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PAPERBACK
ORIGINAL

GLOBALIZED CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD, 1680-1860 PERIPHERIES

Edited by Jutta Wimmeler and Klaus Weber

PEOPLE, MARKETS, GOODS:
ECONOMIES AND SOCIETIES IN HISTORY

Volume 16

Globalized Peripheries

PEOPLE, MARKETS, GOODS:
ECONOMIES AND SOCIETIES IN HISTORY

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Globalized Peripheries

Central Europe and the Atlantic World, 1680–1860

Edited by

Jutta Wimmeler and Klaus Weber



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Abbreviations

ACEB	Admiralitäts- und Convoygeld- Einnahmebücher
AHPC	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz
ASG	Archivio di Stato di Genova
ASTS	Archivio di Stato di Trieste
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
CLRO	City of London Record Office
CRS	Cesarea Regia Suprema
DFG	Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation)
DK StAbt	Diplomatische Korrespondenz Staatenabteilung
ERC	European Research Council
FCA	Frowein Company Archive
FHKA	Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv
HHStA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Vienna)
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
HZW	Historisches Zentrum Wuppertal
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration (Washington, DC)
NARA II	National Archives and Records Administration II (College Park, Maryland)
NHK	Neue Hofkammer
ÖStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Vienna)
RAC	Royal African Company (in Chapter 3)
RAC	Russian America Company (in Chapter 5)
STRO	Sound Toll Registers Online
TNA	The National Archives (London)
UA	Unity Archives (Herrnhut)

I

Constructing Atlantic Peripheries: A Critical View of the Historiography

JUTTA WIMMLER AND KLAUS WEBER

As a field, Atlantic history developed primarily in Anglo-American academia and has consequently produced more information on certain Atlantic regions (and subjects) than on others. The early modern Atlantic World, with its flows of bullion, of free and unfree laborers, of colonial produce and of manufactures from Europe and Asia, with its mercantile networks and rent-seeking capital, has to date been described as a preserve almost entirely of the Western sea-powers. Central and Eastern Europe have been notably absent from the narrative, with few exceptions.¹ The reluctance of the historical profession in these very regions to engage with Atlantic history, and of 'Western' scholars to engage with these more eastern regions, has certainly contributed to this state of affairs. In 2009, when Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan published their still very readable critical appraisal of the field of Atlantic history, hardly anyone would have regarded Central and Eastern European history as an area of study for the Atlantic historian. In their introduction, they proclaimed that 'developments in Central and Eastern Europe ... may well be less tightly linked to those in the Atlantic and better approached through other perspectives'.² The notion that this part of Europe was not an integral part of the early modern Atlantic economy continues to be prominent in the field to this day.³

1 For example, R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, 2 vols (Princeton, 1959 and 1964).

2 P. D. Morgan and J. P. Greene, 'Introduction: The Present State of Atlantic History', *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*, ed. J. P. Greene and P. D. Morgan (Oxford, 2009), pp. 3–34, here p. 9.

3 For example, D. Armitage, 'The Atlantic Ocean', *Oceanic Histories*, ed. D. Armitage, A. Bashford and S. Sivasundaram (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 85–110; N. Canny and P. Morgan, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World 1450–1850* (Oxford, 2012).

This attitude is not just characteristic of Anglophone scholarship. Already in 1994, Hans-Heinrich Nolte proclaimed that German scholarship was too 'self-centered' to be occupied with such global narratives.⁴ In 2002, Sebastian Conrad remarked that German historiography had hardly been touched by globalization and showed a continuing tendency to write history from the perspective of the nation. This tendency, he continued, had in fact intensified after 1989.⁵ This is all the more curious, considering that contemporaries in past centuries were perfectly aware of Central and Eastern Europe's dense entanglements with the Atlantic World. For Abbé Raynal (1713–1796), editor of the *Histoire des deux Indes* (1770), it was evident that the maritime expansion not only stimulated the economies of European sea-powers, but that more continental territories like those of Prussia and even Russia were also closely involved.⁶ For the German historian Arnold H. L. Heeren (1760–1842), the history of Europe as a whole could only be understood against the background of its colonial dimension, as the title of his *Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems und seiner Colonien* (1809) illustrates. Approaches like that of Heeren – whose works were translated into various European languages shortly after publication – were forgotten in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁷ The tradition of *Universalgeschichte* that had also considered these global dimensions, and that was particularly strong in Germany, experienced a brief revival during the 1950s and 1960s, but was then discredited as too Eurocentric and teleological.⁸ At the same time, attempts at writing global

4 H.-H. Nolte, 'Zur Rezeption des Weltsystemkonzepts in Deutschland', *Comparativ* 5 (1994), pp. 91–100, here p. 92.

5 S. Conrad, 'Doppelte Marginalisierung: Plädoyer für eine transnationale Perspektive auf die deutsche Geschichte', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002), pp. 145–69, here p. 145.

6 G. T. Raynal, ed., *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des tablissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes* (Amsterdam, 1770), Vol. 2, Book 5. More examples of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century scholars who realized these connections are Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) and Samuel Buchholtz (1717–1774), as well as the writers Heinrich von Kleist (1777–1811) and Johann Heinrich Daniel Zschokke (1771–1848).

7 A. Hermann and L. Heeren, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems und seiner Colonien* (Göttingen, 1809). [English edition: *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies: From its Formation at the Close of the Fifteenth Century to its Re-establishment upon the Fall of Napoleon* (Oxford, 1834).] For a discussion of Heeren's approach, see G. T. Molin, 'Internationale Beziehungen als Gegenstand der deutschen Neuzeit-Historiographie seit dem 18. Jahrhundert: Eine Traditionskritik in Grundzügen und Beispielen', *Internationale Geschichte: Themen – Ergebnisse – Aussichten*, ed. W. Loth and J. Osterhammel (Munich/Oldenburger, 2000), pp. 3–30, here pp. 24ff.

8 See e.g. A. Landwehr, *Die anwesende Abwesenheit der Vergangenheit: Essay zur Geschichtstheorie* (Frankfurt, 2016), pp. 44f; W. Hardtwig and P. Müller, eds, *Die Vergangenheit der Weltgeschichte: Universalhistorisches Denken in Berlin 1800–1933* (Göttingen, 2010); M. Middell and K. Naumann, 'The Writing of World History in Europe from the Middle of the Nineteenth Century to the Present: Conceptual Renewal and Challenge to National Histories', *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing*, ed. M. Middell and L. Roura (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 54–139.

histories in the Soviet Bloc were either rejected for their ideological baggage or simply went unnoticed in Western scholarship. Examples are the works of the Polish historian Marian Małowist (1909–1988), the Czech Miroslav Hroch (*1932), or the Hungarian Zsigmond Pál Pach (1919–2001) in the 1960s and 1970s, each of whom also published in English and German.⁹ After the fall of the Iron Curtain, Central and Eastern Europe were occupied with very different historiographical problems that seemed much more pressing than an attempt at assessing the role of these regions in the early modern world-economy.

Increasing numbers of researchers (especially in Germany, Austria and Switzerland) now tackle the question as to how the territories of the Holy Roman Empire (and beyond) engaged with Africa, America and Asia during the early modern period.¹⁰ Our own research project, ‘The Globalized Periphery: Atlantic Commerce, Socio-Economic and Cultural Change in Central Europe 1680–1850’, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) from 2015 to 2018, understood itself as a part of these broader efforts. The contributions to this volume originated with this project’s concluding conference, entitled ‘Globalized Peripheries: New Approaches to the Atlantic World 1680–1850’.

The chapters of this book look at the trading practices and networks of merchants established in Central and Eastern Europe, investigate commodity flows between these regions and the Atlantic World, and explore the production of export commodities, migration back and forth, and financial exchanges in this space. The book’s title – *Globalized Peripheries* – is intentionally provoking: the case studies presented here do not intend to introduce the new analytical category of the ‘globalized periphery’, to be distinguished from the

9 J. Batou and H. Szlajfer, eds, *Western Europe, Eastern Europe and World Development, 13th–18th Centuries: Collection of Essays of Marian Małowist* (Leiden, 2009); M. Hroch, ‘Die Rolle des zentraleuropäischen Handels im Ausgleich der Handelsbilanz zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa 1550–1650’, *Der Außenhandel Ostmitteleuropas 1450–1650*, ed. I. Bog (Cologne/Vienna, 1971), pp. 1–27; Zsigmond Pál Pach, ‘The East-Central European Aspect of the Overseas Discoveries and Colonization’, *The European Discovery of the World and its Economic Effects on Pre-Industrial Society, 1500–1800: Papers of the Tenth International Economic History Congress*, ed. H. Pohl (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 178–92.

10 See e.g. S. Lachenicht, ed., *Europeans Engaging the Atlantic: Knowledge and Trade 1500–1800* (Frankfurt/New York, 2014); F. Brahm and E. Rosenhaft, eds, *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850* (Woodbridge, 2016). A recent issue of the journal *Atlantic Studies* (No. 14/4, 2017) was entitled ‘German Entanglements in Transatlantic Slavery’; the ERC-funded project ‘The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and its Slaves’ at the University of Bremen is currently planning a publication. A research project directed by Roberto Zaugg (Zurich) entitled ‘Atlantic Italies: Economic and Cultural Entanglements (15th–19th Centuries)’ is being funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation from 2018 to 2022. For the encounter with Asia, see J. Osterhammel, *Unfabling the East: The Enlightenment’s Encounter with Asia* (Princeton, 2018); original German edition: *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1998).

‘non-globalized periphery’.¹¹ Instead, the book aims to show, on the basis of empirical findings, that the historiography of the Atlantic World has created a misleading image of apparent ‘centers’ and ‘peripheries’ of the early modern world-economy that should be called into question.

Central and Eastern Europe in Atlantic and global history

In 2014, Martin Aust and Julia Obertreis took the observation that Eastern Europe had been marginalized in global history as a starting point for their edited collection – which, however, focused on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, typically the subject of global history in German academia.¹² Indeed, introductions to global history (especially in the English language) do not usually refer to Central and Eastern Europe at all.¹³ Katja Naumann has pointed to the connection between the rise of world and global history and the neglect of Central and Eastern Europe in this context. The antidote to Eurocentric historiography was seen in increasing the study of non-European histories and cultures, which in turn led to a continued prominence of Western Europe in the narrative, while Central and Eastern Europe remained outside the field’s radar.¹⁴ Her plea is to integrate Eastern Europe into global history, by putting processes in this region in the relevant context and analyzing the nature of the global from this perspective (instead of moving the other way around and imposing the existing categories and narratives of global history on Eastern Europe).¹⁵ The same appeal can and should be made for Atlantic history: instead of simply writing Central and Eastern Europe into the existing narratives, we should investigate if and how regional developments had global dimensions, and how they in turn affected this global context.

Of course, the terms ‘Central Europe’ and ‘Eastern Europe’ are ambivalent, and they lack clear-cut boundaries. In one single book, Immanuel Wallerstein considered Bohemia and Silesia as parts of Central Europe in one instance, and

11 In Wallerstein’s understanding, a ‘non-globalized periphery’ is utterly impossible, because all peripheries are intertwined with the globalizing ‘core’.

12 M. Aust and J. Obertreis, ‘Einleitung’, *Osteuropäische Geschichte und Globalgeschichte*, ed. M. Aust and J. Obertreis (Stuttgart, 2014), pp. 7–23, here p. 8.

13 For example, M. Berg, ed., *Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the 21st Century* (Oxford, 2013). The tendency is somewhat different in transnational history, which often figures as a synonym for global history – as A.-C. Knudsen and K. Gram-Skjoldager have pointed out. This field, however, also has a stronger tradition in the writing of nineteenth- and twentieth-century history. A.-C. Knudsen and K. Gram-Skjoldager, ‘Historiography and Narration in Transnational History’, *Journal of Global History* 9 (2014), pp. 143–61, here p. 147.

14 K. Naumann, ‘Osteuropäische Geschichte und Globalgeschichte: Ein Kommentar’, *Osteuropäische Geschichte und Globalgeschichte*, ed. Aust and Obertreis, pp. 317–30, here pp. 319f.

15 Naumann, ‘Osteuropäische Geschichte’, p. 321.

as parts of Eastern Europe in another.¹⁶ As Marcin Moskalewicz and Wojciech Przybylski have recently pointed out, the ambivalence of the term ‘Central Europe’ stems from the fact that it not only connotes a geographic region, but an idea.¹⁷ This idea was initially connected to politics, dominance, and the Cold War divide. During the Cold War, ‘Eastern Europe’ was a term usually employed in the West to refer to the Soviet satellite states; but afterwards, this space was reconceptualized as ‘Central Europe’ (‘Mitteleuropa’), indicating a position between West and East. Today, many Germans and Austrians see themselves as ‘Central European’, but they may be perceived as ‘Western’ in Poland or Hungary (who see themselves as ‘Central’) – in turn perceived as ‘Eastern’ by their neighbors to the west.¹⁸ Then, of course, there is the curious term ‘East-Central Europe’ (‘Ostmitteleuropa’), which appeared in the 1980s and hardly makes the issue of definition easier.¹⁹ For our purposes, we can nicely circumvent the issue of definition: we roughly understand Central and Eastern Europe as those regions stretching from the German-speaking lands to the European provinces of the Russian Empire. What all of them have in common is that they have been neglected by the scholarship of European expansion, which has emphasized the maritime powers along Europe’s Atlantic shoreline.

This emphasis dates back to stereotypes of an Enlightenment that discursively constructed Eastern Europe as a ‘demi-orientalized Other’.²⁰ As described by Larry Wolff, this discourse turned Eastern Europe into a region between the Orient and the Occident and was firmly established by the nineteenth century. Wolff also pointed out that Immanuel Wallerstein’s construction of Eastern Europe as a periphery depending on the core region of his Modern World-System

16 I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System, Vol. 1: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York/London, 1974), pp. 94, 307.

17 M. Moskalewicz and W. Przybylski, ‘Making Sense of Central Europe: Political Concepts of the Region’, *Understanding Central Europe*, ed. M. Moskalewicz and W. Przybylski (New York, 2018), pp. 1–22, here p. 1.

18 See in detail L. R. Johnson, *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends* (Oxford/New York, 2002), pp. 6–9; T. Serrier, ‘Veröstlichung der Barbaren: Die symbolische Verwerfung des Anderen hinter Rhein und Oder im deutsch-französischen und deutsch-polnischen Kontext’, *Europa Vertikal: Zur Ost-West-Gliederung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. R. Aldenhoff-Hübinger, C. Gousseff and T. Serrier (Göttingen, 2016), pp. 102–20.

19 For the discussion of the terms in the historiography of the 1980s, see e.g. J. Szücs, *Die drei historischen Regionen Europas: Mit einem Vorwort von Fernand Braudel* (Frankfurt, 1994; Hungarian original published in 1983); A. Mczak, H. Samsonowicz and P. Burke, eds, *East-Central Europe in Transition: From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985); G. Dalos, I. Eörsi et al., *Die andere Hälfte Europas* (Berlin, 1985); K. Schlögel, *Die Mitte liegt ostwärts: Die Deutschen, der verlorene Osten und Mitteleuropa* (Berlin, 1986).

20 L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994), pp. 4ff. For a deeper analysis of this discourse’s legacy in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, see T. Zarycki, *Ideologies of Eastness in Central and Eastern Europe* (London/New York, 2014) (who, however, employs Wallerstein very uncritically alongside his discursive approach).

was a projection of this rather modern idea of Eastern Europe into earlier times. Scholars have criticized Wolff on similar grounds, pointing out that he superimposed the twentieth-century spatial concept of 'Eastern Europe' on to his eighteenth-century sources, which do not use the term at all.²¹ Arguably, the 'orientalization' of Europe's East only became possible after such a spatial concept had been developed. Until well into the eighteenth century, many of the regions we are concerned with in this book (notably the German lands east of the Elbe River, Poland and Russia, but also Scandinavia) were commonly conceptualized as the 'North'. Only after the Congress of Vienna (1815) did a vertical line – running roughly from Turku on the Eastern Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic Sea and separating East from West – replace previously dominant horizontal lines, partitioning Europe into 'North' and 'South' (or even using a tripartite model).²²

As scholars have highlighted, the idea of Eastern European backwardness was also taken over by the 'peripheralized' themselves, especially by intellectuals in the East.²³ Indeed, if one peruses library catalogues, one finds that the term 'periphery' overwhelmingly appears in the titles of books concerned with Central and Eastern Europe, followed by Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is thus probably not a coincidence, as Anna Veronika Wendland has noted, that the field of Eastern European history has dominated discussions about peripheries within Europe.²⁴ Even more interesting is the fact that large numbers of books carrying the term 'periphery' in their title do not define this term in any way – it is assumed that the status of these regions as 'peripheral' is a given.²⁵ This kind of 'self-peripheralization' is a phenomenon typically ascribed to formerly colonized peoples, and it has increasingly been reinterpreted as a source of agency for the colonized, who use their 'peripheral' status rhetorically to position themselves against a political 'center'. In a similar manner, scholars of Central and Eastern Europe are appropriating the label 'periphery' for the regions they are studying, sometimes reaffirming the accuracy of the label, but increasingly in order to challenge it.

21 F. B. Schenk, 'Lemberg and Wolff Revisited: Zur Entstehung und Struktur des Konzepts "Osteuropa" seit dem späten 18. Jahrhundert', *Europa Vertikal*, ed. Aldenhoff-Hübinger, Gousseff and Serrier, pp. 43–62, here p. 43.

22 Schenk, 'Lemberg and Wolff', p. 48.

23 See e.g. E. Haid, S. Weismann and B. Wöller, 'Einleitung', *Galizien: Peripherie der Moderne – Moderne der Peripherie?*, ed. E. Haid, S. Weismann and B. Wöller (Marburg, 2013), pp. 1–10, here p. 3.

24 See A. V. Wendland, 'Randgeschichten? Osteuropäische Perspektiven auf Kulturtransfer und Verflechtungsgeschichte', *Osteuropa* 58/3 (2008), pp. 95–116, here p. 100.

25 For example, I. T. Berend, *Central and Eastern Europe 1944–1993: Detour from the Periphery to the Periphery* (Cambridge, 1996); G. Hausmann, *Universität und städtische Gesellschaft in Odessa, 1865–1917: Soziale und nationale Selbstorganisation an der Peripherie des Zarenreiches* (Stuttgart, 1998); I. Röskau-Rydel, *Kultur an der Peripherie des Habsburger Reiches: Die Geschichte des Bildungswesens und der kulturellen Einrichtungen in Lemberg von 1772 bis 1848* (Wiesbaden, 1993).

While the case studies presented in this book are thus relevant for historiographies of East and Central Europe, they can also prove fruitful for the field of Atlantic history. For one thing, the question whether our understanding of Central and Eastern European history can benefit from a specifically Atlantic (instead of a global) perspective can have repercussions for the debate about the relationship between Atlantic history and global history.²⁶ Is Atlantic history a sensible perspective only for an analysis that focuses, in one way or another, on maritime powers whose institutional settings differentiated between Atlantic and Indian Ocean trade (notably through the East and West India Companies)? Do we then, as Morgan and Greene suggested, indeed need a different framework when studying (global) actors and trade flows in Silesia or Westphalia? Or does this have little to do with the region one is studying, but more with the topic? More importantly, the common equation of north-western European historical experience with the development of modernity is arguably a constitutive element of Atlantic history. This narrative was not just built on the ‘peripheralization’ of the African, American or Asian experience that has increasingly been called into question by Atlantic and global history, but also builds on the ‘backwardness-narrative’ employed not only for certain parts of Europe (including Central, Eastern and southern Europe), but also for rural regions in its west and north.²⁷ By challenging this narrative, the contributions in this book also challenge the fields of Atlantic and global history to rethink some of their foundations.

Beyond Wallerstein

Although we have seen that the peripheralization of Central and Eastern Europe dates back much longer, we cannot omit the impact of Immanuel Wallerstein’s concept of the Modern World-System on the definition of the term ‘periphery’, and especially on the identification of Central and Eastern Europe as ‘peripheries’ of his Modern World-System. Scholars have since identified this as one of the major empirical problems in the model: Wallerstein is inconsistent when it comes to identifying specific regions as core, periphery and semi-periphery, and his concept of the ‘strong state’ that allegedly characterizes core regions is ill defined.²⁸ Scholars often use the examples of Prussia and the Habsburg

26 For example, N. Canny, ‘Atlantic History and Global History’, *Atlantic History*, ed. Greene and Morgan, pp. 317–36.

27 For the place of Central and Eastern Europe within the ‘narrative of modernity’, see also C. Dejung and M. Lengwiler, ‘Einleitung’, *Ränder der Moderne: Neue Perspektiven auf die Europäische Geschichte (1800–1930)*, ed. C. Dejung and M. Lengwiler (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 2016), pp. 7–35, here pp. 18f, 21ff.

28 For a strong critique, see e.g. P. Imbusch, ‘Das moderne Weltsystem’: *Eine Kritik der Weltsystemtheorie Immanuel Wallersteins* (Marburg, 1990), pp. 51f.

monarchy to illustrate weaknesses in his concept.²⁹ Peter Imbusch has also pointed out that Wallerstein attributes peripheral status to all regions east of the Elbe River as a matter of fact, while it is entirely unclear to what category the regions west of the Elbe (amongst them many other German states) belong.³⁰ Charles Tilly coined his own set of categories, but in the outcome there is some overlap with Wallerstein's conclusions: Tilly saw Prussia (but also the interior provinces of Spain) as an example of the 'coercion-intensive' path of state-building, and Great Britain and the Netherlands as examples of the 'capital-intensive' path.³¹ This division of the German lands along the Elbe is a classic modern trope,³² and it ignores the economically important Prussian exclaves in Westphalia and in the Rhineland.

This is not the place to delve into an in-depth critique of Wallerstein's concept of the Modern World-System. Indeed, confirming or disproving this model (let alone the approach of world-systems analysis) is not the aim of the book. Instead, our point is this: Wallerstein of necessity draws on the existing historiographical narrative. He read the works available to him, both in terms of the languages he could read and in terms of access. Although the important Polish economic historian Marian Małowist figures as prominently in Wallerstein's reading as Fernand Braudel or Michel Morineau, his conclusions do not always conform to Małowist's more nuanced findings. As noted, such a lack of a proper inclusion of scholarship concerned with early modern Central and Eastern Europe into Wallerstein's model has been one of the major points of criticism since the 1970s.³³ Hermann Kellenbenz, for example, stressed the connection between Wallerstein's treatment of these regions and his failure to consider developments in metal (and linen) production, in which these regions played a major role.³⁴

Thereafter, the history of European expansion and of the transatlantic slave trade – in short, Atlantic and global history – continued to be dominated by a north-west European (and mostly a North Atlantic) perspective. In part, this also has to do with a lack of interest in these issues within proper Central and Eastern European scholarship. We have already mentioned the observations Hans-Heinrich Nolte and Sebastian Conrad made in 1994 and 2002 respectively.³⁵ Three years later, Matthias Middell could still make a similar

29 For example, Imbusch, 'Das moderne Weltsystem', pp. 54f.

30 See Imbusch, 'Das moderne Weltsystem', p. 65.

31 C. Tilly, *European Revolutions 1492–1992* (Cambridge, 1993).

32 See e.g. Aldenhoff-Hübinger et al., *Europa Vertikal*.

33 H. Kellenbenz, 'Review of Immanuel Wallerstein: The Modern World-System, Vol. 1', *Journal of Modern History* 48/4 (1976), pp. 685–92; H.-H. Nolte, 'The Position of Eastern Europe in the International System in Early Modern Times', *Review* 4/1 (1982), pp. 25–84; Nolte, 'Zur Rezeption des Weltsystemkonzepts'.

34 Kellenbenz, 'Review', p. 692.

35 Nolte, 'Zur Rezeption des Weltsystemkonzepts', p. 92; Conrad, 'Doppelte Marginalisierung'.

point when he diplomatically suggested that Central and Eastern European historiographies simply faced other problems after 1989, and thus focused on rediscovering national histories after the end of the Soviet Union and of the dogmatic Marxist historical narratives imposed on its satellites.³⁶

Researchers in Western Germany who had investigated proto-industries (notably Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick and Jürgen Schlumbohm) and who could have linked Central European metal and linen production with wider Atlantic regions were reluctant to apply spatial categories, because the German term 'Raum' had been thoroughly contaminated by Nazi ideology. Many of the more eastern regions had been prominent topics of 'Ostforschung', a strand of research established during the 1920s and further developed between 1933 and 1945 for a revisionist approach to the history of Germany's eastern borderlands. Hermann Aubin, one of its most prominent protagonists, his brother Gustav Aubin, and Arno Kunze had carried out pioneer studies on the cottage industries in these lands, but for Kriedte and his colleagues it was difficult to tie in with their work.³⁷ Considering these historiographical imbalances, we urge that more empirical work on the position of Central and Eastern Europe in the early modern world needs to be done.

If the 'self-centered' nature of Central and Eastern European history – its proclivity towards national history – is a consequence of its twentieth-century experiences, a similar conclusion may be drawn regarding Wallerstein's theories. It is not a stretch to understand his Modern World-System as a narrative intended for his own present: a narrative that sympathized with the suppressed people of his day and tried to advocate for them by explaining their position historically, simultaneously attacking modernization and development theories dominant at the time. Andreas Leutzsch has argued that Wallerstein's (as well as Braudel's) theories originated in a 'crisis of the center', and he emphasized the importance of Wallerstein's own experiences in Africa in the wake of decolonization for his understanding of the Modern World-System.³⁸ Others have pointed out that Wallerstein's categories of core, semi-periphery and periphery fulfill the same function as (and are essentially substitutes for) categories of

36 M. Middell, 'Universalgeschichte, Weltgeschichte, Globalgeschichte, Geschichte der Globalisierung – ein Streit um Worte?', *Globalisierung und Globalgeschichte*, ed. M. Grandner, D. Rothermund and W. Schwentker (Vienna, 2005), pp. 60–82, here p. 63.

37 P. Kriedte, H. Medick and J. Schlumbohm, *Industrialization before Industrialization: Rural Industry in the Genesis of Capitalism* (Cambridge/Paris, 1981); M. Raeff, 'Some Observations on the Work of Hermann Aubin', *Paths of Continuity: Central European Historiography from the 1930s to the 1950s*, ed. H. Lehmann and J. Van Hörn Melton (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 239–49; M. Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* (Cambridge/New York, 1988).

38 A. Leutzsch, *Geschichte der Globalisierung als globalisierte Geschichte: Die historische Konstruktion der Weltgesellschaft bei Rosenstock-Huussy und Braudel* (Frankfurt/New York, 2009), pp. 227f.

class: upper, middle and lower class.³⁹ Social stratification became spatial stratification in Wallerstein's model, which corresponds to a growing awareness of the forces of globalization, even before this category entered historiographical discourse in the early 1990s.

"‘Truth’ changes because society changes," wrote Wallerstein in the introduction to the first volume of *The Modern World-System*: 'everything is contemporaneous, even that which is past.'⁴⁰ Indeed, Wallerstein was very aware of his own position as a researcher, and conceded that his theories may prove insufficient in a future setting – a fact not often acknowledged in scholarship. We trust we are following in his spirit, when questioning his own narrative. And what is true for Wallerstein is also true for us. Most of us write from a continental European perspective that witnesses a continuing East-West (and North-South) divide within the European Union, where the North and West are imagined as 'advanced' and 'modern', while the South and East are considered 'underdeveloped' and sometimes even 'anti-modern'.⁴¹ The dominant historical narrative, we claim, legitimizes these notions and contributes to the idea of Western 'superiority' and 'development' over the backwardness of the East (in keeping with the narrative established during the Enlightenment). Central Europe – and Germany in particular – occupies an ambivalent position, both in the historical narrative and in the current socio-political landscape, with Germany having its own East-West divide that 'peripheralizes' those parts of the country previously forming the GDR.

This book may also be understood critically as taking part in a discursive shift that pushes the Other further to the east by extending the borders of Europe to include EU countries like Germany, Austria and Poland in the overall historical narrative of European modernity.⁴² While this is not our intention (and we would caution the reader against drawing such conclusions), this example illustrates why we maintain with Wallerstein that the past is indeed contemporaneous – our own time requires us to adjust our historical narratives and also influences the way we write history. That is not to say, however, that the historical narrative is a work of fiction. It just means that the questions we ask about the past – the things we consider 'relevant' – are influenced by the time in which we ask them.⁴³ By unearthing and interpreting previously ignored sources and questioning existing narratives, we want to exemplify what Achim

39 See e.g. Imbusch, 'Das moderne Weltsystem', pp. 64f; also acknowledged by Wallerstein in his paper, 'Hold the Tiller Firm: On Method and the Unit of Analysis', *The Essential Wallerstein* (New York, 2000), pp. 149–59.

40 Wallerstein, *Modern World-System*, Vol. 1, p. 9.

41 For the prevalence of these stereotypes among the bureaucrats of the European Union, see P. Lewicki, *EU-Space and the Euroclass: Modernity, Nationality and Lifestyle among Eurocrats in Brussels* (Bielefeld, 2017).

42 For this conceptual shift, see Moskalewicz and Przybylski, 'Making Sense', p. 4.

43 See also Landwehr, *Die anwesende Abwesenheit*, pp. 151ff.

Landwehr calls ‘forgotten histories’ – stories that could have been told but have previously not been found useful for the dominant narrative.⁴⁴ By changing perspective in this way, we intend not only to contribute to but also to challenge some assumptions about both the past and the present. Currently, scholars are discovering a great many such ‘forgotten histories’ – blind spots, if you will – in existing scholarship, and indeed quite a few mistakes. The scholars contributing to this book all identified one or the other such lacunae.

Periphery and dependence

In his book about the European Renaissance, Peter Burke explains his decision to use the subtitle ‘Centers and Peripheries’ in a way that approaches our understanding of the terms. The book, Burke explains, started with his intention to include peripheral regions in the narrative, acknowledging that the location of such peripheral regions always depends on time and context (e.g. the scientific discipline or the art style under discussion). The goal of such an approach is essentially to question our current narrative of the Renaissance; by including references to Sweden, Poland or Portugal, as well as to Asian or African art, we can come to a fuller understanding of styles that the cultural center would have classified as deviations from a presumed original or complete style. Consequently, Burke also urges us to consider where and how contemporaries located the cultural center in their own time, and which regions they perceived as being far removed from this cultural center.⁴⁵

While employing the terminology of hegemonic discourse to challenge that discourse certainly has merit, it also seems necessary to go beyond the use of the term ‘periphery’ as a *Kampfbegriff* with a postcolonial touch. In order to illustrate that the regions and peoples we are studying are not in fact ‘peripheral’ to the early modern world-economy, the term has to be defined in a way that makes it useful for an empirical case study. In most definitions of the term, dependence plays a major role – especially (but not exclusively) if they invoke Wallerstein. The periphery is that which is ‘weak’ and is thus influenced by a ‘core’. The core, in turn, profits from its dominance of the periphery, making the latter attractive and contested.⁴⁶

This kind of definition does not necessarily have to be used in the way ascribed to it by development theory. Since the point of our endeavor is to question the narrative of ‘development’ and ‘backwardness’, such an approach

44 Ibid., p. 234.

45 P. Burke, *Die europäische Renaissance: Zentren und Peripherien* (Munich, 1998), p. 27. [English edition: *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (1998)].

46 For example, M.-L. Recker, ed., *Von der Konkurrenz zur Rivalität: Das britisch-deutsche Verhältnis in den Ländern der europäischen Peripherie 1919–1939* (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 1f.

would be less than fruitful in our case (which is why we opted against the more loaded term ‘dependency’ and in favor of ‘dependence’). It may nevertheless be prudent to ask ourselves, in each individual case study: who depends on whom for what – and how? If the Western European sea-powers needed reasonably priced high-quality products in order to trade on the West African coast, do they depend less on the Central and Eastern European producers than these producers depend on them? If both sides depend on each other, then what justifies describing one as the center and the other as the periphery? This calls into question the added value of an approach that works with simple oppositions such as the core-periphery binary. Pointing out the major contribution of postcolonial theories that strive to dissolve such simple dichotomies, Klemens Kaps and Andrea Komlosy write: ‘the postcolonial approach emphasizes the relationship between centers and peripheries as one of entangled interaction, which deactivates the dual scheme’.⁴⁷ The chapters of this book confirm that we need to question established tendencies of thinking in such dichotomies.

To offer a few illustrative examples: if producers of household knives, cutlasses and sabers from the Rhenish town of Solingen, or of brassware from Nuremberg, had created markets for their products on the Iberian peninsula and in Africa from the late medieval period,⁴⁸ and if they managed to expand the distribution of their products into the New World and to maintain these new markets at least through the nineteenth century, are these producers to be considered actors of the semi-periphery, or of the core? If linen from Silesia (a province that Wallerstein saw as a periphery until its conquest by Prussia) had become indispensable as a barter commodity on African coasts and as work-wear on plantations all over the Americas, are the linen merchants (who maintained a truly global correspondence, but also oversaw rural spinning and weaving on their estates) really peripheral? And how about merchants from linen-producing Westphalia or from Bremen or Hamburg, who migrated to London and, in the course of the eighteenth century, rose to become leading financiers in the City of London and directors of the East India Company?⁴⁹

47 K. Kaps and A. Komlosy, ‘Centers and Peripheries Revisited: Polycentric Connections or Entangled Hierarchies?’, *Review* 3/4 (2013), pp. 237–64, here p. 254.

48 M. Malowist, ‘The Foundations of European Expansion in Africa in the 16th Century: Europe, Maghreb, and Western Sudan’, *Western Europe, Eastern Europe and World Development, 13th–18th Centuries: Collection of Essays of Marian Malowist*, ed. J. Batou and H. Szlajfer (Leiden, 2009), pp. 339–69; M. Malowist, ‘Portuguese Expansion in Africa and European Economy at the Turn of the 15th Century’, *ibid.*, pp. 373–93.

49 Wallerstein, *Modern World-System*, Vol. 1, p. 94; A. Steffen and K. Weber, ‘Spinning and Weaving for the Slave Trade: Proto-Industry in Eighteenth-Century Silesia’, *Slavery Hinterland*, ed. Brahm and Rosenhaft, pp. 87–107. M. Schulte Beerbühl and K. Weber, ‘From Westphalia to the Caribbean: Networks of German Textile Merchants in the Eighteenth Century’, *Cosmopolitan Networks in Commerce and Society 1660–1914*, ed. A. Gestrich and M. Schulte Beerbühl (London, 2011), pp. 53–98.

According to Wallerstein, incorporating a previously external region 'into the orbit of the world-economy ... involves "hooking" the zone into' it, 'in such a way that it virtually can no longer escape'. The subsequent process of 'peripheralization' is 'referred to as the deepening of capitalist development'.⁵⁰ Wallerstein depicted these regions as prey, falling into the hands of the powers at the core. Being a passive actor fits well with the demi-orientalizing image of Eastern Europe described by Larry Wolff, but it does not fit with the observation that certain protagonists from the external, the peripheral and the semi-peripheral sphere made efforts themselves to have their regions incorporated into this world-economy – with some of them eventually becoming major players in the core.

'Dependence' as a guideline may help us to see these entanglements more clearly, especially if we distinguish between different kinds of actors and detach the term from the purely spatial. Individual actors in a given region can have a very strong position towards actors located in other (seemingly less peripheral) regions, as well as towards other actors in their own region. Similarly, some actors may depend more strongly on other local actors (who in turn were intermediating with the wider world) than on global actors at a larger distance. Global developments may also affect local processes without anyone immediately noticing – and they may have unintentional effects. It can easily be the other way around as well. As we shall see, the individual case studies make it difficult to confirm the location of a clear 'core' and 'periphery' of the early modern world-economy as seen through the lens of dependence.

We hope that the book as a whole, with authors from Britain and North America looking east, and with authors from Central Europe looking west, will offer a nuanced picture. The view from the 'periphery' or 'semi-periphery' certainly offers new insights, because this view is less tainted by the existing historiography on the Atlantic World – which to a wide extent is national historiography. An outstanding feature and achievement of Wallerstein's work is that it offers an analysis of the world-economy explicitly in its phase before the emergence of the nation state. Looking at this economy through the lens of quantitative and qualitative source material from its eastern '(semi-)peripheries' perfectly corresponds with this approach. Hamburg's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century customs records, for example, were produced in a politically weak but economically important neutral city-state, which aimed at maintaining trade with as many partners as possible. Possibly even more than material from Britain, France, the Iberian Peninsula or the Netherlands, these records reflect the shifts within the commodity flows between the Atlantic basin and Central Europe, in particular during wartime and blockades.⁵¹ This also

50 I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System, Vol. 3: The Second Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730–1840s* (San Diego, 1989), p. 130.

51 F. Hatje, 'Libertät, Neutralität und commercium: Zu den politischen Voraussetzungen für Hamburgs Handel', *Hamburger Wirtschafts-Chronik* 7 (2007/08), pp. 213–47; K. Weber, 'Les

applies to the Danish Sound Toll Registers, which reflect most of the commerce between the Atlantic basin and the commercially and strategically important Baltic regions. In a similar way, the networks of merchants from Central Europe were probably more mobile and cosmopolitan than those from the Western European 'core'. The former had no colonial empire of their own, and therefore penetrated the commercial systems of the latter.

The transnational character of these entrepreneurs, of their commercial networks, and of the commodity chains and commodity flows they controlled resembles those of the transnational protagonists in the present day's globalized world. Saskia Sassen describes how, in the shift to an increasingly 'borderless world', established regimes are complemented with new regimes which allow for certain flows of commodities and capital, immigration of privileged and exclusion of non-privileged individuals, extraterritorial jurisdiction (albeit for mercantile issues only), et cetera. It is not always clear whether this 'constitutes a new form of state authority', or rather a 'private authority [that] replaces established forms of state authority'. In any case, 'these entrees have given rise to a proliferation of specialized, semi-autonomous regulatory agencies and the specialized cross-border networks they create, which are taking over fictions once enclosed within national legal frameworks'.⁵² David Hancock noted similar parallels between current and early modern trade networks, both characterized by a remarkable 'openness and porousness'.⁵³ Seen from this perspective, developments of the twenty-first century may have more in common with early modern frameworks than one might assume.

The contributions in this book

The book consists of several case studies, moving from the north (Prussia, the Baltic, Hamburg) to the south (Trieste) to the center (Westphalia and Saxony) and across the Atlantic Ocean (North America). The case studies begin with Bernhard Struck's question in Chapter 2, asking why the partition of Poland-Lithuania happened in 1772. He provides the provocative answer that this fundamental event in Polish history had a decidedly global dimension. Struck illustrates that the crisis years between the Seven Years' War and the Revolutionary Wars provide the framework to explain this course of events. While the seaborne empires of Western Europe were distracted, Prussia, Russia

livres douaniers de l'Amirauté de Hambourg au XVIII^e siècle: une source de grande valeur encore inexploitée', *Bulletin du Centre d'Histoire des Espaces Atlantiques, Nouvelle Série* 9 (1999), pp. 93–126.

52 S. Sassen, 'Bordering Capabilities versus Borders: Implications for National Borders', *Michigan Journal of International Law* 30/3 (2009), pp. 567–95, here pp. 569, 574, 579, 582.

53 D. Hancock, 'The Intensification of Atlantic Maritime Trade (1492–1815)', *The Sea in History: The Early Modern World*, ed. C. Buchet and G. Le Bouëdec (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 19–29.