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Louisville and the tobacco trade within the Atlantic World.

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**Louisville and the Tobacco Trade within the Atlantic World: The Case of the Campbell
Tobacco Company, 1898-1933**

By

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for Graduation *Summa Cum Laude*
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March 2019

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A Senior Honors Thesis Approved on

March 8, 2019

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ABSTRACT

This thesis uses the Campbell Company of Louisville as a case study to demonstrate how tobacco from Kentucky moved throughout the Atlantic World of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, specifically as an export commodity to major trading firms in England and France. Those trading firms, such as John Holt & Company of Liverpool, used that tobacco to engage in trade through West Africa and to obtain the commodities of palm oil and palm kernel that were valuable as factory lubricants, soap, and margarine in Europe's industrial society. Charles Campbell of the Campbell Company used social ties and personal relationships with people such as the Maxwell family of Liverpool to further his business ventures across the Atlantic as his personal letters and business records help to illuminate. This work will contribute to various fields, particularly local Louisville history, as it demonstrates how even Louisville-based companies contributed to and benefited from colonial economies resulting from European colonization efforts in West Africa and other parts of the Atlantic World.

LAY SUMMARY

This thesis looks at how strong personal bonds and relationships helped a Louisville-based tobacco to thrive in a global commodity trading network across the Atlantic Ocean in the latter half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Personal relationships helped the Campbell Company navigate a complex trade network- this thesis closely examines this claim by citing personal letters and placing the Campbell Company into its historical context.

KEY WORDS

Atlantic World; Louisville, Kentucky; tobacco; West Africa; Liverpool; global history

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Introduction and Archival Methodologies

On July 18, 1909, Frédéric Bohn, the founder of the Compagnie Française de l’Afrique Occidentale (CFAO), sent a letter to Charles Campbell in Louisville, Kentucky thanking the tobacconist for a letter he received from Charles.¹ Charles Campbell of the Campbell Company Incorporated—dealers, rehandlers, and exporters of leaf tobacco—had sent a letter to Bohn to follow up with him about a recent visit to Marseille in which they had met.² Beyond noting that he enjoyed his trip, Charles enclosed photographs of himself and his daughter, Edith. Bohn wrote back to Charles that he was “certainly fully justified in being proud of such a beautiful girl and we are very thankful for the opportunity you gave us to admire her. I sent [sic] you at once the photos of our children which I hope will soon reach you.”³ It was important to both Charles and Frédéric that their trade was personable and that their ties were to endure in the commodity-trading network that spanned across the Atlantic Ocean in the late 1800s and into the twentieth century.

The Marseillais of La Compagnie Française de l’Afrique Occidentale were Charles’ business partners in a post-abolition, imperialist trade network, not initially his friends. However, they soon became his friends through Charles’ efforts to nurture and reinforce their business relationship. Like many figures in business, Charles knew the value of having friends in the tobacco business during this period of European colonization, especially in the continent of

¹ For precision and clarity, I will be referring to Campbell members by their first names to avoid confusion.

² “United States Passport Applications, 1795-1925,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G9XM-JN3M?cc=2185145&wc=3XZQ-6TG%3A1056306501%2C1056546701> : 22 December 2014), (M1490) Passport Applications, January 2, 1906 - March 31, 1925 > Roll 1352, 1920 Sep, certificate no 88250-88625 > image 627-628 of 830; citing NARA microfilm publications M1490 and M1372 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

³ Frédéric Bohn to Charles Campbell, July 18, 1909, folder 1, Campbell, Charles D., 1863-1933. Papers, 1903-2001, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky. Hereafter the collection and full repository names will be omitted based on an established understanding that all primary archival material, aside from minute book entries, is from the Campbell, Charles D., 1863-1933. Papers at the Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky.

Africa and its West Africa trade. Charles trusted that his friends and close acquaintances would look after his business interests based off not only their mutual business interests but also their personal relationships. He knew that his friends in France and Britain could introduce him to potential opportunities and partnerships in the future. In return, he hoped and assured them that he would do the same.

In the same letter from the eighteenth of July 1909, Bohn proclaimed, “as regards our tobacco business, I feel sure that our interests as long as they lie in your and Mr. Brooks’ hands, will be carefully protected and I expect that notwithstanding the very keen competition which we have to meet our turn over in that commodity will continue to increase to our mutual satisfaction.”⁴ In this statement, Bohn and the French Compagnie professed their trust and comfortability in Charles and his company. Beyond that, he intimated that their business alliance was beneficial for both sides. If they trusted each other and their partners (i.e. Mr. Brooks), they could beat out competition and continue profiting. This strategy apparently worked, as the relationships between Charles and Frédéric Bohn endured until Bohn’s death in 1923.

Upon arriving home from a three-month trip to South America from March to May 1923, Charles found a letter from Mrs. Bohn, Suzanne Chabert, of Marseille, France that informed him of Frédéric’s death.⁵ Charles’ letter back to Mrs. Bohn on June 6, 1923 provides insight into the deeply personal relationship between Charles and Frédéric. Charles started the letter by apologizing that he could no longer write longhand and that the letter thus had to be typed, a sign of a personal touch he wanted to provide to his letter. Charles stated in the letter:

three men have had an outstanding influence on my life, and Mr. Bohn was one. If I have had any material success in what I have done, a great deal of this success has been due to him. But it was not my business relations with him to which I refer in speaking of his

⁴ Frédéric to Charles, July 18, 1909, folder 1.

⁵⁵ “Suzanne Chabert,” Geneanet entry, accessed February 25, 2019, <https://gw.geneanet.org/saorsel?lang=en&pz=sabine&nz=orsel&p=suzanne&n=chabert>.

influence; it was the personal relation and the constant contact with those wonderful qualities of gentleness, consideration for others, clean thinking, sense of justice, and the wonderful ability to draw right conclusions, and to pass on these things to those with whom he came in contact.⁶

This exchange demonstrates the small personal touches that made trade between the prominent French company, which operated in colonial territories throughout French West Africa, and the Louisville tobacco company both a social relationship and a lucrative business connection.⁷ If Charles could make the French Compagnie personally invested in his family's well-being (i.e. introducing them to other family members, adding personal touches to his correspondence with them), it was more likely for trust to exist and remain between the two companies.

Charles' personal touches and his letters at large were particularly important given that his business interests and connections often existed overseas. Charles made up for his inability to have daily in-person interactions with his business connections through, for instance, amicable letter writing and exchanging photographs. Letter writing proved crucial to Charles' business success. Such letters appear fundamental to Charles' strategy to maintain professional relationships with foreign businesses. Regarding his trips to Europe to see representatives of the French Compagnie and John Holt & Company, Charles noted in a 1914 minute book entry:

I would like to say that this past year I have asked both of these Companies to state positively whether they consider these trips of benefit and worth the cost, and the reply of both was emphatic that they believed our present connections were due to these trips and that they knew they had to pay for them and under no circumstances should they be abandoned if it was possible to continue.⁸

⁶ Charles to Mrs. Bohn, June 6, 1923, folder 3.

⁷ For more interesting historical accounts of CFAO involvement in West Africa, see historian Andrew Arsan's first book, *Interlopers of Empire: The Lebanese Diaspora in Colonial French West Africa*. As this thesis focuses on CFAO as involved with Charles Campbell and Campbell Company, it is not able to go in depth about all of the projects and implications of CFAO within the French colonies of West Africa. *Interlopers of Empire* mentions Bohn by name and discusses some of his work in West Africa.

⁸ Charles Campbell, minute book report, 1914, pages 6-7, volume 1, Campbell Co. (Louisville, KY) Minute Books, 1914-1947, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky. Hereafter the collection title and repository name will be omitted based on the understanding that all minute book entries will be referred to as such and cited by page and volume number.

If this interaction was as positive as Charles conveyed to his Company, the European firms valued personal interactions as much as Charles did. Charles often made yearly trips to Europe, taking time out of his every day matters at the company's Louisville office. Letters became the means of maintaining these relationships between face-to-face meetings. The letters fostered rapport that Charles often could not nurture in person.

The Campbell Company exported tobacco leaf to merchant firms, like the CFAO, who would then widely distribute the tobacco. CFAO distributed Campbell tobacco to French West Africa colonies and most likely to other areas throughout the Atlantic World. This thesis focuses on the export of tobacco from Louisville, Kentucky to Liverpool, UK primarily, though Campbell Company's export business to CFAO's headquarters in Marseilles was an important facet of its business. To add to the complex web of trade relationships, steamship arrival lists from New York's Ellis Island show that Charles conducted business much more widely than France and the UK.⁹ Charles semi-frequently traveled with his son and business associate, Collis, to places like Curaçao and Argentina. Campbell Company's minute books go on to say that in the year 1914, Charles was optimistic that the "time is not far distant when we will do the bulk, if not the entire, tobacco trade of Curacao."¹⁰ Charles realized his company was making great strides in securing the entirety of the Curaçao tobacco trade, which meant perhaps that the company was doing rather well. Thus Campbell Company's successes in the tobacco trade were not limited to Europe.

⁹ "New York Passenger Arrival Lists (Ellis Island), 1892-1924," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TX-3SGV-P?cc=1368704&wc=4FMB-77G%3A1600522378> : 27 January 2018), Roll 2459, vol 5697-5699, 27 Mar 1916 > image 8 of 807; citing NARA microfilm publication T715 and M237 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); "New York Passenger Arrival List (Ellis Island), 1892-1924," database with images, *Family Search* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C953-3SJH-3?cc=1368704&wc=4FMB-WMJ%3A1600352357> : 26 January 2018), Roll 3296, vol 7537-7539, 12 May 1923-14 May 1923 > image 526 of 1148; citing NARA microfilm publication T715 and M237 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

¹⁰ Charles Campbell, minute book report, page 6, volume 1.

The archival methodology and period of analysis used in creating this scholarship relied on two collections at the Filson Historical Society in Louisville: an eight-folder collection of personal letters from Charles Campbell and a three-volume series of minute books from the Company.¹¹ The years 1898 through 1933 were chosen to focus on the period of the company after the death of Charles' father William when the Campbell Company began to grow exponentially. The year 1933 marks the death of Charles whereas the Filson collection of correspondence changes dramatically. Before Charles' death, the correspondence record is rich with letters back and forth from Charles and his business connections and friends in Europe. After 1933, the collection consists of attempts to trace Campbell family lineage, some miscellaneous pieces, and official documents hinting at the company's liquidation in the early 2000s.¹² It should be noted that the letter record does not begin until 1903 and the information before this year that is provided here is primarily supported and based off valuable summaries of information in the company minute books.

It has been critical to my research to listen to the primary archival material at the Filson and determining from those collections what kind of analysis was possible to craft in a senior honors thesis. The Filson's collections lend themselves to an analysis of the period of 1898 to 1933 when the record is rather robust with details, especially the background information the minute books provide on the overall trade and bigger picture of the company during that period.

¹¹ For full names of the two Campbell collections held at the Filson please see bibliography.

¹² Middleton Reutlinger (Louisville) to Edith B. Hazard, "Campbell Company, Inc.; Final Distribution and Redemption of Common Stock," letter, June 15, 2001, folder 7. In this letter there is information about Edith Hazard, the granddaughter of Charles Campbell, redeeming her stocks in the Campbell Company and of the process to dissolve the Campbell Company, though there is no update within the file that states for certain when the firm was successfully dissolved. It is estimated that Campbell Company dissolved at some point around 2001, not considering any delays caused by extended legal proceedings. All documents for the period after 1933 can be found in folders 6-7, and undated material in folder 8, some of which is material from after 1933.

My thesis uses a social history approach to analyze Charles Campbell's business and life by utilizing the extensive personal correspondence in the Filson Historical Society's archival collection in Louisville, Kentucky. Rather than providing an overall business history of this one Louisville-based tobacco company, my thesis provides an examination of Charles' social relationships that he fostered as the president of the Campbell Company to attest to a larger narrative within global history. Through an examination of these personal relationships—and friendships—this thesis explores and examines how one Louisville-based tobacco company contributed to and took part in a globalized network of commodity trading. With the examples of Liverpool companies W.A. & G. Maxwell and John Holt & Company, along with the analysis of other pieces of Charles' personal correspondence with European connections, we see how the Campbell Company contributed to, participated in, and benefitted from the economic interests of the British Empire between 1898 and 1933. Through the case of the Campbell Tobacco Company, one understands how globalization happened at small scales to create the larger narratives we have come to learn about the interconnectedness of countries around the Atlantic Ocean. One understands from the case of Campbell Company the personal interactions that fueled global partnerships and larger global phenomenon and processes like commodity trading and colonialism.

Historiography

Due to the transnational nature of this work, this scholarship fits within multiple bodies of historical literature. The Campbell Company was an American company, but it was an American company that traded directly overseas to European businesses and benefitted from the growing colonial presence and economies of West Africa. As a result, we are not solely discussing American history, but a history much more involved and nuanced that intertwines the

histories of the United States, of Europe, and of West Africa during a time of imperialist and capitalistic ventures.

This thesis fits within the historiography of the Atlantic World during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, within global trade, within the history of the Global U.S. South, and adds itself to the burgeoning field of global history, especially as it is co-dependent on the work of renowned British historian A.G. Hopkins. One would be remiss to not cover the palm oil trade in some capacity and the context of Liverpool as a component of the global trade that influenced how and why Campbell tobacco moved through these geographical spaces at that time. The palm oil trade and Liverpool historical context will be discussed later.

This thesis discusses the Atlantic World of the Progressive Era, which scholars have agreed upon as being roughly 1870 to 1939.¹³ The Atlantic World is arguably a current of history without clearly defined starting and ending points. The rough time frame that seems to be accepted most widely is the fifteenth century, with the beginning of mass movement across the ocean, mostly from Europe to North America, to about the nineteenth century, though this phenomenon arguably still exists. In *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*, historian Daniel T. Rodgers provides frameworks through which to understand Atlantic World relationships within the Progressive Era. Rodgers states:

it is the connections between the industrializing countries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—their vulnerability to the same economic forces, the closeness with which they read each others' experience and policy experiments—that makes the differences between their policy choices historically interesting . . . Atlantic-era social politics had its origins not in its nation-state containers, not in a hypothesized 'Europe' nor an unequally imagined 'America,' but in the world between them. There are gains to be made by starting with connections.¹⁴

¹³ Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 4.

¹⁴ Rodgers, 5.

Rather than strictly thinking in terms of a European History, American History, or West African History, it is productive instead to think about how all of these aforementioned histories connect in one way or another. These connections exist via the movement of ideas, cultures, commodities, people, both enslaved and free. Atlantic World History is an up-and-coming field which also surpasses nationalism and national boundary restriction to think productively about how historically the three continents around the Atlantic have cohabitated within and along the Ocean to each other's' mutual benefit or as it results in the exploitation of another.

In his work, *Atlantic Crossings*, Rodgers stresses the significance of kinship and personal connections in a way to facilitate transnational business relationships. Rodgers emphasizes the importance of these social landscapes that bind people in different geographical areas based on shared interests, values, or ideas. Rodgers notes:

for social policies to be borrowable across political boundaries, there must be not only a foundation of common economic and social experience but also a recognition of underlying kinship. The polities in question must be seen to face similar needs and problems, to move within shared historic frames, and to strive toward a commonly imagined future.¹⁵

Rodgers' analysis frames this thesis' understanding of the Campbell family and their companies' interactions with their foreign business associates. In sending photographs of himself and his daughter to the French Compagnie in 1909, Charles attempted to essentially create, according to Rodgers, "a recognition of underlying kinship" or "a commonly imagined future" where his family would become valuable partners to his French associates and vice versa. This was about establishing commonalities, kith relations (a trusted relationship) to ensure ease of travel, communication, and understanding. My thesis provides a micro-level example of an

¹⁵ Rodgers, 33.

establishment of kinship; commonality via the sharing of photographs, use of nicknames; and of established familiarity with a business partner's family.

Charles' connections with his business partners were so intimate that at times they appeared to be kin relationships. However, it is most accurate to use the term "kith" when referring to Charles' close bonds with his European business connections. Kith relations stipulate relationships that are like kin relationships because they involve a close personal tie with a certain amount of trust. Kith relationships are different because there are no actual familial ties involved. Rodgers perhaps was not familiar with the term kith and therefore used kin to simulate the same meaning. Where appropriate the term kith relationships will be used in the place of kin relationships throughout this body of work.¹⁶

Similar to my research, historian Jonathan Robins uses cotton as a commodity of trade across the Atlantic and what he defines as a "commodity-centered approach" to a global history narrative.¹⁷ Rodgers and Robins both express the limitations of defined boundaries and thinking in terms of broader picture and of transnational narratives. Robins declares that commodity trading is often a useful tool in analyzing "globalization" at large, meaning that the exchanging of specific goods via trade allows one to understand the process at a micro-level. Robins notes, "commodity-centered approaches have been especially important in the emerging field of global

¹⁶ For more on kith relationships and their importance in the lives of people of different cultures, see Chapter 2, "Of Kith and Kin: Chinese and Mexican Relationships in Everyday Meaning" in Grace Peña Delgado's book *Making the Chinese Mexican, Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012).

¹⁷ Robins' *Cotton and Race across the Atlantic* is a fascinating approach to global economic history that deserves its due, especially for its effort to examine African History as much as European History rather than situating Africans within a European framework (see *Robins* page 7). It should be noted Robins uses an economic approach rather than a social history approach. However, the frameworks of Robins work are vitally useful for the present work for what they say about a commodity-trading approach and crafting of a transnational narrative around that one commodity, whether cotton or tobacco. Robins also relies on many scholars that provide great insight on theoretical questions of colonialism such as A.G. Hopkins, Joseph Inikori, and some theoretical pieces that did not make it into the body of this thesis including Frederick Cooper's *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. See aforementioned works for more fascinating theoretical discussions.

history, which seeks to explain ‘globalization’ as a historical phenomenon.”¹⁸ Robins addresses cotton not as “a character in its own right” and not “produced in a vacuum” but outlines an approach to cotton trading that highlights the processes that made it possible (i.e. the politics of the trade, the people involved).¹⁹ The Campbell Company’s engagement with trade in Europe allows us to better understand how trade operated and more specifically, how social relationships, and even friendships, facilitated transnational business throughout this era. A commodity-centered approach allows a deconstruction of an otherwise complex, seemingly infinite term as “globalization.” Through the example of a Louisville-based company and the movement of Kentucky-grown tobacco, this project demonstrates how a local history contributed to an exceedingly larger, nuanced globalized history.

Hopkins’ newest book *American Empire: A Global History* creates a useful framework for globalization studies from which this thesis draws much inspiration. Globalization, as Hopkins and Robins both see it, can become a blanket holistic term for a wide array of phenomenon within historical studies, risking the coinage of a term that now “has a prominent, indeed almost mandatory, place in publications written by historians.”²⁰ However, focusing in on one commodity and thinking about the processes that allowed that commodity to move throughout a global trade network, gives meaning to the broad term in a way that it cannot do on its own.

My thesis aims to answer one of Hopkin’s calls in *American Empire*: historians of the twenty-first century understand that global history matters but there are not enough historians

¹⁸ Jonathan E. Robins, *Cotton and Race across the Atlantic: Britain, Africa, and America, 1900-1920* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2016), 7.

¹⁹ Robins, 7.

²⁰ A. G. Hopkins, *American Empire: A Global History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 11.

doing economic history that is vital to this understanding of global historical narratives.²¹ While this thesis uses a social history approach, it does so in the effort to address economic successes—and failures—within the Progressive Era, within the era of “legitimate” commerce in West Africa, within a rush to use new forms of technology in an industrial age that sought to advance the profitability of companies across the globe. Such technological advancements of the time include, while not an exhaustive list, steamships, lubricated factory equipment, and most importantly the advanced webs of connection that these advances in technology afforded to their consumers. This thesis engages with a history that involves economics and global trade, but instead of focusing on the economic facets, it is with the social angle of Campbell Company’s global trade that my research critically engages.

In *American Empire* Hopkins cautions, “This is not to say that economics should be regarded as the predominant cause of great historical events, as specialists can easily assume. As conceived here, globalization is a process that also incorporates political, social, and cultural change.”²² Hopkins furthermore elaborates that economists have been able to trace an advance in globalization to the mid-nineteenth century. Hopkins states that even the economists’ approach to globalization studies is flawed, however, because it does not consider factors outside of economics that caused an advance in the globalization.²³ It is clear that the Campbell Company became part of a globalized trade network through broadening markets and benefiting, and at times suffering, from the fluctuations of local markets in places like West Africa. However, the Campbell Company also became part of a globalized trade because Charles built kith

²¹ Hopkins, *American Empire*, 12.

²² Hopkins, 12.

²³ Hopkins, 26.

relationships centered around trust, shared connections, and a common goal for profitability in the future.

Hopkins presumes that the study of empire as he wrote it has the possibility of exhausting the reader as it may have the writer.²⁴ In many ways, there is a similarity with Hopkins task and the task of the research at hand, that it has ambitiously tied a Louisville-based tobacco company into a globalized network of Liverpool firms, French Compagnie associates, and a West African presence at the offshoot of an advance in globalization in the mid-1800s. It is imperative that this research also situates itself within the timeframe of the decade after an advance in globalization, this era that we know as the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era in the United States and as the Age of Imperialism in the British historical sense. My research attempts to do better work at addressing the micro-components that make up problematically broad terms like globalization, empire, and “Atlantic World.” Lastly, it has been a unique opportunity to trace and connect a local Louisville-based company with the imperial efforts of European countries, a local company that benefitted and explored the possibilities of connection to these imperialist exchanges.

Attesting to the larger narrative of Atlantic World commodity trade as Robins analyzes with cotton, the tobacco trade is particularly interesting in its movement across continents from its origins in North America. Tobacco is native to North and South America. Indigenous peoples of North America grew it prior to European colonization. In *The World that Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy 1400 to the Present*, William Swaim explains that “natives smoked, cooked, licked, ate, and snorted tobacco. They offered tobacco to their gods, plied their women with it, and pulverized it into enema formulas.”²⁵ Native Americans had many

²⁴ Hopkins, *American Empire*, 41.

²⁵ William Swaim, “3.7 Where There’s Smoke . . .” in *The World that Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present*, eds. Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe), 97.

uses for tobacco and it continues to be an important element of their culture. When Europeans came to North America, they quickly realized the addictive potential and value of tobacco, began circulating it through the Atlantic Ocean trade network, and integrated it into continental European culture.²⁶ European integration of tobacco into daily society was not met without challenges. Many people, specifically religious, saw the use of tobacco as sinful and therefore a danger to society.²⁷

Tobacco became a global commodity through the global trade system that European explorers and their North American conquests established in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. In *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*, historian Marcy Norton argues that tobacco allowed for a re-working of a Eurocentric framework of trade history, one in which Indigenous peoples and their culture infiltrated European lifestyles in crucial ways rather than European conquest as a civilization mission. Norton argues, “The history of tobacco and chocolate reveals that this was a phenomenon with repercussions for the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Like its American counterparts, European society was profoundly affected by the new era inaugurated in 1492.”²⁸ Traditionally the Atlantic trade network has been seen as one that favors the advancements of Europeans, but Indigenous peoples of North America and their innovations (such as the growing and harvesting of tobacco and chocolate), allowed for the introduction of commodities into Atlantic World networks throughout the fifteenth century. Indigenous commodities had a profound effect on the global market through the introduction of tobacco and chocolate. When Europeans realized they could make a profit from indigenous material culture, Europeans, even

²⁶ Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 130-131.

²⁷ Norton, 3.

²⁸ Norton, 4.

the fervidly religious, sparked a tobacco trade that grew exponentially throughout their transatlantic network.²⁹

The Campbell Family and the Campbell Company

Charles Duncan Campbell was born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky on January 7, 1863 to William Minor Campbell and Sarah A. Campbell.³⁰ Charles was the fifth generation of his family's tobacco business and served as president of the company from the late nineteenth century to his death in 1933.³¹ It was a family business. Before the Louisville-based company, William ran an early manifestation of the Campbell Company in Virginia, where he was born in 1829.³² He had moved to Jefferson County, Kentucky by 1880 and worked still at that time as a tobacconist. William, like his son Charles, was born into the family tobacco company. Charles married Emma Dumesnil in 1889 and together they had two children, Collis and Edith.³³ Charles' family history was rooted in the tobacco trade and remained so for at least the generation after him. Charles Campbell died November 19, 1933.³⁴

²⁹ Swaim, 98-99.

³⁰ "United States Census, 1880," and "United States Passports, 1795-1925," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G9XM-JN3M?cc=2185145&wc=3XZQ-6TG%3A1056306501%2C1056546701 : 22 December 2014>), (M1490) Passport Applications, January 2, 1906 - March 31, 1925 > Roll 1352, 1920 Sep, certificate no 88250-88625 > image 627-628 of 830; citing NARA microfilm publications M1490 and M1372 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

³¹ Charles to Alexander Maxwell, Jr., June 20, 1927, folder 5.

³² "United States Census, 1880," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GYYB-FP4?cc=1417683&wc=QZ2Q-B1J%3A1589403276%2C1589396075%2C1589397422%2C1589395295 : 24 December 2015>), Kentucky > Jefferson > Louisville > ED 151 > image 9 of 71; citing NARA microfilm publication T9 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

³³ "Kentucky, County Marriages, 1797-1954," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-89SQ-HCDM?cc=1804888&wc=QD3Q-WTF%3A1300544901 : 17 May 2018>), 005557826 > image 272 of 783; citing district clerk, court clerk, county clerk and register offices from various counties.

³⁴ "C. Campbell, Civic Leader, Dies At 70," *Courier Journal*, November 20, 1933, accessed February 9, 2019, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

The Campbell Company was not always the large corporation name that became The Campbell Company, rather it started as a smaller firm, the firm W.M. & C.D. Campbell, named for William Minor and Charles Duncan, father and son.³⁵ When William Minor passed away in 1898, Charles needed a business partner and William H. Cummings joined him to form Campbell & Cummings Company. The new partnership between Charles and William Cummings gave Charles the support he needed to maintain the already established European trade connections and tobacco sales.³⁶ The relatively small company of Campbell & Cummings continued in this way until October 1919 when the company was renamed Campbell Company.³⁷ In one of the company's minute books, Charles reflected on the name change, "the Campbell family had been so well known abroad the past four generations and had really initiated the Leaf Tobacco business with West Africa, and we thought this name with its past history would prove of benefit to the Company."³⁸ Charles believed there was prestige behind his family name. Its prominence and association with the tobacco trade were not the only value that came with the Campbell name. The Campbell family had long-established friendships and connections throughout Europe.

Just as Charles believed in the prestige of the company abroad, the Campbell Company was well known and important in Louisville, Kentucky. The family was prominent in elite social circles and recognized throughout the city and region. Their social gatherings and travels, for instance, often received significant coverage in the city's newspaper, *Courier Journal*. A section of the *Courier Journal* titled "Personals," or "The Personal Side," frequently featured the

³⁵ Charles Campbell, minute book report, 1931, page 142, volume 3.

³⁶ On page 142, volume 3, Campbell Co. Minute Books, Charles described Cummings as "so impressed with what we were doing and the position we held abroad, that he proposed to me the formation of a corporation to carry on this business, which we anticipated could be done better in this way after the death of my father, W. M. Campbell."

³⁷ Charles Campbell, minute book report, 1919, page 114, volume 1.

³⁸ Charles Campbell, minute book report, 1931, page 143, volume 3.

Campbell Family's whereabouts as to alert the Louisville community at large.³⁹ Earlier in the 1910s, these announcements on important Louisville families were featured in a *Courier Journal* section titled "Points About People."⁴⁰ For example, the Sunday morning paper on March 16, 1930 alerted Louisville residents that on the Saturday before Charles and Emma had sailed to Europe for a two-month long trip and their daughter, Edith, and son-in-law, James Bruce, would be at their home while they were gone.⁴¹ Another instance is an announcement on a dinner dance for their daughter Edith in 1912 that describes who was in attendance of the event, how the room was decorated, and what Edith and Emma wore for the occasion.⁴² The Campbell Family was important and prominent enough to the Louisville community that the local newspaper found their movement and events as newsworthy to readers. Presumably, the newspaper coverage on the family could also alert visitors and business associates if the Campbell's were out of town and when they would be available.

The Campbell Company's business began to skyrocket by the 1920s, as can be seen in the dollar amount of tobacco inventory between 1913 to Charles death in 1933. The Company's minute books show a tobacco inventory in 1913 of \$78,410.30, in 1918 totaling \$61,303.94, and an inventory that had jumped to \$184,105.78 by 1920.⁴³ Two years later, the tobacco inventory

³⁹ "THE PERSONAL SIDE (Page 9 of 22)." *Courier-Journal (1923-2001)*, Feb 12, 1927. 9, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, mentions Collis' departure to South America for several months. See also, "PERSONALS." *Courier-Journal (1869-1922)*, Sep 07, 1913. 2, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, mentions the Campbell family's arrival home to Louisville from their cottage in Neahtawanta, Michigan, a small area of land in Northern Michigan along Lake Michigan.

⁴⁰ "POINTS ABOUT PEOPLE." *Courier-Journal (1869-1922)*, Oct 31, 1916. 5, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Interestingly, this newspaper entry mentions that Charles and Collis were traveling back to the United States from Europe when their steamship caught fire.

⁴¹ "PERSONALS (Page 26 of 88)." *Courier-Journal (1923-2001)*, Mar 16, 1930. 26, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁴² "DINNER-- DANCE." *Courier-Journal (1869-1922)*, Dec 26, 1912. 5, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁴³ 1913 end-of-year report, page 12, volume 1, Campbell Co. Minute Books, Filson Historical Society. 1918 end-of-year report, page 105, volume 1. 1920 end-of-year report, page 157, volume 1.

increased to \$192,979.66, the largest amount during Charles' life recorded in the minute book collection.⁴⁴

To assume Charles' friendships with representatives from the French Compagnie and John Holt & Company were to credit for the company's continued business success would be presumptive, however, it is evident the company was doing extremely well. The company was doing so well in fact that in 1922 Campbell Company was unable to secure enough tobacco to fulfill the total orders from both John Holt & Company and the French Compagnie. Campbell Company was able to deliver 1,400,000 pounds of tobacco to French Compagnie and John Holt & Company throughout the 1922 year; however, 250,000 pounds of their joint orders were not fulfilled due to an inability to secure enough tobacco. Though Campbell Company was unable to meet their partners' demands, these figures not only demonstrate just how much product was exchanged between these parties but also that the Campbell Company was growing at such an exponential speed that it could not fully keep up.⁴⁵

It must also be noted that other economic forces existed that created fluctuations in the Campbell Company's profits, order numbers, and other finances year-to-year. Charles Campbell was dependent on the economic forces at play in West Africa, the same as was the French Compagnie and John Holt & Company. Campbell Company's dependency on the West African economy and environmental factors is one of the reasons why in January 1922, Charles sent his son Collis to investigate and understand what was happening in West Africa.⁴⁶ While Collis visited West Africa, he had with him the company of representatives from both the French

⁴⁴ 1922 end-of-year report, page 1, volume 2. In 1934, the year after Charles' death, the tobacco inventory for the Campbell Company was \$212,427.90 as can be seen in the 1934 end-of-year report, page 253, volume 3.

⁴⁵ Charles Campbell, minute book report, pages 8-9, volume 2. Charles noted on page 8 of the 1922 end-of-year report, "unfortunately as the year progressed, it proved we were unable to increase our purchase to any appreciable extent beyond the one million four hundred thousand pounds mentioned above. Consequently our business was restricted, and we fear suffered to some extent from our inability to supply tobacco when desired."

⁴⁶ Charles Campbell, minute book report, 1922, page 178, volume 1.

Compagnie and John Holt & Company. The three companies were all in the trade together, suffering from economic shifts and changes in tobacco demand or quality.

Liverpool – Empire Building, Palm Oil Trade, John Holt & Company

Historically, Liverpool has been an established European epicenter of global trade, both during and after transatlantic slavery, because of its location on the coast of England and the influence of the city's wealthy merchant class.⁴⁷ At the peak of the transatlantic slave trade, “over four fifths of the slaves carried across the Atlantic each year by British traders were carried in Liverpool ships.”⁴⁸ As the economy changed from one dependent on the trading of humans from primarily the Western coast of Sub-Saharan Africa to a commodity-based trade, British merchants nevertheless retained their established trading networks and trade knowledge. After abolition, Liverpool transitioned to one of Britain's largest palm oil ports as trade gradually switched to “legitimate” commerce. “Legitimate” commerce is the term applied to the transition from the transatlantic slave trade to trade of food and other commercial items. The term legitimate is put in quotes because while Britain technically withdrew from slave trading in 1807 and legally abolished slavery in 1833, imperial governments in Africa still used forms of slavery to make a profit with commodity trading.⁴⁹ Liverpool was a British port through which enslaved Africans were forcibly processed and where the commodities of “legitimate” commerce came and went.

⁴⁷ Paul G. E. Clemens, “The Rise of Liverpool, 1665-1750,” *Economic History Review* 29, no. 2 (May 1976): 211-212.

⁴⁸ Martin Lynn, “Trade and Politics in 19th-century Liverpool: The Tobin and Horsfall Families and Liverpool's African Trade,” *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 142 (1993): 99.

⁴⁹ Marika Sherwood, *After Abolition: Britain and the Slave Trade Since 1807* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2007), 15. See also, Dennis Laumann, *Colonial Africa: 1884-1994* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5-7.

Much of the Liverpool population consisted of merchant class families in the 1800s and into the early 1900s.⁵⁰ These were families such as the Tobin and Horsfall families that historian Martin Lynn studied in some detail, and the Maxwell family who will be focused upon in detail in the next section. At Liverpool's edges were factories in Lancashire and surrounding areas that consumed the palm oil as a factory lubricant and some of which produced soap with the palm oil exported from West Africa on Liverpool ships.⁵¹

Rodgers emphasizes the commonalities in growing urban centers from Manchester to Pittsburgh in the late nineteenth century; two of these urban centers were Louisville and Liverpool.⁵² Rodgers notes the boom of big cities and their importance within the Atlantic World.⁵³ Rodgers states, "it was within all these fields of force—the rapid intensification of market relations, the swelling great city populations, and the rising working-class resentments from below—that the new social politics took shape. The common social landscapes of industrial capitalism helped to knit its national strands together; so did deep, commonly shared anxieties."⁵⁴ These are Rodgers' examples of commonalities that most certainly took place in Louisville and Liverpool at about the same time.

Lynn describes Liverpool as "the port at the centre [sic] of Britain's African trade throughout these years [roughly 1807 with the abolition of slavery in Britain and the 1850s]."⁵⁵ Lynn notes, "it is clear that Liverpool was responsible for importing around three-quarters—and possibly more—of Britain's palm oil throughout the first half of the [nineteenth] century." Liverpool's location along the Cheshire salt fields made it an even more fitting location for the

⁵⁰ Lynn, "Trade and Politics in 19th-century Liverpool," 103.

⁵¹ Lynn, "Trade and Politics in 19th-century Liverpool," 102.

⁵² Rodgers, 44.

⁵³ Rodgers, 47.

⁵⁴ Rodgers, 59.

⁵⁵ Martin Lynn, *Commerce and economic change in West Africa: The palm oil trade in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 84.

largest port for palm oil, as the salt from these fields combined with imported palm oil from Africa to make cheap soap.⁵⁶

Lynn furthermore states in *Commerce and economic change in West Africa* that “For the British, legitimate trade such as that in palm oil was part of a broader attempt to change West Africa through ‘commerce, Christianity, and civilisation [sic]’. Such trade, it was felt, would renovate West Africa’s economy after the ravages of slaving.”⁵⁷ British traders used the idea of a “civilizing mission” to further promote their trade presence on the coast of West Africa and in many parts of the African continent during colonization of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁵⁸ In a way, the British exploited West Africa for African goods that would promote and create income for their companies. The British saw themselves as “pioneers in a new country” and it was their task to remove and thrust African goods into the global marketplace.⁵⁹

One such Liverpool merchant firm with a prominent West Africa presence was John Holt & Company.⁶⁰ John Holt’s business ventures in West Africa began, when as a young man in 1862, James Lynslager hired him for a sailing trip to Fernando Po, a small island belonging to Equatorial Guinea located near Nigeria, Cameroon and slightly North West of Equatorial Guinea.⁶¹ Holt acquired Lynslager’s company after his death and turned it into his own family firm around the late 1860s and early 1870s. He named the firm John Holt & Company in or

⁵⁶ Lynn, *Commerce and economic change in West Africa*, 85.

⁵⁷ Lynn, *Commerce and economic change in West Africa*, 3.

⁵⁸ Nancy J. Jacob’s first volume of *African History through Sources: Colonial Contexts and Everyday Experiences, c. 1850-1946* does great and useful work of compiling primary and secondary sources to tell the African and European perspective via sources. Examples in sources relating to Britain’s “civilizing mission” in Africa are found throughout. A good introduction to Britain’s concept of a “civilizing mission” can be found in a missionary text on pages 100-102 of Jacobs.

⁵⁹ “John Holt & Co. (Liverpool) LTD.: Pioneer West African Merchants and Shipowners,” *West African Review* 5, 85 (October 1934): 57.

⁶⁰ Lynn, *Commerce and economic change in West Africa*, 138-139.

⁶¹ “John Holt & Co. (Liverpool) LTD.: Pioneer West African Merchants and Shipowners,” 59.

around 1884 and then it became John Holt & Company (Liverpool) Limited in 1896.⁶² An October 1934 article in the *West Africa Review* titled “John Holt & Co. (Liverpool) LTD.: Pioneer West African Merchants and Shipowners” highlights the far reach of Holt in Africa: “John Holt was from his office in Liverpool directing each growing movement of his organisation [sic] . . . from Fernando Po, the name of Holt gradually penetrated into the South West Coast of Africa—then Northwards to the Cameroons, New Calabar, Old Calabar, Lagos, and *via* Porto Novo into Dahomey.”⁶³ Holt’s business spread throughout the region of Central to West Africa and Holt’s connections allowed him to buy tobacco from Louisville, Kentucky and supply it to his trading posts in Africa.

Holt’s purchasing of premium goods is also discussed in the October 1934 *West Africa Review* article. One of Holt’s premium goods can be suspected to be Campbell tobacco though never explicitly stated in this article. The article sheds light on the relationship between John Holt & Co. and the companies from which they bought goods:

To [John Holt], buying the right goods was the first and probably the most important step in selling successfully in West Africa, and to-day no part of the Holt business is more efficiently and keenly supervised than that which is entrusted with the buying of goods for the Holt stores in West Africa. This probably more than any other single factor, is the secret of the success of the Holt business. The search for goods goes on continually.⁶⁴

Of course, and with logical reasoning, the *West African Review* article does not explicitly mention the Campbell Tobacco Company because the Campbell Tobacco Company is just one of numerous businesses that were supplying John Holt’s West African trading posts. As an analogy, John Holt & Co. can be compared to a large grocery store and Campbell Tobacco Company was just one of the store’s small businesses selling their products via a kiosk and bringing in business

⁶² “John Holt & Co. (Liverpool) LTD.: Pioneer West African Merchants and Shipowners,” 59.

⁶³ “John Holt & Co. (Liverpool) LTD.,” 63.

⁶⁴ “John Holt & Co. (Liverpool) LTD.,” 65.

to that store. John Holt and his associates were handpicking what companies across the globe they wanted to buy products from to make the best profit they could from their West Africa trading posts. Holt's company was a customized and engineered operation.

John Holt & Co. bought Campbell's tobacco, shipped it to West Africa, and sold it in their West African trading post locations that were vast in number as Holt's business developed further. Charles' friends in Liverpool had considerable wealth, resources, and connections. With steamship travel being refined and strengthened in its uses during the mid-1800s and certainly by 1900, the Campbell Company was able to sell its tobacco to Liverpool-based John Holt & Co. with trading posts and factories throughout West Africa. Charles business ventures were a feat of personal connections and growing steamship power that allowed him to travel yearly and communicate effectively with the Holt Company in Europe. Charles and his business were extensively linked to Holt's operations between Liverpool and West Africa and in West Africa and therefore beyond. When Charles was in Liverpool on a business trip, he made sure to let others know his address there was "C/O John Holt & Company, Ltd., Royal Liver Building."⁶⁵ West Africa, after all, would not be the final destination for these trade goods. These goods would make their way throughout the Atlantic World, perhaps to South America, to other parts of Africa, via African trading routes, and further afield.

W. A. & G. Maxwell & Company of Liverpool – The Maxwell Family

Charles Campbell's relationship with the Maxwell Family of Liverpool is a particularly interesting one to think about regarding how Charles fostered relationships within the tobacco business with large companies. It is a particularly interesting relationship because there is no

⁶⁵ Charles to Lady Everard, August 31, 1926, folder 5.

evidence that Charles and the Maxwell Family did any significant amount of business together, though the correspondence between them is abundant in the Filson collection. Out of roughly 100 letters in the whole collection, about forty are between Charles and one of the Maxwell's.⁶⁶

The Maxwell family was a prominent family in Liverpool with the business firm of W. A. & G. Maxwell & Co. Ltd. The firm began in 1820 when brothers Wellwood, Alexander, and George joined together to create the three initials in the firm's name.⁶⁷ From as early as 1830 through the early 1900s, W. A. & G. Maxwell was a prominent palm oil trading firm out of Liverpool.⁶⁸ The Hyslop Maxwell family website describes that the firm W. A. & G. Maxwell did not get involved in the West African trade until 1830 where they began trading palm oil.⁶⁹

This point of their entry into the West Africa trade in 1830 leads to the belief that the Hyslop Maxwell family was not involved in the transatlantic slave trade unless they changed their business model at some point. The Maxwell family appears to be an outlier in some respect as Lynn outlines that many of the merchant class firms of Liverpool started as slave traders and transitioned to palm oil traders around 1807.⁷⁰

Charles' main connections in the Maxwell family were four brothers, Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell, Alexander Maxwell, Walter H. Maxwell, and Lyon Maxwell.⁷¹ In addition, Charles frequently contacted Robert Hough, one of W. A. G. Maxwell & Company's directors. The

⁶⁶ A letter within the Campbell letter collection from August 29, 1921(folder 3) is addressed to Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell "c/o The Cunard Company." Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell was the Director of the Cunard Company, a steamship line that later became Carnival Cruise Lines. Future research could possibly come to some conclusions about whether Charles kept the Maxwell's close in part because he would have easier access to Cunard steamships for his travels.

⁶⁷ "Liverpool," <http://hyslopmaxwell.com/liverpool>, accessed February 25, 2019. A recent generation of the Maxwell family created a stellar website with photographs, family histories, family trees, and more, and it proved to be a valuable asset for the research at hand. The "Liverpool" section cited here is but a sub-section of the overall "Family History" tab and more unique, thorough family stories.

⁶⁸ Lynn, *Commerce and economic change in West Africa*, 95-97.

⁶⁹ "Liverpool," <http://hyslopmaxwell.com/liverpool>.

⁷⁰ Lynn, *Commerce and economic change in West Africa*, 82-83.

⁷¹ For precision and clarity, I will be referring to Maxwell members by their first names to avoid confusion, except in the case of Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell who will be referred to as Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell.

Maxwell Family website notes Robert Hough was “a well-known figure in the tobacco trade.”⁷²

It makes sense that Charles would be in contact with Robert Hough because of Hough’s involvement in the tobacco trade. The four Maxwell brothers were close friends with Charles.

It appears that W. A. G. Maxwell & Co moved some of their assets into Maxwell Tobacco Importing Company in 1900.⁷³ The extent to which the Maxwell’s tobacco business and Campbell’s were linked to each other is unclear. It is safe to say however that Charles and the Maxwell’s maintained strong friendships and business advice regardless of their involvement in actual business together. Furthermore, perhaps the Maxwell’s found a greater urge to create Maxwell Tobacco Importing Company from their close ties with Charles and his company. The Maxwell family was already trading several raw commodities from its inception, like cotton and palm oil, but 1900 marked the creation of Maxwell Tobacco Importing Company.⁷⁴

In *Commerce and economic change in West Africa*, Lynn discusses how Liverpool was full of trading firms who participated in the African trade. Lynn notes that the majority of successful trading firms, as time went on, were family firms that could be passed down generation after generation.⁷⁵ W. A. G. Maxwell & Co. was a successful trading firm, in part, because it was a family firm. Much like Campbell Company, W. A. & G. Maxwell knew the next generation would be the future leaders of the business and the other family members prepared the younger ones to take on these tasks. Charles’ son Collis went on to become the General Manager of the Campbell Company and Charles sent him on business trips to become familiar with their business partners and the business itself. The success of these family firms relied

⁷² “Liverpool,” <http://hyslopmaxwell.com/liverpool>.

⁷³ “Liverpool,” <http://hyslopmaxwell.com/liverpool>.

⁷⁴ Rob Hough to Charles, January 31, 1924, folder 4. Rob Hough’s letterhead from the W.A. & G. Maxwell firm shows the telegraph address in the top left-hand corner, “WAGMAXLEAF,” as in leaf tobacco. Maxwell’s London office did the tobacco business.

⁷⁵ Lynn, *Commerce and economic change in West Africa*, 95.

heavily on the ability to pass the trade and trade connections down to the children of the family who would become adults that had been steeped in the trade essentially their entire lives.⁷⁶

Even if Charles and the Maxwell's were not directly involved in the tobacco trade together, they certainly kept up with each other's involvement in the trade and looked out for each other by advising the other on tobacco crops and other tobacconists they were in touch with. In a letter to Charles dated February 25, 1924, Robert Hough discussed the friends they had in the tobacco business in the United States and that Charles could just pay for their business with the tobacco companies of the United States instead of trying to send their money back across the ocean.⁷⁷ The Maxwell Family and Robert Hough were involved with the U.S. commodity trade. The extent to which they were directly linked with Campbell tobacco is uncertain. The Maxwell's, as well as Robert Hough, dealt with the tobacco trade of the United States and depended on Charles for advice and help when discussing this trade. After Charles got word that Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell would be visiting New York in 1921, he recommended Maxwell travel to Kentucky to see the tobacco. He wrote, "This is a critical time in the tobacco trade, and certainly with as large interests as you have it would pay you to take these extra four days or a week."⁷⁸ This particular letter between Maxwell and Campbell hints at the idea that Maxwell Tobacco Importing Company was trading with Campbell Tobacco Company. Charles connection to the Maxwell's enabled the Maxwell's to know exactly what was going on with the tobacco in Kentucky, how best to position themselves into the trade, and to get that intimate knowledge of the crop if they took the time to examine the tobacco as Charles invited them to do. Without

⁷⁶ Charles Campbell, minute book report, 1915, page 50, volume 1. Charles wrote, "You will see the writer's son accompanied him to Europe this past fall and it is also the intention that he shall go to the West Indies and South America with him . . . our object in doing this is one of education and preparation, so this Company may have an additional man prepared and qualified to make these trips." The key to Charles statement is the "preparation" aspect of the next generation, his son.

⁷⁷ Rob Hough to Charles, February 25, 1924, folder 4.

⁷⁸ Charles to Maxwell H. Maxwell, August 29, 1921, folder 3.

social relationships in the business world, perhaps the Maxwell's would not have had someone to show them around the Kentucky tobacco business, someone so intimately accustomed to the tobacco trade from the U.S. side from which they could gain important knowledge for their own gain.

To maintain the Charles' strong friendship and possible business connections with people, like the Maxwell's, he created a strong rapport and familiarity with their entire families. Charles would offer best wishes to the Maxwell family, he would handle business deals that he could for the Maxwell's business interests in the United States, and he went the extra mile to go visit them while in Europe.

Personal Relationships in Campbell's Atlantic World

The Campbell Company and Charles recognized that they were not the sole suppliers of tobacco. It was critical for Charles to establish personal relationships with his trading partners to maintain his company's overseas business connections. In *Atlantic Crossings* Rodgers observes, "Nothing was more important for sustained trade in social policies than this dramatic expansion of the social landscapes of industrial capitalism."⁷⁹ Industrial capitalism and its effects in Europe, in West Africa and Kentucky, meant that all of the businesses within the social landscape wanted to make a profit by taking advantage of the new technologies of the time (i.e. steamships for both cargo and commercial steamers). The fact that all of the people at play in business deals at this time wanted to make a profit made building trusting relationships all the more possible. People were willing to build relationships that would boost their profit margins and their connectedness within the Atlantic trade network.

⁷⁹ Rodgers, 33.

In the case of Charles Campbell, the importance of social connections appears to have been particularly true. Charles' acknowledgement of an established history between himself and his European contacts, his thoughtful eye towards personal details about friends and family, and his generosity to help those who helped him, allowed him to maintain a lucrative continuity with business abroad. My examination of the business and personal correspondence of the Campbell Company demonstrates how Charles exemplified the notions put forth by Rodgers' scholarship on the importance of social and interpersonal relationships in the Atlantic economy during the progressive era. Charles' personal correspondence offers a close look at his business relationships. Charles maintained these important connections through the formalities and pleasantries of mundane and daily letter writing. Charles often made sure his friends knew that anything he could do for them, he would because of how much they had done for him.

Charles acknowledged an established history with himself and his business partners via his lengthy and thoughtful personal letters. For example, on July 7, 1922, Charles wrote to the wife of Richard Lake in Wiltshire, England. It is believed that Lake was a business partner of some kind and Richard Lake's wife was a friend of Charles because of the familiarity between the Lakes and Charles from business ties, though this is only speculation. What we do know is that the Lake's lived in England where Charles frequently traveled to on business and where his connections the Maxwell's and the Holt's lived. Charles wrote to Lake:

Of course, it is naturally [sic] with my foreign acquaintance to be more in touch with these conditions [conditions of the war to those in Europe] than the average American but I assure you even we in America have also had a great deal to meet and sacrifices to make. While we did not bear the brunt as our Allies, at the same time there were many Americans who did respond at great cost to themselves and are now living in a very changed way from what they were accustomed before.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Charles to Mrs. Richard Lake, July 7, 1922, folder 3.

In this letter, Charles expressed his connectedness to Europe and the people he knew there, in a way lessening the geographical distance between them in favor of making them intellectually closer as well. Further into the letter Charles informed Lake of his daughter Edith's delivery of a baby girl on July 3 and reminded Lake that she had heard him talk many times about Edith in the past. In what appears to be a way of sympathizing with European affairs, he also noted: "I believe I have told you that my daughter was the wife of Dr. Bruce who was one of the first Americans to go to France and who served through the entire war with really great distinction having been with the Second Division of the American troops at Chateau-Thierry."⁸¹ Charles appears to be trying in every way possible to sympathize and to connect himself to a shared intimacy between this European friend and his own affairs.

Use of nicknames was also an easy way to harken back to an established history, as you have to know someone in an intimate way to know their nickname and feel comfortable to call them by that nickname. In a letter from Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell to Charles on April 26, 1917, Maxwell H. Maxwell called Charles "My dear Charlie."⁸² Maxwell's nickname for Charles shows that he was close with him, that he felt some level of sincere personal connection with Charles. In a similar way, Charles referred to Alexander as "Sandy,"⁸³ a common nickname for people with the name Alexander or Alexandra. The fascinating part about the nickname "Sandy" is that Charles would have needed to know that was a nickname Alexander went by and would have needed to feel that level of comfortability to call him by something much less formal than "Alexander."

⁸¹ Charles to Mrs. Richard Lake, July 7, 1922, folder 3.

⁸² M.A. Maxwell to Charles Campbell, April 26, 1917, folder 1. "M.A." most likely refers to Maxwell and Alexander Maxwell, brothers and partners in the family firm. It was easier, and less repetitive, for them to sign their letters "M.A. Maxwell" than to write out "Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell and Alexander Maxwell." It needs to also be taken into account that they were likely sending out many letters on behalf of the two brothers as a business unit and it would have been more time-efficient to sign as a joint unit.

⁸³ Charles to Alexander Hyslop Maxwell, Jr., June 20, 1927, folder 5.

When Charles referred to Alexander as “Sandy,” it seems he was also using it as leverage to be able to offer some advice to Alexander without coming off to Alexander as overbearing or out of line. In his letter to Alexander on June 20, 1927, Charles congratulated him for his higher appointment in the family firm.⁸⁴ Charles also seemed to be holding him to the high standards that Maxwell’s had always been held to make sure the Maxwell family firm remained successful. From reading this letter, you take away a sense of pressure that Charles seemed to put on Alexander as if he was a blood relative or close mentor. This letter is very personal and trying to build rapport—Charles took the time to write a letter to Alexander in the midst of his busy work schedule to congratulate him on the next step in his career. Charles wanted the Maxwell’s to continue conducting a lucrative trade so that his son could continue the tobacco trade with the Maxwell family and continue making money for the Campbell Company. This letter suggests the importance of trade connections between Campbell Company and the Maxwell Company because this letter shows Campbell was deeply invested in the business of W. A. G. Maxwell & Company, enough to apply this pressure onto Alexander to continue the professionalism and “keep weathering the storms” that had for years made the Campbell business wealthy.⁸⁵

The connection between the Maxwell family and Charles was deeply rooted and they both understood they had a level of obligation to the other for how much they had done for each other. In his letter to Walter in April 1920, Charles confessed, “I would be an ingrate if I did not do anything for the Maxwell family that was in my power . . . it is a pleasure to me to feel that I am doing something for the Maxwell family, who have done so much for me.”⁸⁶ Charles acknowledged his past with Maxwell and that in the future he was happy to commit himself in

⁸⁴ Charles to Alexander Maxwell, Jr., June 20, 1927, folder 5.

⁸⁵ Charles to Alexander Maxwell, Jr., June 20, 1927, folder 5.

⁸⁶ Charles to Walter Maxwell, April 24, 1920, folder 2.

any way he can. Charles willingness to do anything he could for the Maxwell's goes back to the idea that there was an established history between Charles and his business partners that were also his friends. It was an established relationship between Charles and the Maxwell's that bonded the two business partners together in a way they could call upon if they needed to increase their profits or gain important information about the tobacco trade within the complex Atlantic trade network.

Hand-in-hand with an established history with business partners, Charles had a thoughtful eye towards personal details in his letters that allowed him to build rapport with others in the trade. One of the most poignant examples of Charles thoughtfulness in the personal aspects of business is a letter of condolence that Charles sent to Lyon in the spring of 1923 on the death of his mother, Phoebe. Charles said in the letter that he had known Phoebe for forty years, meaning he had known the Maxwell's since at least 1883.⁸⁷ Charles alliance with the Maxwell's was not just about the business successes that such an alliance provided; rather it was about being there for them even in hard times. The friendship between Charles and the Maxwell's was a multi-generational, long-lasting friendship that was about more than solely profits. Charles' friendships and business partnerships were about building connections that could endure any circumstance, even the most trying as the fluctuations in a global marketplace.

A way in which Charles could find out about the personal details of his business connections was by reading the newspaper. A letter from Charles to General T. C. Du Pont of New York City on May 11, 1920 shows Charles attention to the newspaper for details about his friends. "Emma and I did not learn until yesterday that you had been to our house on Sunday," wrote Charles in May 1920.⁸⁸ "We are very sorry indeed to have missed you, and would

⁸⁷ Charles to Lyon Maxwell, June 15, 1923, folder 3.

⁸⁸ ⁸⁸ Charles to General T. C. Du Pont, May 11, 1920, folder 2.

undoubtedly have called you up, but the paper said you were on a private car and we did not know how to get in touch with you.”⁸⁹

Charles led his life with a sense of generosity towards those who helped him. He had a sense of reciprocal relationships guiding his actions always. The Filson’s collection reveals numerous letters and legal documents between the Maxwell’s and Charles as Charles tried to sell property bonds for the Maxwell’s in Louisville on Magnolia Avenue.⁹⁰ “I can assure you that anything I may have been able to do for you has been a pleasure to me,” Charles professed to Walter, “and I repeat I am glad to have been of any service to the Maxwell family.”⁹¹ The Maxwell family appears to have served most closely as an advisory board for Charles, who did business with other prominent people in Liverpool like the Holt firm. The Maxwell’s knew the Liverpool social landscape and trade best, Both Charles and the Maxwell’s could benefit from the personal connection they had fostered, altogether making that advisory role even more effective.

In a letter dated December 17, 1923, Robert Hough, the tobacconist with W. A. & G. Maxwell firm, asked Charles if he would introduce their tobacco friends from Belfast to the U.S. tobacco business when they were in town.⁹² Campbell responded to Hough with reassurance that he would do so and that he was good friends with the president of the Belfast tobacco company to which Robert Hough referred. Charles was friends with people throughout the Atlantic World—his hands were metaphorically everywhere and in everything.

An aim of this thesis was to see if there was any correlation with the years in which business was booming for Campbell Company and the years in which Charles wrote the most to

⁸⁹ Charles to General T. C. Du Pont, May 11, 1920, folder 2.

⁹⁰ There are discussions of the Maxwell bonds in Louisville throughout the Campbell collection, one important place to look at such information is in folder 4 from the year 1924 in which there is a large horizontally-bounded packet of court rulings in the matter of liquidating the Maxwell bonds.

⁹¹ Charles to Walter H. Maxwell, July 14, 1920, folder 2.

⁹² Robert Hough to Charles, December 17, 1923, folder 3.

his friends in the business. After an examination of the numbers, there is no real correlation to this end, especially because of the spotty quality of the letters within the Filson collection. The tobacco inventory numbers, net gains, and the number of letters were tracked for this thesis between the years 1913 and 1934. There was, however, one indicator that business success and number of letters could be related and that is the year of 1920. 1920 was the company's business year under the leadership of Charles Campbell with a tobacco inventory of \$184,105.78.⁹³ The number of letters for that year within the Filson collection was 14. Nevertheless, this hypothesis that inventory and letter count could be linked is nullified by the fact that in 1924 the inventory was \$116,304.95, less than in 1920, and the number of letters was 30.⁹⁴ Other years there were no letters in the collection, while other years had 1-4 letters on the record. The flaws in the collection make it impossible to create a clear and supported hypothesis about the business success and number of letters sent to business friends and partnerships.

Conclusion

There is a note torn from a spiral notebook from Edith Bruce Hazard in the last folder of the Filson's Campbell collection of letters. Edith Hazard was the granddaughter of Charles and the daughter of Edith Dumesnil Campbell and Dr. James White Bruce.⁹⁵ Edith Bruce married Charles Ware Blake Hazard and together they had three children—Charles Bruce Hazard, Edith Hazard Birney, and Rowland Gibson Hazard. In this way, the name Edith passed down three

⁹³ Charles Campbell, minute book report, 1920, page 157, volume 1.

⁹⁴ Charles Campbell, minute book report, 1924, page 97, volume 2.

⁹⁵ Obituary for Edith Bruce Hazard, *Courier Journal*, August 29, 2014, accessed February 25, 2019, <https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/louisville/obituary.aspx?n=edith-bruce-hazard&pid=172278673>.

generations and Charles two. Edith Hazard passed away on August 26, 2014 at 92 years old.⁹⁶ She spent much of her life in Vermont and Maine with her family.

Edith Hazard wrote on a torn-out, undated piece of paper from a spiral notebook in which she must have kept memories, “at a time when transportation and communication were primitive compared to today they [Charles Campbell, John Holt & Co., and CFAO] established an arm of trade with Africa.”⁹⁷ This alliance between Holt and Campbell was a feat of correspondence and business expertise. It is interesting because Edith’s note gives credit to John Holt & Company and the French Compagnie for the success of Campbell Company, her family’s business.

The beginning of the letter reads, “I salute my grandfather tonight and the John Holt Co. always referred to in my childhood as the “English Company” and also “the French Co.,” the triumuarate [sic] responsible for the Campbell Tobacco Co.”⁹⁸ It is evident that information passed down to her from her grandfather and her parents as well. She noted at the end, “For over a hundred years, this company [Campbell Co.] and it’s susidiaries [sic] have until today been connected with the John Holt Co., [~~“and”~~ is crossed out] Charles Campbell’s family and ? [a question mark is written on the page] French Company and has employed hundreds of people. A record to be proud of! [sic]”⁹⁹ She was proud of the record her grandfather’s company had set because, presumably, all her life she had heard about the successes of the business and the difficulties that the company had to overcome to be successful.

⁹⁶ Obituary for Edith Bruce Hazard, *Courier Journal*.

⁹⁷ Edith B. Hazard, loose notebook page, undated, folder 8. This letter does not have a date on it. There is a copy of it printed and included in folder 6 while the original with Edith’s name written at the top is located in folder 8. It appears that Edith wrote in her name after the fact because she wrote the body of the note in blue ink and her name is at the top in black ink. It is my belief that this was a note that Edith Hazard wrote as she was about to give the Campbell letters and minute books to the Filson Historical Society. It is the same handwriting as at the top of the Middleton Reutlinger letter to Edith in which she wrote “Compiled 6/20/01,” see footnote 12.

⁹⁸ Edith B. Hazard, loose notebook page, undated, folder 8.

⁹⁹ Hazard, loose notebook page, undated, folder 8.

Edith Bruce Hazard's knowledge of the companies that her grandfather Charles worked demonstrates that these were personal connections that bound business partners and their families together. The young girl in the photograph from Charles' letter to the French Compagnie in 1909, the one the French Compagnie complimented for her beauty, was Edith Bruce's mother, Edith Dumesnil Campbell. The family was interwoven and intertwined in the personal connectedness of this Atlantic friendship. If Charles could establish these deeply-rooted friendships and establish an "underlying kinship" as Rodgers articulates, something perhaps between kithship and kinship, then his business would be more successful because of the support of many business allies. Those business allies which Campbell had, had themselves large networks of influence in West Africa and the world between Liverpool and the West African coast.

Through personal relationships and personal connections, Charles Campbell inserted his Louisville-based tobacco company into a complex web of global commerce between Louisville and Liverpool. Liverpool then moved its products, as it had for decades, into other far reaching places in the world. The case of the Campbell Company has the potential to open discussions on how U.S.-based companies contributed to and benefitted from the imperialist ventures of European countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The case of the Campbell Company creates dialogue around the contributions of American businesses to the colonial period in Africa and how small-scale social relationships fueled the Atlantic World as a place of large-scale global trade.

A future avenue for continuing the research at hand would be to analyze how gender played a role in this narrative (i.e. the men were the ones traveling primarily and conducting the tobacco trade while the women held parties and were active in different ways). Charles recruited

his son, Collis, to learn the family business and travel with him, not his daughter Edith. Edith and her mother Emma seem to play a background role in the narrative of the Campbell Company as a global exporting business, but it would be important in future research to point out the equally crucial roles they played in this narrative. For instance, Edith and Emma were crucial to building rapport and relationships via the conversations they had with the wives of Charles' business partners when they traveled with Charles.¹⁰⁰ While Charles and Collis conducted what many would consider the "business" side of things, Charles' wife and daughter helped build the rapport and personal ties that Charles alludes to so often in his letters.

Other avenues of future research would be to connect the missing research on the Europe to Africa component of the trade network that allowed Campbell tobacco to make its way to British and French West Africa colonies. As archives are biased, the Filson collection lent itself to interpreting primarily Charles Campbell's side of the trade. Future research could reveal more robustly the African side of the trade as well as what was happening with W.A. & G. Maxwell and John Holt & Company's everyday business and logistics in Europe. For example, the University of Liverpool houses a collection of the Maxwell family's papers that could aid the understanding of the Liverpool to Africa component of this Atlantic World trade.

¹⁰⁰ For an example of Charles and Emma's travels together see, "October 11, 1932 (Page 8 of 20)." *The Courier-Journal (1923-2001)*, Oct 11, 1932. 8, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed February 25, 2019, <http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1863945502?accountid=14665>. Charles and Emma traveled together for weeks at a time and it is likely Emma's relationship with Charles' business partners also helped him build the personal bond that he held so fondly.

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