

The Baltic Region in the World Economy

Michael North

Introduction

From prehistoric times the Baltic region witnesses a closely connected settlement of different ethnic and linguistic communities, for example of Germanic, Slavonic, Baltic or Finno-Ugrian origin. These communities/societies developed during the Middle Ages and the Modern Era into nations and states. In several cases (Finland and the Baltic Countries) state building took place only in the 20th century. Moreover, due to the changing domination exerted by different powers over the Baltic Sea, the political pertinence of the coastal areas shifted many times. Therefore, for many people the history of the Baltic seems to be a history of warfare and struggle for dominion: between Poland and the Teutonic Order, between Denmark, Sweden and Poland; between Russia and Sweden etc. Those struggles and tensions coined long (up to now) lasting stereotypes. These stereotypes were – or still are – so effective in blocking the view on the Baltic region as an area of intense trade/commerce and cultural exchange. Here intensified communication by trade, shipping, and migration stimulated processes of economic integration and cultural transformation that counteracted political development. Thus the integration into the emerging “World Economy” stimulated the spread of supra-national cultures in the Baltic region and further West/elsewhere. One example is the late medieval Hanseatic culture; another 16th- and 17th-century Netherlandisation.

The Hanse – An European Trading System

Hanseatic trade ran on an East-West line Novgorod-Reval-Riga-Visby-Danzig-Stralund-Lübeck-Hamburg-Bruges-London and had as its basis the exchange of food and raw materials from Northern and Eastern Europe with manufactured goods from Northwest Europe. The merchants went beyond this simple East-West exchange in that, on the one hand, they marketed their own Hanseatic industrial products and, on the other, they traded south, deep into the hinterland. Eastward, they succeeded in reaching Cracow in the copper mining area of northern Hungary (Slovakia) and tapped into the Black Sea trade via Lemberg. Which areas individual traders sought out was dependent on supply and demand. The range of goods was vast and covered both bulk supplies of everyday goods for consumers and industry as well as luxury goods for a small group of wealthy customers. The most import goods handled by the Hanse were: wool and linen cloth, furs and skins, herring and stockfish, salt, wax, grain, flax and hemp, wood and timer products (as, pitch and tar), beer and wine. Of these,

furs, wax, grain, flax, wood and beer traveled westward while cloth, salt, wine in addition to metal goods, spices and other luxury goods went in an easterly direction. Fish was sold everywhere in the Hanse area. Let us now consider the Hanseatic trading and producing areas individually. In the East, there were two interconnected economic areas, one being the Russian area with Novgorod, the center of the fur trade, and the other being the Livonian towns of Reval, Dorpat and Riga with the Duna valley, whose main products were flax and hemp. There was demand throughout Europe for furs, from cheap squirrel to luxurious sable, and for wax for lighting. Equally, there was demand for hemp for rope and flax for sailcloth in every Hanseatic harbor. Exports to the East were principally Flemish cloth and Atlantic sea salt. There was a third trading area to the south of Livonia which was controlled by the Teutonic Order and the Prussian cities of Danzig, Elbing and Torun. Goods from the Polish and Lithuanian hinterland were transported to Hanse markets via the Neman and the Vistula.¹ Lithuania supplied wax, furs, wood and flax, while Poland's main exports were grain, timber and timber products. Timber was required by the shipbuilding industry for masts and planks, by the herring fishers, the brewers and the salt boilers for barrels, while countless different industries needed pitch, ash and tar.

The most important commodity handled by the Prussian Hanse merchants was grain, which provided food for a large part of the population of the urban areas of Western Europe. Amber, which came from the Baltic coasts, must not be forgotten in the luxury goods class; the Teutonic Order had a monopoly in trading in amber, and they exported it to Lübeck and Bruges where craftsmen made it into valuable rosaries and the like. The most important Prussian imports were salt, herring and cloth. In the West Baltic region, Sweden supplied iron, copper, butter, cattle and calfskin, though it was overshadowed by Denmark in all but metal supplies, as Denmark had acquired great importance as a horse, oxen and butter exporter starting in the fifteenth century. Until this time, trade with Denmark had centered on the Skåne herring, the shoals of which were sometimes so thick that you could catch herring with your bare hands. A decrease in the abundance of the herring shoals in the North Sea in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries meant a decline in the Skåne fishing industry in favor of the Dutch. The other big fish supplier, Norway (which also belonged to Denmark) was more or less dependent on Hanseatic imports.

The Hanse merchants sold grain, flour, beer, malt, hops, salt and sailcloth and exported fish primarily, but also small quantities of train oil, walrus tusks, skins and so on. When tastes changed towards the end of the fifteenth century and people began to show a preference for

the Icelandic dried cod, trade with Norway dwindled in importance. Trade with England, which had originally been the province of Hanse merchants from the Rhineland and Westphalia, continued to be important. Goods imported into England included Rhine wines, metals and the pigments madder and woad, while exports were of English wool for the weavers of Flanders and Brabant and later of English cloth. The Baltic Hanse towns paid for this in typical Baltic goods – furs, wax, grain and wood, with fish and metals from Scandinavia. The Netherlands was without doubt most important market in Western Europe. Flanders, and later Brabant, were not only the most important producers of cloth, they also provided a link with Mediterranean trade. The main purchase made by Hanse merchants in the markets of Flanders and Brabant was woolen cloth of both first and second quality and Bruges breeches; but they also obtained spices, figs and raisins from Southern Europe and oil and wine from France in addition to so-called 'Bayonne' salt. This sea salt was refined in Bourgneuf and Brouage and was preferred over Lüneburg salt for preserving herring because it was cheaper. From this time on, Prussian and, in particular, Dutch ships would make the Bayonne trip, sail to the Baltic with salt as ballast and return to the West with grain and wood. A Hanseatic presence in Southern Europe – apart from a foothold in the Bordeaux wine trade – was sporadic, apart from the Venetian adventure of the Veckinchusen merchant family at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the sixteenth century grain supplies. We must not overlook the products of German industry among the long distance trade goods, as these played an important role in both foreign and domestic trade. Exports from West to East included: non-ferrous metals from Aachen, Rhine wine, tools from the Mark, the Bergischen Land and the Siegerland, Westphalian cloth and linen, brass from Braunschweig, Lüneburg salt, beer from Hamburg and much more.

The growth of Hanseatic trade, however was limited by the shipping tonnage, the Hanseatic cities were able to supply. That is why, the Prussian Hanseatic towns, such as Danzig, Elbing and Königsberg had to make recourse to Dutch shipping services. Due to their shipping capacities and to the lower running costs, Dutch shippers were able to offer merchants and producers at home and in the Baltic the lowest freight rates. Thus by the second half of the 16th century the Dutch had ousted the Hanseatic cities from their role in western trade by concentrating on transporting grain, timber, herring and salt quickly and cheaply.²³⁴

Table 1
Danzig's Shipping Traffic (Number of Ships) 1460-1583

Port/Country of departure	1460 Arrival	1475/76 Arrival	1530 Departure	1583 Arrival	1583 Departure
Netherlands	11	160	235	1070	1045
German North Sea Coast	2	-	1	234	231
Hamburg	-	2	13	30	28
Denmark	2	5	34	107	87
Schleswig-Holstein	7	6	2	142	125
Sweden	97	96	35	81	77
Lübeck	59	168	24	63	57
Baltic Sea Coast	50	106	79	199	172
Prussia	-	2	169	148	141
Livonia	30	25	9	43	43
Others	5	96	53	103	93
Total	263	666	654	2220	2099

For example in the 1580s about half of Danzig's imports and exports were transported on Dutch ships, and the Dutch share of the Baltic trade was expected to increase still further to encompass 60-70 % of the goods transferred.

Integration in the World Economy

From the 16th century the Baltic trade concentrated on an exchange of bulk goods. While grain and timber were exported from the East, herring and cloth were the principal import commodities into the Baltic area.

As the English ambassador George Downing put it in 1661: „The herring trade [of the Dutch] is the cause of the salt trade, and the herring and salt trade are the causes of this country's having, in a manner, wholly engrossed the trade of the Baltic Sea for they have these bulky goods to load their ships with thither” Although Downing overestimated the herring trade, his assumption that salt and herring tons were increasingly used as ballast by Dutch ships entering the Baltic is correct for the 17th century.⁵

Grain was always the principal commodity exported from the Baltic littoral to the towns of Western Europe. This grain trade fed part of Dutch population, thus freeing Dutch agriculture to engage and specialize in the more profitable sectors of live-stock husbandry, dairy farming and the cultivation of industrial crops. Baltic grain also made Amsterdam into an international entrepôt, the warehouse of the world, as the Baltic trade enabled Dutch merchants and ship-

pers to secure a foothold in other trading areas. By the end of 16th century, the Dutch succeeded in using their hegemony in the Baltic grain trade to intensify their commerce with Southern Europe, especially when the harvests failed in Western and Southern Europe. So the Dutch were justified in viewing the Baltic trade as the “Mother Trade” (moedercommercie). For landowners in Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Poland, Prussia, and Livonia, the growing trade in Baltic grain and expanding Dutch shipping services opened up a much broader European market. Thus the increasing demand from Western and Southern Europe greatly influenced the economic and social conditions of agrarian production in the Baltic hinterlands: in particular the expansion of manorial economy and corvée labour and consequently a growing enserfment of the peasants.

Dutch dominance in Baltic trade and shipping was not again challenged until the second half of 18th century, when the English trade with the eastern Baltic began to boom. During the 17th century more than half of all Baltic goods were brought to England on Dutch ships. The volume of the Baltic trade itself, especially the grain trade, enjoyed an expansion in the late 16th and early 17th century, but then a decline during the later 17th and the early 18th century. From the 1720s, trade once more expanded, contracted in the 1740s and 1750s, and recovered and increased again from the 1760s. This ear of commercial decline has attracted the attention of several historians. In Joop Faber’s view the decline in Dutch grain trade was due to both an expansion in Western and Southern European cereal production and a fall in demand, with a declining population in the West.⁶ However, other internal Baltic factors also affected Baltic grain supply. Among the most important were the widespread devastation caused by the Swedish-Polish wars, sinking agrarian productivity from the 17th-century crisis of the manorial economy, and possibly also growth in domestic demand in the Baltic coastal areas.⁷

The second most important component of the Baltic trades was timber and timber by-products, such as potash, pitch and tar. The development of timber exports and those of timber by-products followed roughly the trend of the grain trade. Rising from the late 16th century, these exports reached a peak in the 1630s and 1640s, declining afterwards. However, timber exports then recovered during the last quarter of the 17th century and continued to grow, while exports of ashes remained on a lower level. With respect to supply, changes took place among the Baltic ports and hinterlands. During this entire era, Danzig remained the major supplier of grain and timber, though rivalled from time to time by Königsberg (timber), Riga (timber, flax, hemp), Narva (timber), Sweden (tar), and Finland (tar).⁸

Despite considerable short-term fluctuations, Baltic trade showed long-term stability over these centuries. That is why in the 18th century, when Dutch industrial production and the herring fisheries declined, Dutch Baltic trade still maintained a stable level and then enjoyed slight growth, even though the terms of trade had worsened. Thus the Baltic trades contributed to the stability of the Dutch economy in a period when the English economy had significant growth rates and dominated Baltic shipping in the second half of the 18th-century.⁹

The Baltic Region in Comparison with other Circuits of World Trade

To evaluate the importance of the Baltic trade for the Dutch and English economies, the two leading world economies, we have to reconstruct Dutch and English foreign trade. Using the English import statistics, we gain approximate evidence on the development of the different trades. While the total value of imports as well as all regional trades showed significant growth rates, the Atlantic trade (rising from 1.21 millions to 8.94 millions) was the most dynamic. The share of Atlantic imports in total British imports increased from 27.7 % to 43.8 %. Asian imports were relatively small (10 %) at the beginning, but increased to 21 % at the end of the 18th century. Thus they remained below the Northern and Baltic Sea trades that had constituted the most important component of British imports (40 %), but decreased throughout the century. Thereby losses in the relative importance of the North Sea had been compensated by a booming Baltic trade (which increased fivefold compared with the fourfold growth of total British imports).

Table 2

Sources of English imports, 1701-1800 in million Pound (official values of constant prices in 1696)¹⁰

	Asia (East Indies)	Medi- terra- nean Sea	Northern and Baltic Sea			Atlantic			
			Total	Northern Europe	Scandina- via/Baltic Countries	Total	West Indies	Ame- rica	Ire- land
1701-1710	0.48	0.93	1.75	1.22	0.53	1.21	0.64	0.28	0.29
1711-1720	0.74	1.35	1.65	1.12	0.53	1.71	0.93	0.41	0.36
1721-1730	0.96	1.56	2.05	1.39	0.66	2.16	1.27	0.56	0.33
1731-1740	0.97	1.55	2.24	1.46	0.79	2.45	1.40	0.67	0.38
1741-1750	0.98	1.29	2.14	1.28	0.87	2.68	1.32	0.76	0.61
1751-1760	1.05	1.51	2.23	1.15	1.09	3.41	1.82	0.86	0.73
1761-1770	1.48	1.41	2.63	1.29	1.35	4.95	2.79	1.13	1.03
1771-1780	1.53	1.61	3.06	1.40	1.65	5.30	3.01	0.87	1.42
1781-1790	2.67	1.77	3.60	1.55	2.05	5.85	3.27	0.83	1.74
1791-1800	4.43	2.05	5.00	2.11	2.89	8.94	5.06	1.57	2.32

These developments of British trade is reflected in the distribution of British shipping, whereby the North Sea and Baltic region dominated all other circuits of trade, even the Atlantic, since the Baltic bulk trade required more shipping tonnage than the Atlantic trade.

Table 3

Distribution of English shipping between the Major Circuits of World Trade in 1663, 1683 and 1771-1773 (in 1000 tons; percentage shown in italics)¹¹

	Asia (East Indies)	Mediterranean Sea	Northern Sea and Baltic Sea			Atlantic Total
			Total	Northern Europe	Scandinavia/ Baltic Countries	
1663	8	30	52	39	13	36
<i>in %</i>	<i>6,3 %</i>	<i>23,8 %</i>	<i>41,2 %</i>	<i>30,9 %</i>	<i>10,3 %</i>	<i>28,7 %</i>
1683	12	39	69	41	28	70
<i>in %</i>	<i>6,3 %</i>	<i>20,5 %</i>	<i>36,3 %</i>	<i>21,6 %</i>	<i>14,7 %</i>	<i>36,9 %</i>
1771-73	29	27	166	92	74	153
<i>in %</i>	<i>7,7 %</i>	<i>7,2 %</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>24,5 %</i>	<i>19,7 %</i>	<i>40,8 %</i>

Table 4

Reconstruction of Dutch Imports in the 1770s (millions of guilders)¹²

Imports from	Worth in millions of guilders per year	Part of the total import in %
Southern Netherlands and Germany	10	7,0
Northern Europe	22	15,3
<i>Baltic</i>	<i>17</i>	
<i>Other</i>	<i>5</i>	
Great Britain	20	14,0
Colonial re-exports	5	3,50
France	5	3,50
Colonial re-exports	20	14,0
Iberia	16	11,2
Mediterranean	7	4,9
Western Hemisphere	18	12,6
Asia	20	14,0
Total	143	100

The picture of the Dutch foreign trade in the 1770s is comparable. The Baltic area ranks with goods of 17 Millions of Guilders just behind Britain (20 Mill.), Asia (20 Mill.), French Colonial Re-exports (20 Mill.) and the Atlantic Circuit (18 Mill.). Hundred years earlier the volume of Dutch imports was comparable. However, the composition differed. Then the Dutch entrepot was dominated by Baltic grain and timber, western, salt and wine and the products of the domestic economy, such as woolens, herring, ships. During the 18th century the imports of colonial goods and re-exports rose substantially. Thus the emphasis shifted to the Caribbean and to Asia, and in domestic industries to tobacco processing, sugar refining, and cotton

printing gained strength. Due to this shift in industrial production the Netherlands – unlike England – did not participate to a large extent in the rising trades in Norwegian timber and Baltic industrial raw materials.¹³

Bullion Transfer

The Expansion of Dutch trade in the Baltic and other parts/regions of the world consumed a considerable amount of New World precious metals. Exports from the Baltic markets and from Asia exceeded by far the volume of imports from Western Europe, causing large deficits in Europe's balance of payments with the East. American precious metals which arrived via Cadiz or Lisbon at the commercial centres of Western Europe were shipped to the deficitous Eastern markets. To get a rough impression of the annual volume of bullion transferred from Western Europe to the East we have to rely on contemporary estimates and present calculations.

Very valuable is a memorandum on the export of precious metals submitted to the States-General by Dutch mint masters in 1683. Therein the mint masters calculate an annual bullion import from Spain of 15 to 18 million guilders and an export of precious metals as shown in table 5.

Table 5
Transfers of precious metals from the Dutch republic (1683)¹⁴

The East Indies	Ca. 2 mill. guilders	0.8 mill. rix-dollars
Russia	Ca. 2 mill. guilders	0.8 mill. rix-dollars
Poland, Danzig		
Königsberg		
Memel etc.	Ca. 1 mill. guilders	0.4 mill. rix-dollars
Germany	Ca. 1 mill. guilders	0.4 mill. rix-dollars
Smyrna, Levante	Ca. 2 mill. guilders	0.8 mill. rix-dollars
France	Ca. 3 mill. guilders	1.2 mill. rix-dollars
England	Ca. 2 mill. guilders	0.8 mill. rix-dollars
Total	ca. 13 mill. guilders	5.2 mill. rix-dollars

Most valuable are the estimates by Artur Attman as they reflect the development of European bullion exports over a period of 150 years. Whilst the bullion influx into the Baltic countries remained fairly constant during 150 years, growing exports of precious metals into Asia reflect the dynamic development of the Asian trade.

Unfortunately we have not evidence of the distribution of bullion influx in the different Baltic trade areas. We know, however that during the expansion of the English-Russian trade in the

18th century St. Petersburg and Riga realized the biggest surpluses and consumed most of the Bullion shipped to the Baltic. The deficits in England's Russian trade were paid by Dutch coins or bills of exchange drawn on Amsterdam, bills that could be used as cash in the Baltic ports and were payable in Amsterdam from where the money was sent to the Baltic.¹⁵

Tabelle 6¹⁶

Dutch Bullion Exports from Europe to the East 1600-1750 (in millions of rix-dollars per year)

	1600	1650	1700	1750
Baltic/Russia	2	2,5	2	2
Levant	0,6	0,8	1	1,5
Asia	0,3	0,4	2	3
Total	2,9	3,7	5	6,5

Baltic Trade and Manorial Economy

Above we mentioned the great influence of the Baltic grain trade on the economic and social conditions of agrarian production in the Baltic hinterlands. We accordingly focus on the expansion of the manorial economy (Gutswirtschaft) in the early modern era. During the 15th and 16th centuries noblemen, and ecclesiastical, ducal and royal demesnes all over the Baltic littoral took deserted village lands (Wüstungen) into direct cultivation, establishing demesne farms (Vorwerke). Stimulated by rising prices for agrarian products during the 16th century, demesne farming also expanded at the expense of common pasture lands. Sometimes the village mayor (Schulze), who had traditionally maintain a large holding, was bought out. With this expansion, there developed the obligation of corvée labour by the peasantry, which provided the basic labour supply for production on the demesne farms. To maintain this cheap labour supply, the landed nobility were enforcing a hereditary serfdom (Erbuntertänigkeit, Leibeigenschaft), in Ducal Prussia and Holstein as early as in the second half of the 16th century, in Schleswig during the 17th century. Peasants were no longer allowed to leave their holdings without the lord's permission. The majority did not regain their personal freedom before the agrarian reform of 1805 in Schleswig-Holstein and the Stein-Hardenberg Reforms of 1807 in Prussia.

The 16th-century expansion of the manorial economy was followed by a depression in the 17th and recovery in the 18th century. Both developments depended on the long-term grain price trend and affected the economic and social situation of the peasantry. The manorial economy, however, developed very differently in the various regions of the Baltic hinterlands, because of soil conditions, climatic variations, the distance of the markets, the availability of

labour and the opportunities for earning an income from other kinds of farming, such as cattle-breeding, brewing, fishing and forestry. Moreover, there were noblemen who lived exclusively on rents, in money and/or kind, from their tenants. In general the manorial economy was not a monolithic system of feudal grain production, based exclusively on corvée labour, as so many Marxist historians have contended. That is why we see not only the existence of wage labour in East Elbian agriculture but also changes in the form of feudal rents during these centuries. For example, during the 17th-century depression royal and ducal demesnes reduces their arable acreage and thus the quantity of peasant corvée labour, the demesnes extended their wage labour sector. The noble landowners, however, tried to counteract the crisis by reducing production costs and therefore raised corvée obligations, thus worsening the situation of the peasants.

That is why it was political and fiscal pressure that led to the 18th-century reforms and to the reduction and abolition of corvée labour on royal and ducal demesnes. Demesne reforms were successful only in monarchical states as Denmark or Prussia, while in Mecklenburg, Swedish Pomerania or the Polish Republic of Nobles, the political and economic dominances of nobles (in the estates) hampered any reform attempts by the government.¹⁷

Cultural Transfers

The Baltic trade stimulated cultural transfers in the Baltic Area such as the emergence of supra-national cultures as 17th-century Netherlandisation along the Baltic coast and the Baltic hinterlands. This occurred within the framework of shipping, trade and migration and contributed to a transfer of knowledge, technology and culture (art, science and life-styles).¹⁸ Among Western European immigrants to the Baltic we may distinguish four groups: peasants, craftsmen, merchants and artists. While Dutch Mennonite colonists, skilled in land improvement, were settled by landowners in the fertile marshlands of Royal Prussia, Calvinist cloth makers emigrated from the Southern Netherlands into the Baltic, revolutionizing the cloth industries of Königsberg and Danzig. Dutch immigrants innovated silk weaving and embroidery in Danzig. Most important were the communities of foreign merchants, who settled in harbour towns. In this family ties were the key: usually a son or a younger brother was sent from Amsterdam to Danzig to establish his residence there and to manage the family business as a resident or a citizen of Danzig. Other merchants maintained their trade relations with the help of Dutch factors residing in Danzig. Their number rose from 40-50 in the mid-seventeenth-century to 75 in the second half of the century. Besides the Dutch, we also observe English and Scottish merchants settling in towns and cities. Most of the Scottish immigrants to the

Baltic were pedlars, who travelled through Pomerania, Ducal Prussia and Poland as hawkers, selling cloth, metal, tools, salt and other imported goods in the country and at fairs. The last and perhaps most interesting group of Western European immigrants to the Baltic were artisans and artists. To the Baltic cities came fayenciers, introducing the manufacture of delftware, furniture carpenters, embellishing bourgeois and noble houses with dernier cri furniture, and tapestry weavers from the Southern Netherlands. Moreover, architects, such as Antoni van Obberghen, painters, such as Jan Vredeman de Vries, and engravers, such as Willem Hondius, settled in Danzig and received public and private commissions.¹⁹

The visual arts, especially painting and architecture, were a crucial medium of cultural exchange. The relations were almost one way, whether coming from the „Flemish“ art of the sixteenth century or the Dutch in the seventeenth. The effect of the art of the Low Countries on the Baltic region can be traced in three ways: the export of styles, of paintings and of painters. However research has not been carried out very systematically. We witness paintings by Dutch artists or in Dutch style in Royal, noble, municipal and even bourgeois collections. The Dutch Republic served as a model not only in economy and technology but also for modern institutions such as orphanages, prisons, hospitals, arsenals and social housing. How attractive Dutch life-style was in the Baltic region, is difficult to discern. Many Gdansk burghers dressed themselves according Dutch fashions and shaped their household furniture after the model of Dutch interiors (collection and decorating their houses with history landscape and still-life paintings and with maps). However there remain significant differences compared with the “Original”. And there regional factors and identities play a role; crucial were the small extent of urbanisation in the Baltic region on the one hand and the competition between Dutch bourgeois life-style patterns and those of the landed aristocracy on the other. In the late 17th- and early 18th- centuries the aristocracy, however, found it increasingly fashionable to collect paintings and to create cabinets of Dutch art.²⁰

Summarising our previous results we can state that the Baltic trade in the global world of the 17th century influenced various fields of economy, society and culture and may thereby serve as a model for further research on different areas of the world.

¹ Dollinger, Philipp (1989⁴): Die Hanse, Stuttgart: 275-340. Bracker, Jörgen/Henn, Volker/Postel, Rainer, Hg. (1998²): Die Hanse. Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos. Lübeck. Samsonowicz, Henryk (1993): Die Handelsstraße

Ostsee-Schwarzes Meer im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert. In: *Der hansische Sonderweg?, Beiträge zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Hanse*, Hg. Stuart Jenks/Michael North. Köln/Weimar/Wien: 23-30.

² Jenks, Stuart (1992): *England, die Hanse und Preußen. Handel und Diplomatie, 1377-1474*, Bde. 1-3. Köln. Fudge, J. D. (1995): *Cargoes, Embargoes and Emissaries. The Commercial and Political Interaction of England and the German Hanse 1450-1510*. Toronto.

³ Blockmans, Wim P. (1993): *Der holländische Durchbruch in der Ostsee*. In: *Der hansische Sonderweg? Beiträge zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Hanse*. Hg. Stuart Jenks/Michael North. Köln/Weimar/Wien: 49-58. Hoppenbrouwers, Peter/van Zanden, Jan Luiten, Hg. (2001), *Peasants into farmers? The Transformation of Rural Economy and Society in the Low Countries (Middle Ages-19th Century) in Light of the Brenner Debate*. Turnhout 2001.

⁴ Seifert, Dieter (1997): *Kompagnons und Konkurrenten. Holland und die Hanse im späten Mittelalter*. Köln/Weimar/Wien. Schildhauer, Johannes (1968): *Zur Verlagerung des See- und Handelsverkehrs im nordeuropäischen Raum während des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Eine Untersuchung auf der Grundlage der Danziger Pfahlkammerbücher*. In: *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4 (1968): 187-211.

⁵ Die Literatur zum frühneuzeitlichen Ostseehandel ist fast unübersehbar. Den besten Überblick bilden folgende Sammelbände: *The Interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic Region, 1400-1800*. Leiden 1983. Heeres, W. G./ u.a., Hg. (1988): *From Dunkirk to Danzig. Shipping and Trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350-1850*. Hilversum. Lemmink, Jacques P. S./van Koningsbrugge, J. S. A. M., Hg. (1990): *Baltic Affairs. Relations between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe 1500-1800*. Nijmegen 1990. North, Michael (1996): *From the North Sea to the Baltic. Essays in Commercial, Monetary and Agrarian History, 1500-1800*. Aldershot *Zum niederländischen Handel insgesamt siehe Israel Jonathan* (1989): *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*. Oxford.

⁶ J. A. Faber, *Het problem van de dalende graanaanvoer uit de Oostzeelanden in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw*, in *AAG-Bijdragen* 9 (1963), 3-27.

⁷ Ormrod, David (2003): *The Rise of Commercial Empires. England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770*. Cambridge: 232.

⁸ North, Michael (1996): *The Export of Timber and Timber by-products From the Baltic Region to Western Europe, 1575-1775*. In: *From the North Sea to the Baltic. Essays in Commercial, Monetary and Agrarian History, 1500-1800*. Hg. Ders., Aldershot: 1-14.

⁹ Faber, J. A. (1988): *Structural Changes in the European Economy during the Eighteenth Century as Reflected in the Baltic Trade*. In: *From Dunkirk to Danzig, Shipping and Trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350-1850*, Hg. W. G. Heeres u.a. Hilversum: 83-94, here 89-91. Ormrod (2003): *Rise of Commercial Empires*, 284-287. Johansen, H. C. (1983), *Ships and Cargoes in the Traffic between the Baltic and Amsterdam in the Late Eighteenth Century*. In: *The Interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic Region, 1400-1800*. Leiden: 161-170. de Vries, Jan /van der Woude, Ad, Hg. (1997): *The First Modern Economy. Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815*. Cambridge: 493.

¹⁰ Tabelle aus: Schumpeter, E. B. (1960): *English Overseas Trade Statistics, 1697-1808*. London: Tabelle 6.

¹¹ Quelle: Davis, R. (1962): *Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. London: 17. Ormrod (2003): *Rise of Commercial Empires*, 61.

¹² Vries/Woude (1997): *The First Modern Economy*, 497.

¹³ Vries/Woude (1997): *The First Modern Economy*, 498-503.

¹⁴ Table from: North, Michael (1996): *Bullion Transfer from Western Europe to the Baltic and the Problem of Trade Balances, 1550-1750*. In: *From the North Sea to the Baltic. Essays in Commercial, Monetary and Agrarian History, 1500-1800*, Hg. Ders. Aldershot: 57-63, here 58.

¹⁵ Attman, *Dutch enterprise*, 45ff.

¹⁶ Attman, Artur (1986): *American Bullion in the European World Trade 1600-1800*. Göteborg: 80. North, Michael (1996): *Bullion Transfer from Western Europe to the Baltic and to Asia, 1550-1750*, In: *From the North Sea to the Baltic. Essays in Commercial, Monetary and Agrarian History, 1500-1800*. Hg. Ders. Aldershot: 185-195, here 188.

¹⁷ Zernack, Klaus (1983): *Der Ostseehandel der Frühen Neuzeit und seine sozialen und politischen Wirkungen*. In: *Schichtung und Entwicklung der Gesellschaft in Polen und Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Hg. Marian Biskup/Klaus Zernack. Wiesbaden: 1-20. Bogucka, Maria/Samsonowicz, Henryk (1987): *Struktury społeczne Gdańska w XV-XVII wieku na tle przemian w handlu bałtyckim*, in: *Studia nad gospodarką, społeczeństwem i rodziną w Europie późnofeudalnej*. Lublin: 139-151. Rusiński, Władisław (1977): *Kilka uwag o zróżnicowaniu struktury agrarnej w Europie środkowo-wschodniej w XVI-XVIII wieku*. In: *Roczniki dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych* 39 (1978): 16-18. Topolski, Jerzy (1977): *Gospodarka polska a europejska w XVI-XVIII wieku*. Poznań: 117f. Arnim, Volker (1957): *Krisen und Konjunkturen der Landwirtschaft in Schleswig-Holstein vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. Neumünster. North (1990): *Geldumlauf und Wirtschaftskonjunktur im südlichen Ostseeraum an der Wende zur Neuzeit (1440-1570)*. Sigmaringen. Wyczański, Andrzej (1961): *Tentative Estimate of Polish Rye Trade in the Sixteenth Century*. In: *Acta Poloniae Historica* 4 (1961): 119-32. Mielczarski, Stanisław (1972): *Rynek zbożowy na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII. Próba rejonizacji*. Gdańsk: 142-154. Wawrzyńczyk, Alina (1961): *Problem wysokości plonów w królewskich mazowieckich w drugiej połowie XVI i pierwszej ćwierci XVII w*. Warszawa: 47-50. North, Michael (1985): *Getreideanbau und Getreidehandel im Königlichen Preußen und im Herzogtum Preußen. Überlegungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen*

Produktion, Binnenmarkt und Weltmarkt im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. In: Zeitschrift für Ostforschung 34 (1985): 39-47, here 43f. Maćzak, Antoni (1962): *Gospodarstwo chłopskie na Żuławach Malborskich na początkach XVII wieku*. Warszawa. North (1982): *Amtswirtschaften*, 34-36. North (1999): *Die Entstehung der Gutswirtschaft im südlichen Ostseeraum*. In: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, Heft 1 (1999): 43-59.

¹⁸ M. North, *From the North Sea to the Baltic. Essays in Commercial, Monetary and Agrarian History, 1500-1800*, Aldershot 1996.

¹⁹ M. Bogucka, *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekielne od XVI do połowy XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1956. --, *Les relations entre la Pologne et les Pays-Bas (XVIe siècle, première moitié du XVIIe siècle)*. In: *Cahiers de Clío* 1984, No. 78-79, 14ff. --, *Die Kultur und Mentalität der Danziger Bürgerschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Economy and Culture in the Baltic 1650-1700*, S.-O. Lindquist (ed.), Visby 1989, 129ff. --, *Dutch Merchants' Activities in Gdańsk in the First Half of the seventeenth Century*. In: J. P. S. Lemmink, J. S. A. M. van Koningsbrugge (eds.), *Baltic Affairs: Relations between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe 1500-1800*, Nijmegen 1990, 19ff. K. Ciesielska, *Osadnictwo „olęderskie“ w Prusach Królewskich i na Kujawach w świetle kontraktów osadniczych*. In: *Studia i materiały do dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, II, Poznań 1958, 219 ff. Edmund Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, elblągu i na Żuławach wiślanych w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 1994.

²⁰ M. North (2006): *Die Niederlandisierung des Ostseeraumes*. In: *Nordosteuropa als Geschichtsregion*, Hg. Jörg Hackmann/Robert Schweitzer. Helsinki/Lübeck: 368-377. E. Kizik (2004): *Niederländische Einflüsse in Danzig, Polen und Litauen vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. In: *Land und Meer. Kultureller Austausch zwischen Westeuropa und dem Ostseeraum in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hg. Martin Krieger/Michael North, Köln/Weimar/Wien: 51-76. K. Ciesielska (1958): *Osadnictwo „olęderskie“ w Prusach Królewskich i na Kujawach w świetle kontraktów osadniczych*. In: *Studia i materiały do dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, 2 (1958): 219-256. H. Penner (1963): *Ansiedlung mennonitischer Niederländer im Weichselmündungsgebiet von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn der preußischen Zeit*. Weiherhof. E. Kizik (1994): *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach wiślanych w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*. Gdańsk. M. Bogucka (1956): *Gdańskie rzemiosło tekielne od XVI do połowy XVII wieku*. Wrocław. Gause, Firtz (1965): *Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg*, Bd. 1. Köln/Graz: 310ff. M. Bogucka (1983): *The Baltic and Amsterdam in the First Half of the 17th Century*. In: *The Interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic Region, 1400-1800*. Leiden: 55f. Dies. (1990): *Dutch Merchants' Activities in Gdansk in the First Half of the 17th Century*. In: *Baltic Affairs. Relations between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe 1500-1800*. Hg. Jacques Ph. S. Lemmink/J. S. A. M. van Koningsbrugge. Nijmegen: 22ff. Hillebrand, Almut (2007): *Danzig und die Kaufmannschaft ‚Großbritannischer Nation‘ – Rahmenbedingungen, Formen und Medien eines englischen Kulturtransfers im Ostseeraum des 18. Jahrhundert*. phil. Diss. an der Univ. Greifswald. Krieger, Martin/North, Michael, Hg. (2004): *Land und Meer. Kultureller Austausch zwischen Westeuropa und dem Ostseeraum in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Köln/Weimar/Wien.