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The Panopticon of Germany's Foreign Trade, 1880-1913. New facts on the First Globalization

Nikolaus Wolf and Wolf-Fabian Hungerland

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JEL Classification: F14, N70, N73

Keywords: German Empire, SITC, international trade, first globalization

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Wolf-Fabian Hungerland - w.f.hungerland@gmail.com Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy, Humboldt-University of Berlin The Panopticon of Germany's Foreign Trade, 1880 – 1913. New facts

on the First Globalization*

Wolf-Fabian Hungerland^{†‡} Nikolaus Wolf^{†§}

April 23, 2021

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Highlights

- We present a first complete dataset on Germany's foreign trade from 1880 to 1913, covering imports and exports in all available product categories to all trade partners, with quantities and values, and at annual frequency.
- We are the first to integrate data for the largest ports Hamburg and Bremen to German foreign trade for 1880 to 1888.
- We re-classify historical product categories to SITC, to allow comparison over time and across countries.
- We describe trade growth in its basic dimensions: growth in values, growth in the number of products, and growth in the number of trade partners.
- We find that German trade grew 1880-1913 mostly along the extensive margin, due to a combination of new products and new trade partners.
- While running an overall trade deficit before 1914 due to imports of food and raw materials, Germany had a growing trade surplus with Europe.
- Models of the First Globalization need to take the large within-sector heterogeneity into account.

1 Introduction

notably textiles and agriculture.

'German trade statistics before 1906 are a booby trap.'
—Lewis (1978, p. 26)

since, Germany has been a major player in international trade. A large literature explores the country's integration and role in the world economy. The merchandise trade dimension of Germany's globalization alone has been subject of research for more than a century. In particular, researchers have been trying to understand how Germany could develop from a backward, predominantly agricultural economy around 1850 into the industrial core of the global economy by 1914. The dominant explanation is one of declining trade costs that facilitated a specialization along the lines of comparative advantage. According to this view German trade expanded in line

with advantages in physical and human capital at the expense of labor- and land-intensive sectors,

By 1914 Germany had risen to the second largest exporter in the world, just behind the UK. Ever

However, research on the history of foreign trade for any country before 1945 had often to rely on aggregated data or focus on limited case studies. Still today, researchers struggle with imprecise, not fully comparable data of international trade. Using historical trade data comes with even bigger problems: product categories are entirely unstandardized, the degree of detail varies, and misreporting is widespread. The quote by Arthur Lewis above indicates that handling historical trade data from Germany is particularly difficult. Indeed, the German data are highly incomplete before 1880, they lack a harmonized product classification and the trade of Germany's two largest ports (Hamburg and Bremen) was excluded from official statistics before 1889. On

¹ See Torp (2005) for a survey and Sensch (2010) for a collection of many databases compiled in this regard.

the other hand, the data contained in original historical sources are comparatively granular and thus rather rich. They are a treasure not lifted until now.

In this paper we present a new dataset that provides what we call the "panopticon" of Germany's foreign trade 1880-1913. We show that this new evidence challenges the traditional perspective on the First globalization in several ways. In the first part of this paper, we briefly describe our main sources and methods to construct the new dataset. We digitalized all available historical records from original sources, integrated Hamburg and Bremen into the German customs union (Zollverein) data,² and re-classified all data according to the Standard International Trade Classification (SITC). In the second part of the paper we are thus able to describe and analyze Germany's integration into the world economy during the first globalization in a way that was impossible before. This connects our work to a growing literature that re-examines economic history with newly digitalized, much bigger datasets (Mitchener, 2015; Abramitzky, 2015). Moreover, the way how the data are compiled allows direct comparison to modern trade data – and thus lays the foundation for a disaggregated long-term series on Germany's international trade. Doing so, we contribute to some major revisions the historiography of international trade is currently experiencing (for example Meissner 2015, Huberman et al 2017). Specifically, we use our new data to provide a basic decomposition of trade growth along the logic of productcountry trade relations. We decompose total trade into growth along the intensive margin and growth along the extensive margin.

Our evidence challenges the existing narrative for the first globalization, based on variants of the Heckscher-Ohlin-Vanek model (O'Rourke and Williamson 1999). We show that virtually all growth in German exports, 1880-1913 and about 80 percent of total growth in German imports took place along the *extensive* margin of trade. This strongly suggests that *within-sector*

² We use the terms 'Zollverein', 'German customs union' and 'German tariff area' interchangeably.

heterogeneity was crucial already during the first globalization, possibly due to monopolistic competition with fixed costs and economies of scale. Second, we document that intra-industry trade was important, for both exports and imports but also for manufacturing and non-manufacturing trade. Again, this points to a role for heterogeneity within sectors, but even within "products" (which we define as a five-digit SITC category). Third, while running an overall trade deficit for each year in our data (1880-1913), Germany achieved a growing trade surplus with rich and neighbouring trade partners. To a large extent, this surplus was due to growing exports in manufacturing sectors of the "second industrial revolution", which dominate German exports until today: chemicals, machinery and transport equipment. Overall, this suggests that we need to revise our view on the first globalization. Germany did broadly specialize in manufacturing products, but both imports and export dynamics suggest a large role for within-sector heterogeneity. This matters, because it affects our interpretations about the gains from trade, their distribution and industry reallocations before 1914.

We proceed as follows. Section 2 discusses the major challenges with German trade statistics, our sources and how we constructed the new data set. In section 3 we use the data to describe German trade growth along four basic dimensions. In section 4 we decompose trade growth in terms of intensive and extensive margin trade and show the role of intra-industry trade. In section 5 we analyze the patterns of specialization and diversification over time. Section 6 summarizes the evidence and discusses some broader implications.

2 Constructing German Trade Data before 1914: Problems and Solutions

Our main data sources are the import and export tables for special trade in various volumes of the *Waarenverkehr des Deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande*, published by the Imperial Statistics Office (*Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt*).³ As we explain below, for the years 1880-1888, we

³ All sources are listed in Appendix A, Section A.1.

augment this with data for Hamburg from from the *Tabellarische Übersichten des Hamburgischen Handels*, published by *Handelsstatistisches Bureau* and Bremen from the *Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs in the Jahrbücher für Bremische Statistik* published by *Bureau für Bremische Statistik*. We re-compile, re-arrange and re-classify this data to arrive at a disaggregated but harmonised trade dataset ready for economic analysis. The major challenges for work with German trade statistics before 1914 relate to the incompleteness of data before 1880, the manifold changes in product categories over time and the fact that Germany's two largest ports were treated as *foreign* trade partners in the statistics, because they stayed outside the German customs union until the end of 1888 (Torp, 2005). We show that despite these problems, a complete disaggregated trade dataset is obtainable from 1880 onwards. In the following, we discuss three fundamental problems in the data at hand and the solutions we apply to these problems.

First, German trade data before 1880 is patchy. Before the German Empire was founded, the only German source on Germany's international trade are records on tariff collection by the different member states of the German Customs Union (Zollverein), the so-called *Kommerzialnachweisungen* (commercial certificates). These records are, however, very crude. They capture only goods subject to tariffs, refer only to observed quantities not values, and countries of origin are largely missing (only the entry point to the Zollverein is recorded). After the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, the first unified trade statistics, and generally, more encompassing official statistics emerged. However, under a largely free-trade regime there was little need to specify the observation of external trade, and only trade subject to tariffs was systematically recorded. Related, the early German trade data suffers from misdeclarations. Instead of the actual trade partner, the data report the country that hosts the last port of entry. Due

⁴ Attempts to create values go back to Junghanns (1848), cited in Bondi (1958).

⁵ The federal Imperial Statistical Office (*Kaiserliches Statistisches Reichsamt*) was founded in 1872. It thus began publishing the *Statistik des deutschen Reichs*, the key source to this and many other works.

to the introduction of protectionist tariffs in 1879, Germany started to collect data on all trade flows, covering all goods and trade partners from 1880 onwards. Overall, given that statistical information on trade before 1880 is incomplete or altogether missing, we start our data reconstruction in 1880.

Second, the number of product categories in the trade statistics changed and grew repeatedly over the years for several reasons. The number of products increased, either because actually new products were traded or because the statistical authorities changed the degree of detail to which product categories were differentiated. The most important impulse were new tariff laws, which required more detailed statistical information, notably the tariffs reforms of 1879 and 1906. As a result, the number of categories quadrupled between 1872 and 1906, from 457 import positions to 2030 and from 403 export items to 1879 (see also Torp, 2005, p. 55). Previous authors who attempted to make use of the granularity of the German trade data relied on rather crude, typically non-hierarchical re-classifications or they picked individual goods that they then compared. Therefore, two most detailed previous accounts of Höpfner (1992) and Jasper (1996) fail to provide an adequate image of the product structure of Germany's trade growth during the first globalization. Our approach is to use the Standard International Trade Classification (SITC), because it allows comparison to other countries and more recent trade data. We refer to the reader to Hungerland and Altmeppen (2021) for details in the re-classification of goods.

Third, until 1888 some parts of the German Empire stayed outside of the German customs union (*Zollverein*). More precisely, the port cities Cuxhaven and Geestemünde, and the important Hanseatic cities Hamburg and Bremen joined the *Zollverein* only in 1888 (the '*Zollanschluss*').⁶ These trading hubs kept own trade records – at varying levels of detail – while the federal tariff area statistics treated these cities as foreign countries. The Hanseatic port cities were, however,

⁶Entry to the tariff area statistics was only fully consummated by 1906, except for some small areas in Baden (*Badische Zollausschlüsse*) which remained outside the tariff area.

very relevant to Germany's external trade: They commanded roughly a fifth of Germany's trade. As a result, the geographical (and commodity) structure of Germany's trade was distorted, as Buchheim (1982, p.24) notes: Countries that were the major trading partners of the Hanseatic cities are underrepresented in the statistics of the German tariff area while countries that traded relatively less with the Hanseatic cities are overrepresented. ⁷ To deal with this, we first reclassify all data from the German Zollverein, Hamburg and Bremen based on the SITC system. Next, we combine the three data sets extending the quota method suggested by Buchheim (1982). For further details on the method, underlying assumptions and a discussion of the quota approach see appendix B and Hungerland (2018). Applying the quota method to our data yields a new regional structure of Germany's trade: Trade with Europe decreases while trade with all other regions increases, both in absolute and in relative terms (see Table 1). Overall, the share of exports to Europe decrease by 14 percentage points (from 90 percent to 76 percent) while the share of imports decreases by 9 percentage points (from 91 percent to 82 percent). Once we differentiate further between Eastern and Western Europe, trade with the former increases, while trade with the latter decreases. The changes on the country level are even larger. For example, imports from Brazil increase by 614 percent in 1888 while exports increase by 263 percent. Other large changes (say more than 200 percent) occur for Asia, China, Japan as well as Peru and Portugal.

⁷ Two examples: In 1885, 48 percent of exports from Hamburg went to the United Kingdom, but only 6 percent of exports from the German tariff area. In 1889, after Bremen's and Hamburg's entry, exports to the United States grew allegedly by 67 percent.

TABLE 1
COMPARISON OF TRADE BETWEEN 1880 AND 1888 BY REGION

		Imp	orts	Exports					
	Unco	rrected	Cor	rected	Unco	rrected	Corrected		
	Value	Percent	Value	Percent	Value	Percent	Value	Percent	
Europe	33,008	90.93	30,010	82.67	31,189	90.12	26,785	77.40	
W. Europe	28,324	78.03	25,009	68.89	28,941	83.63	24,071	69.56	
E. Europe	4,684	12.9	5,001	13.78	2,248	6.5	2,714	7.84	
N. America	1,690	4.65	2,872	7.91	2,419	6.99	3,877	11.20	
S. America	841	2.32	1,965	5.41	421	1.22	2,338	6.76	
Asia	459	1.26	764	2.1	407	1.18	951	2.75	
Africa	173	0.48	263	0.72	92	0.27	318	0.92	
Oceania	108	0.3	171	0.47	70	0.2	238	0.69	
NA	21	0.06	256	0.7	7	0.02	99	0.29	
Σ		100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00	

Values in milion 1913-marks. 'NA' denotes accounting items ('Sonderposten') with no geographical direction like 'ships' supplies' or the like. See Table A4 in the Appendix for a classification of countries into Western and Eastern Europe. Source: own calculations.

Overall, this leaves us with a new data set on German Foreign trade, covering all years 1880 – 1913, including the major ports Hamburg and Bremen for imports, exports, quantities and values (with some qualification on the latter). We can observe trade flows between Germany and 86 trade partners in 834 SITC (Rev. 4) five-digit product categories.

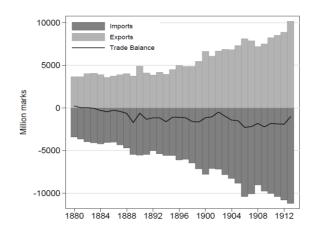
3 The basic dimensions of Germany's trade growth

Let us start exploring the new data. Conceptually, we can distinguish between five dimensions of a country's foreign trade. Trade can vary in terms of quantities, prices (or unit values), the direction of trade, products traded, and trade partners. In this paper we will focus on values of imports and exports at the level of trade partners and products. We start with an aggregate view on trade values and the balance of trade.

3.1 Imports and Export Values and the Balance of Trade

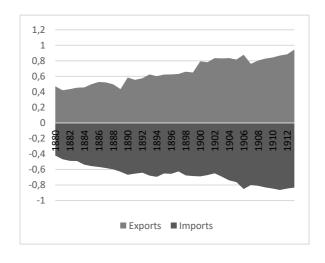
Figures 1a and 1b display the background for all what follows below: the development of

FIGURE 1a
AGGREGATE IMPORTS, EXPORTS, TRADE BALANCE



In 1913-marks. Statistical items excluded. Source: Own calculations.

FIGURE 1b
GERMAN TRADE RELATIVE TO UK



Source: Own data and Federico-Tena World Trade Historical Database

aggregate exports and imports, and the trade balance between 1880 and 1913 (1a), and Germany's exports and imports relative to the UK (1b). Germany's foreign trade more than tripled in the period we look at. During this period, Germany underwent its 'second industrialization' with industrial growth especially in machinery, chemicals and electro-technical goods. Figure 1a suggests that substantial trade growth in both imports and exports accompanied this industrial

growth. Nonetheless the German Empire was running a persistent trade deficit throughout the period. Moreover, figure 1b shows that Germany was catching up to the biggest trader in the world before 1914, the UK. In 1880 the value of goods exported by the German Empire was about 47 percent of the UKs exports, by 1913 this figure had reached 95 percent. Similarly, the value of German Imports increased from 42 percent (1880) to 83 percent (1913). While this evidence on the growth of German trade is not really new, our data allows us to explore the underlying changes in the structure of trade. We first discuss evidence on the "country space", that is the number and importance of trade partners over time, followed by a discussion of the "product space".

3.2 Country Space

According to our data, the German Empire traded between 1880 and 1913 with up to 86 trade partners. Within this "country space", the number of active trade relations was changing, and generally growing over time. On average, Germany had positive trade flows with 66 of them. Figure 2 and table 2 show how the number of active trade partners developed over time, where we distinguish by our source for the years 1880 - 1889.

FIGURE 2 NUMBER OF ACTIVE TRADE PARTNERS OVER TIME



Statistical items excluded. Source: Own calculations, see text.

These changes in the number of trade partners are due to an "extensification" of trade, where new markets were entered and thus only started to be documented in the records once trade flows with them turned non-zero. Another reason might have been an "intensification" of trade and, in turn, a more precise recording of existing trade partners. In our discussion of growth along the extensive margin below, we will attempt to distinguish between these two possibilities.⁸

TABLE 2
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ON THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES PER YEAR

Source	Mean	Median	Max	Min
Zollverein	72	83	88	36
Hamburg	57	57	61	55
Bremen	48	47	50	46

From 1880 to 1913. Statistical items excluded. Source: Own calculations.

Figure 3A shows the evolution of trade shares by continents. While Europe always made up more than 60 percent of total trade (dashed horizontal line), its share declined over time. On the other hand, trade with non-Europe grew. This points to growing regional diversification in Germany's foreign trade and it suggests that comparative advantage might have varied regionally. Panel 3B displays the regional trade balances, shown as averages over the entire period. Trade with the Americas was most in deficit, while trade with Europe but also Africa and Oceania much was less so.

⁸ See Appendix C for a full list of trade partners.

FIGURE 3 REGIONAL TRADE RELATIONS

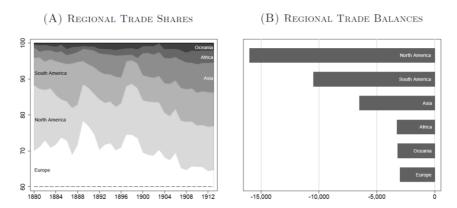


Figure 3A: Trade (imports and exports) per continent in percent of total trade. Figure 3B: Trade balance (imports minus exports, pooled over entire period) in million marks per continent. Source: own calculations.

Figures 4 and 5 unfold the country space in terms of imports and exports, for 1913 as the last year before the First World war.

FIGURE 4 GERMANY'S IMPORTS IN 1913 BY TRADE PARTNER

Austria-Hungary Great Britain and Ireland Belgium and Luxemburg Europe NAmerica Samerica Asia Africa Oceania Spain Italy Finland Wester n Balk... Argentina Asia SAmerica Ottoman

British
Malaya

Dutch india

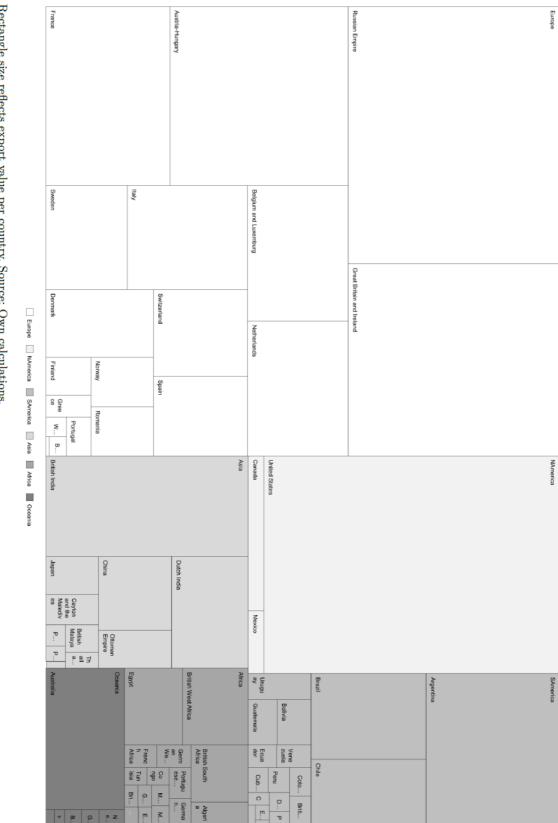
Compire

C Bolivia V... Chile

Rectangle size reflects import value per country. Source: Own calculations.

Rectangle size reflects export value per country. Source: Own calculations.

FIGURE 5
GERMANY'S EXPORTS IN 1913 BY TRADE PARTNER

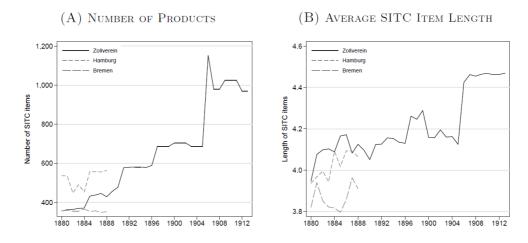


The figures show that import supply (figure 4) was less diversified than export markets (figure 5), a common finding for European trade relationships (e.g. Federico and Wolf 2012). Note that imports are strongly dominated by Europe, in spite of substantial agricultural trade with the Americas. A bit less than half of exports, however, went outside Europe. Next to the unsurprising dominance of Europe, we see that Germany also traded with many small and distant places, often in minor volumes. This suggests that "gravity" (the influence of distance and size of trade partners) may not solely drive trade, especially regarding exports.

3.3 Product Space

The most valuable feature of our data is its enormous detail on the product space. We observe trade at the "product" level, which we define here as the lowest (namely five-digit) level of the SITC system. With the data classified according to the SITC, we can aggregate the data from the product level up to sectors. Moreover, we are able to apply other classifications compatible with SITC to our data and make comparisons to modern data for Germany and other countries available in SITC format. Figure 6 gives the basic characteristics of the product space. In Panel 6A we show that the number of SITC items observed in the data grows over time. This corresponds to a growing number of original product categories in our source data.

FIGURE 6
DESCRIPTIVES OF THE PRODUCT SPACE



The latter, however, varied more wildly from year to year as Hungerland and Altmeppen (2021) discuss in great detail. But the growing number of items is also a function of technological

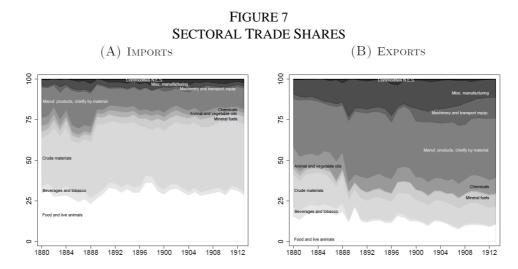
progress and political economy that occurs in modern trade data as well: innovations generate new goods, lobbies successfully initiate the creation of special product categories that enjoy a special status in a country's tariff scheme. Panel 6B gives an indication of the precision with what we observe product-level trade. It shows the average (trade-weighted) length of an SITC code we were able to assign. Most trade flows are captured at the four- or even five-digit level. This makes our data one of the most granular data sets on trade available for the period before World War I. Moreover, the precision grows over time and remains high after the Bülow tariff of 1902, which was implemented in 1906. The figure also shows that Hanseatic data are less precise than the *Zollverein* data.

Figure 7 describes the evolution of trade shares at the level of broad (one-digit) sectors. The first impression is that endowment effects (such as a relative abundance of physical and human capital) appear to structure Germany's foreign trade, as we would expect from a Heckscher-Ohlin logic: imports (panel 7A) are dominated by SITC sectors 0 to 3, i.e. food, beverages and raw materials. These items make roughly three quarters of Germany's imports. Exports (panel 7B), on the other hand, are dominated by manufactured products, that is SITC sectors 5 to 8. And their share grew over time. The data thus broadly confirm that Germany was increasingly specializing in exporting manufactured goods, while importing rather raw or less processed or more primary goods.

Table 3 below reports the growth rates of sectoral trade from 1880 to 1913. The data shows substantial variation in sectoral growth in both directions of trade, and clearly modifies the evidence from figure 7. Trade grew in nearly all sectors (except for imports of beverages and tobacco and animal and vegetable oils). The biggest growth rate is that of imports of commodities not elsewhere specified, which however makes only a small part of the overall imports, as

⁹ The blip in 1906 is due to the implementation of the "Bülow-tariff". In this year two entirely different classification systems had to be harmonized: While the tables from January to March 1906 observe trade, by and large, according to the classification of earlier years, the rest of the year is covered by an entirely new, more detailed classification, which only very partially corresponds to the earlier one.

indicated by figure 7A. More tellingly, exports of machinery and transport equipment grew by a whopping 733 percent. But also, we see that imports of manufacturing goods grew very substantially and the export of mineral fuels and lubricants increased, probably as a result of the growing role of the chemical industry, which is not solely covered by SITC sector 5. Hence, there is evidence for trade dynamics - notably in the manufacturing sector - that are not easily explained by neoclassical trade models.



Shares of total annual export value per SITC one-digit sector. N.E.S. = not elsewhere specified. Source: Own calculations.

Figures 8 and 9 display the product space in terms of imports and exports in the year 1913. More precisely, it shows the total of trade organized by SITC one-digit sectors but with the product range at the five-digit level within each sector. In this way a more nuanced image emerges. Imports (figure 8) are generally characterized by larger trade flows distributed over a fewer number of goods. Some goods such as cotton, hides, wheat or copper particularly stand out in that they command big chunks of the import volume. Moreover, the share of goods associated to SITC sector 9, i.e. commodities not elsewhere specified, is comparatively large. Exports (figure 9), by contrast, are much more diversified. Individual export goods generally command a smaller share in total trade than specific import goods. What remains striking, however, is that Germany also exported a range of goods we would not necessarily expect to be exported if we would follow a simple Heckscher-Ohlin prediction.

TABLE 3 SECTORAL TRADE GROWTH

One-di	git Sector	Imports	Exports
0	Food and live animals	159.3	121.4
1	Beverages and tobacco	2.8	-58.6
2	Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	161.7	39.3
3	Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	141.4	431.2
4	Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	36.4	-32.3
5	Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	50.2	102.1
6	Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	113.7	140.3
7	Machinery and transport equipment	258.5	733.6
8	Miscellaneous manufactured articles	133.2	132.7
9	Commodities and transactions n.e.s. in the SITC	2,541.8	44.1

Growth rates of trade value from 1880 to 1913, in percent. Based on SITC revision 4. Item codes in parentheses. Source: Own calculations.

FIGURE 8
GERMANY'S IMPORTS IN 1913 BY TRADE PRODUCTS

			Wood of coniferous species, sawn or chipped lengthwise, sliced or peeled, whether or not planed, sanded or endjointed, of a thickness exceeding 6 mm	Raw silk (not thrown)		Sodium nitrate			Iron ore and concentrates, not agglomerated			Cotton (other than linters), not carded or combed			Crude materials, inedible, except fuels
			Jute and other textile bast fibres, raw or retted	Copra	seeds	Other vegetable		Oil-seeds and oleaginous fruits, n.e.s.		Woods in the rough or roughly squared, n.e.s.		not carded or combed			xcept fuels
Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	Food and live animals	their lamb ns Sesame (Sesamurav m) seeds rette	Skins and other parts of St birds, with kir	and skins, n.e.s., raw (fresh,		waste and (including conce yarn es		,	_		simply drie salted, or 1 salted or o	Whole hide		
oods classif	bricants and	nimals	d or ski	conce Cox nut. Sheeps aba.		Zinc Me ores es and an	entrat	and furskins raw211	Hides, skins	Other natural rubber		simply dried, 10 kg when dry- salted, or 16 kg when fresh, wet- salted or otherwise preserved	Whole hides and skins, of a weight per skin not exceeding 8 kg when		
fied chieffy b	d related ma		Chalk Ma. lvory, tort Pu.		Pigs', Anim hogs' or	Mangan Woo ese ores non- and conif	materials and vegetab		Carded wool;	with or v	Other fu	an dry- resh, wet- served	of a weight 8 kg when		
w material	terials		Ø → C		Of Bala	. d	and wood waste and scrap,	nts	e	with or without head, tail or paws	Olber furskins, whole	shom			
			≥ 0 1 >	z 0		Sheeps Slag. kins ash and and	Cotton	animals	Guts, bladders and	Linseed					
Mach	Anim	Beve	≥ □	S >	Cu Bu	lron pyrites, unro	calcium phosphat es,	process	broken, scutched, hackled or						
Machinery and transport equipment	Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	Beverages and tobacco	Cocoa beans, whole or broken, raw or roasted	wholly milled, whether or not	other Rice, semi- milled or			of natural milk constituents, n.e.s.	Products consisting		Coffee, not roasted, not decaffeinated		Other wheat (including spell) and meslin, unmilled		Food and live animals
ont equipme	oils, fats ar	8	n.e.s. Apples, fresh	Fish, dried, whether or	fowls of the species Gallus	Oats, unmilled		-	sting		sted, not		nduding spe		animals
2	d waxes		Powdere d Rice, husked but	chille		Meat of bovine animals,	Rye. unmilled	oflinseed			Bir		it) and mesli		
			Almo nds of oth	Herri ngs, sar	Peas	Oranges, fresh or dried		live	Horse		Birds' eggs, in shell, fresh preserved or cooked				
	_	_	. σ Ξ	C 8	Ba M	Edible nuts (exclu	eet.		forses, asses,		shell, fresh, oked		Barley, unmilled		
Miscellan	Chemical	Crude materials	0 0 11 11	P	E. Ma	Brewing or distilli	Fruit, dried. N. n.e.s., and (i mixtures, s	bred breeding animals	Other than pure-		whether or not in the form of pellets, derived from the sifting, milling or other working of cereals or of leguminous plants	Bran, sharps and other residues,			
eous manuf	s and relate		\(\frac{1}{\sqrt{1}}\)	S. T.	c .	Potato es, fresh	Milk (including skimme	ding	n pure-		E	arps and dues,			
Niscellaneous manufactured articles	Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	inedible, except fuels	Gold (including gold plated with platinum), non-monetary, unwrought or in sent-manufactured forms, or in powder form	∌ã	poultry fat (not rendered), fresh, chilled, frozen, salted, ste	Animal and vegetable also fats and Fats waxes bovine and Pig fat free of animals. Oils sheep or an	Anthracite			Mineral fuels, lubricants afteriored oilsterior sils obtained from bitumino	(including blister copper but excluding cement copper); copper anodes for electrolytic refining	Unrafined conner			Manufactured goods classified chiefly by materialcontaining 85 percent or more by weight of cotton, r. put up for retail sale.
			plated with tary, unwrou ired forms, o	in the SITC	P. Refi	Faissofats a bovine animals, sheep or	Other	mineral	mineral prepara by weig petroleu	ints affetrele obtaine	fabrics contain Refined lead	Flax yam Other silk	plated with	Silver (including	contain more by v
				1				s, these oils	minerals (other than crude) an preparations n.e.s., containing by weight 70 percent or more or petroleum oils or of oils obtained from bitumious	Petroletad allsterid sils obtained from bituminous	Zinc, not alloyed	Yam of fine	silk		assified chiefly by materialcontaining 85 percent or more by weight of cotton, not put up for retail sale.
			Maggireonand er boats sewi	Wine of fresh grapes (other than sparkling	Tobacco, not stemmed/stripped	Beverages and tobacco	, K	- #	minerals (other than crude) and preparations n.e.s., containing by weight 70 percent or more of petroleum oils or of oils otherned from bituminous	oils iinous	Copp S. Articl D.		Sewi	Aluminiu m, not	P .
			M M.	S C			p p			Connipicals Pandunis,	C F 3	× ≤	T	Woven fabrics	Yarn of combed wool, containing 85 percent or more by weight of wool, not
			P S Inpment	© ≥ 0 T	Other Painti arti ngs Hat Arti	Repelinisegneeu Achoouellessegn	ZO	0 0		Coppicals and glated		O ≺ B	S. O. N.	.leather further	ed ing fit Tin, not alloyed
				T .	# F9	Printed bestines.			G. O.	Miner al		СТ	C :: P	Other base	<u>6</u> 9

Rectangle size reflects export value per SITC five-digit item. Broad categories are SITC one-digit sectors. Source: Own calculations.

Rectangle size reflects export value per SITC five-digit item. Broad categories are SITC one-digit sectors. Source: Own calculations.

FIGURE 9
GERMANY'S EXPORTS IN 1913 BY TRADE PRODUCT

Rectangle size				crusting piece in strips Pig-iron and spiegeleisen, articles of in pigs. blocks other iron or other		Rails (including check rails and rack-rails), iron or sheet steel.	Other articles of leather or of composition leather paper and paper boa	used for the conveyance or packing of plated or coated with zink	Containers, of cement, glass, of a kind s	Other woven Other fabrics Portland	Yam wool, 85 pe more wool, 60 pe wool, 61 pe wool, 62 pe wool, 63 pe wool, 64 pe wool, 65 pe wool, 66 pe wool, 67 pe	non-wired sheets	Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material control france, woven (pot including narrow or special and non-alloy stances)
reflects expor	Manuf	Miners	Food a	Tin, not Knive alloyed s f Other other towel bas	Hand er Unre tools, fin	Other packing conta	orced Refin other ed	cont Silk yarn airing (other	n.e.s. handmade	ids in the ce; amental amental imings in	Yam of combed wool, containing 85 persent or more by weight of wool, not put up for retail sale for retail sale	Articles of copper, n.e.s.	lifed chiefly by material aftion or other alloy and non-alloy steel, n.e.s.
■ Commodities and transactions not classified elsewhere in the SITC. Rectangle size reflects export value per SITC five-digit item.	Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	Food and live animals	7 Y W T R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R	Z	M. W. S. T. A. T. A. T.	Art ctor Ar O H T	leac Ceramicont Pa		Household articles and parts thereof	Other silk fabrics containing 85 (other than percent or more Iron of heading by weight of silk 671,33) or or of silk non-alloy steel	Flat-rolled products of iron or non-alloy steel, not clad, plated or coaled	Leather further prepared after tanning or crusting, including parchment-dressed leather
fled elsewhere in the S	material	erials		:	T. B. O	N P		sewin Other g knitt	ng 85 paper.	ated, her or C	on Cast articles of non-malleable cast treel	Other, of circular cross-section, of iron (other than cast iron) or non-alloy steel	Other woven fabrics, containing 85 percent or more by weight of cotton, bleached, dyed, printed or otherwise finished, weighting more than 200 g/m²
Broad categories are SITC one-digi	Machinery and transport equipment Miscellaneous manufactured articles	Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	■ Beverages and tobacco □ Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	Cloves Coh. Character Character	BI O P C	Printed matter, n.e.s.	er 188	Miscellaneous nanufactured driffiges, scoopers, Printed Miscellaneous nanufactured driffiges, colores, wheeled toys; doller brothures, carriagoes; dolls; other leaflets and loys; reduced-size similar proparations based thereon potassic, n.e.s.	n.e.s, hi O S T D () Chemicals a	Machine Shope Machine Shope Machine Shope Machine Shope Machine Shope Sh	No Coher No No No No No No No N	and transport accessories enamelied on pision Cotton (other Musicins, equipment Suitable of the control of t	Machinery and transcrete equipment apparatus for apparatus for Roal ap
Culations				Oils e T	A Coke and semi-coke (including Other gl r char) of coal, of lightle or of peat,	L Anthracte	data	,	of linseed	Otherflours Oth	be, semi-Hope elled or con ellher or	pand Other wheat in Other wheat in	ed

4. The Product-Country-Space

4.1 Varieties and Margins Decomposition

Our new data allows us to show that not only the value of aggregate exports and imports grew, but that the number of trade partners and traded products changed very substantially over time. The total value of German trade grew from around seven billion Mark (1880) to 21 billion Mark (1913). Over the same period, the number of trade partners grew from 34 (1880) to 86 (1913) and the number of traded products increased from 334 SITC five-digit "products" (1880) to 834 (1913). To describe this more systematically, we define country-product combinations as "varieties". To what extent did trade grow, because Germany imported or exported more of the same varieties – hence more of the same products with the same trade partners, and to what extent because new varieties showed up, or old ones disappeared?

Table 4 provides summary statistics on the number of varieties over time. We distinguish here between potential and active varieties. We define potential varieties as the number of observable country-product combinations given by all product classes and countries listed in the trade statistics in a given year. In 1880, we actually observe 245 different products being imported, and 248 being exported, out of a total 334 different product classes listed. Hence, many products must have been both imported and exported. Together with the fact that imports and exports are listed with the same 34 trade partners in 1880, we can calculate a potential of 11356 varieties as of 1880.

TABLE 4
ACTIVE AND POTENTIAL VARIETIES, 1880 and 1913

	18	80	1913				
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports			
Products	245	248	776	782			
Observed							
Products listed	334	334	834	834			
Countries	34	34	85	86			
Observed							
Countries listed	34	34	86	86			
Active Varieties	971	1482	10145	29263			
Potential	11356	11356	71724	71724			
Varieties							
Active out of	971	1482	563	1017			
Potential 1880							
Share Active in	0.09	0.13	0.14	0.41			
Respective							
Potential							
Share Active in	0.01	0.02	0.14	0.41			
Potential 1913							
Share Active in	0.09	0.13	0.05	0.09			
Potential 1880							

Source: own calculations.

The table reveals three things. Most obviously, the number of varieties increased over time. Second, at any point in time we observe non-zero trade for only a small share of "potential varieties", however defined. If we consider only varieties listed in 1880 as potential, the share of active in potential varieties in imports in 1880 was 9 percent, in exports 13 percent. Instead, if we assume that all countries and products listed in 1913 were in principle already available back in 1880 (but not yet listed), the share of active varieties in potentials in German imports in 1880 was just 1 percent, in exports 2 percent. Conversely, if we condition on the varieties listed in 1880, we see that for imports only 5 percent of those were active in 1913, and 9 percent for exports. This leads us to the third point: while the total number of varieties increased over time very substantially, we also need to take into account that many varieties disappeared.

Following Amiti and Freund (2010) we can decompose the total growth of trade into three margins: 1) growth along the intensive margin, where trade in existing varieties is expanding ("more of the same"), 2) growth along the extensive margin, where new varieties enter, and finally 3) growth along the extensive margin, where old varieties disappear. Formally,

$$\frac{\sum_{i} V_{it} - \sum_{i} V_{it-1}}{\sum_{i} V_{it-1}} = \frac{\sum_{i \in I} V_{it} - \sum_{i \in I} V_{it-1}}{\sum_{i} V_{it-1}} + \frac{\sum_{i \in I} V_{it}}{\sum_{i} V_{it-1}} - \frac{\sum_{i \in I} D_{i} V_{it-1}}{\sum_{i} V_{it-1}}$$
(1)

where the first term captures trade growth in existing varieties between t-1 and t, the second growth in new varieties I^{N} , and the third the disappearance of varieties I^{D} . Figure 10 shows the result of this exercise.

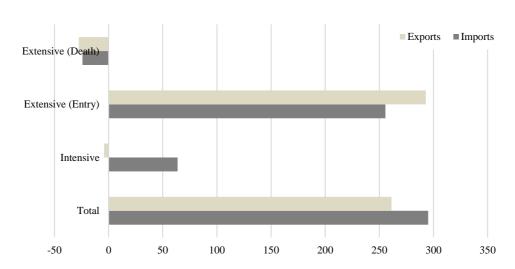


FIGURE 10: MARGIN DECOMPOSITION, 1880-1913

Margins in percent of total trade according to eq. 1. Source: own calculations.

We see that the total increase in imports (by 295 percent) can be decomposed into growth along the intensive margin (64 percent), growth along the extensive margin (entry) of 256 percent and decline along the extensive margin (death) of -24 percent. For exports, a total of 261 percent growth is exclusively due growth along the extensive margin, with -4 percent (intensive), +293 percent (extensive, entry) and-28 percent (extensive, death). This dramatic growth along the extensive margin reflects the diversification in traded products and the growing penetration of foreign markets. Books were traded to the US, furs to Romania, toys to the UK and silk to France. The largest trade partners showed also the biggest increase in traded varieties, notably the UK, Austria-Hungary, Russia, France and the Netherlands. While we do not have firm-level trade data, this evidence corresponds well with predictions of new trade models based on *within-sector* heterogeneity, such as Melitz (2003).

But is it really plausible to find that *all* growth in exports took place along the extensive margin? We first show that the margin decomposition is different depending on sectors and trade partners, in line with an intuition building on new trade models in the wake of Melitz (2003). Next, we show that our results are unlikely to be driven by statistical artefacts such as changes in trade classification due to an "intensification" of trade. Figures 11a and 11b show our margin decomposition separately for manufacturing and non-manufacturing trade. As expected, growth along the extensive margins matters most for trade in manufacturing sectors, growth along the intensive margin plays a larger (but still very limited role) for non-manufacturing sectors.

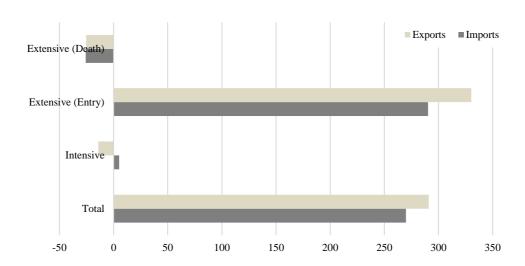
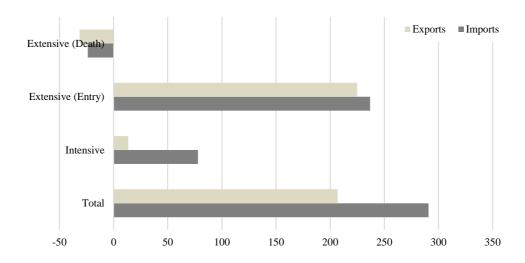


FIGURE 11A: MARGINS, MANUFACTURING, 1880-1913

Margins in percent of total trade according to eq. 1. SITC sectors 5 to 8. Source: own calculations.

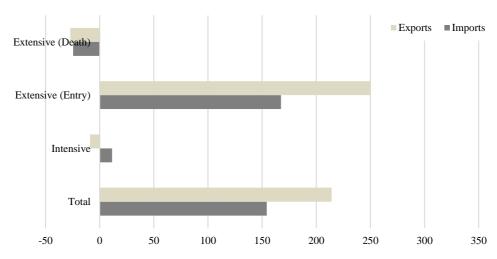
FIGURE 11B: MARGINS, NON-MANUFACTURING, 1880-1913



Margins in percent of total trade according to eq. 1. SITC sectors 0 to 4. Source: own calculations.

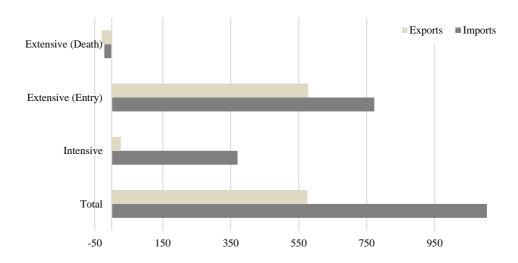
Next, figures 12a and 12b distinguish between Germany's trade with European and Non-European partners. Intuitively, growth along the extensive margin should matter more for trade with the more similar European neighbors, while growth along the intensive margin should characterize trade with non-European partners, due to specialization effects (as suggested by Heckscher-Ohlin type models).

FIGURE 12A: MARGIN DECOMPOSITION, EUROPE, 1880-1913



Margins in percent of total trade according to eq. 1. Source: own calculations.

FIGURE 12B: MARGINS DECOMPOSITION, Rest of the world, 1880-1913



Margins in percent of total trade according to eq. 1. Source: own calculations.

Again, we find our intuition confirmed. The importance of the extensive margin is impressive overall and in all these subsamples of the data. Even for the growth of imports from non-European trade partners, which would be paradigmatic for the well-known narrative of the first globalization, we find only 1/3 of total growth explained by the intensive margin.

An altogether different explanation for our findings would be that they are due to a statistical artefact. What if most of our extensive margin growth stems from the mentioned "intensification" of trade, which led to a more detailed statistical description of existing trade flows? If so, the new products and trade partners observed in the data, might have been present before, but were not properly documented. How can we judge the relevance of this? We suggest restricting our data to growth in those products and trade partners, which were observed already in 1880, hence the set of potential varieties as of 1880 shown in table 4 above. Based on this, we can calculate a lower bound of growth along the extensive margin, where we exclude all trade flows that we observe after 1880 in new products and with new trade partners as a statistical artefact. Note that the total growth in terms of imports and exports is much lower. Also note that in this exercise, growth along the intensive margin remains by definition unchanged (e.g. compared to the evidence in

figure 10), as it always refers to growth in varieties, which existed already in 1880. Figure 13 shows the result.

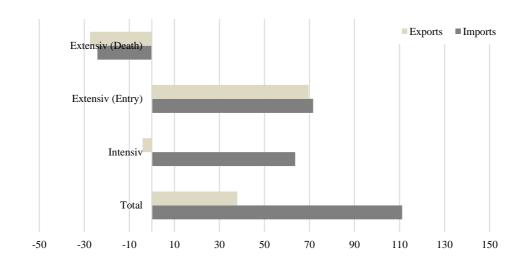


FIGURE 13: MARGIN DECOMPOSITION, 1880-1913 (CONDITIONAL ON 1880 Varieties)

Margins in percent of total trade according to eq. 1. Source: own calculations.

For imports, we see that the intensive margin now accounts for just above 50 percent of all trade growth. However, for exports we still find that virtually all trade growth took place in terms of extending the range of trade partners (out of those observed in 1880) for products listed in 1880 or the range of products (out of those observed in 1880) to a wider range of trade partners. This almost certainly underestimate the extensive margin. Hence, we can safely conclude that the extensive margin played a crucial role for the overall growth of German imports 1880-1913 and totally dominated the dynamics of German exports 1880-1913.

4.2 Intra-Industry Trade

So far, we considered exports and imports separately, following a logic of differences along country characteristics (as in Armington 1969). In this section, we drop this and explore the extent to which the same "products" were both imported and exported by Germany. The sectoral growth rates of exports in sectors other than manufacturing in table 3 and the shares shown in figure 7 already suggested that this might have been an important phenomenon. We calculate indices of

intra-industry trade (trade within a given product category) as in Grubel and Lloyd (1971):

$$GL_{kt} = \frac{(X_{kt} + M_{kt}) - |X_{kt} - M_{kt}|}{X_{kt} + M_{kt}} \times 100$$
(2)

with k being the SITC level, t the year, X being exports and M denoting imports. The index gives the share of trade that takes place within a given sector. Figure 14 plots this index once for non-manufacturing (SITC sectors 0 to 4, panel 14A) and manufacturing (sectors 5 to 8, panel 14B) over all levels of aggregation. t0

FIGURE 14

INTRA-INDUSTRY TRADE



Intra-industry trade in percent of total trade according to eq. 2. Figure 14A: SITC sectors 0 to 4. Figure 14B: SITC sectors 5 to 8. Source: Own calculations.

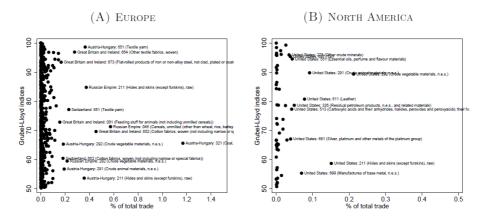
As we would expect, the more aggregated the flows are, the more intra-industry trade we find. Interestingly, the data reveal that roughly a quarter of trade happened within the most narrowly defined category, that is, the five-digit level. If we look at the one-digit level we see that this share grows to about 50 percent of all trade. The figures also show that intra-industry trade was remarkably stable over time, for both manufacturing and non-manufacturing trade. Germany

¹⁰ We ignore sector 9 due to its mixed, residual nature, which complicates interpretation.

exported many non-manufacturing goods, such as coal or hides and skins. At the same time, Germany imported a wide (and growing) range of manufacturing goods before 1913. If Germany's foreign trade had followed simple comparative advantage alone, we would not see these trade flows in the data. They make up, however, a non-negligible share of Germany's trade value, particularly with Europe, as we show below.

Figure 15 provides a more nuanced image of intra-industry trade. The figure contains all three-digit industries in which there was more than 50 percent intra-industry trade and shows their share in total trade as of 1913. It only considers trade with Europe and North America since intra-industry trade with other continents was much less intense. Also, note that not all industries received a label to avoid clutter.

FIGURE 15
ZOOMING INTO INTRA-INDUSTRY TRADE



Intra-industry trade in percent of total trade according to eq. 2. Dots reflect trade within a three-digit industry in 1913. Source: Own calculations.

Exposing the data in this way uncovers that some industry-level trade with certain trade partners was almost entirely characterized by intra-industry trade – notwithstanding that they may have made up only a small fraction of total trade. Most of these industries were manufacturing industries (they make up most of the unlabeled dots). But this is only part of the story, because

some industries with high intra trade were not based in classic manufacturing: Trade in hides and skins with Russia was over 80 percent percent intra-industry, and quantitatively nontrivial. So was yarn trade with Austria-Hungary. Firewood trade with France was even 99 percent intra-industry. This means that while there was generally more intra-industry trade in manufacturing industries, even some non-manufacturing industries traded with each other at least with certain trade partners. It also emerges that intra-industry trade was more prominent with rich economies—i.e. mostly European trade partners. All this re-affirms our conjecture that models of imperfect competition (that allow, for example, for branding or quality differences) might help explain international trade especially between European trade partners already in the first globalization.

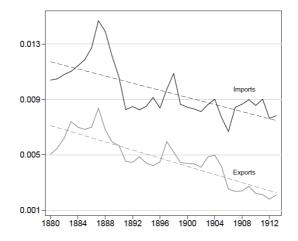
5. Changes in Diversification and Specialization, 1880-1913

We have seen that Germany's trade was growing in absolute and relative terms, but also that this growth was a rather complex process with growth in new goods, trade partners and substantial intra-industry trade. The literature on the link between growth and international trade suggests that the diversification of exports corresponds to better growth perspectives (Hausmann et al., 2007). More diversified imports, on the other hand, mean less dependence on single suppliers, which can moderate business cycle fluctuations (Calderón et al., 2007). So, how did diversification change over time? Consider a simple Herfindahl-index, as

$$H_{dt} = \sum \left(\frac{v_{dikt}}{\sum v_{dikt}}\right)^2,\tag{3}$$

with v_{dikt} being trade in 1913-marks in direction d with partner i and SITC-three digit sector k in year t. Figure 16 plots the indices for imports and exports.

FIGURE 16
DIVERSIFICATION IN IMPORTS AND EXPORTS



Herfindahl indices based on country-sector pairs with sectors being SITC three-digit items. Dashed lines = trend line based on linear fit. Source: Own calculations.

Both indices fall over time suggesting growing diversification. The dashed trend lines are almost identical. But the indices suggest that exports were already in 1880 more diversified and they diversified a bit more strongly than imports over the 33 years we are looking at. This diversification was likely both the result of German economic growth and contributed to it.

How can we square all this evidence on the role of the extensive margin, intra-industry trade and increasing diversification with the notion that Germany became specialized in manufacturing? In figure 7, we saw that very broadly, Germany did export far more manufacturing products than it imported. To summarize this specialization and its changes over time, we suggest using a Lafayindex (Lafay 1992, Federico and Wolf 2012). The index is based on the difference between normalized net-exports for sector (or trade partner) k and the total normalized net-balance weighted with the share of the product on total trade.

Formally,

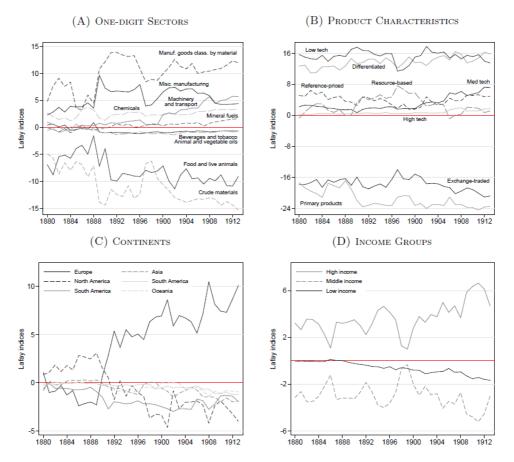
$$RCA_{kt} = \frac{(X_{kt} - M_{kt})}{(X_{kt} + M_{kt})} - \frac{\sum_{kt} (X_{kt} - M_{kt})}{\sum_{kt} (X_{kt} + M_{kt})} \times \frac{(X_{kt} + M_{kt})}{\sum_{kt} (X_{kt} + M_{kt})} \times 100,$$
(4)

with X denoting exports and M denoting imports. All k-wise indices sum up to zero and are defined between [-200, 200]. A positive value for trade in k points to "success" in terms of positive net-exports, normalized by the total trade balance and the weight of k in total trade. 11 Figure 17 plots the Lafay-indices with respect to four different dimensions. The upper panels consider specialization along the product space. Figure 17A shows that Germany specialized in manufacturing products, including chemicals, machinery and transport equipment. More detailed evidence at the three-digit level (not shown) suggests that in 1913 Germany had a strong comparative advantage in synthetic dies (SITC 531), fertilizers (SITC 562), railway vehicles (791), cars (781), but also agricultural machinery (SITC 721) or sugar (SITC 601), among many other goods. Figure 17B disaggregates comparative advantage according to the product characteristics of Rauch (1999) and Lall (2000). We see that Germany did specialize increasingly in differentiated goods, and those that embody technology (notably medium-technology according to Lall 2000, which largely reflect the technology frontier before 1914): meters and counters, non-domestic refrigerators and refrigerating equipment, refracting telescopes (something that is considered high-tech even today), electrical apparatus, radio-broadcasting transmitters, or clock and watch parts. The data also shows very clearly that it was simpler goods, where Germany de-specialized. Examples include zinc, tin or lea and alloys thereof.

-

¹¹ In contrast to Balassa's (1965) concept of Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA), this simpler index comes with some advantages. First, it requires only import and export data from one country, and we only have German data. Second, it also controls for distortions from an overall net deficit, which was the case for Germany before 1913 and, above all, it takes the level of imports into account. Third, it measures the contribution of different k to changes in total comparative advantage also when k's share is small, but it holds a monopoly – in such case the traditional RCA may yield erroneous results.

FIGURE 17 GERMANY'S COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE



RCAs according to eq. 4. Figure 17A: SITC one-digit level. Figure 17B: Lall's (2000) and Rauch (1999) classifications. Figure 17C: See Table A4 in the appendix for full list of countries. Figure 17D: Income classification based on textiles over income estimates; see Table A5 in the appendix for full list of countries. Source: Own calculations.

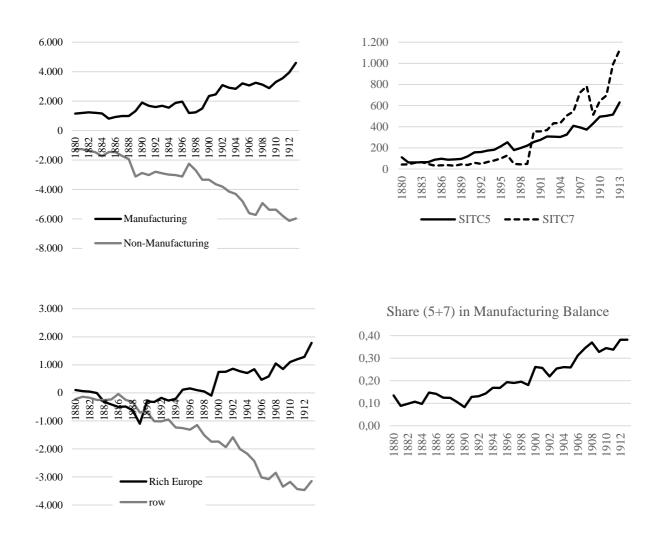
Finally, the lower panels of figure 17 consider the Lafay-index with respect to Germany's trade partners. Figure 17C shows that Germany was increasingly successful within Europe but was in disadvantage with the rest of the world. Germany had the biggest thus defined comparative advantage (in 1913) with Great Britain and Ireland, the Netherlands, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, France as well as Belgium and Luxembourg, among others: all rich neighbors of Germany. Germany also had a comparative advantage against Japan or the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Germany had comparative disadvantages with British India and the Russian Empire, i.e. two of the major 'emerging markets' of the time (at least from a German perspective),

as well the United States and Argentina – the two largest overseas economies.

Similarly, when differentiating by income groups, figure 17D shows that German trade was successful in the rich world, particularly in the richer parts of Europe. In 1880 Germany had started with a near balanced trade result with "rich" Europe. By 1913 Germany was running a very large trade surplus. This in turn was mostly due to a trade surplus in manufacturing products, where two broad sectors made a growing contribution: chemical (sector 5) and machinery and Transport equipment (sector 7). Hence, while the overall trade balance of Germany stayed negative for each year before 1914, this hides the fact that the country had become the dominant industrial power within the rich world. In figures 18A-D we show the trade balances of particular sectors and regions 1880-1913, comparable to the overall trade balance shown in figure 1A above.

¹² We define "rich Europe" here as Belgium and Luxemburg, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Great Britain and Ireland, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

FIGURE 18
TRADE BALANCES, 1880-1913 (million Marks)



Sources: see text.

Taken together, German trade growth over the 33 years before the First World War was largely driven by expansion along the extensive margin, with new products conquering new markets in the world. This was reflected in a substantial diversification of both exports and imports. Yet, Germany specialized, with a growing trade surplus in manufacturing products, notably chemicals, machinery and transport equipment. It is remarkable that this success was most pronounced in trade with Germany's rich neighbors within Europe – a finding that resembles the German trade patterns over the last decades.

6 Summary, Implications and Outlook

Our new data allows researchers to revisit old debates and test many new hypotheses. Let us summarize the evidence before we discuss some of its implications. During the first globalization Germany experienced very substantial growth in exports and imports, catching up to the UK as the world's largest exporter just around 1914. We confirm that Germany specialized in manufacturing products, notably in chemicals, machinery and transport equipment, and generally in differentiated products with substantial technological content. Moreover, Germany established a very strong position within Europe, particularly in trade with her rich neighbors. However, we also show that nearly all of this trade growth took place along the extensive margin, with an expanding range of products and trade partners. Our evidence strongly suggests that this is not a statistical artefact, but rather reflects the very nature of trade even before 1914, clearly for manufacturing but also for many non-manufacturing products. Related, we found that imports and exports grew much more diversified over time, with a substantial (but quite stable) share of intra-industry trade across all types of sectors and trade partners for all years 1880-1913.

Given that the country was one of the largest economies in the world before 1914, our evidence suggests that we need to revise our perspective on the first globalization. What theory do we need to guide our empirical work? While the standard factor proportions models in the wake of Heckscher-Ohlin can capture the broad structure of trade, they clearly miss nearly all of the underlying dynamics of growth and reallocation and likely also the political implications of trade liberalization. Apparently, heterogeneity *within* even narrowly defined sectors was very high and needs to be considered.

One rather straightforward way to integrate our new findings into the established narrative of the first globalization is to consider theoretical frameworks that allow for *within-sector* heterogeneity in some type of factor proportions model. Bernard et al (2007) provide such a framework and spell out its implications. Drawing on previous work by Helpman and Krugman (1985), their

model integrates the factor-proportions framework of the Heckscher-Ohlin model with new trade theory assumptions about imperfect competition and economies of scale as in Melitz (2003). Such a framework can explain why some countries export more in certain sectors and industries (due to endowment driven comparative advantage), why we nonetheless observe intra-industry trade even at the level of narrowly defined industries (due to product differentiation with increasing returns to scale), and why most trade growth takes place along the extensive margin (due to within-sector heterogeneity in terms of productivity and market entry costs). Moreover, Bernard et al. (2007) show that the four well-known theorems of the Heckscher-Ohlin model (including the Stolper-Samuelson theorem) still apply, but with some important qualifications. For example, the interaction between within-sector heterogeneity and comparative advantage gives rise to additional welfare gains from trade. Among other things, such gains will limit the decline of the real price of scarce factors, and hence mitigate the distributional effect of trade liberalization according to the Stolper-Samuelson theorem. Depending on parameters and endowment differences, the real reward of scarce factors can even increase in response to declining trade costs. This clearly invites new empirical work.

Finally, our evidence on heterogeneity within sectors and industries points to the role of firms as major actors in international trade already during the First globalization. While this has long been recognized by business historians and documented in excellent case studies (e.g. Brown 1992, Brown 1995), it was difficult to reconcile with the big picture along the lines of Heckscher-Ohlin. Unfortunately, we lack systematic firm level data on trade, but our findings on the importance of the extensive margin suggest searching for related firm-level evidence, such as firm sizes (see for example Biermann, forthcoming). High-productivity firms probably benefitted much more from declining trade costs, notably in sectors with a comparative advantage as suggested by Bernard et al (2007). This opens a new perspective on the rise of German multinationals before 1914 such as Bosch, Siemens or BASF to name a few.

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Appendix

A Primary Sources

A.1 Reich ('Zollverein)

The following volumes of the *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs* were compiled by the Imperial German statistical office (*Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt*) and published by *Puttkammer and Mühlbrecht* in Berlin. The spelling resembles that in the sources.

- Vol. 50, Alte Folge (1881). Waarenverkehr des Deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1880. Erster Abschnitt, II: Einfuhr, Ausfuhr und unmittelbaren Durchfuhr im Jahre 1880, geordnet nach den einzelnen Ländern der Herkunft bezw. Bestimmung, mit Angabe der Waarengattungen.
- Vol. 51, Alte Folge (1882). Waarenverkeehr des Deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1881. Erster Abschnitt, II: Einfuhr, Ausfuhr und unmittelbaren Durchfuhr im Jahre 1881, geordnet nach den einzelnen Ländern der Herkunft bezw. Bestimmung, mit Angabe der Waarengattungen.
- Vol. 61, Alte Folge (1883). Waarenverkehr des Deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1882. Erster Abschnitt, II: Einfuhr, Ausfuhr und unmittelbaren Durchfuhr im Jahre 1882, geordnet nach den einzelnen Ländern der Herkunft bezw. Bestimmung, mit Angabe der Waarengattungen.
- Vol. 10, Neue Folge (1884). Waarenverkehr des Deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1883. Erster Abschnitt, II: Einfuhr, Ausfuhr und unmittelbaren Durchfuhr im Jahre 1883, geordnet nach den einzelnen Ländern der Herkunft bezw. Bestimmung, mit Angabe der Waarengattungen.
- Vol. 15, Neue Folge (1885). Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1884. 2. Theil: Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des deutschen Zollgebiets, dargestellt nach den Ländern Herkunft bezw. Bestimmung und nach den Grenzstrecken des Eingangs und Ausgangs sowie überseeischer Waarenverkehr in den wichtigeren Seehäfen des Zollgebiets und den Zollausschlüssen.
- Vol. 20, Neue Folge (1886). Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des Deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1885. Zweiter Theil: Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des deutschen Zollgebiets, geordnet nach den Ländern Herkunft bezw. Bestimmung und nach den Grenzstrecken des Eingangs und Ausgangs sowie überseeischer Waarenverkehr in den wichtigeren Seehäfen des Zollgebiets und den Zollausschlüssen.
- Vol. 26, Neue Folge (1887). Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des Deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1886. 2. Theil: Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des deutschen Zollgebiets, geordnet nach den Ländern Herkunft bezw. Bestimmung und nach den Grenzstrecken des Eingangs und Ausgangs sowie überseeischer Waarenverkehr in den wichtigeren Seehäfen des Zollgebiets und den Zollausschlüssen.
- Vol. 34, Neue Folge (1888). Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des Deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1887. 2. Theil: Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des deutschen Zollgebiets, geordnet nach den Ländern Herkunft bezw. Bestimmung und nach den Grenzstrecken des Eingangs und Ausgangs sowie überseeischer Waarenverkehr in den wichtigeren Seehäfen des Zollgebiets und den Zollausschlüssen.
- Vol. 41, Neue Folge (1889). Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des Deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1888. 2. Theil: Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des

- deutschen Zollgebiets, geordnet nach den Ländern Herkunft bezw. Bestimmung und nach den Grenzstrecken des Eingangs und Ausgangs sowie überseeischer Waarenverkehr in den wichtigeren Seehäfen des Zollgebiets und den Zollausschlüssen.
- Vol. 48, Neue Folge (1890). Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des Deutschen Zollgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1889. 2. Theil: Der auswärtige Waarenverkehr des deutschen Zollgebiets, geordnet nach den Ländern Herkunft bezw. Bestimmung und nach den Grenzstrecken des Eingangs und Ausgangs sowie überseeischer Waarenverkehr in den wichtigeren Seehäfen des Zollgebiets und den Zollausschlüssen.
- Vol. 55, Neue Folge (1891). Auswärtiger Handel des Deutschen Zollgebiets im Jahre 1890. 2. Theil: Statistik des auswärtigen Handels nach Herkunfts- und Bestimmungsländern, auch nach Grenzstrecken und wichtigeren Seehäfen nebst Anhang: Waarenverkehr in systematischer Gruppirung der Waaren.
- Vol. 61, Neue Folge (1892). Auswärtiger Handel des Deutschen Zollgebiets im Jahre 1891. 2. Theil: Darstellung nach Herkunfts- und Bestimmungsländern.
- Vol. 66, Neue Folge (1893). Auswärtiger Handel des Deutschen Zollgebiets im Jahre 1892. 1. Theil: Darstellung nach Waarengattungen.
- Vol. 73, Neue Folge (1894). Auswärtiger Handel des Deutschen Zollgebiets im Jahre 1893. 1. Theil: Der auswärtige Handel nach Menge und Werth der Waaren-Gattungen und der Verkehr mit den einzelnen Ländern.
- Vol. 79, Neue Folge (1895). Auswärtiger Handel des Deutschen Zollgebiets im Jahre 1894. 1. Theil: Der auswärtige Handel nach Menge und Werth der Waaren-Gattungen und der Verkehr mit den einzelnen Ländern.
- Vol. 85, Neue Folge (1896). Auswärtiger Handel des Deutschen Zollgebiets im Jahre 1895. 1. Theil: Der auswärtige Handel nach Menge und Werth der Waaren-Gattungen und der Verkehr mit den einzelnen Ländern.
- Vol. 91, Neue Folge (1897). Auswärtiger Handel des Deutschen Zollgebiets im Jahre 1896. 1. Theil: Der auswärtige Handel nach Menge und Werth der Waaren-Gattungen und der Verkehr mit den einzelnen Ländern.
- Vol. 152, Neue Folge (1903). Auswärtiger Handel des Deutschen Zollgebietes im Jahre 1905. 1. Teil: Der Verkehr mit den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1902 unter Vergleichung mit den Zahlen der Jahre 1897 bis 1901.

Abschnitt A: Europäische Länder. Abschnitt B: Außereuropäische Staaten.

• Vol. 172, Neue Folge (1906). Auswärtiger Handel des Deutschen Zollgebietes im Jahre 1905. 2. Teil: Der Verkehr mit den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1905 unter Vergleichung mit den Zahlen der Jahre 1900 bis 1904.

Abschnitt A: Europäische Länder. Abschnitt B: Außereuropäische Staaten.

• Vol. 182, Neue Folge (1907). Auswärtiger Handel des Deutschen Zollgebietes im Jahre 1906. 2. Teil: Der Verkehr mit den einzelnen Ländern.

Abschnitt A: Europäische Länder. Abschnitt B: Außereuropäische Staaten.

• Vol. 252, Neue Folge (1912). Auswärtiger Handel im Jahre 1911. Der Verkehr mit den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1911 unter Vergleichung mit den vier Vorjahren.

Abschnitt A: Europäische Länder. Abschnitt B: Außereuropäische Staaten. • Vol. 271, Neue Folge (1914). Auswärtiger Handel im Jahre 1913. Der Verkehr mit den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1913 unter Vergleichung mit den vier Vorjahren.

Abschnitt A: Europäische Staaten. Abschnitt B: Außereuropäische Länder.

FIGURE A1 A SNAPSHOT OF ZOLLVEREIN TRADE STATISTICS: DATA

9. Großbritannien 18						9 6		9.	Groß	britanı	l iien
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1 2 3 4 5 6	1.4 Abfalle von ber Eisenfabrifation . 1.2 Abfalle von Gloshütten; Glosigherben 1.2 Abfalle von her Leberfabrifation . 1.2 Ammoniafwaster; Bienenerbe z. 1.3 Dinger, therrigher 1.6 Ghano: natürlicher	57 801 19 347 1 362 910 388	58 34 1 2	57 801 19 269 1 362 905 338	101 58 34 1 2	51 52 — 53	Man. 1 Sijchernehe	788	79	21 4 330 792	11
7 8 9 0 2 3 4	16 —: fimfilkejer 26 Kleie, Malzfeime, Reisabfälle, Kar- bestellulpe 16 Thiersnogen, nicht 3. Benn, als Schnipforl 16 Michalle, nicht besorbers genannt 10 Reise, Stricke u., eite 10 Papieripäne. Matulatur	5 119 106 012 2 928 23 543 24 702 2 864 32 436	494 26	5 119 110 283 2 928 23 543 24 718 2 832 32 424	882 23 24 494 26 226	54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61	s. Blei, rohes; Bruchtlei, Bleinbfalle. s. Bleiglätte s. Bleig, gewalztes; Henfterblei s. Budhenderschriften s. Uichges, Derchyllatien, Stereothypplatien s. Nöhren auß Blei, unlastiete s. Bleiwaaren; grobe, wich besond, genannt s. – jeine	53 805 1 057 2 7 115 18 134 22	32 0 2 58 0	53 854 1 056 38 7 115 14 136 15	
5 6 7 8	21 Baumwolle, robe 22 Baumwollabfalle 22 Baumwolle, farbatichte 20 23 Baumwollwatte	35 200 69 253 10 7	2 978 I	85 195 69 119 10 7	2 972	63 64 66	4nt grobe Bürften und Befen; aus Baft, Stroft, Schiff zt. 4ns —: aus Borften, haaren zc. 4b feine Bürftenbinderwaaren Bürftenbinder-z. Waaren, inneun, bett.	17 26 64		17 24 63 27	1
9 0 1 2 3	20 Baumwollengarn, and Vigognegarn 1 eindrähtiges, reh 2 bis Nr. 17 5 über Nr. 17 bis Nr. 45 4 über Nr. 45 bis Nr. 60 6 über Nr. 60 bis Nr. 79 1 über Nr. 79	57 874 15 538 9 210	131 9 639 3 263 3 039 2 415	1 578 63 905 15 526 9 201 5 066	10736	686 69 70 71	Sojo Reiher aller Art, außer Schwefel- äther, in Flafchen ic. Sun Schwefeläther, Gellotdin, Kollobium Sun ütheriiche Dele, nicht befonders genaumt Sun Blei-, Farben- und Baftellitifte ic. Sun Chloroform.	5 5 351 25 13	1 158	27 13	1 2
4 5 6 7 8	9 switerühtiges, roh a bis Nr. 17 5 über Nr. 17 bis Nr. 45 7 über Nr. 45 bis Nr. 60 3 über Nr. 60 bis Nr. 79 4 über Nr. 79	604 53 195 18 622 10 359 14 176	5 028 4 351	672 55 109 18 500 10 494 15 353	9 919 4 995 4 497	72 74 75 76 77 78	5=2 Effengen R., alfohol- und ütherhaltige 5=2 Lade: Ladficuiffe R s=2 Malers und Washharben, Ansche R. 50 Ukachhalteröl, Nosmarinöl 50 Tändholteröl, Nosmarinöl	31 4 676 430 28 5 106	45 2 3	32 4 671 567 39 5	11
9 0 1 2 3	3 cin- u. gweidräht. gebleicht od. gefärbt = bis Kr. 17 6 über Kr. 17 bis Kr. 45 7 über Kr. 45 bis Kr. 60 6 über Kr. 60 bis Kr. 79 iber Kr. 60	110 518 88 28 174	21 116 26 12	109 552 82 28 174	20 124 24 12 107	79 80 81 82 83 84	5 - Kali-Blutlaugenjal3 5 - Garfaltiun 5 - Natron-Blutlaugenjal3 5 - Ozaflaur, ozahlaures Kali 5 - Oelfirniß 5 - Nettali	84 14 62 373 1 147 190	3 6 23 44 9	202 14 62 426 1 566 173	
4 5 6	breis und mehrbrähtiges, einmal und wiederhott gezwirntes wiederholt gezwirntes; Indiru, accommoditier Docke, ungewebte Bammodlengarn, unvollendindig betlacist		1 200 2 130	3 799 5 171 3 681	2 482 O	85 86 87 88 89 90	5 s Achnatron 5 s Utoun; Thonerbe, fünstliche ec. 5 b Barytweiß 5 b Guigbensterschwärze 5 b Chiertalf 5 h Farbholzegtralie	4 323 1 649 17 38 4 166 1 587	85 18 0 4 58 130	5 724 1 637 17 38 5 315 1 477	1
300	23 Bennwollenwoaren 1 Gewebe, dichte, robe 1 Tüll, roh und ungemustert 1 Gewebe, dichte, gebleicht, anch abpretirt 3 Summet, aufgelichnittener	6 454 3 262 3 050 264	5 219 854 167	20 793 8 370 3 474 860	5 392 973 546	91 92 93 94 95	34 Gelatine, Cylinderlad 34 Hangenblaje	31 11 117 3 382 42	203 3	30 11 119 3 171 43	15
-	3 Gewebe, dichte, gefarbt, bedructt . 3 Polamentiers u. Rnopfmacherwaaren 3 Etrumpfwaaren 3 Gewebe, undichte, robe, mich bei gen.	3 968 73 159 378	137 189	5 159 77 185 804	54 159 402	96 97 98 99 100	54 Siegellad. 54 Sprengftoffe 54 Tinte, Tintenpulver 54 Wichelmert, 54 Wichelmert, 55 Wichelmert, 56 Wichelmert, 56 Wichelmert, 57 Wichelmert, 58 Wichelmert	1 14 358 111 1 402	36 2 35	14 358 111 1 413	
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A.2 Hamburg

The following volumes of the *Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels* were compiled by the Hamburgian statistical office (*Handelstatistisches Bureau*) and published by *H. A. Kümpel* until 1884 and by Schröder and Jeva thereafter, both based in Hamburg. The spelling resembles that in the sources.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1880 (1881).

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr. Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1880 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit Unterscheidung der Waaren. Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr im Jahre 1880 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1881 (1882).

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr. Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1881 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit Unterscheidung der Waaren. Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr im Jahre 1881 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1882 (1883).

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr. Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1882 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit Unterscheidung der Waaren. Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr im Jahre 1882 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1882 (1883). II. Der Waarenverkehr.

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr. Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1882 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit Unterscheidung der Waaren. Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr im Jahre 1882 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1883 (1884).

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr. Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1883 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit Unterscheidung der Waaren. Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr im Jahre 1883 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1883 (1884).

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr. Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1883 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit Unterscheidung der Waaren. Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr seewärts im Jahre 1883 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit nterscheidung der Waaren.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1884 (1885).

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr. Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1884 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr seewärts im Jahre 1884 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1885 (1886).

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr. Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1885 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit Unterscheidung der Waaren. Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr seewärts im Jahre 1885 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1886 (1887).

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr. Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1886 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit Unterscheidung der Waaren. Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr seewärts im Jahre 1886 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1887 (1888).

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1887 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.
Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr seewärts im Jahre 1887 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

• Tabellarische Uebersichten des Hamburgischen Handels im Jahre 1888 (1889).

Tabulation: Die Einfuhr. Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1889 nach den Herkunftsländern beziehungsweise Transportwegen mit UnTabulationterscheidung der Waaren. Tabulation: Die Ausfuhr. Die Ausfuhr seewärts im Jahre 1889 nach den Bestimmungsländern mit Unterscheidung der Waaren.

FIGURE A2 A SNAPSHOT OF HAMBURGIAN TRADE STATISTICS: DATA

П. 34

Die Einfuhr im Jahre 1888 nach den Herkunftsländern

Tab. 56.

		Russland, Schweden, Norwe	egen.		
Transport	AL 3 665 060	Transport	.н. 1 515 660	Transport	.M. 6 858 98
asuholz 100 kg 35	2 190	and, Droguen u. Chemikaliem 100 kg 197	42 460	Bauholz	859 48
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nd. med. Blätter, Blüthen etc. 113	12 650 13 580	rohes Blei 243 Robeisen 4 510	4 970 41 910	Fuselöl , 224 Oxalsaure , 251	17.89
hilogr 830 kilogr 830 kilogr 830 kilomin 100 kg 78	18 440	Robeisen	1 850 590	Jod und Jodkalium	190.80
hosphor " 195	79 500	Stahl 5 284	178 270	and, Droguen u. Chemikalien , 32	4 62
nd. Droguen u. Chemikalicu " 89	12 480	robes Kupfer	4 650	Flussepath 392 phosphorson mineral Kalk 4976	3 60
chlacken von Ersen	3 000	Gold- und Silberkrätze	8 320 8 390	phosphorsaur, mineral, Kalk , 4 976 Kaolin , 8 235	33 31
ohes Blei , 546 kold, and Silberkritze 488	6 870 27 550	Messing 202	16 380	Schleifsteine 109	4.11
iold- und Silberkrütze # 488 Puecksilber # 259	118 300	robes Zink	6 210	Gold- und Silbererz 1819	94.88
ohes Zink 171	8 000	rohes Zinn	2 900	Kobalt und Nickelerz	1 98
ndere Metalle	6 320 44 720	andere Metalle	55 860 109 980	Stangen- und Schmiedeeisen # 2615	40.05
ohe Rosshäute # 730 Calbfelle # 195	88 810	eiserne Platten	111 640	Stahl 69	4 09
chaf- und Ziegenfelle	77 900	Stahlbleche und -Platten # 272	7 880	Kupfer 613	93 49
Rennthierfelle	8 500	Elsendraht	499 090 58 630	Gold- und Silberkrätze	15 %
.eder 30	18 980 5 010	Stahldraht 516 trock, u. gesalz, Rindshäute , 496	38 990	Messing 71	6.33
Cnochensche 885	25 120	Kalbfelle 984	224 140	Niekel	10.00
rockenes Blut 8 708	57 170	Leder 19	7.560	andere Metalle 70	6.00
ndere Abfalle	10 730	Wachs 89	20 050	gewalzte Eisenbleche	4 44 23 34
ndere Abfalle 469 Ferdehaare kilogr 850 kvesten 100 kg 13	2 400 15 790	Kleestat	5.800 106.060	trock. u. gesalz. Rindshäute " 186 Kalbfelle " 788	206.9
korsten	190 960	Lumpen 857	15.850	Schaf- und Ziegenfelle 351	76 4
Dein	10 710	Wollgarn	3 250	Seehundsfelle	16.8
russuat 295	17 200	and. Rohstoffe u. Halbfabrik	14 800	and. Felle zur Lederbereitung 49 Rennthjerfelle 147	9 4
Innfenat	104 440	Wollen- u. Halbwollenwaaren kilogr 390	2 000	Rennthierfelle , 147 Pelzfelle , 83	110 2
Cleesaat # 448	39 250 28 390	Baumwollenwaaren 100 kg 50	15 280	fertiges Pelswerk	11 4
einsaat	2 600	Sacke Stück 12 290	4 520	Leder	5.6
elkuchen 12 071	135 460	Korke Mille 2 805	7 450	Hirsch-, Reh. etc. Hörner	40.9
prophische Nutzhölzer , 1109	7.970	Mobilien	5 910 4 260	rohe Knochen	
dtes Tauwerk	7 850 23 930	grobe Holzwaaren 100 kg 9 978	230 890	Guano 33 094	439 0
Aumpen	80 950	feine 462	24 260	and, thierischer Dünger 743	5.5
Hanf 242	11 070	feine , , 462 Papier , , 8 679	299 050	andere Abfälle	31 6
Werg 826	12 610	Tinte	3 340 13 470	Bettfedern # 14 Leim 502	39.2
einengarn	2 200 6 940	gedruckte Bücher	18 630	Stearin	8.9
and. Rohstoffe u. Halbfabrik	0.940	Glaswaren	53 820	Knochenfett 92	4.9
Segelleinen	27 620	grobe Eisenwaaren 484	20 510	Thran	2 199 1 13 B
neues Tauwerk	287 120	eiserne Nägel	142 710	europäische Nutzhölzer 100 kg 1 062 Holzstoff 5 787	130 8
Matten # 420	6 400	feine Eisenwaaren	49 100 2 500	Lawmen 1499	20.9
Holzdraht,	2 310 3 620	Nahmaschinen	4 450	Lumpen , 1 499 rohe Schafwolle , 55 and. Robstoffe u. Halbfabrik	5.8
Guromischuhe Paar 27 970	38 740.	andere Maschinen 1251	108 540	and. Robstoffe u. Halbfabrik	28.5
eine Holzwaaren 91 Gummischube Paar 27 970 Papier 100 kg 1 222	37 680	Zündhölzer	1 105 490	Wollen-u. Halbwollenwaaren 100 kg 35	27.0
Semilide kilogr 510	3 000 22 000	andere Industrieartikel	9 130	Baumwollwaaren kilogr 700	8.4
Hohlglaswaaren 100 kg 633	7 000	Passagargus	17 100	Sacke	13 1
ndere Industrieartikel 100 kg 33	10 710	Total 100 kg629 649	7 286 320	and, Leinward	2.7
		1887 , 590 187	6 322 180	fert, Kleider u. Putzwaaren kilogr 780 andere Manufakturwaaren	
Total 100 kg385 048	5.366.340	1886 , 465 529 1885 , 427 248		andere Maniflakturwaaren	
1887 394 329 1886 362 416	5 862 360 6 625 120	1884 315 325		neues Tauwerk 100 kg 135	11 5
1885 , 252 383	4 429 340			Korke Mille 7 296	
1884 , 140 704	2 911 440	Charles Management	Werth	Füsser Stück 1 80% grobe Holzwaaren 100 kg 352	9.9
	200000000000000000000000000000000000000	Norwegen	M.	feine 84	4.1
g-land to	Werth	Tasa Tasa		Schirme Silogr 520 Papier 100 kg 16 84	34
Schweden	.A.	Kaffee 100 kg 36		Papier	485 8 47 8
	10000	Kautaback kilogr 800		gedrackte Eacher 1 100	20.00
getrocknetes Obst 100 kg 280	6 670	Weinhl 14 Liqueur u. and. Branntwein 220		Commission of the contract of	11.4
risches Obst	14 590 5 460	Rier 8 521	584 700	eiserne Nägel	269 1
Korn- Kart-Spiritus u. Sprit # 9 096	216 250	Kummel 100 kg 146	10.780	and feine Eisenwaaren	
Liqueur u. and. Branntwein . 116	21 980	Reisstanb und Miele 8 37/2	84.000	Waaren aus edlen Metallen gramm 16 245	
Erbsen 1971	24 970	Heringe	1 102 550 9 400	andere Metallwaaren 100 kg 28 Maschinen 825	861
Reisstaub und Kleie 209 Harings Tonnen 90	2 300 2 590	Sardinen 20		mathemat, etc. Instrumente 100 kg 19	5.8
Heringe Tonnen 90 Anchovis	7 560	Anchovis	109 270	Taschenuhren kilogr 13	
andere zubereitete Fische	5 620	and suberestete Fische		Schiesspalver	
frische Fische 8 378	27 570	getrocknete Fische 90 305			1.0000000000000000000000000000000000000
andere Verzehrungsartikel	8 040	frische Fische		Naturalien # 13 andere Kurzwaaren # 25	167
Banholz	608 990	Wild und Gefügel		leere Kisten und Korbe 119	4.0
Stabholz 671	3 470	gesalz, u. geräuch. Fleisch	3 310	andere Industrieartikel	21 1 26 2
Sand- und Granitsteine , # 285 020	516.870	and, gubereitetes Fleisch 112			2072
Holzkohlen " 116	2.520 4.310	Butter 61 condensirte Milch 86		Total 100 kg658 406	13 300 8
Parbewaaren	10 000	Composition 52		1887 , 561 891	10 841 5
gereinigter Schwefel	25 900	andere Verzehrungsartikei	9 060	1886 512 000	9 640 6
		The second secon	4 000 000	1885 428 048	11 559 7
Transport .4.	1 515 660	Transport A	6 858 980	1884 , 885 916	

A.3 Bremen

The following volumes of the *Jahrbuch für Bremische Statistik* were compiled by the Bremish statistical office (*Bureau für Bremische Statistik*) and published by *Kommissionsverlag von G.A. von Halem*, based in Bremen. The spelling resembles that in the sources.

• I. Heft: Zur Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs im Jahre 1880 (1881).

Tabulation: Gesammt–Einfuhr see-, land- und flusswärts im Jahre 1880 aus den einzelnen Ländern und Plätzen, Werth und Waarengattungen. Tabulation: Ausfuhr nach den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1880 nach Quantum und Werth der einzelnen Artikel.

• I. Heft: Zur Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs im Jahre 1881 (1882).

Tabulation: Gesammt–Einfuhr see-, land- und flusswärts im Jahre 1881 aus den einzelnen Ländern und Plätzen, Werth und Waarengattungen.
Tabulation: Ausfuhr nach den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1881 nach Quantum und Werth der einzelnen Artikel.

• I. Heft: Zur Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs im Jahre 1882 (1883).

Tabulation: Gesammt–Einfuhr see-, land- und flusswärts im Jahre 1882 aus den einzelnen Ländern und Plätzen, Werth und Waarengattungen.
Tabulation: Ausfuhr nach den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1882 nach Quantum und Werth der einzelnen Artikel.

• I. Heft: Zur Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs im Jahre 1882 (1883).

Tabulation: Gesammt–Einfuhr see-, land- und flusswärts im Jahre 1882 aus den einzelnen Ländern und Plätzen, Werth und Waarengattungen.
Tabulation: Ausfuhr nach den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1882 nach Quantum und Werth der einzelnen Artikel.

• I. Heft: Zur Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs im Jahre 1883 (1884).

Tabulation: Gesammt–Einfuhr see-, land- und flusswärts im Jahre 1883 aus den einzelnen Ländern und Plätzen, Werth und Waarengattungen.
Tabulation: Ausfuhr nach den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1883 nach Quantum und Werth der einzelnen Artikel.

• I. Heft: Zur Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs im Jahre 1884 (1885).

Tabulation: Gesammt–Einfuhr see-, land- und flusswärts im Jahre 1884 aus den einzelnen Ländern und Plätzen, Werth und Waarengattungen.
Tabulation: Ausfuhr nach den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1884 nach Quantum und Werth der einzelnen Artikel.

• Zur Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs im Jahre 1885 (1886).

Tabulation: Gesammt-Einfuhr see-, land- und flusswärts im Jahre 1885 aus den

einzelnen Ländern und Plätzen, Werth und Waarengattungen. Tabulation: Ausfuhr nach den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1885 nach Quantum und Werth der einzelnen Artikel.

• Zur Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs im Jahre 1886 (1887).

Tabulation: Gesammt–Einfuhr see-, land- und flusswärts im Jahre 1886 aus den einzelnen Ländern und Plätzen, Werth und Waarengattungen.
Tabulation: Ausfuhr nach den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1886 nach Quantum und Werth der einzelnen Artikel.

• I. Heft: Zur Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs im Jahre 1887 (1888).

Tabulation: Gesammt–Einfuhr see-, land- und flusswärts im Jahre 1887 aus den einzelnen Ländern und Plätzen, Werth und Waarengattungen.
Tabulation: Ausfuhr nach den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1887 nach Quantum und Werth der einzelnen Artikel.

• I. Heft: Zur Statistik des Schiffs- und Waarenverkehrs im Jahre 1888 (1889).

Tabulation: Gesammt–Einfuhr see-, land- und flusswärts im Jahre 1888 aus den einzelnen Ländern und Plätzen, Werth und Waarengattungen.
Tabulation: Ausfuhr nach den einzelnen Ländern im Jahre 1888 nach Quantum und Werth der einzelnen Artikel.

FIGURE A3 A SNAPSHOT OF BREMISH TRADE STATISTICS: DATA

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Ländern im Jahre 1887 der einzelnen Artikel. (Fortsetzung.)

			0ester	reich.			
Ocetowniel	. coowse	ło.		Pottloh	159 111	Kg.No.	20 6
Oesterreich	ii, seewai	10		and rohe Droguen	1 709	*	2 9
rüchte, getr.,				präparirte, Salze	164	8 -	40
ohannishrod		Kg.No.	1511		7 165		6 13 1 54
Rosinen	28 357			Dünger	5 640		75
etreide, Gerste	208 940	*		Farbewaaren, Zinkweiss.	19 359	,	143
lafer	141 335			Zinnober	279		3 43
Malz	$192\ 390$		48 745	and Farbewaaren	2 964		. 0 4
ülsenfrüchte,	00.000			Federn,	0.507		8.23
Vitsbohnen	62 293	*		Bettfedern u. Daunen.	2 587	,	21.58
ebensmittel, Grütze	2 475			Felle, rohes Pelzwerk	2 727	a -	21 00
Weizenmehl	134 175			Glycerin	232		101 67
ein	302 107			Haare, Menschenhaare	5 161		2 83
acker, raffinirter	49 650	Kg.No.	14 560	Hasenhaare	220	r r	38
roguerien, rohe,				Pferdehaare	131		15 38
dummi, Arabicum	21 879			Schweinsborsten	3 159	777	88 14
nd. Gummi	4 183			Holz, Tannen, Erlen etc.	2 123,39		. 0/
Lorbeeren u. Lorbeerbl.	5294			Stabholz		Rumpf	
Pottloh	512			Mecrschaum, roher		Kg.Bo.	16
ind. rohe Droguen	500	,		Naturalien	1 066	7. "	1.45
arbestoffe	9 973		1 795	[Oele, aetherische	766	Kg.No.	5 5
Arbewaaren	263		53	Samen, Hanfsamen	20 000		31
hildpatt	180		3 000	and. Sämereien	577		4
anfwaaren	532	Kg.Bo.	395	Schwämme, feine	1 610		90
eingut, feines	1059		1 271	Spinnstoffe, Schafwolle	204	,	3
			338 157	and. Rohstoffe	für		- 5
	_	.16	990 194	Stahl	11 015	Kg.No.	118
Ocalemaich	Londovši	do		and. Metalle	109		10
Oesterreich	, ianuwai	12		Garn, Baumwollengarn	622	,	14
er	458 957	Liter 1	115921	Wollengarn	213		9
chorien u. a. Kaffee-				Leder, gegerbtes	10 761		688
surrogate	1 464	Kg.No.	1 205	Baumwollenwaaren	126 556	Kg.Bo.	278 5
rüchte, getr., Brünellen	13 474	,	11 069	Hüte u. Kappen	814		3 2
Iaselnüsse	-2560		2 252	Leinen u. Leinenwaaren.	41 481	, i	120 2
wetschen		: 1		Seiden- u. Halbseidenw	24 701		666 9
ndere	6 410	- ;		Spitzen	275	;	19
üd- u. einges. Früchte.	468		599	Wollen Tuch	12 909		162.6
etreide, Gerste	20 050			Wollen- u. Halbwollenw.	108 669		1 312 9
Ialz		:		Manufakturw. überhpt	7 902		78 0
ülsenfrüchte, Linsen	34 851			Bücher u a. Drucksachen	9 861	,	21.5
itsbohnen	239 612			Bürstenwaaren	2 383	:	4.0
ewürze, Pfeffer	618			Eisenwaaren, Stahlwaaren	7 002		18 2
opfen	32 249			and. Eisenwaaren	25 263	~	360
bensmittel, Butter	21 869	"		Galanterie- u. Kurzew.	602 870	: 1	1 468 5
Sier	56 634	"		Gemälde, Statuen u. dgl.	4 622		21 9
leisch etc., Ochsenfl.	380			Geräth, Mobilien	30 230		43 5
Schinken	337			Wagen		Kolli	1.7
Würste	284	"		Glaswaaren			6008
Wild u. Geflügel	5 191			Gummiwaaren	1 511	,,	58
Frutze	1 980	:		Hanfwaaren	826		8
(äse	12 230			Holzwaaren, Spielzeug	55 569		66 6
onserven	5 943			feine Holzwaaren übhpt.	21 080		31 3
Veizenmehl	7 920			ordinaire Holzwaaren	2 023		, g
nd. Lebensmittel	446	*	490	Instrumente, Fortepiani		Stück	13
ineralwasser	48 386/1	Kribae	200	mathem., opt. etc		Kg.Bo.	55
*HOLGE W (1980)	2 500/2		99 309	Musikinstrum. überhpt.	5 432		113
st, getrocknetes		Kg.No.	9 114	Kleidung, neue	4 456	,	280
pirituosen, Kognak		Liter		Korkwaaren	688		43
Crantarbranstrain						•	
räuterbranntwein	3 560			Lederwaaren, Handschuhe	13 687		298 3
iqueur	151	Ka No	15.500		119 189		500 7
back, ungarischer		Kg.No.	19 999	Leim		Kg.No.	7
urkischer etc	1 961	14A1	502	Lichte	797		8
igarren		Mille	5 050	Maschinen	8 644		77
eh, Schlachtvieh		Stück	3 700	Messingwaaren	162	Kg.Bo.	5
em	109 079		114283	Metallwaaren	26 445	,	92 1
hampagner	130/1	Flsch.	375	Papier	40 869		17 2
d. Verzehrungsgegenst.	für	r_ '	413	Papierwaaren	5 170		6.1
roguerien, rohe, Gummi		Kg.No.		Parfûmerien u. Essenzen	420		6

B Generating the Quota in Practice

In order to combine the trade data from Hamburg, Bremen and the German "Zollverein" for the years 1880-188, we extend the quota method suggested by Buchheim (1982). If, for example, in a given year the total export of grain from the *Zollverein* to Bremen was 100 units, and Bremen in turn exported 60 units of grain to England and 140 units to Sweden, we augment the grain export of Germany to England by 100 * (60/(60+140)) = 30 units to England and by 100 * (140/(60+140)) = 70 units to Sweden. More formally, we construct x_{dikt} , the corrected country-product trade flow between Germany and some trade partner (i) in direction (d), product category (k) and year (t) as

$$x_{dikt} = x_{dkt}^{\text{Ger} \to i} + R_{dkt}^{\text{Port} \to i} \times \sum_{\text{Ports}} x_{dkt}^{\text{Ger} \to \text{Port}}.$$
(A1)

Where the German Zollverein trade to country i is given by $x_{dkt}^{\mathrm{Ger} \to i}$, the Zollverein trade with Hamburg and Bremen $x_{dkt}^{\mathrm{Ger} \to \mathrm{Port}}$, and in turn, the port cities' trade with country (i) by $x_{dkt}^{\mathrm{Port} \to i}$. The quota R is defined as $R_{dtk}^{\mathrm{Port} \to i} = \frac{x_{dkt}^{\mathrm{Port} \to i}}{\sum_{i} x_{dkt}^{\mathrm{Port} \to i}}$, with the necessary condition $\sum_{i} R_{dkt}^{\mathrm{Port} \to i} \stackrel{!}{=} 1$.

Moreover, we apply upper bounds to the quota, because sometimes an unbounded application of the quota may yield impossible trade flows due to unobserved processing or consumption in the port cities (or simply due to misdeclaration). If *Zollverein* data exceeds the records of the Hanseatic data, they are cut back to this very amount:

$$x_{dikt} = \begin{cases} x_{dkt}^{\text{Ger} \to i} + R_{dkt}^{\text{Port} \to i} \times x_{dkt}^{\text{Ger} \to \text{Port}} & \text{if } R_{dkt}^{\text{Port} \to i} \times x_{dkt}^{\text{Ger} \to \text{Port}} \leqslant x_{dkt}^{\text{Port} \to i}, \\ x_{dkt}^{\text{Ger} \to i} + x_{dkt}^{\text{Port} \to i} & \text{else.} \end{cases}$$
(A2)

The Zollverein statistics differentiate between Bremen and Hamburg from 1880 to 1887, while in 1888 they solely refer to the *Zollausschlüssse Elbe und Weser*. We keep only corresponding country codes: 818 for Hamburg, 815 for Bremen and 846 for the *Zollausschlüsse*. This

separates the trade flows into three different parts: trade between the *Zollverein* and the Hanseatic cities to which the quotas will be applied, is the rest of the tariff area's trade, and the cleaned final trade flows. ¹³ For constructing the quotas, we only consider non-zero trade flows that have been assigned an SITC code. After that we drop all trade flows with summarizing categories (e.g. *'Holzwaaren, zusammen'*) which occur sometimes in the Bremen data. We generate the upper bounds as described in the text calculating the total value of trade flows by source, year, direction of trade, partner country and SITC product category. Since quantities are difficult to compare between the different volumes, we only create bounds for values. If the value of a trade flow exceeds its upper bound, we resize both its quantity and its value by the same factor.

We generate quotas in both the quantity and value dimension for every SITC level. For the levels four to one, we create a second set of extended quotas for each level, which include trade flows from lower levels, whose quotas were not used. If, for example, the quotas of a given SITC item were not used on the five-digit level matching round, we reuse these trade flows for creating the extended quotas on the four-digit level.

To calculate the 'pure' quotas, we first calculate simple quotas of quantity and value on the SITC-unit level. To get a single quota for each SITC code, the quotas must now be aggregated in case of several units per SITC category. We weigh the quotas by the sum of values each SITC-unit-segment has within an SITC category. We then aggregate the quotas so that only one quota per source, direction of trade, year, partner country and SITC category remains. At this point we check whether the quotas sum up to one as required. The quotas are now applied to the trade flows of the *Zollverein*. The latter were prepared by creating a port-variable that matches

¹³Technically, we replace the value of source dummy s_d for 1888, which creates an artificial volume. This simplifies matching the trade flows with the Zollausschlüsse in the Zollverein data later on.

the Hanseatic data and thereby can be matched with the quotas. They are not aggregated in any way; the historical product descriptions are kept. Doing so preserves information.

In bringing the quotas to the data, we first try to match five-digit trade flows level with quotas on the same level. Then we try to match the remaining five-digit trade flows with the pure four-digit quotas and so on until the one-digit level. After that, we take the five-digit quotas that have not been used and create the extended quotas on the four-digit level. Then we take the trade flows on the four-digit level and try to match them with the extended quotas on the four-digit level. The remaining four-digit trade flows are then matched with pure quotas on the three-, two- and one-digit level. This loop is repeated for three-, two- and one-digit level trade flows. Trade flows that could not be matched—which make up less than 1 percent of the data—stay in the dataset as trade flows to Hamburg or Bremen for the sake of completeness.

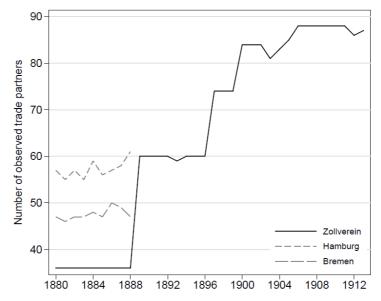
After appending the joint trade flows, the new values and quantities are calculated. If they exceed the upper bounds, values and quantities are resized by the same correction factor. About 26 percent of the newly calculated trade flows exceed the bounds and have to be resized.

Applying upper bounds alters the totals in some cases. Since the quota method only redirects *Zollverein* trade with Hamburg and Bremen to other trade partners, the sum of imports and exports should actually stay the same. Changes in total exports or imports do occur, however, by applying the upper bounds. Since exports shrank and imports rose after the *Zollanschluss*, the Hanseatic cities' net exports were apparently lower than those of the tariff area. This seems to result in tighter bounds on exports than on imports: The share of trade flow exceeding the upper bound is 19 percent for imports, but 29 percent for exports. Overall, imports shrink by 2.4 percent while exports shrink by 11.7 percent (taking all trade flows into account and using 1913 prices). Since exports decreased only by 3 percent after the *Zollanschluss*, the method of upper bounds might be too crude, but the results point in a plausible direction.

C Country Space

Figure A4 shows the growing number of trade partners occurring in the three different sources.

FIGURE A4 NUMBER OF TRADE PARTNERS OVER TIME, BY SOURCE



Statistical items excluded. Source: Own calculations, see text.

TABLE A4 TRADE PARTNERS IN THE DATA

Continent (+ ID)		Region $(+ ID)$		Trade Partner $(+ ID)$	
Europe	1	W. Europe	10	Belgium and Luxemburg	1001
Europe	1	W. Europe	10	France	1001
Europe	1	W. Europe	10	Austria-Hungary	1002
Europe	1	W. Europe	10	Italy	1003
Europe	1	W. Europe	10	Netherlands	1005
Europe	1	W. Europe	10	Great Britain and Ireland	1006
Europe	1	W. Europe		Portugal	1007
Europe	1	W. Europe	10	Spain	1008
Europe	1	W. Europe	10	Switzerland	1009
Europe	1	S. and E. Europe		Russian Empire	1101
Europe	1	S. and E. Europe	11	Greece	1103
Europe	1	S. and E. Europe	11	Romania	1104
Europe	1	S. and E. Europe	11	Bulgaria	1105
Europe	1	S. and E. Europe	11	W. Balkans	1106
Europe	1	S. and E. Europe	11	British Mediterrenean	1107
Europe	1	Northern Europe	12	Denmark	1201
Europe	1	Northern Europe	12	Finland	1202
Europe	1	Northern Europe	12	Sweden	1203
Europe	1	Northern Europe	12	Norway	1204
N. America	2	N. America	20	United States	2001
N. America	2	N. America	20	Canada	2002
N. America	2	N. America	20	Mexico	2003
S. America	3	S. America	30	Argentina	3001
S. America	3	S. America	30	Chile	3002
S. America	3	S. America	30	Brazil	3003
S. America	3	S. America	30	Peru	3004
S. America	3	S. America	30	Paraguay	3005
S. America	3	S. America	30	Uruguay	3006
S. America	3	S. America	30	Bolivia	3007
S. America	3	S. America	30	Ecuador	3008
S. America	3	S. America	30	Venezuela	3009
S. America	3	S. America	30	Colombia	3010
S. America	3	Central America	31	Costa Rica	3101
S. America	3	Central America	31	El Salvador	3102
S. America	3	Central America	31	Guatemala	3103
S. America	3	Central America		Honduras	3104
S. America	3	Central America	31	Nicaragua	3105
S. America	3	Central America		Panama	3106
S. America	3	Carribean		British West Indies	3201
S. America	3	Carribean		Danish West Indies	3202
S. America	3	Carribean		French West Indies	3203
S. America	3	Carribean		Dutch West Indies	3204
S. America	3	Carribean		Haiti	3205
S. America	3	Carribean		Dominican Republic	3206
S. America	3	Carribean		Cuba and Puerto Rico	3207
S. America	3	Rest of S. America		Rest of S. America	3999
Asia	4	Middle East		Ottoman Empire	4001
Asia	4	Middle East		Persia	4002
Asia	4	Indias		British India	4101
Asia	4	Indias		French India	4102
Asia	4	Indias		Dutch India	4103
Asia	_	Indias		Portuguese India	4104
			-11	Continued on r	

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(+ ID)		Region (+ ID)		Trade Partner (+ ID)	
Asia	4	Indias	41	Ceylon and the Maledives	4105
Asia	4	Non-India Asia	42	China	4201
Asia	4	Non-India Asia	42	Japan	4202
Asia	4	Non-India Asia	42	Hong-Kong	4203
Asia	4	Non-India Asia	42	Korea	4204
Asia	4	Non-India Asia	42	Philippines	4205
Asia	4	Non-India Asia	42	Thailand	4206
Asia	4	Non-India Asia	42	British Malaya	4207
Asia	4	Rest of Asia	49	Rest of Asia	4999
Africa	5	Arabia	50	Egypt	5001
Africa	5	Arabia	50	Algeria	5002
Africa	5	Arabia	50	Libya	5003
Africa	5	Arabia	50	Morocco	5004
Africa	5	Arabia	50	Tunisia	5005
Africa	5	Arabia	50	Aden and other Islands around the Arabian Peninsula	5006
Africa	5	E. Africa	51	Ethiopia	5101
Africa	5	E. Africa	51	British East Africa	5102
Africa	5	E. Africa	51	Portuguese East Africa	5103
Africa	5	E. Africa	51	Italian Africa	5104
Africa	5	E. Africa	51	German East Africa	5105
Africa	5	Southern Africa	52	Dutch South Africa	5201
Africa	5	Southern Africa	52	German South-West Africa	5202
Africa	5	Southern Africa	52	Congo	5203
Africa	5	Southern Africa	52	British South Africa	5204
Africa	5	W. Africa	53	French Africa	5301
Africa	5	W. Africa	53	British West Africa	5302
Africa	5	W. Africa	53	Portuguese West Africa	5303
Africa	5	W. Africa	53	Madagascar	5304
Africa	5	W. Africa	53	German West Africa	5305
Africa	5	W. Africa	53	Liberia	5306
Africa	5	Rest of Africa	59	Rest of Africa	5999
				Australia	
Oceania Oceania	6	Big Islands	60 60	New Zealand	6001
Oceania Oceania	6	Big Islands		New Zealand British Oceania	6002
	6	Small Islands	61	French Oceania	6101
Oceania	6	Small Islands Small Islands	61	American Oceania	6102
Oceania Oceania	6 6	Small Islands Small Islands	61 61		6103 6104

Domestic trade partners as well as statistical polities not reported. Source: see text.

TABLE A5 COUNTRIES BY INCOME COUNTRY

High	Medium	Low
Argentina	Brazil	Aden and other Arabian islands
Australia	British India	Algeria
Austria-Hungary	British Malaya	American Oceania
Belgium and Luxemburg	British Mediterrenean	Bolivia
Canada	British South Africa	British East Africa
Denmark	British West Indies	British Oceania
France	Bulgaria	British West Africa
Great Britain and Ireland	Chile	Ceylon and the Maledives
Hong-Kong	China	Congo
Italy	Colombia	Costa Rica
Netherlands	Cuba and Puerto Rico	Danish West Indies
New Zealand	Dutch India	Dominican Republic
Spain	Dutch South Africa	Dutch West Indies
Switzerland	Finland	Ecuador
United States	French India	Egypt
	French West Indies	El Salvador
	Greece	Ethiopia
	Japan	French Africa
	Mexico	French Oceania
	Norway	German East Africa
	Ottoman Empire	German Oceania
	Panama	German South-West Africa
	Paraguay	German West Africa
	Peru	Guatemala
	Philippines	Haiti
	Portugal	Honduras
	Romania	Italian Africa
	Russian Empire	Korea
	Sweden	Liberia
	Thailand	Libya
	Uruguay	Madagascar
	Venezuela	Morocco
	Western Balkans	Nicaragua
		Persia
		Portuguese East Africa
		Portuguese India
		Portuguese West Africa
		Tunisia

Based in terciles using income estimates from ? (who rely largely on the Maddison Project Database) and other income proxies. Source: Own calculations, see text.