångare, Göteborg 1958, pp.89ff.

²⁶ GLA, Göteborgs Drätselkammare, Stadens räkenskaper, Huvudserien nr 838, 1662.

²⁷ Munthe (1958), p.89.

²⁸ Dalhede (2006), Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital, s.42, 44, 139, 140, 151; Dalhede (2006), Varor & Familjer, Lübeck & Göteborg, Kapitel II. Släktöversikter.

²⁹ Christina Dalhede, Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad 1-3. Resor och resande i internationella förbindelser och kulturella intressen. Augsburg, Antwerpen, Lübeck, Göteborg och Arboga. Partille-Göteborg 2001. Monograph. ISBN 91-86425-04-08, ISSN 0072-5080. Volume 1. ISBN 91-86425-15-3, ISSN 0072-5080. Volume 2. ISBN 91-86425-19-6, ISSN 0072-5080. Volume 3 CD-ROM with Data base, Warne förlag, Knektevägen 58, 433 69 Partille. Meddelanden från Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Handelshögskolan vid Göteborgs Universitet Nr. 81 (Volume 1), Nr.

networks, international relations and literary knowledge depots. The main sources used were notaries' records, records of Merchant Shipping, additional custom journals, privat inventories after deceased people and church records. A database of all cargo owners, all skippers, all departure- and destination harbours, all types of ships, names of the ships, cargo capacity (läster) between 1638 and 1700 was created.³⁰

Looking at the factors of shipping, shipbuilding, traded, imported and exported goods, as well at the choice of goods, I found the European influences being intermediated by the merchant settlements in coastal regions. European influences were of different types and generated local and regional activities. The geographical directions and the international relations became a broader spectrum of influences and extended geographical contact nets with new European influences. European literature was brought in to Sweden, as well as music instruments, art and upper class furniture. We did also get a broader, differentiated specimen of goods and ships, the harbours were expanding in type, cargo capacity and number of visits of different kinds of vessels.

Lutheran churches, based on the Augsburg Confession, was founded and German schools were started as wells. The merchants were very keen on having access to a good education for their children.

Summing up certain types of European influences which had a central role in foreign merchant settlements, I will underline the following:

- the market influences in traded groups of goods
- the national and international orientation of the geographical contact nets, the international relations and the lattice-work web, where the family background and family origin played a central role in the 17th century
- the cultural orientation of the foreign merchant families in Sweden.

The Early Modern Gothenburg Market

How did, for example, the Gothenburg market develop in the 17th Century when migrants settled down and brought their families, international relations and lattice-work webs to the city? Can we speak about an Early Modern European integration in Gothenburg?

82 (Volume 2), Nr. 83 (Volume 3). *Key words*: merchants, family, geography, simple and complex contact networks, trade, shipping, literary knowledge, cultural interests, literary interests, literary institution, public and private libraries, Europe, skippers, cargo owners, harbours, ships, inventories, goodparents, export, import, oxen, hides, skin, leather, salt, iron, textiles, books, musical instruments, Augsburg, Antwerp, Lübeck, Gothenburg and Arboga. The author is a researcher (Ass. Prof., Dr.) at the Department of Economic History, University of Gothenburg, Box 720, SE-405 30 Gothenburg, Sweden.

³⁰ The database does not fully include the in- and outgoing vessels for the years 1673, 1675-1680, 1687, when did not have the opportunity of borrowing the material from Stockholm to Gothenburg. Dalhede (2001) 1, s.44-46, 181-186; Dalhede (2001) 2, s.242-255.



Figure 1. The Gothenburg Trade in 17th Century

Figure 1 shows us the extent of European business relations from and to Gothenburg 1638–1700. At least 368 different harbours could be tracked down in that period. The frequented European harbours were spread over different countries.

My study *Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad 1-3* reveals the substantial links both in quantity and in quality of inter and intra connections between merchant families in different European cities.

The study also discusses the question of European integration. Where, surprisingly, merchant families in Gothenburg had such high levels of contacts

with cities and leading families on the continent, that Gothenburg must be seen as a city, well integrated in the European economy of the 17th Century.³¹

Looking at the question about women taking part in the foreign trade in relation to all cargo owners, the table 2 gives us the figures.

Table 2. Harbours in the foreign trade in Gothenburg 1638-1695 for identified female cargo owners (FCO), arranged from the most frequent harbours of destination and departure. Sum for all cargo owners (ACO) and sum of female cargo owners in % of the sum of all cargo owners

HARBOUR	FCO	FCO	FCO	ACO	FCO IN %
	DESTINATION TO	DEPARTURE FROM	SUM	SUM	OF ACO
HAMBURG*	137	404	541	8 525	6,3
AMSTERDAM	130	441	571	6 824	8,4
STOCKHOLM	23	0	23	636	3,6
LÜBECK**	14	30	44	939	4,7
SARDAM (ZAANDAM)	13	7	20	582	3,4
LONDON	12	23	35	3 244	1,1
?	10	3	13	459	2,8
HOLLAND	9	21	30	301	10,0
STETTIN	8	4	12	327	3,7
SKOTTLAND	5	0	5	506	1,0
DANZIG	4	11	15	551	2,7
ENGLAND	4	7	11	598	1,8
RIGA	4	5	9	627	1,4
KØBENHAVN	4	0	4	253	1,6
AALBORG	3	4	7	474	1,5
FRANKRIKE	3	1	4	441	0,9
STRALSUND	3	1	4	1 347	0,3
WISMAR	3	1	4	477	0,8
VARBERG (* VIA V. OUT)	3	0	4	132	3,0
PORTUGAL	2	0	2	482	0,4
DANMARK	2	2	4	19	-
ROSTOCK	2	1	3	200	1,5
SCHLESWIG	2	0	2	3	-
LISSABON	1	5	6	350	1,7
HULL	1	3	4	1 075	0,4
NEWCASTLE (IN ENGLAND)***	1	3	4	16	-
MALMÖ	1	2	3	561	0,5

Ann. * means Hamburg via Varberg out, ** means Lübeck via Landskrona

*** Newcastle has a sum of 451 for all cargo owners, however Newcastle in England has 16.

- The ACO sum is too small for giving a huge statistic percentage figure of between 21 and 67%

Sources: GLA, Göteborgs Drätselkammare, Stadens räkenskaper, Huvudarkivet, Tolagsjournaler 1638-1695

³¹ The CD-Rom, included as Volume 3, contains 42 Appendixes, included in the appendixes are the titles and authors of literature found in the 45 inventories in Gothenburg 1663-1705 and the 42 inventories in Arboga 1652-1705. The full title, author, and year are identified for 1,430 of the listed 1,854 titles.

The study shows that married women were engaged in all kind of foreign trade, long distance trade as well as short distance trade. They had the possibility to be involved in the wholesale trade as well as in the retail trade, in the capital intense trade (rye, hides, wine) as well as in the less capital intense trade already in the 17th Century. The result opens up for a discussion about to what extent and at which level the wives had an economic freedom in Early Modern Time.

Volume 3 of *Handelsfamiljer*, the CD-Rom *Travels and Travelling*, also contains a data base of 14,162 known ship movements in Gothenburg 1638, 1641, 1645, 1646, 1649-1700.³² Approximately 5,794 cargo-owners and 3,380 skippers participated directly in cargo exchange between 368 harbours in- and outside Europe.³³ How the different actors were identified is discussed in the book.

The Gothenburg market was extended thanks to different migrants settling down in the city, bringing their families, their merchant knowledge, merchant capital, geographical contact nets and international relations into the settlements. A change in directions of the traded goods from Gothenburg I found in the years of war, but also during the 17th century. In the 1640ies Amsterdam and Holland were the biggest harbours for Gothenburg goods, thereafter it shifted to Hamburg and at the end of the 17th Century London and England became a bigger part of the goods deliveries. The saltnerlag (storehouse for salt) in Gothenburg was very important for all Sweden, but also the cities and towns in Western Sweden got their deliveries from Gothenburg and its nerlag (storehouse). The imported and exported goods shifted from time to time with changing preferences, due to the demand and supply.

The *Gothenburg Wood Company* had its roots in Sardam (Zaandam north of Amsterdam) and Gothenburg, and had the whole Scandinavian wood trade in its hands.³⁴ Through generations it was conducted by the family Claesen Stuerman (Stuyrman). The merchant family Sibrant Valck in Gothenburg belonged to this company. Valck died 1681 and his mother, Anna Claesen, died in 1684. Shortly afterwards the Gothenburg Wood Company ceased to exist.

In other Swedish cities and towns we can find a similar pattern about the role of the foreign merchant families. Landskrona, the main city in one of the

³² Except for certain years in the 1670ties, when the origins were not available in Gothenburg. Dalhede, *Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad 1-2* (2001), p. 44-46, 181-186, 242-248.

³³ The database provides a multitude of search possibilities for many of the variables. In 2005 a book was published about the difficulties and possibilities by studying the additional custom records. Christina Dalhede, *Tolagsjournaler under tidigmodern tid i Göteborg. Källmaterial och möjligheter. Projekt rapporter. Göteborg och Europa 1600-1800. Nr 1. Rapport från Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Handelshögskolan vid Göteborgs universitet Nr 17, Göteborg 2005*. It is the intention, successively and in due time, to continue the building of databases from the Additional Customs Journals for the 18th Century.

³⁴ Dalhede (2006), *Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital*, s.190 with its sources and literature noted..

three counties in Scania, was important thanks to its harbour, a safe and an almost around the year icefree harbour.³⁵ In the 17th Century new inhabitants brought in fresh blood, new trading routes and new types of goods. The privilege from Carl X 1658 and the continuation of them under the new regime 1663 gave Landskrona the rights of a “nederlags-, handels- och stapelstad”, and a new political rank as the 5th city of Sweden, one better than for Malmö.³⁶ All rawmaterial should be free from customs, so that the manufactories could work properly and a bank office should be founded. The foreigners were allowed to build a German church, to choose the minister and church servants themselves, but then get an approval of the General Gouverneur and of the Bishop. Families, who became burghers in Landskrona had the rights for twenty years to be free from paying certain fees. Merchant families as Johan Lang and Anthon Cortemeijer in Landskrona and Josias Hegardt in Malmö were such families of German origin. They belonged to the merchant families who contributed with European influences to Sweden.³⁷ They also belonged to the close relatives to the family Valck in Gothenburg. When the war and other difficulties made foreigners use their lattice-work webs, and move to other cities and towns. The role of Landskrona diminished. Some of these moving foreign merchant families ended up in Gothenburg, where they then made a contribution to the Gothenburg market.

Another part of my study deals with questions about if and how capital assets were accumulated, and whether these assets of real capital, but also contact nets and international relations, were transferred between generations. The family was an important element in capital accumulation. Through the merchant books, we find evidence of Jeronimus Möllers’ and Sibrant Valck’s own book-keeping, as well as the book-keeping of their wives and other trading women. The result suggests that the economic responsibility of women in this period in Germany and Sweden was far more extensive than what we have believed so far. Wives of merchant traders, kept their own merchant books. In the case of Margareta Brandes-Möller and Maria Daelders-Valck not only did they trade in certain goods such as wine and textiles, they could also lend money to other people against security. As for the economic responsibility of the widows in the late 17th Century, we found that bills of exchange were drawn up by widows, such as the widow of Gustaff Dunt in Hamburg, who was an important business partner to Sibrant Valck. This evidence shows that not only men, but also women played a role in the credit system in Early Modern Times. Capital was

³⁵ About Landskrona and Malmö, see N. E. Lovén, *Landskrona under svenska tiden 1658–1908. Histotiska anteckningar*, Landskrona 1908, I, s.3-19. Åke Jönsson, *Historia om en stad. I. 1413–1804*. Landskrona, Landskrona 1993. Om Malmö, se även *Malmö stads historia*.

³⁶ Lovén (1908), I, s.7ff.

³⁷ Om dessa familjer i Landskrona och Malmö, se även Dalhede (2006), *Viner, Kvinnor, Kapital*, s.150ff, 169, 172-175; Dalhede (2006), *Varor & Familjer, Lübeck & Göteborg*, kapitel II. *Familjer, Valck*.

accumulated and handed over to the next generation to give them a good start in life. The combination of good marriages and the merchant competences each new generation brought to the firms assured long-term continuity of merchant capital growth. Merchant competence was inherited along the line of a social lattice-work web (flätverk). Continuity was seen in the trading activities of the Möller and Valck families. The form of the firms and the name may have varied, the business (företagandet) itself however, continued from generation to generation. The same pattern was found in their geographical contact nets and international relations; these too were transformed within social lattice-work webs. The CD-Rom *Varor & Familjer, Lübeck & Göteborg* gives a spectrum of the goods and products for the two merchants, the merchant's family trees for three generations and all of the international relations encountered in the merchant trading books in Lübeck and in Gothenburg.

The Gothenburg and its market did profit from these foreign merchant families, with their merchant competence and admittance to the capital market, their mostly mixed-European origin and socio-economic lattice-work webs, the international and national orientation of their geographical contact nets and their relations, as well as their cultural orientation.

Conclusion

The paper suggests a closer look into the social, economic and cultural background of the Early Modern merchant families, which was of fundamental interest and relevance for the knowledge of merchant settlements as intermediaries for European influences. When it is possible, the whole family background of both parents and both grandparents must be looked upon, as well as the merchant tradition in the families, in order to perceive, how the relations were distributed. Then we can also better understand why certain merchant settlements could function as intermediaries for European influences and why certain business connections were spread, for example over the Baltic North in Early Modern Time. A certain degree of path dependency then can be traced.

The paper also suggests the constructing of *A Comparative Merchant Family Database*, taking into consideration such factors as family background, geographical contact nets, international relations, trading goods, trading capital and credit markets. Starting with groups of merchant families in Swedish cities in the 17th and 18th Century, and complemented with merchant books, inventories after dead people and church records, the Tolagsjournaler then could be of vital interest. That is while they give a spectrum of which inhabitants in the city and which skippers, were involved as intermediaries in the over sea trade from and to the coastal regions in Sweden, harbours in other parts of the Baltic Sea

Region, and other harbours in- or outside Europe. When merchant books and letters have survived, we can reconstruct a database of acting merchant settlements in certain cities (towns), their intermediating role in different types of European influences and the extent of their European credit market. Their role as cultural carriers and cultural intermediaries, for example, could then be reconstructed through a combination of the private inventories after deceased persons with the surviving Tolagsjournals and merchant books.

In this paper certain questions have been raised, illustrated and discussed to a certain extent: Which role did merchant families play in Early Modern merchant settlements in coastal regions and to what extent were merchant families foreign intermediaries in Swedish cities (towns). Other questions were: Did such foreign intermediating families have an European impact in these settlements? If so, is it possible to distinguish between different types of influences? How did, for example, the Gothenburg market develop in the 17th Century when migrants settled down and brought their families, international relations and lattice-work webs to the city?

Of course, the whole answer to these questions never can be given. A broader discussion you can find in my books about the merchant families. But I hope that the results can contribute to the discussion, in order to bring certain economic, social and cultural aspects into the discussion about *Merchant Settlements as Intermediaries for European Influences in the Baltic North 1650–1850, or elsewhere*.