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Migration from the German-speaking
parts of Central Europe, 1600-1800:
estimates and explanations

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Migration from the German-speaking parts of Central Europe, 1600 – 1800: Estimates and Explanations. By Georg Fertig

In 1732, the financial chamber of government in Baden-Durlach was bewildered by the application for emigration of some families: 'It seems to be quite strange to us that these four subjects from Graben could resolve to move with their wives and children to this strange and remote country.'¹ Their indignation was far from exceptional. Seventeen years later, the pastor of Lichtenau, an Upper Rhenish town, recorded the emigration of five families to Pennsylvania. He added: 'Also, about 30.000 souls have been counted, who went along with them from Alsace, Switzerland, Breisgau and Swabia (...). The dear Lord knows, if those have all arrived in Pennsylvania or have been guided and sold elsewhere. If one had not spoken to them in a trustable manner and pointed the danger out to them, even more would have gone away.'²

Sensational in scale, hardly comprehensible in motivation, irresponsible, dangerous, and all in all deplorable – this is the impression many contemporaries shared with respect to the migration of German-speakers to British North America. A more appropriate interpretation will have to be based on a better sense of proportions as well as on a deeper understanding of the motivation of migrants.

1 *'man müßte sich schier fremd vorkommen lassen, daß sich diese 4 Untertanen von Graben mit Weib und Kindern resolvieren könnten, in dieses fremde und so weit entlegene Land zu ziehen.'* (Werner Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden und dem Breisgau: Obere und mittlere rechtsseitige Oberrheinlande im 18. Jahrhundert archivalisch dokumentiert* (Stuttgart, 1980), p. 114).

2 *'Auch hat man bei 30.000 Seelen gerechnet, welche aus dem Elsaß, Schweiz, Breisgau und Schwaben mitgezogen (...). Ob nun solche alle in Pennsylvanien kommen oder nicht anderwärts geführt und verkauft worden, weiß der liebe Gott. Wo man ihnen so [misread abbreviation for 'nicht'] treulich zugesprochen und die Gefahr vorgestellt hätte, würden noch mehr fortgezogen sein.'* (Hacker, *Baden und Breisgau*, p. 158).

1.0 Proportions of migration

1.1 An immobile pre-modern age?

It is a common practice to begin a survey on German migration history with the 17th century. Anybody inclined to learn about the current state of research in the field of migration history – using, for example, *Dahlmann-Waitz*,³ the most extensive bibliography of German history – will soon get the impression that the period before the end of the Thirty Years' War was one of horizontal stability.

The concept of an old European society that used to bind the individual to the soil, of a feudal society, whose destabilization made migration – especially to North America – possible in the first place, has also been very common in American historiography of immigration.⁴ The spatial mobility of the European Middle Ages – crusades and pilgrimages, the Eastern settlement and the founding of cities – has traditionally been seen as an exception to the general character of an age when 'the vast majority of the population' seemed to stay 'firmly in place'.⁵

Gradual changes in this picture of a spatially immobile feudal epoch⁶ might be due to a shift in interest from emigration – a concept almost meaningless in an area without clear national boundaries – to horizontal mobility.⁷ Nevertheless, research on horizontal mobility in the German-speaking countries previous to 1648 has not achieved a satisfactory density to date and is, for the most part, limited to the study of specific social groups like artisans, pilgrims, students and vagrants.⁸

Permanent migration of the urban and rural population has mostly been studied in a rather indirect manner: in the case of the genesis of settlements – the foundation of cities, the internal expansion of agriculture and the eastern settlement – and in the case of the desertions of villages, which occurred frequently since the late Middle Ages.⁹ All of these phenomena implied the migratory decisions of hundreds of thousands¹⁰ of individuals. Usually, these migrations are simply taken for granted.¹¹ Studies on chain migration into places already founded, on the origins of citizens and on the destinations of migrants from the rural areas are very scarce – gaps of research, which are basically due to the fact that sources available on premodern migration are very infrequent compared to the 18th or 19th centuries.

3 Friedrich C. Dahlmann and Georg Waitz: *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*, edited by Hermann Heimpel and Herbert Geuss, 10th edition (Stuttgart, 1969-). The editors provide no section on migration previous to 1648.

4 See an almost classical formulation by Marcus L. Hansen: 'Freedom to move involves ... that break-up of the solidarity of the community which, in making the individual mobile, forced him to shift for himself.' Hansen, 'The History of American Immigration as a Field for Research', *American Historical Review*, 32 (1926-27), pp. 500-518 (p. 501).

5 Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York, 1975), p. 47. Compare Steve Hochstadt, 'Migration in Preindustrial Germany', *Central European History*, 16 (1983), pp. 195-224.

6 See *Migration in der Feudalgesellschaft*, edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Albert Müller, Studien zur Historischen Sozialwissenschaft 8 (Frankfurt, 1988). See also the new bibliography compiled by A. Müller and Ingrid Matschinegg, 'Migration – Wanderung – Mobilität in Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit', *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, 21 (1990), pp. 3-92.

7 For definitions see Peter Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert*, Industrielle Welt 14 (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 9-10. Throughout this article, I shall use 'migration' as a synonym to 'change of residence', reserving limiting 'emigration' for some long distance migrations like those to British North America. For a more extended definition of migration including the migration of objects and mentalities, see Matschinegg/Müller, 'Migration – Wanderung – Mobilität', p. 8.

8 See the essays edited by Peter Moraw, *Unterwegssein im Spätmittelalter*, Zeitschrift für historische Forschung: Beiheft 1 (Berlin, 1985).

9 Wilhelm Abel, *Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittelalters*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte 1, 3rd edition, (Stuttgart, 1976).

10 For the epoch between 1150 and 1350, Friedrich-Wilhelm Henning estimates 2.100.000 persons involved in internal rural settlement, 400.000 in external settlement on the eastern frontier and 800.000 involved in newly founded urban settlements. See Henning, *Das vorindustrielle Deutschland 800-1800* (Paderborn, 1974), pp. 69-70.

11 See the critical analysis carried out by Karl-Heinz Spieß in his article 'Zur Landflucht im Mittelalter', in *Die Grundherrschaft im späten Mittelalter*, edited by Hans Patze, Vorträge und Forschungen 27, 2 vols (Sigmaringen, 1983), I, pp. 157-204.

The proportion, for example, of new citizens in medieval towns cannot be estimated before the fifteenth century – apparently amounting to almost 50 %.¹² I have not been able to unearth any studies on medieval migration within German rural areas; migration from the rural to the urban areas has mostly been treated in the context of power and of subjects, such as *'Landflucht'*, illegal flight from the countryside.¹³ While sedentariness as a description would certainly not be a correct term to characterize the central European premodern age, it contributed as a norm to a remarkable extent to the development of modern territorial states in the area. The obligations to stay under the rule of their lords, to be declared by late medieval bondsmen at the moment when mobility increased, correspond in structure and vocabulary to early modern oaths of allegiance.¹⁴

1.2 Internal migration in the 17th and 18th centuries

The beginning of a more comprehensive historiography of migration with the year 1648 might be explained by a closer state attention to migration and to the registration of the population from that date forward, rather than by the end of an era of immobility.

For rural Germany, the scale of migration can be estimated since parish registers were established at the end of the 16th century. In Göbrichen for instance, a village in the northern part of Baden-Durlach, christenings, marriages and funerals have been recorded since the year 1614. More than half the children born between 1620 and 1639 disappeared from the records without leaving a marriage or funeral entry; another third died before reaching the age of ten years, and merely the eighth part died as grown-ups at the place of birth. While this might partially be due to underregistration during the Thirty Years' War, it persisted in the more peaceful times down to 1700. Then, not more than half of all those who survived infant mortality met the ideal of a settled countryman or countrywoman.¹⁵

For the period between 1740 and 1779, Arthur E. Imhof provides also the proportion of outmigration based on the number of births.¹⁶ In a study of six areas, each consisting of up to 17 parishes, the proportion ranges from 10.5 % (Württemberg) to 27.8 % (Eastern Frisia).

Though we usually do not know where these millions of outmigrating persons ended up, or at what age they departed and with what kind of intention, three types of internal migration can be distinguished: the migration of unmarried persons, marriage migration and the migration of entire families.

A good deal of migrations was certainly undertaken by unmarried young women and men looking for work as servants, journeymen or day labourers. In many cases, these persons married abroad and settled there; if not, this type of migration did not imply definite separation from the parental household and municipality. We have a number of studies on the migration of journeymen,¹⁷ but there has not been much research on the rural migration of servants. The proportion of – mostly foreign – servants may have amounted to 10 % in rural areas.¹⁸ Herdsmen and teachers, who were highly mobile and quite often poorly paid, should be added to this figure. Systems of seasonal migrant labour developed in many regions, partly over distances of several hundreds of miles. Unfortunately, the routes of these workers have not been recorded exactly before 1865;¹⁹ they have certainly not remained stable over the

12 Hochstadt, 'Migration in Preindustrial Germany' p. 199; see also Albert Müller, 'Räumliche Rekrutierung und soziale Reproduktion: Beispiele aus dem spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Städtebürgertum Österreichs', in Jaritz and Müller (eds), *Migration in der Feudalgesellschaft*, pp. 89-111.

13 Spieß, 'Landflucht im Mittelalter'.

14 André Holenstein, *Die Huldigung der Untertanen: Rechtskultur und Herrschaftsordnung 800 – 1800*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte 36 (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 34-36. Hans-Martin Maurer, 'Masseneide gegen Abwanderung im 14. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 39 (1980), pp. 30-99.

15 Calculations based on Ernst Hahner, *Ortssippenbuch Göbrichen*, Badische Ortssippenbücher 53 (Göbrichen, 1985).

16 Arthur E. Imhof, *Lebenserwartungen in Deutschland vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert / Life Expectancies in Germany from the 17th to the 19th Century* (Weinheim, 1990), p. 72. Imhof excludes from his data set those families that are documented less completely, so the true proportion was certainly higher. For some other rural areas, outmigration of surviving children has been estimated to amount to 40 – 50 % in the 17. and 35 % in the 18. century: Hochstadt, 'Migration in Preindustrial Germany', p. 209.

17 Reinhold Reith, 'Arbeitsmigration und Gruppenkultur deutscher Handwerksgelesen im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert', *Scripta Mercaturae*, 23 (1989), pp. 1-35, gives more literature.

18 The ratio was 10 % in 1732 in the village of Jöhlingen, while in 1699 it was 7 % in the village of Göbrichen (Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 229/49583 and 171/1512).

19 Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Erntebrauch in der ländlichen Arbeitswelt des 19. Jahrhunderts auf Grund der Mannhardtbetragung in Deutschland von 1865*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mitteleuropäische Volksforschung an der Philipps-Universität Marburg-Lahn A 2 (Marburg, 1965), pp. 287-308 and map 3, 'Wege der Ernte-Wanderarbeiter'.

centuries.²⁰ In areas of strong demand for labour, servant markets were a common method to arrange employments. Besides the notorious one in Ravensburg, such markets existed in many German and Austrian regions until 1900.²¹

Marriage migration into neighbour municipalities certainly contributed largely to the high degree of mobility in early modern Germany. In any case, it entailed the loss of citizenship at the place of birth.

The moving of entire families was also a frequent form of internal migration. For instance, 73 out of the 90 known cases of migration between 1634 and 1750 from the Knonauer Amt to the Zürcher Oberland, both areas, at a distance of about 20 miles from each other, situated in the Canton of Zurich, involved whole families. The remaining seventeen instances of migration were young men who married outside.²²

We can hardly explain all these urban and rural migrations if we see them only as symptoms of crisis. To a large degree, they performed an indispensable function within society.²³

This has certainly also been true for the substantial part of the population, maybe up to 8 % in the 18th century,²⁴ that belonged to the vagrant marginal classes and made its living by performing a wide variety of tasks ranging from killing rats and cleaning chimneys to selling books and almanachs to the peasants. Official endeavours to prevent mobility struck those groups heavily. The politics of sedentariness that developed in early modern Europe – as opposed to the more tolerant Middle Ages – reached a macabre peak in the 'Zigeunerstreifen', that is, systematic huntings and killings of gypsies, committed by officials of Hohenzollern-Bayreuth and other territories in the 18th century.²⁵

Another part of the male population covered quite long distances after being recruited as soldiers. The lives of soldiers and vagrants exemplify the misery which many men and women had to cope with during the early modern era.

Gross numbers for all these more or less traditional migrations, which were directed to less spectacular destinations, are not available. Given a population of about 18.000.000 persons in 1750 in the area that is today covered by the republics of Germany and Austria,²⁶ the number of migrants between 1600 and 1800 certainly has to be counted in tens of millions, accounting for at least a third part of the population.

In German historiography, the problem of the causes of emigration was established in the 19th century. The almost undisputed explanation points to the discrepancy between a growing population and the limited scope of food production. In this Malthusian context the German history of migration has frequently been interpreted in terms of destabilization, mobilization and modernization. This is not the place to dispute the part these processes played in changing the patterns of migration between the Middle Ages and the 19th century when emigration to North America experienced a take-off. But obviously they have not been an indispensable condition of migration; there had already existed a high degree of migration in the premodern and early modern society.

1.3 Long distance migrations, 1648 – 1800

After the devastations of the Thirty Years' War, more clearly-defined, spectacular and extensive currents of long distance migration occurred besides the traditional diffusion of what might even have been a majority of the population mobile over short and middle distances.²⁷

20 Whilst the 'North Sea System' (Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe 1600-1900: The Drift to the North Sea* (London, 1987)) has existed since the 17th century, the migrant labour of Vorarlberg children did not reach Upper Swabia before the introduction of dispersed farming in this area about 1800. Paul Beck, 'Der Junggesindemarkt (das HütKinderwesen) in Oberschwaben – ein Kulturbild', *Diözesanarchiv von Schwaben*, 23 (1905), pp. 129-137 and pp. 145-150; 24 (1906), pp. 44-47 (1905, p. 136).

21 Beck, 'Junggesindemarkt', p. 133.

22 Hans Ulrich Pfister, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Knonauer Amt 1648 – 1750. Ihr Ausmass, ihre Strukturen und ihre Bedingungen* (Zurich, 1987), p. 206.

23 See the editors' introduction to *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, edited by Peter Clark and David Souden (London, 1987), pp. 11-48.

24 Carsten Küther, *Menschen auf der Straße* (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 20-27. See also Frantisek Graus, 'Die Randständigen', in Moraw (ed.), *Unterwegssein im Spätmittelalter*, pp. 93-104.

25 Ernst Schubert, 'Mobilität ohne Chance: Die Ausgrenzung des fahrenden Volkes', in *Ständische Gesellschaft und soziale Mobilität*, edited by Winfried Schulze, *Schriften des Historischen Kollegs: Kolloquien* 12 (Munich, 1989), pp. 113-164.

26 Colin Clark, *Population Growth and Land Use* (London, 1968), p. 64. Clark estimates 15.500.000 individuals in 1700 and 23.000.000 in 1800.

27 The most comprehensive general survey for some important areas of origin and destination is Arnold Scheuerbrandt, 'Die Auswanderung aus dem heutigen Baden-Württemberg nach Preußen, in den habsburgischen Südosten, nach Rußland und

The early modern migration to British North America from the protestant territories in the catchment area of the river Rhine was but one of several currents of migration during the 17th and 18th centuries, triggered primarily by the efforts of governments to populate their territories. Those possessions of Austria, Prussia, Britain and Russia that layed outside the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire are the best known destinations; but also Denmark, Spain and France recruited Germans, and inside the Empire, Brunswick, Prussia, and the Knights of the Empire attracted immigrants, as did the numerous newly founded cities of the absolutist age. Officials even tried to populate such parts of their territories that seemed to be less populated than they thought appropriate, by inducing immigration from more densely populated areas of the same state.²⁸

Religious arguments, at least on the protestant side, were indispensable for the legitimation of many settlement projects. This is especially true in the case of the Huguenots absorbed in Prussia and other protestant countries, who had left France in numbers of hundreds of thousands after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. But also the Lutherans driven out of Salzburg caused a sensation. In Zurich, emigrations to Brandenburg and to North America have been organized by pastors;²⁹ and pastors wrote the best known promotional pamphlets for North America.³⁰ Moreover, the apparently commercial project of Byrd and Jenner could not do without religious arguments.³¹ A prominent role was played by the anabaptist and pietist groups that had set off for North America since 1683 – partly after persecution, but also in the hope to live without contacts and compromises with what they considered to be a sinful Europe. Pietists and Mennonites found homes also in the Netherlands, the Palatinate, in Hessian states, in Prussia, and in Russia.

Recruitment and religious intentions have been emphasized very strongly by many historians of long distance migration from Switzerland and Germany in the 18th century. The part the more spontaneous migrations played, that is, chain migration, labour migration and temporal or return migration, has not been clarified to date for the greater part of long distance migrations. Also, the ideal type of a calculating, well-informed migrant has long been almost completely absent from the narratives of 18th century migration history. Rather, the risks of migration have been accentuated. A more complete migration history should consider both recruitment and free migration, both religious justification and this-wordly calculation, both chances and risks of the migrants' decisions.

Regulated long distance migration, so prominent in our view of the 18th century, has been caused mainly by governmental immigration policies and to some degree by entrepreneurship. But whilst settlement projects of various kinds appeared sensational to contemporaries, they did not achieve their goals in all cases. Only when the attractiveness of the labour market and available land persisted over longer periods of time, did relatives and former neighbours of the pioneers follow, thus creating a tradition of transmigration.

The depopulation, for example, of the Electoral Palatinate induced the Elector several times between 1651 and 1663 to make an attempt at regaining emigrated subjects. At the same time, he invited foreign subjects to settle in his land, promising them freedom from taxes and soccage provided they took over farms left fallow. But instead of wealthy farmers a lot of servants and artisans – mostly from Switzerland, but also from Tyrol and the Spanish Netherlands – flocked into the Palatinate, creating a lasting tradition of migration.³²

Later currents of migration followed a similar pattern. Again and again in the 17th and 18th centuries governments and land owners tried to win wealthy settlers, and frequently a large part of the migrants turned out to be poorer than expected. This was true for the recruitment of settlers for Hungary in 1712

Nordamerika zwischen 1683 und 1811', in *Historischer Atlas von Baden-Württemberg, Erläuterungen* (Stuttgart, 1972-1988), comments to map XII, 5, (1985).

28 Alfred Straub, *Das badische Oberland im 18. Jahrhundert: Die Transformation einer bäuerlichen Gesellschaft vor der Industrialisierung*, *Historische Studien* 429 (Husum, 1977), p. 27.

29 Pfister, *Knonaer Amt*, pp. 117-120, 144-145.

30 e.g. Kocherthal [i.e. Josuah Harrsch], *Außführlich- und umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschafft Carolina (...) 4th edition* (Frankfurt, 1709, reprint Neustadt a.d. Weinstraße, 1983). This pamphlet stirred the first mass migration from the Rhinelands to England, Ireland, and North America in 1709, which was mistaken by British authorities as a result of religious persecution by Catholics, until they discovered that Catholics indeed made up about a third of the fugitives.

31 [Samuel Jenner,] *Neu-gefundenes Eden (...)* (n.p., 1737). Whilst promising a profit of up to 100 % of the capital invested to the participants (p. 208), this remarkable publication justified the proposal with the intention to 'choose a place where there are less people and therefore less malice' ('ein Ort erwählen und außsuchen, wo weniger Leuth, und also weniger Boßheit angetroffen werde', pp. 9-10).

32 Pfister, *Knonaer Amt*, pp. 71-77.

and 1723³³ as well as for William Byrd II's and Samuel Jenners attempt of 1737 to settle Bernese families in Virginia,³⁴ and for the settlement project for Zurich emigrants around Lindow (Electoral Brandenburg) in 1691.³⁵ Although the rhythms of Hungarian settlement were largely shaped by Hapsburgian colonization policies,³⁶ the more spontaneous migrations of neighbours and relatives have also contributed to them, as well as to the migrations into the Prussian parts of Poland between 1781 and 1784.³⁷ Unfortunately, we do not know what proportion of migration to Eastern Europe is due to this type of migration; the role it played in the American case will be discussed below.

Quite early, settlement projects involving the recruitment of non-agrarian labour joined those driven by the intention of governments and landowners to enhance agriculture both in Europe and America. So in 1694 the textile manufacturer Joseph Orelli tried to recruit workers from Switzerland for his newly erected crape manufacture in Electoral Brandenburgian Friedrichstadt.³⁸ In the case of North America the recruitment of Siegerland miners for settlement in Germanna, Virginia,³⁹ falls under the same category, as well as the recruitment of Low German glassblowers by Johann Christian Amelung⁴⁰ and the ambitious attempt of Peter Hasenclever to establish ironworks in New Jersey.⁴¹

The combination of recruitment and less organized free and chain migrations, which was quite comparable to the mass migrations of the 19th century,⁴² could, on the one hand, create large currents of migration like those to the Palatinate or to Pennsylvania. On the other hand, French settlement projects in Mississippi and Cayenne failed to create persistent streams of migration, as did Spanish recruitments for the Sierra Nevada and British attempts to help the more peripheral settlements on mainland North America.

The fate of projects like the population of Cayenne between 1763 and 1764 makes clear that especially the first migrants to a given destination did not always balance the chances and risks of their decisions wisely. Out of more than 10.000 Acadians and Germans who arrived at the Iles du Diable less than 1.000 survived.⁴³ In Hungary too, diseases struck the settlers severely; Hans Fenske assumes an annual death rate of 15 % for the first years.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the German and Swiss authorities were given to gross exaggeration of the physical dangers of the voyage especially to Pennsylvania. While the Württemberg council of government prophesied in 1750 'destruction to be expected'⁴⁵ by emigrants to Pennsylvania, the shipwreck rate was about 1.5 %, and passage mortality on completed voyages seems to have come near to 3.8 %.⁴⁶ Especially for those migrants who left before the 1740s for 'rough stony mountainous cold and barren'⁴⁷ Pennsylvania and had some money of their own, there were indeed

33 Wolfgang von Hippel, *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland*, Industrielle Welt 36 (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 85-86.

34 Klaus Wust, 'William Byrd II and the Shipwreck of the Oliver', *Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter*, 20, 2 (June 1984), pp. 3-19.

35 Pfister, *Knonauer Amt*, pp. 114-120.

36 von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, p. 36.

37 von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, pp. 80-81. After members of the rebellious 'Salpeterer' movement had been banished to the Banat about 1752, a current of migration consisting of their former neighbours and relatives began to develop between the Black Forest and Banat: Scheuerbrandt, 'Baden-Württemberg', p. 20.

38 Pfister, *Knonauer Amt*, p. 126.

39 Raymond E. Myers, 'The Story of Germanna', *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 48 (1974), pp. 27-42.

40 Dorothy M. Quynn, 'Johann Friedrich Amelung at New Bremen', *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Sept. 1948), pp. 1-25.

41 *Peter Hasenclever aus Remscheid-Ehringhausen, ein deutscher Kaufmann des 18. Jahrhunderts. Seine Biographie, Briefe und Denkschriften*, edited by Adolf Hasenclever (Gotha, 1922).

42 Marianne S. Wokeck, 'Deutsche Einwanderung in die nordamerikanischen Kolonien: Prototyp einer transatlantischen Massenwanderung', in *Amerika und die Deutschen*, edited by Frank Trommler (Opladen, 1986), pp. 20-39.

43 Robert Selig, *Räutige Schafe und geizige Hirten: Studien zur Auswanderung aus dem Hochstift Würzburg und ihren Ursachen*, Mainfränkische Studien 43 (Würzburg, 1986), p. 204.

44 'International Migration: Germany in the Eighteenth Century', *Central European History*, 13 (1980), pp. 332-347 (p. 345).

45 'zu gewarten habenden Untergang', von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, p. 300.

46 Farley Grubb, 'Morbidity and Mortality on the North Atlantic Passage: Eighteenth Century German Immigration', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17 (1987), pp. 577-584 (p. 570).

47 'rauh stein bergicht kalt und unfruchtbar', as the government of Baden-Durlach put it: Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 74/84, 4.11.1737. For another case of badly informed officials and well informed emigrants (from Hanau) see Hermann Freeden and Georg Smolka, 'Deutsche Auswanderung im 18. Jahrhundert', first publication 1937, reprinted in Herdär (ed.), *Auswandererbuch*, pp. 111-132 (pp. 116-118). On land use in Pennsylvania see James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1972).

chances of upward mobility.⁴⁸ In any case, wages in North America proved to be higher than in Germany,⁴⁹ and the demographic regime promised better chances of reproduction.⁵⁰

The still rather negative image of German emigration in the 18th century is due partly to the pace of historiographical developments. Research did not start until very recently to identify migrants within their networks of personal relations in their first and second homelands. Instead, it has concentrated on listing and counting them at the moments of their emigration and immigration.

The more traditional research in Switzerland and Germany has, since the 19th century, consisted of local or regional studies that combined the description of the more sensational aspects of emigration⁵¹ with the compilation of partly very exhaustive lists of names.⁵² Usually, these studies tend to follow the interpretations and value judgements they find in their sources – mostly the official records of emigration and emigration policies – and depict the migrants primarily as victims – victims of hunger catastrophes, wars and overpopulation in their former homelands, but also as victims of fraudulent emigration agents, merchants and captains. The active role of the migrants in making the decision to emigrate and their integration for instance in North American society have been more or less neglected by these studies, with the exception of the institution of the redemptioners. This financial instrument that supported the transport of poor persons through their obligation to work as servants in North America was soon identified as a most contemptible form of slave trade.⁵³ On the American side, a filio-pietistic school of immigration history emerged. It interpreted the European background of immigration mainly in terms of religious intolerance; praised the achievements of the pioneers in numerous settlement projects; and depicted the migrants not less as victims than those studies written in Europe at the same time – victims of European misgovernment and of perfid Englishmen in America.⁵⁴

Approaches developed in the historiography of 19th century migration are slow to gain acceptance in 18th century migration studies. Particularly remarkable are Wolfgang von Hippel's social historical synthesis of Württemberg migration history for the 18th and 19th century based on the study of 19th century pauperism,⁵⁵ and the microcosmic studies by Hans Ulrich Pfister and recently by Mark Häberlein based on the identification of migrants in the areas of outmigration and destination.⁵⁶

48 Mark Häberlein, 'Vom Oberrhein zum Susquehanna: Studien zur badischen Auswanderung nach Pennsylvania im 18. Jahrhundert' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Augsburg, 1990), pp. 196-238. I wish to thank Dr. Häberlein, who made his book available to me as a manuscript.

49 Alfred Eber, 'Die Lohn-Preis-Entwicklung für landwirtschaftliche Arbeiter in Deutschland, England und Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung im Vergleich*, edited by Klaus Tenfelde, *Historische Zeitschrift*, Sonderheft 15 (Munich, 1986) pp. 101-136.

50 Henry Gemery, 'European Immigration to North America, 1700-1820: Numbers and Quasi-Numbers', *Perspectives in American History, new series*, 1 (1984), pp. 283-342 (p. 298), gives a decennial natural increase of about 30 % for America, whilst in Württemberg an annual increase of 0.7 % (if allowance is made for a negative migration balance: 0.9 %) has been labeled 'remarkably high' (von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, p. 29).

51 Some of these publications have been reprinted in a reader edited by Hans Herder, *Hessisches Auswandererbuch*, second edition (Frankfurt, 1984).

52 The most comprehensive collection of such lists has been published in the following 10 volumes by Werner Hacker: *Auswanderungen aus dem früheren Hochstift Speyer nach Südosteuropa und Übersee im 18. Jahrhundert: Eine Dokumentation in Regestenform nach Unterlagen des Badischen Generallandesarchivs Karlsruhe*, *Schriften zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer* 28 (Kaiserslautern 1969); 'Auswanderung aus dem Raum der späteren Hohenzollerischen Lande nach Südosteuropa', *Zeitschrift für Hohenzollerische Geschichte*, 5 (1969), pp. 45-230; *Auswanderer vom Oberen Neckar nach Südosteuropa*, Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission 23 (München, 1970); *Auswanderungen aus dem südöstlichen Schwarzwald zwischen Hochrhein, Baar und Kinzig insbesondere nach Südosteuropa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission 29 (München, 1975); *Auswanderungen aus dem nördlichen Bodenseeraum, Hegau-Bibliothek* 29 (Singen, 1975); *Auswanderung aus Oberschwaben: Im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert archivalisch dokumentiert* (Stuttgart, 1977); 'Auswanderung aus dem Territorium der Reichsstadt Ulm', *Ulm und Oberschwaben*, 42/43 (1978), pp. 161-257; *Baden und Breisgau, Kurpfälzische Auswanderer vom Unteren Neckar: Rechtsrheinische Gebiete der Kurpfalz*, Sonderveröffentlichung des Stadtarchivs Mannheim 4 (Stuttgart, 1983); *Auswanderungen aus der Rheinpfalz und dem Saarland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1987).

53 Rudolf Cronau, 'Die Käufflinge oder Redemptionisten und die Entstehung der „Deutschen Gesellschaften“', in Herder (ed.), *Auswandererbuch*, pp. 141-150. First published in 1909.

54 The anti-English tendency is particularly strong in Heinrich A. Rattermann's periodical *Der Deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1869-1887). The synthesis of German-American filio-pietistic historiography is Albert B. Faust, *The German element in the United States with special reference to its political, moral and educational influence* (Boston, 1909).

55 von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*. A critical appreciation of von Hippel's 'macrocosmic' work is to be found in A. G. Roeber: 'In German Ways? Problems and Potentials of Eighteenth-Century German Social and Emigration History', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 44 (1987), pp. 750-774 (pp. 760-763).

56 Pfister, *Knonauer Amt*; Häberlein, 'Oberrhein'. For a seminal 19th-century study which uses a similar approach see Walter D. Kamphoefner's dissertation of 1982: *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton, 1987).

The analysis of the central source on immigration to Pennsylvania, the lists of passengers arriving between 1727 and 1808, has also made considerable progress.⁵⁷ The flow and composition of this current is better known by now than any other. It can be characterized as a migration dominated at first by families and only after 1785 by single young men reaching its peak between 1749 and 1754. Its male participants were increasingly able to apply a signature, and peasants played a decreasing part. About half of the immigrants took employment as servants, most families stayed together in servitude.⁵⁸ As far as the processes of cultural transfer and integration in North America are concerned, special attention has been given to the customs of inheritance, as English intestate law did not provide equal division among all male and female children as southwest German usage did.⁵⁹ Germans preserved their separate domestic customs, language, and religion, while adapting successfully to the needs of economic and legal-political interaction with the English-speaking. Both preservation and adaptation were ensured by German-American networks of communication, operated by pastors, merchants, and printers.⁶⁰ On the eve of the American revolution, the German-language printer Henry Miller of Philadelphia could assume that his Pennsylvania German readers understood the new American political concepts he translated in his paper *Wöchentlicher Philadelphischer Staatsbote*.⁶¹ I have not been able to find corresponding studies on early modern German immigration and cultural or political adaptation for what is now the Soviet Union, Poland and the Balkan nations, but at least the successful adaptation of the immigrants to Pennsylvania suggests that long distance migrants did not have to be forced or cheated into their decisions in all cases.

If we knew how all the possible destinations inside and outside of Europe differed from each other in the eyes of prospective migrants, we could certainly understand much better why they moved to some places, avoided others or decided to stay at home. But unfortunately, such a comprehensive comparison is not supported by the current state of research. The choice of British North America has certainly been rational in an economic sense of the word, but short distance migration was always the rule, and most migrants' destinations are unknown to us. Hans Ulrich Pfister has recently argued that the need for stability was crucial in determining the choice of destination for the early modern migrants from Zurich.⁶² His point is that migrants attempted to minimize instability by maintaining religious confession, language, relations to persons and – at least in the case of reversible or seasonal migration – property: 'Migrants scarcely went alone into a world completely unknown to them'. The motivation of migrants to British North America, one of the many destinations accessible to Swiss and German migrants in the 18th century, will be discussed more comprehensively in the second part of this paper.

Gross numbers for all of these migrations are also still very hard to give, because contemporaries did not record central statistics of migration. Hans Fenske⁶³ puts immigration into Germany after the Thirty Years' War in the range of several hundreds of thousands. He also estimates 350.000 German immigrants into Hungary, 300.000 to Prussia, 125.000 to North America, 50.000 to Poland, 37.000 to Russia and 5.000 to Spain. The proportion of about 16 % for emigration to North America that we can calculate from these numbers does not find a reflection in the 10 lists of emigrants compiled by Werner Hacker which contain about 58.400 cases of emigration. Only with 3.250 family groups or singles (5.6 %) Hacker assumes America to be the country of immigration;⁶⁴ to be sure, Hacker lists a lot of emigrants without knowing their actual destinations. If we presume that roughly every tenth German and Swiss

57 This source was edited by Ralph B. Strassburger and William J. Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers. A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1808*, 3 vols (Norristown, Pa., 1934). See Marianne S. Wokeck, 'A Tide of Alien Tongues: The Flow and Ebb of German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1683 – 1776' (Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, Philadelphia, 1983), and several publications by Farley Grubb, esp. 'German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1709 to 1820', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 20 (1990), pp. 417-436.

58 Grubb, 'German Immigration'.

59 A. G. Roeber, 'The Origins and Transfer of German-American Concepts of Property and Inheritance', *Perspectives in American History, New Series*, 3 (1987), pp. 115-171.

60 A. G. Roeber, '„The Origin of Whatever Is Not English among Us“: The Dutch-speaking and the German-speaking Peoples of Colonial British America', in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, edited by Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), pp. 220-284.

61 Willi Paul Adams, 'The Colonial German-language Press and the American Revolution', in *The Press and the American Revolution*, edited by Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench (Worcester, Mass., 1980), pp. 151-228.

62 Hans Ulrich Pfister, 'Die Zielwahl der Zürcher Auswanderer zwischen 1648 und 1750', *Itinera*, forthcoming. I wish to thank Dr. Pfister for the manuscript.

63 'Germany', pp. 334, 344-346.

64 Aaron Fogleman, 'Progress and Possibilities in Migration Studies: The Contributions of Werner Hacker to the Study of Early German Migration to Pennsylvania', *Pennsylvania History*, 56 (1989), pp. 318-329; Hacker's own enumerations in his works.

long distance migrant in the 18th century – that is: a negligible proportion of all migrants – was heading for British North America, we should estimate correctly the purely quantitative significance of the early modern transatlantic migration. Sources for estimating its actual extent are going to be treated more extensively on the following pages.

1.4 Estimating gross numbers of emigration to British North America, 1683 – 1800

In attempting to calculate the extent of early modern migration to North America,⁶⁵ we can use sources in the home lands, in the areas of destination, and in the countries crossed by the migrants. Few numbers have come down to us directly. They must be supplemented by estimates based on evaluations of sources that have been carried out on both sides of the Atlantic.

In Germany and Switzerland there are only dispersed sources for our question. Lists and statistics of emigration were compiled only in a few cases during the 18th century;⁶⁶ most data have been compiled by 20th century local historians and genealogists who searched parish registers and official records for emigrants. These published lists of emigrants⁶⁷ vary in reliability⁶⁸ and do not treat more than fragments of the southwest German and Swiss area, which was split up into so many jurisdictions at the time.

Linking pieces of information from different publications on specific cases we can easily show how meager our knowledge on outmigration to America still is. Annette K. Burgert, after evaluating parish registers and ship lists, lists 624 cases in her volume on the northern Kraichgau. Werner Hacker examined the official emigration records for 41 parishes out of which 545 of these family groups or single migrants originated.⁶⁹ Of these 545, only 43 can be identified in Hacker's lists, which implies that 92 % of the emigrant groups covered by Burgert – we had better not try to estimate how many she could not find – either traveled to America without complying with the requests of early modern bureaucracy, or their documents have been lost. This leads us to the suspicion that the 3.250 cases of migration to North America recorded in Hacker's volumes represent only a small fraction of the tens of thousands who actually migrated from the territories he covered.

In the Netherlands no lists of transmigrants to North America were recorded. But large numbers of passports were issued to the merchants involved in shipment of Germans to North America: In 1735 300 or 400, 3.000 in 1753, 900 or 1.000 in 1764, and an unknown number in 1749, 1750 and 1751.⁷⁰ A number of 10.000 passports could be a reasonable estimate; again, this does not help us much to make an informed guess about the total number of persons involved. Another Dutch source is the large number of 'charter parties' drawn up in Rotterdam between ship owners or captains, on the one hand, and merchants who were expecting more German emigrants to North America than they could accommodate in their ships. These contracts account for 11.935 'full freights', or approximately 17.000 persons between 1718 and 1763.⁷¹

65 In writing this chapter, I have been supported by Aaron Fogleman's careful criticism and generous communication of unpublished material.

66 The best known example are the lists of emigrants compiled by Zurich pastors in 1744: Staatsarchiv Zürich A 174 (1) with about 2.266 emigrants to Pennsylvania and South Carolina. See the translation of these lists in Albert B. Faust, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies*, 2 vols (Washington, 1920, reprinted in one volume, Baltimore, 1968), I, and the dissertation by Andreas Blocher, *Die Eigenart der Zürcher Auswanderer nach Amerika 1734 – 1744* (Zurich, 1976).

67 Besides the works of Werner Hacker, see the samplers edited by Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania German Immigrants, 1709 – 1786*, (Baltimore, 1980); *Rhineland Emigrants*, (Baltimore, 1981). See also Annette K. Burgert, *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from German-Speaking Lands to North America*, Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society 16, 19, 2 vols (Breinigsville, Pa., 1983, 1985). Karl Ehmann, *Die Auswanderung in die Neuenglandstaaten aus Orten des Enzkreises im 18. Jahrhundert*, Südwestdeutsche Blätter für Familienkunde, Sonderheft 1977 (Stuttgart, 1977).

68 For a very critical review of Hacker's last work see Karl Scherer, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 137 (1989), pp. 546-548, but see the more balanced review by Fogleman, 'Progress and possibilities'. Only a minority of the emigrants listed by Ehmann for specific villages ever lived there.

69 Werner Hacker, *Kurpfälzische Auswanderer vom Unteren Neckar*.

70 Gemeentelijke archiefdienst Rotterdam, OSA 2783 de 3.7.1764. I wish to express my thanks for a travel grant from the state of Berlin that has made research in Rotterdam possible to me in the summer of 1990.

71 Gemeentelijke archiefdienst Rotterdam, ONA. In the Rotterdam data, 18 ships are mentioned outside of formal contracts, i.e. in testimonies, powers of attorney etc. These have been left out. For 36 of the 66 transport agreements that could be used in this figure, the number of freights has been estimated using the number of passengers as given in the Philadelphia ship lists, or the number of tuns as given in the Rotterdam data. Whenever the number of persons is not given in the Philadelphia ship

The most exact assessments of German migration to North America are made possible by the three sets of passenger lists recorded in Philadelphia between 1727 and 1776, which have been published by Strassburger and Hinke and analysed by Marianne Wokeck. They contain the signatures of 26.175 men with German names. These data have been used by Wokeck to estimate a gross number of immigrants to Philadelphia of 70.492 persons between 1727 and 1775.⁷² This number derives from the records left by 334 ships which arrived at Philadelphia harbour during this time and fulfilled the Pennsylvanian requests of registration. The figure depends on the validity of the multipliers employed by Wokeck; these derive from those ships which provided details on the number of passengers – men, women and children – they conveyed as well as on the number of 'freights'. Controlling for changing ratios of adult men to passengers and 'freights', Aaron Fogleman has recently found only 66.733 Philadelphia immigrants previous to 1776.⁷³

The number of German-speaking migrants that voyaged to British North America on ships that did not supply ship lists remains an open question. It can be divided into three groups: migrants traveling to Philadelphia before 1727, migrants traveling on ships that arrived in Philadelphia but whose records have been lost, and migrants traveling to other ports. Some indications of their respective size might be given by the Rotterdam material.

The number of the first group has certainly not been very significant. Wokeck mentions 798 passengers on 9 ships to Philadelphia previous to 1727.⁷⁴ Six additional ships are mentioned in the Rotterdam archives.⁷⁵ The size of the second group is totally unknown to date, and has been neglected by most authors. Wokeck mentions 18 more ships, 6 of them wrecked or misrouted, destined to Philadelphia between 1727 and 1775.⁷⁶ In Rotterdam, there is evidence on 11 additional ships, destined expressly to the port of Philadelphia, between 1727 and 1775.⁷⁷

Thirdly, there are 21 ships mentioned in the Rotterdam archives that were destined to ports other than Philadelphia. When we leave out the other documents preserved in Rotterdam, the transport contracts alone provide us with data on 29 ships that sailed either to one of the other mainland colonies between Georgia and Nova Scotia or to Philadelphia without being registered, and with data on 39 ships that are detectable in the Philadelphia lists. But the number of 114.000 (or, calculating most conservatively, 95.000) German and Swiss immigrants to the whole of British North America previous to 1776 that might be suggested by this ratio⁷⁸ possibly overestimates the actual number of migrants. This is so because the Rotterdam contracts probably make mention of ships that never actually sailed and because it is possible that established merchants were reluctant to risk their own vessels to new destinations with which they had no previous trading experience, thus creating an overrepresentation of peripheral colonies in the 'charter-parties'.

The first federal census of 1790 provides us with two additional starting-points to estimate the number of Germans who had settled in all the mainland colonies. Aaron Fogleman has recently argued that in 1790, 21 % of all Americans of German descent lived in New England, New York, South Carolina, Georgia and those parts of the other states that were not settled by the 'Pennsylvania Dutch' who had

lists, its final calculation is based on a multiplier of 1.43 (for the whole range of time) as proposed by Wokeck, 'German immigration to Pennsylvania', p. 117. For a more extensive discussion, see my dissertation.

72 Wokeck, 'German immigration to Pennsylvania', p. 118.

73 Fogleman, 'Research Note: Immigration into the Thirteen British North American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, forthcoming, p. 17. Dr. Fogleman has kindly made his article available to me before publication.

74 Wokeck, 'German immigration to Pennsylvania', p. 111.

75 Gemeentelijke archiefdienst Rotterdam, ONA 1826/156, 162 (1718, ships Edward, Mary Sloop(?)), ONA 2090/316 (1719, Royal George), ONA 2095/445 (1721, John & Catherine), OSA 2783 de 1722 (De Wereldkloot), ONA 1529/53 (1725, York).

76 Wokeck, 'German immigration to Pennsylvania', p. 130, note 9.

77 Gemeentelijke archiefdienst Rotterdam, ONA 2332/143 (1736, Adventure), ONA 2770/102 (1742, St. Marcus), ONA 2770/102 (1742, Mary Gold), ONA 2337/187 (1743, Phoenix), ONA 2740/49 (1744, Rupert), ONA 2342/152 (1747, Janet & Janet), ONA 2343/98 (1748, John & Alexander), ONA 2344/76 (1749, Francis & Elizabeth, which is also mentioned by Wokeck), ONA 2144/124 (1749, Patience & Margaret), ONA 2147/189 (1751, Good Intent), ONA 2779/108 (1751, Scarborough), ONA 2348/50 (1754, 2 Gebroeders).

78 If we assume that the ratio of ships in the Philadelphia ship lists to ships not in the lists (as given by the Rotterdam contract data) was equal to the ratio of immigrants to Philadelphia 1727 – 1775 (as given by Fogleman, whose estimate is based on the ship lists, in 'Immigration into the Thirteen British North American Colonies', p. 17, but slightly corrected for the years 1700 – 1726) to those immigrants to British North America that are not represented in the latter figure, we find that the overall number is $(1 + (29 / 39)) * 65.465 = 114.144$. It might be argued that the sample of contracts preserved in Rotterdam is too small to allow any estimate of the overall number of ships at all. But this is not the case: The 0.95 confidence limits for this estimate are 94.876 and 142.315, respectively.

immigrated through the port of Philadelphia.⁷⁹ Extending this ratio to the original number of immigrants to Philadelphia and other ports, respectively, he concludes that total immigration between 1700 and 1775 was 84.400 persons of German and Swiss descent. 3.000 German troops who stayed in the United States after the War of Independence,⁸⁰ and a further estimate of 3.600 German immigrants to the United States between 1783 and 1789, offered by Hans-Jürgen Grabbe,⁸¹ leave us with an overall estimate of 91.000 German and Swiss migrants to North America previous to 1790.

The validity of this figure can, to some extent, be checked against the American census figure for 1790. Thomas Purvis has suggested that the number of people of German origin then stood at 281.245.⁸² This figure would have included people born in the United States to German immigrant parents, and if we allow for a plausible decennial rate of natural increase of 30 %, ⁸³ our original estimate of 91.000 German migrants would have produced 267.500 American citizens with German names, which is not far away from Purvis's figure. In case the timing of arrivals was equal to that proposed by Fogleman, but their decennial growth rate was actually at the maximum proposed by Gemery of 34.5 %, it would have taken 82.000 immigrants to produce their German-language offspring in 1790. With the minimum decennial growth rate of 25 %, 114.000 immigrants would have been needed to achieve the same result.⁸⁴

In the last decade of the century, about 5.100 Swiss and Germans immigrated into the United States.⁸⁵ Finally, an overall passage mortality of 5.5 %⁸⁶ would leave us with an estimate of 101.385 or roughly 100.000 emigrants from 1683 to 1800, which obviously has the advantage of being a round number. However, it rests almost entirely on one source, i.e. the ship lists preserved in Philadelphia, and does not account for the unknown number of arrivals in that port whose records have been lost.

79 'Immigration into the Thirteen British North American Colonies', p. 17. Fogleman's proposal is based the surname analysis carried out by Thomas Purvis. See Purvis, 'The European Ancestry of the United States Population, 1790', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series 41 (1984), pp. 85-101.

80 Fogleman, 'Immigration into the Thirteen British North American Colonies', p. 19.

81 'Besonderheiten der europäischen Einwanderung in die USA während der frühen nationalen Periode 1783-1820', *Amerikastudien / American Studies*, 33 (1988), pp. 271-290 (p. 276).

82 Thomas Purvis, 'The Pennsylvania Dutch and the German-American Diaspora in 1790', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 6 (1986), pp. 81-99.

83 A decennial growth rate between 25 % and 34.5 % is given by Henry Gemery, 'Numbers and Quasi-Numbers', p. 298.

84 For the years from 1700 through 1775, I have used Fogleman's estimates of decennial immigration as given in 'Immigration into the Thirteen British North American Colonies', p. 8, Table 1. I have assumed that the population of German descent at the end of a given decade was equal to the population at the beginning of the decade, increased by 30 %, plus the number of immigrants during the decade, increased by 15 %. The same procedure, carried out using Gemery's minimum and maximum growth rates, will yield an estimate of the German-language population in 1790 of 312.264 and 224.781, respectively. In each case, the true number (minimum or maximum) of immigrants would be equal to the true number of descendants (as given by Purvis) multiplied by the estimated number of immigrants (91.000), divided by the population in 1790 as estimated using the number of 91.000 and the Gemery growth rates. This will lead us to a minimum of 81.960 and to a maximum of 113.859 immigrants to 1790.

85 Grabbe, 'Frühe nationale Periode', pp. 276.

86 Grubb, 'Morbidity and Mortality', p. 571.

2.0 Explaining migration to British North America

2.1 Contemporary explanations

If we know how many men and women decided to migrate to North America or to any other place on earth during the 18th century, we are still far from knowing why they did so. Migrant decisions will still have to be explained to us.

Explanations of migration, to be sure, have their own histories. Contemporaries who shunned the idea of spatial mobility tried very early to find out what had gone wrong. They attributed the undesirable and apparently irrational behaviour of individual emigrants to numerous factors, many of which have frequently been cited in later literature, and they developed Malthusian ad-hoc-theories that explained to them the destabilization of an apparently immobile world of the past. I will discuss some of these attributions on the following pages.

Very few migrants have handed down any comments on what they hoped to achieve in North America. The intention to 'improve ones' luck' or to look for 'better nourishment' have been stereotype formulas for internal as well as for external migrations.⁸⁷

Religious objectives like the hope to find a new Canaan in America, to live without being confronted by sinful people and to thus escape the expected destruction of European 'Babylon', were disappointed early in the 18th century.⁸⁸ Religious minorities accounted for a very small part of the immigration to Pennsylvania.⁸⁹ In promotional pamphlets, some religious justifications and exhortations were supplemented by worldly promises to prospective migrants.⁹⁰

Contemporary observers have not been satisfied in their search for an explanation of emigration by the undisputable fact that most of the emigrants had economic motives. Emigration was a violation of state and church norms. Not only did it require official approval in most territories, it was also interdicted many times – without much success, quite similar to the outlawing of other peasant practices like dances, wedding feasts or spinning in spinning-rooms. The causes of this undesirable behaviour were discussed in many texts.

Church texts on emigration, including promotional pamphlets written by pastors, used to call for a thorough examination of the conscience of the migrants. In these texts, we do not find emigration justified unless by persecution or any distress that might be interpreted as a sign from Heaven.⁹¹

By interrogating migrants, government authorities attempted to elucidate the 'causes' of this deviant behaviour, quite often ending up with the conclusion that 'the applicants do not have a justified cause

87 Johannes Hoffmann of Holzhausen in Nassau-Dillenburg hoped in 1709, 'sein Glück zu verbessern': 'Briefe [in fact applications for manumission] Deutscher Auswanderer aus dem Jahre 1709', edited by Julius Goebel, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, 12 (1912), pp. 124-189 (p. 147). 'Bessere Nahrung' was the description Eberwein Richter of Herborn gave of his objectives: Goebel, 'Briefe', p. 132. Friedrich Weiß moved with his family from Rötteln to Göbrichen in 1697 'to get a better living and nourishment' ('um besser Auskommen und Nahrung willen'), as recorded by the pastor: Hahner, *Ortssippenbuch Göbrichen* Nr. 3620.

88 Radical pietists described the worldly attitudes of their new compatriots in harsh terms: 'A lazy dog / who has nothing left / and still wants to eat well / joins the travel / and thinks in America he will / measure the wine in cans. This is the riff-raff / that travels to America / a righteous Christian proves himself in a different manner (...)' ('Ein fauler Hund / der nichts mehr hat / und will doch gern gut fressen / reiset mit / und meynt in Pensylvanien / den Wein mit Kannen zu messen. Solches Gesindel ist es / so nach Americam reiset / ein rechter Christ sich ganz anders beweiset / ...'), *Wahrhaftiger Bericht des in derer Schwärmer und gute Tage wehler Herten fest-stehenden gelobten Landes Pensylvanien (...)* (no publisher, 1701), not paginated.

89 A number of between 3.239 and 4.016 radical pietists and anabaptists immigrating into the thirteen colonies has been estimated by Aaron Fogleman. See table 5.1 of his forthcoming dissertation 'German Immigration and Settlement in Greater Pennsylvania, 1717 - 1775'.

90 See Kocherthal, *Carolina*, Jenner, *Eden*.

91 Kocherthal, *Carolina*, p. 37.

to leave the country'.⁹² Very few interrogations of emigrants to British North America have been handed down to us,⁹³ but in those which do exist we find disputes over the responsibility for the decision to emigrate.

Johannes Kleinfeller, for example, a sixty-year-old wealthy peasant from Lohrhaupten who had sold his goods for 1707 florins (284.5 Pound Sterling) discharged of debts, was asked by the official *Amtmann* Wannemacher on 1 February 1751, 'what moved him to his intended emigration, and what causes he had to give for it?'. His answer, as recorded by the *Amtmann*, was: '1) Because the taxes he had to pay were not calculated in nominal value, but in metal value (...). 2) Because wood-cutting in the forests was limited. 3) Although he could not complain about the taxes on land, the rules concerning fish would limit the irrigation of their meadows, so he had losses in his meadows because he was not permitted to use them as before'. Questioned, 'Who had induced him to emigrate?', he answered that 'Nobody had induced him but he had made his decision based on the causes mentioned above.'⁹⁴

Hans Bär of Bruderalbis in the Canton of Zurich was in quite another situation when interrogated by the official *Landvogt* Scheuchzer on 27 July 1734. He declared that 'He was still unmarried, it would be better if he went at this time than when he was married and had children, also, their farm would not be divided into many parts, his parents were content as well and let him have his free will, he was a linen weaver and hoped to get by with the help of God, our Lord could preserve him wherever he was, he had already got a passport, and he had it in his will and mind to travel there, and behaved in a quite boorish manner'.⁹⁵

Although both men did not want to shift the responsibility for their decisions on to any tempters, the young weaver revealed a behaviour in his conflict with the officials differing from that of the old peasant. Kleinfeller, who was joined in his statement by his son-in-law and three more emigrants, accepted the official's negative value judgement on emigration, but blamed the government for his decision. Bär firstly pointed to his personal economic situation: He could not expect a considerable inheritance. Then he referred to other authorities – his parents, God, and the Zurich government that had given him a passport – and finally to his 'will' and 'mind', suggesting that only his stubbornness was responsible for his decision. Consequently, he gave the impression of a 'boorish' behaviour to the interrogator. A third way of dealing with the interrogators was used by Bär's companion Barbeli Frei, who neither explained why she was forced to move nor why she had a right to move but simply declared that 'she would rather like to stay at home'. Seven weeks after being interrogated, she married in London.⁹⁶

More examples could be added. The discourse on causes of emigration emerging in the 18th century has early focused on the problem which persons or institutions were to blame for this undesirable phenomenon. The attributions developed in this context – in our examples: decreasing value of coins, limited use of wood and water, a specific inheritance system, poverty, and an irrational 'spirit of emigration' being responsible for the emigration – should not be treated as neutral observations that

92 'daß Supplicanten keine befugte ursach hetten, das Land zu verlassen': Goebel, 'Briefe' p. 147.

93 The following interrogations of migrants to British North America have been published: (Hanau, 1748:) Freeden and Smolka, 'Deutsche Auswanderung', in Herder (ed.), *Auswandererbuch*, pp. 111-132 (pp. 116-118). (Weilburg, 1709:) Julius Goebel, 'Neue Dokumente zur Geschichte der Massenauswanderung im Jahre 1709', *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, 13 (1913), pp. 181-201. (Basel, 1738, 1742, 1749:) Albert B. Faust, 'Unpublished Documents on Emigration from the Archives of Switzerland', *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, 18/19 (1918/19), pp. 9-68 (pp. 13-22). See also the interrogation of emigrants to West Prussia, Württemberg 1781, in von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, pp. 307-309, and the interrogations conducted by Friedrich List, Württemberg 1817, edited by Günter Moltmann, *Aufbruch nach Amerika*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1989).

94 Question: 'was ihn zu seinem vorhabenden abzug beweget, und was er deshalb eigentlich vor ursachen anzugeben?' – Answer: '1) Weil er die Herrschaftl. gelder mit agio aufzuwechßeln genöthiget (...). 2) Weil man zu sehr eingeschrencket sich in denen Waldungen zu beholtzen. 3) Könnte er sich zwaren über die onera so dermahlen auf den güthern haften nicht beschwehren, die Fischordnung aber da ihnen die Wäberung der Wießen limitiret, brächte Ihm Schaden an seinen Wießen, daß er den sonstigen Nutzen davon nicht ziehen könnte.' – Question: 'Von wem er dazu verleydet [sic!] worden, daß Er weg ziehen will?' – Answer: 'Wäre durch niemand verleitet worden sondern den Schluß aus obigen Ursachen gefaßt.' (Staatsarchiv Marburg, Best. 80 Hanauer Geheimer Rat, XXXII A 7).

95 'Er seige dißmahl noch ledig, seig besser er gang dißmahl als wann Er verheurathet wer und Kinder hett, dann Ihr Hoff auch nitt erlyden möge inn vil theil zu theilen, seine eltern seigen auch zu friden und lassind ihmme seinen freyen Willen, er seig ein Lyn Wäber hoffe mit der Hiiff Gottes wol durch zu kommen, unßer Herr Gott könne ihn erhalten wo er seige, habe schon ein Pass empfangen, und sein Willen und Sinn dahin zu Reißen, und zimmlich bürhisch sich uffgeführt.' Staatsarchiv Zürich B VII 19.17: Landvogtei Knonau, Gerichtsbuch June 1733 – July 1737, pp. 217-220. See also Pfister, *Knonauer Amt*, pp. 318-319.

96 '(...) seig Ihnen aber nit vil daran gelegen wolle gern daheim bleiben'. See Pfister, *Knonauer Amt*, p. 143.

we could collect in those well-known 'laundry lists' of causes⁹⁷ but as causal constructions subject to our own investigation. This also holds true for the frequent statements of emigrants who declared that they were 'forced'⁹⁸ to emigrate by heavy taxes or poverty, and for the Malthusian explanations emerging very early in official reports on emigration. The *Amtmann* of Steinau argued in this way in his report on the emigration from Schluchtern to Lithuania sent to the Hanau government on 6 August 1740: 'The general causes why it looks so bad at Schluchtern that even the better sort has to suffer are due in my humble opinion to the fact that 1) the number of inhabitants is too high (...)'⁹⁹ This type of explanation, which takes emigration as a sign of undesirable living conditions due to overpopulation, has gained much acceptance during the subsequent centuries.¹⁰⁰

2.2 Models of emigration behaviour

Explaining migration will not entail the same objectives to us as for contemporary authorities, who sought to learn why emigrants deviated from early modern church and state norms of sedentariness. Nor do we need to explain why a spatially immobile, traditional society sent incredible numbers of people across the Atlantic Ocean – this would be neither a correct description of central European society nor of the relative significance of emigration to North America, as table 1 will recall.¹⁰¹

Table 1:

Empire and Confederacy in the 18th century: rough estimates of population and migration		
	Number	Percentage
● Population (3 generations)	60.000.000	100 %
● Migrants to all destinations	20.000.000	33 %
● to Eastern Europe	737.000	1.2 %
● to North America	100.000	0.2 %

The issue still in question, I should like to propose, is the differential distribution of moving and staying over time, space, and individuals. In which situations were early modern German-speakers likely to move to North America? The biographies of migrants might provide us with first hints.

Mattheus Hertlin¹⁰² of Göbrichen, Baden-Durlach, who decided in 1742 together with his wife, his children and his sister, the widow Barbara Meyer, to join the very first settlers at Waldoboro, Maine, does not seem to have been interrogated as to what had provoked him to the 'mad lecherousness to move away'.¹⁰³ We may assume that his answers would have been part of the spectrum discussed above. But even without any knowledge of Hertlin's intentions or justifications, a discussion of the causes that made him and so many of his contemporaries behave in this still remarkable way might

97 Frank Thistlethwaite, 'Migration from Europe overseas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'. XIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, *Rapport V* (Uppsala, 1960), pp. 32-60 (p. 46).

98 Goebel, 'Briefe', p. 130 and passim.

99 'die generale ursachen, warum es überhaupt und so, daß ebenfalls die gute darunter leiden, zu Schluchtern so schlecht aussiehet, bestehen meines geringen erachtens darinnen, 1. daß die anzahl der Inwohner zu starck (...)' (Staatsarchiv Marburg, Best. 80 Hanauer Geheimer Rat XXXII A 1 p. 17).

100 For an equivalent statement in Württemberg, 1781, see von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, pp. 311-315.

101 It summarizes the estimates that have been discussed above.

102 In the interest of Hertlin's descendants, I prefer to use a pseudonyme in this case. For sources, see my dissertation 'Die Entscheidung zur Auswanderung nach Britisch-Nordamerika: Wanderungsmotivation und ländliche Gesellschaft am Oberrhein, 1683 – 1776' (in progress at the Freie Universität Berlin).

103 'wahnsinnige Lüsterheit des Wegziehens', as formulated by the Württemberg government on 8 September 1717: von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, p. 286.

be appropriate. It should, for instance, be very plausible to explain Hertlin's decision by pointing to his economic situation: Out of 65.2 acres owned by his father – a farmer – Hertlin inherited but 10.4 acres. He was mentioned – as a tanner – in a Maine deed of 100 acres in 1753. The death of a son who was killed by Indians would not have made much difference to Hertlin's situation in war-torn Germany. Biographical factors may also have induced him to emigrate: He was a son of a Thuringian immigrant and his maid, and he possibly had a rather unhappy childhood. His father seems to have beaten both of his wives severely; there were rumours that his first wife – Mattheus' stepmother – and one of her babies died of maltreatment. Independent of this, the promotional pamphlet printed by Samuel Waldo in near-by Speyer in 1741, may also have played its part, as may the increase in grain prices during these years, the growth of the Göbrichen population since the end of the Thirty Years' War, or the deplorable fact that war had begun again in 1740.

Anybody ready to accept such factors as causes of emigration will have to deal with the fact that Mattheus' brother, Hans Jerg, who had the same background and lived in the same time and place, did not emigrate, although he might have had even more reasons to do so. Hans Jerg was mocked by the young men of the village as being a cuckold, and he behaved rather insubordinately toward the pastor. Why did he not leave Göbrichen, where he died in 1765? Obviously, isolated biographies will not help us find out which variables were actually important in determining emigration decisions. What we can do is compare – among persons, moments and places. The models based on such more or less systematic comparisons will always be of a statistical nature, that is, there will be exceptions. A single Hans Jerg Hertlin will not allow for a ruling out of all the hypotheses that might be illustrated by the case of Mattheus. But his case makes clear that migrants had a choice.

2.2.1 The temporal distribution of migration to British North America

The short term rhythms of migration to British North America depended largely on the seasons: a departure in spring used to facilitate an arrival in Philadelphia before winter. Less informed organizers like the Swiss pastor Moritz Götschi decided to depart in fall. Under the best conditions such behaviour could result in delay at Rotterdam until next spring;¹⁰⁴ in the worst case it meant shipwreck in the winter storms.¹⁰⁵

'Newlanders' (*Neuländer*) were also influential in determining the rhythm of the departure of migrants. The arrival of these earlier migrants to America who returned to Europe for business matters – transporting letters, trading and collecting inheritances – very often led to the departure of considerable numbers of emigrants. By guiding them to Rotterdam, the 'newlander' might receive a free passage across the Atlantic or even a premium.¹⁰⁶

Correlations between the number of passengers arriving at Philadelphia in a given year and socioeconomical variables in the areas of departure as well as arrival can be tested with the help of time series analysis. Grain prices in Germany¹⁰⁷ and an index of wholesale prices in Philadelphia¹⁰⁸ have been suggested by several authors for later periods. The pressure from demographic crises might also have increased the propensity to emigrate, though in Southwest Germany many demographic regimes covering quite small areas seem to have prevailed. Use of data from nine Württemberg parishes¹⁰⁹ is therefore just a stopgap measure; more demographic data from the area of emigration are simply not available at the moment. Lastly, a correlation between the ends of wars and increasing migration should be expected.

An attempt to find a multivariate regression model predicting immigration to Philadelphia yields significant results for the following variables: war in America (21 % of variance explained); Philadelphia price index of the preceding year (10 %); our makeshift measure of Württemberg mortality in the preceding year (8 %), whilst German rye prices (7 %) missed significance by a small margin. The whole model explains 36 % of the variance in yearly immigration at Philadelphia 1727 to 1776, indicating that bad harvests or deteriorating living conditions in Europe and increasing economic activity in America may

¹⁰⁴ Pfister, *Knonauer Amt*, p. 155.

¹⁰⁵ Wust, 'Shipwreck of the Oliver'.

¹⁰⁶ Pfister, *Knonauer Amt*, pp. 153, 158-161.

¹⁰⁷ von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, pp. 148-150.

¹⁰⁸ Grabbe, 'Frühe nationale Periode', p. 282.

¹⁰⁹ The parishes are: Altensteig, Assamstadt, Berneck, Bondorf, Gaildorf, Mötzingen, Münster-Unterrot, Tailfingen, Unterjettingen. I wish to thank Professor Reinhard Spree who has made part of these data available to me.

have had some rather small influence in determining the short term ebb and flow of immigration to Philadelphia. War and peace – that is, the availability of a safe travel to Pennsylvania – played a much more decisive part.¹¹⁰

Another factor whose influence cannot be measured yearly lies in the prices paid by passengers to Pennsylvania. The sparse information collected so far on this topic¹¹¹ does not show much more than an increase in prices over the century from about five or six Pound Sterling up to approximately fifteen Pounds per freight, with higher prices during wars than in times of peace. However, the prices payable by the merchants of Rotterdam to the ship owners underwent a sharp decline after 1730 that brought the price down to one or two Pounds per freight, whilst merchants or passengers had been charged five to eight Pounds by the ship owners in the few contracts extant before that period.¹¹² Meanwhile, the tonnage of the ships used in this traffic increased, they carried more passengers, and were more densely packed at least after 1749,¹¹³ although nothing seems to have changed in the prices payable per ship. The same sources support the point made by Farley Grubb in 1987, that there was no monopolization of the passenger market in Rotterdam.¹¹⁴ We should be rather surprised if the English merchants of Rotterdam, attacked so frequently in the older literature, could actually have had any chance to cheat the poor German passengers systematically. Instead, the advantage in costs seems at least partly to have been passed on to the passengers. This was done not by decreasing prices but by accepting more and poorer passengers on credit even at the increased risk of never being paid, thus expanding the sections of German population able to migrate to North America. In fact, a decreasing wealth of German immigrants, especially during the period of mass migration from 1749 to 1754, has been noted.¹¹⁵ But the risk of carrying poorer Germans and Swiss to Philadelphia only paid as long as Pennsylvania masters bought the service of German redemptioners in large numbers. After the French and Indian War had virtually stopped immigration, this unique type of transatlantic labour brokerage did not emerge again, although conditions in Germany, including the heavy 'newlander' traffic, had not changed fundamentally. The demand for labour in Philadelphia had decreased severely,¹¹⁶ with the result that almost no merchant of Rotterdam decided any longer to charter big ships for the transportation of crowds of redemptioners to Pennsylvania.

2.2.2 The spatial distribution of migration to British North America

Some of the characteristics of the migrants' homelands obviously made emigration to North America more likely. The territories drawn upon were traditionally protestant, thus making their inhabitants more acceptable to British authorities; in some of the territories there were anabaptist traditions, thus facilitating contacts to the Quakers of Pennsylvania and the merchants of Rotterdam. In most of the areas, a manorial system existed, which meant that no landed gentry used their bondsmen as servants as in the territories east of the river Elbe. The southwest German type of serfdom has been labeled a 'bagatelle' by some scholars; it certainly did not prevent mobility.¹¹⁷ Moreover, most territories of emi-

110 I have used a dummy coding of war and peace in America. Sources for the rye prices are Moritz J. Elsas, *Umriss einer Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Deutschland*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1936, 1949), II, p. 21 (Frankfurt rye prices) and p. 42 (Speyer rye prices), and Straub, *Badisches Oberland*, pp. 165-166 (Müllheim rye prices). I have used an average from these price series. On wholesale prices in Philadelphia see United States, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, bicentennial edition (Washington, 1975), series E 111. A difference filter has been applied to all variables. Significance has been tested on the 5 % level. German rye prices, which would be significant on a 6.34 % level, have been included to the multivariate model. No significant autocorrelation of passenger arrivals has been found. The SAS procedures ARIMA and AUTOREG have been used. For a more extensive discussion, see my dissertation.

111 Farley Grubb, 'The Market Structure of Shipping German Immigrants to Colonial America', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 111 (1987), pp. 27-48 (p. 46).

112 Gemeentelijke archiefdienst Rotterdam, ONA. As opposed to the earlier contracts, the numerous 'charter-parties' of the 1730s to 1750s let the freighter pay the food and accommodation of the passengers. This will explain part of the price difference.

113 Wokeck, 'German Immigration to Pennsylvania', pp. 173, 176.

114 Grubb, 'Market Structure'.

115 Häberlein, 'Oberrhein', p. 204. I have observed the same phenomenon in the 43 cases listed in both the works of Hacker and Burgert.

116 Sharon V. Salinger, *'To Serve Well and Faithfully': Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682-1800* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 134-135.

117 Werner Troßbach, '„Südwestdeutsche Leibeigenschaft" in der Frühen Neuzeit – eine Bagatelle?', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 7, 1 (1981), pp. 69-90.

gration to America were situated in the catchment area of the river Rhine, which was the most important route of travel to Rotterdam.

The influences of recruitment and population pressure are much more controversial. In most of the emigration territories inheritance used to be divided equally between all daughters and sons, a practice criticized sharply by many observers.¹¹⁸ They were more densely populated than other territories and underwent an increase in population of up to 100 % during the 18th century. This was after some of them had been immigration areas for Swiss during the 17th century. Poverty was widespread in all of them. Wolfgang von Hippel¹¹⁹ lends much weight to these 'push' factors in his interpretation of emigration.

On the other hand, Hans Fenske¹²⁰ argues that living conditions in areas of emigration were no worse than elsewhere and that 'countrymen with a low level of knowledge who are scarcely able to look beyond their native region do not leave their homeland spontaneously just because the winter has been extremely hard.'

Fenske's explanation has the advantage of being much simpler than the very balanced argumentation of von Hippel: The business of emigrant recruitment – which is also discussed by von Hippel but given less weight than the dynamics of pauperism and overpopulation –¹²¹ did not pay in thinly populated areas, so recruiters turned to the areas populated more densely.

There are two arguments that might caution us against this simple explanation of the spatial distribution of emigration. Firstly, at least in the case of the 19th century, correlations between 'push'-factors like the agrarian structure and the grain production and emigration have been demonstrated.¹²² Comparable data for the 18th century are not available; but at least in the six districts of Baden-Durlach (excluding the district of Karlsruhe with the newly-founded capital) a remarkably strong correlation existed between an indicator of population pressure and an indicator of emigration intensity. As all of these *Oberämter* were situated along the main travel route from Switzerland to Rotterdam, differences in information or recruitment intensity are not very likely.¹²³ We should certainly not dismiss the concept that population pressure encouraged outmigration, provided that information on opportunities was given.

Secondly, the unscrupulous emigration agent conning the dumb peasant in the interest of merchants and land owners is one of the most dubious stereotypes in migration history. The biggest endeavors to recruit emigrants to North America – including lots of printed promotional pamphlets – were made in the interest of rather unsuccessful settlement schemes like those of South Carolina or New England, while recruiters to Pennsylvania made very few such costly efforts after 1702.¹²⁴ The grade of professionalism reached by these 'newlanders' has not been clarified to date, unless we take for granted all the accusations made by contemporaries against these 'soul-sellers' and 'men-thieves'. There is no evidence at all that the money earned or saved by recruitment was more than a by-product of letter transportation, international trade and debt collection to the 'newlanders', or that their choice of destinations depended on their chances to recruit rather than on the residence of their individual

118 On the spatial distribution of inheritance practices in Germany see H. Röhm, 'Die Vererbung des landwirtschaftlichen Grundeigentums in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1959/60', *Atlas der Deutschen Agrarlandschaft* (Wiesbaden, 1962-), 2nd instalment 1965. There are some areas of traditional unpartitioned inheritance among emigration areas, e.g. Ulm and the Odenwald. For a classical critique of real partition first published in 1842, see Friedrich List, 'Die Ackerverfassung, die Zwergwirtschaft und die Auswanderung', in *Die Eigentumslosen*, edited by Carl Jantke and Dietrich Hilger (Freiburg i. Br., 1965), pp. 112-124.

119 *Südwestdeutschland*, pp. 62-63 and passim.

120 'Germany', pp. 337, 339.

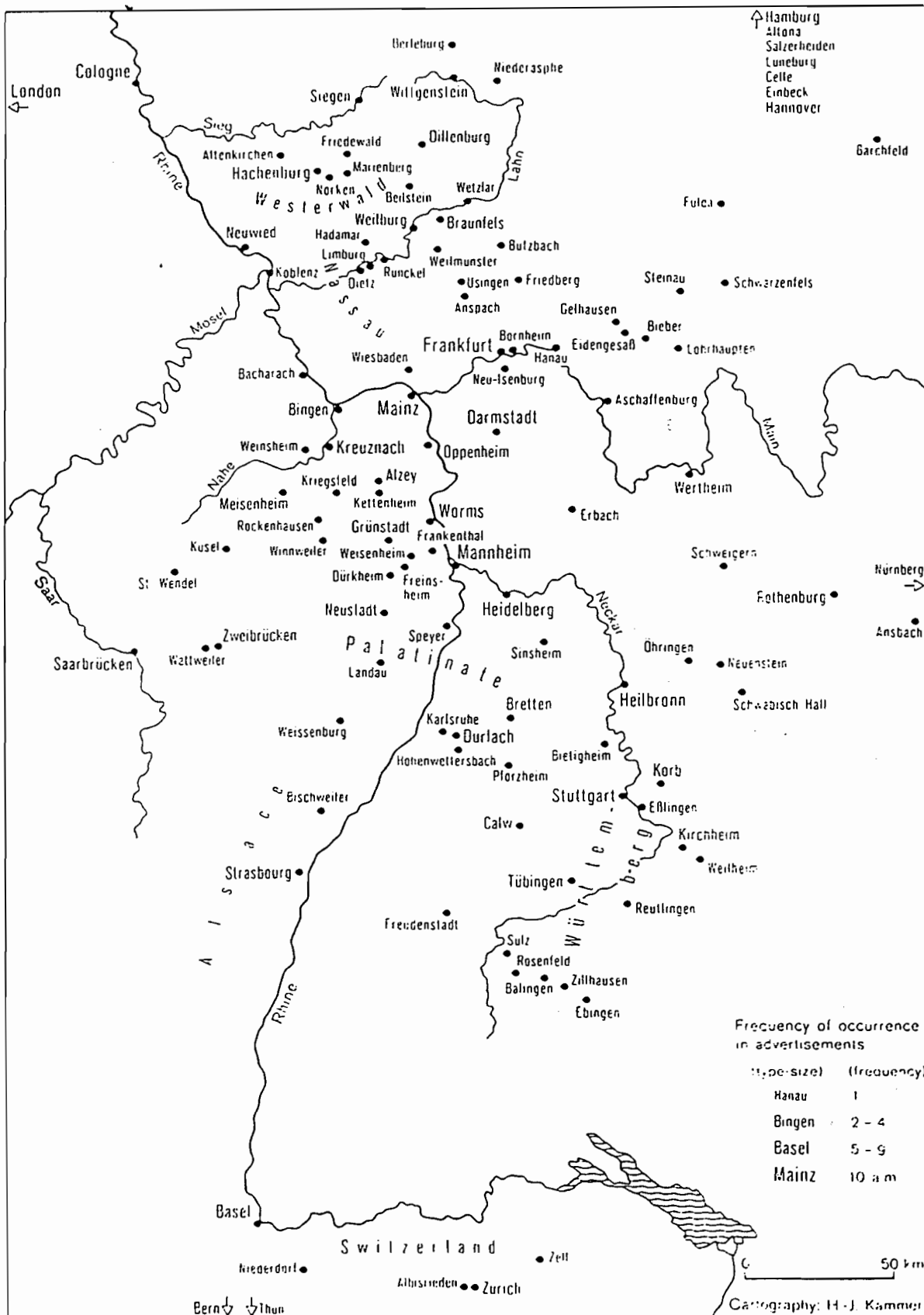
121 Fenske, 'Germany', pp. 67-94.

122 von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, pp. 204-205.

123 As an indicator of emigration intensity, I have used the number of emigration cases to all destinations as listed in the register of places in Hacker, *Baden*, divided by the number of inhabitants of the districts (*Oberämter*) in 1786 as given in Philipp L. Roeder, *Geographisches Statistisch-Topographisches Lexicon von Schwaben*, 2nd edition, 2 vols (Ulm, 1800), I, p. 15. As an indicator of population increase, I have used the number of inhabitants in 1786 divided by the number of households in 1701 as given in Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 180/272. Dividing population increase by productive land in 1701 as given in the same source, I have derived an indicator of population pressure, that explains 65 % of variance in emigration in these data. For a more extensive discussion, see my dissertation.

124 Daniel Falckner, *Curieuse Nachricht von Pensylvanien (...)* (Frankfurt, 1702). After this publication, almost all German literature on Pennsylvania is of a warning character. An exception is the brochure printed by Daniel Harvart, found with a 'newlander' in 1753. See Andreas Brinck, 'Die Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Hamburg, 1989), p. 91. I wish to thank Dr. Brinck for making his book available to me.

Map 1: Destinations of 'newlanders', 1746 - 1768



Sources: Advertisements in [Christopher Sower, Sen./Jun.,] Pennsylvanische Berichte, 1746 - 1762, and [Henrich Miller,] Wöchentlicher Philadelphischer Staatsbote, 1762 - 1768.

relatives, friends and customers.¹²⁵ Although there were certainly some swindlers among the 'newlanders' – a fact that has not been generalized by respectable observers like the Philadelphia printer Christopher Sower – we should avoid confusing the information penetrating the German countryside through the travels of large numbers of 'newlanders' with professional recruitment like that carried on by the emigration agents Jacob Friedrich Curtius¹²⁶ or Jacob Friedrich Heerbrand¹²⁷ with varying success. The 'newlanders' did not smuggle human beings in a manner harmful to society, encouraging people to emigrate although this decision was irrational and self-destructive to the migrants. Instead, they created a network of information and communication between rural southwest Germany and Pennsylvania after the migratory relationship between the two areas already had been established; quite comparable to the '*poepenbode*' (German messenger) and '*tichelbode*' (brick messenger) who ensured communication between the Netherlands and northern Germany.¹²⁸

The narrow meshes of this network, which could gratuitously be utilized by free and chain migrants, can be extrapolated from map 1 that has been drawn using advertisements of 'newlanders' published in Philadelphia newspapers, where they offered letter transport and debt collection. Although just a small proportion of all 'newlander' travels is reconstructable this way, it provides a survey of all important areas of German-speaking emigration to Pennsylvania.¹²⁹

2.2.3 The distribution of migration among individuals

One of the unsolved questions in migration history lies in the problem of what factors can be used to distinguish between migrants and nonmigrants at a given place and time.¹³⁰ To date in the case of German and Swiss migration to British North America, no difference in economic status could be demonstrated,¹³¹ although emigration has frequently been attributed to poverty. The age of prospective migrants had some influence: A higher proportion of adult German migrants to North America than of adult rural Germans in general was in the age groups from 21 to 30 years.¹³² Unmarried males were more than twice as likely to move to Pennsylvania than were unmarried women.¹³³ Recently, it has been observed that the proportion of passengers arriving at Philadelphia who were able to apply a signature increased over their ages in their teens and twenties, but decreased after their forties. This might be

125 Wolfgang von Hippel depicts the 'newlanders' in a very negative way: *Südwestdeutschland*, pp. 67-79. See also the discussions in Häberlein, 'Oberrhein', pp. 120-126, Pfister, *Knonaer Amt*, pp. 139-140, pp. 158-163, Brinck, 'Auswanderungswelle', pp. 86-99, and the interrogations reprinted in von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, pp. 290-293, Faust, 'Archives of Switzerland', pp. 21-28. See also the influential description Christopher Sower provided in *Pensylvanische Berichte*, 16 October 1749. These sources indicate the following proportions of the 'newlander' business (calculated in Pound Sterling): trade could yield up to 100 % profit per season on the capital invested (166 Pounds in one case); migrants did not pay anything for the services of the 'newlander'; merchants used to let them have free passage (in the value of 7 Pounds, one way) and may have payed them a premium of 8 or 10 Shillings per freight for recruitment in some cases. In Sower's and Miller's papers, the price for letter transportation (each way) is frequently given as a half crown or about 4 Shillings Sterling. 'Newlanders' could transport dozens of letters in each direction.

126 Gemeentelijke archiefdienst Rotterdam ONA 2279/108, 14 May 1751.

127 Rotterdam ONA 2699/8, 8 January 1752 and ONA 2699/220, 4 December 1752; see also von Hippel, *Südwestdeutschland*, p. 76-78, 306.

128 Lucassen, *Migrant Labour*, pp. 53, 82.

129 Names of regions have been included in the map if occurring at least five times; 'Palatinate', for example, occurred 19 times. I wish to thank Dr. Hans-Joachim Kämmer, Berlin, for the cartography. The density of these travels has certainly been much higher, as only one out of 130 'newlanders' traveling in 1749 could be traced in the advertisements: See Sower's article on the 'newlanders' in *Pensylvanische Berichte*, 16 October 1749 and the advertisement of Johannes Hänge in the same issue of his paper.

130 Gert Raeithel, 'Go West'. *Ein psychohistorischer Versuch über die Amerikaner* (Frankfurt, 1981).

131 Häberlein, 'Oberrhein', p. 74; Blocher, *Zürcher Auswanderer*. To my knowledge, Blocher has been the first to establish the equality in economic status of early modern nonmigrants and migrants from central Europe to America. He puts much emphasis on various 'dissociating factors' like previous residential mobility, death of relatives, illegitimate pregnancy, and others, that seem to have made social outsiders in the Swiss village of Stadel more likely to emigrate to South Carolina between 1734 and 1744 (pp. 121-126). Calculating phi-square from his data, I found that these factors account for only 4.1 % of variance in emigration.

132 45.2 % of the male German immigrants 1730-1754 were between 21 and 30 years old, while only 32.2 % of the rural population of western Germany seems to have been between 20 and 29 years old in the decade from 1740 to 1749. Among women, the high proportion of 26 to 30 year-olds (20.8 %) is remarkable as compared to the 11.9 % in Germany. Grubb, 'German Immigration', p. 427, and my own calculations based on Imhof, *Life expectancies in Germany*, pp. 447-448 (Population at Risk).

133 Of 4,568 German immigrants between 1727 and 1738, 18.1 % were single adult males, but only 8.0 % were single adult females. Married couples and their children accounted for 38.9 % and 33.1 % of the immigrants, respectively. Grubb, 'German Immigration', p. 421.

explained by the possibility that young literates invested a lot into their skills, which they could take with them to America, whilst older literates were likely to have made much location-specific investments in their home community, which they would abandon in case of emigration.¹³⁴

Different personality types have also been proposed in a reaction to the apparent lack of difference in the situations of migrants and nonmigrants.¹³⁵ These have the obvious disadvantage of not being verifiable with the aid of the sources handed down to us. In my own attempt to compare emigrants and nonmigrants in the village of Göbrichen around 1740 using genealogical and tax list data¹³⁶ I have, of course, not been able to measure any psychological proprieties of villagers. When we today make an effort to describe a rural society of the past in a statistical fashion, listing persons or households and hoping to discover what might turn out to have been a causal connection between any variables,¹³⁷ we will, in the most cases, find ourselves confined to rather few variables like access to resources, position in institutions (including family and kin), and migratory or any other behaviour that seemed remarkable to the contemporary authorities.

On the household level, good socioeconomical predictors of emigration to North America alone are hard to find, simply because it was relatively seldom. The percentage of surviving children that migrated from Göbrichen to any known destination (including some neighbouring places, Denmark, Hessia and America), has but slightly been influenced by a small agrarian property of the household.¹³⁸ The origin of the father, but not of the mother, seems to have had a little more influence.¹³⁹ The picture is much clearer when we attempt to predict the chances of children to marry and stay in this village. These were indeed increased by the resources, local origin, and local political participation of their parents.¹⁴⁰

While for the inhabitants of Göbrichen, the choice of North America as their destination – as opposed to moving anywhere else or staying in place – has not been influenced strongly by any socioeconomical variables, it depended more on the migratory behaviour of their relatives and godparents. Out of thirty-six persons leaving Göbrichen between 1736 and 1776 with the intention to go to North America, only Jacob Friedrich Böhner, the unmarried son of a swineherd, did not have any direct or indirect godparentship or genealogical relation to Mattheus Hertlin.¹⁴¹

134 Farley Grubb, 'Colonial Immigrant Literacy: An Economic Analysis of Pennsylvania-German Evidence, 1727-1775', *Explorations in Economic History*, 24 (1987), pp. 63-76.

135 Pfister, *Knonauer Amt*, pp. 325-326. A similar approach is used by Selig, *Würzburg*, p.195.

136 Sources are Hahner, *Ortssippenbuch Göbrichen*, the local parish registers, and Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 66/2909.

137 I do not imply that a statistical description of a village is the only correct one. It might even be misleading as statistical models assume that observations are isolated and independent from each other. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to questions of stimuli and motivation. For an impressive description of a southwest German village which is based on the concept of relations, rather than isolated observations, see David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870*, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 73 (Cambridge, 1990).

138 Variance explained is 7.3 %. The property of the household has been divided by the number of surviving children. We must avoid hypotheses testing in this case, because observations are not independent from each other. SAS has been used for all calculations. – In the Palatine town of Eppingen, I have found a comparable pattern: The families of later migrants to Pennsylvania (Annette K. Burgert, *Emigrants from Eppingen to America in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Myerstown, Pa, 1987)) did not own significantly fewer land or capital than the other households, according to the tax lists of 1701 and 1747 (Stadtarchiv Eppingen, B 157-158). Also, immigration did have no influence. The only clear pattern is that Catholics and Jews in this town of diverse religions did not emigrate, the movement being confined to Reformed, Lutherans, and households of unstable religious adherence (Karl Diefenbacher, *Ortssippenbuch Eppingen*, Badische Ortssippenbücher 52 (Lahn, 1984)).

139 13.3 % of variance explained.

140 These variables each explain between 13 % and 21 % of the variance in the proportion of those children that married a partner from Göbrichen. Together, resources per surviving child, the origin of mother and father in Göbrichen, and the membership of the father in the village court ('*Gericht*') explain more than a third (34.8 % of variance) of the children's chances to stay.

141 On the household level, belonging to the majority (61 %) of Göbrichen families that related to the Hertlin household, explains only 7.9 % of belonging to those few families that sent members to North America. This is, although very weak, the strongest correlation between the choice of America and any variable I could find in the Göbrichen data, the second-strongest being the origin of the father (6.6 % explained).

3.0 Conclusion: Proportions and explanations

So what do all these numbers mean? First of all, they provide us with a better sense of proportions than the pastor of Lichtenau could employ when he was, in 1749, so shocked by the unknown prospect of migration to North America that he overestimated its extent by some 300 %. The high degree of mobility prevailing in early modern central Europe and the comparatively little significance of migration to North America will not be without consequences to our explanations of the emigration. We should dismiss the idea that men and women like Mattheus Hertlin, Barbeli Frei, and Johannes Kleinfeller lost, through the impact of dislocating circumstances, a natural or traditional disposition to sedentariness.¹⁴² Also, we will not need to explain such a small phenomenon, as the 100.000 emigrants to North America are when compared to their 60 million contemporaries in all of the 18th century, by assuming that this was a sign of a fundamental overpopulation crisis – even though agrarian crisis has played its part in the migrations of 1709 and 1817, and although the different intensity of population pressure has certainly influenced the volume of outmigration.

The factors whose influence have been discussed above with the help of more or less statistical methods were not overwhelming. Many persons in similar situations remained at home or moved to destinations much closer, even if harvest turned out disappointing or if economic activity in Philadelphia was high, even if population had increased in the area in which they were living, or if they had relatives in North America. These influences should also not be understood as a one-dimensional relationship between emigration and its 'causes', because the most influential factors on the temporal, spatial and individual level can be attributed to the momentum gained by the process of migration itself, after the contact between the inhabitants of rural Central Europe and of British North America had once been established by pietists and promoters: the promise of stability grounded in personal relations to friends and relatives already living in America or accompanying each other, and the feasibility of transmigration ensuing from a transport system that had turned into a routine and profitable business.

The influence of all factors discussed in this paper, with the possible exception of gender, indicates that the migrants can be accommodated to the ideal type of a '*homo oeconomicus*' who is likely to act in a specific way when he or she thinks it pays. Maybe this concept of a calculating and flexible man is more appropriate to describe the behaviour and value orientations of migrants to British North America than those of persons who stayed in the Empire or in the Swiss Confederacy. This would fit nicely to Edward Shorter's 'conviction that North American society sprang full blown modern from the head of Zeus',¹⁴³ and to the wide-spread opinion that early modern central European society was a world of stability, subsistence and family values. But the dichotomy between modern movers and pre-modern stayers might be misleading. The pursuit of stability was not absent from the lives of the emigrants to America,¹⁴⁴ and personal material interests deeply shaped the ways of life, communal and kinship relations in the 'traditional' southwest German countryside.¹⁴⁵

Admittedly, we cannot know if we do justice to Mattheus Hertlin's personal wishes, dreams and concepts of life by all these conjectures. When he died in 1777, he left no insight into his soul.

142 The concept that men are in principle sensible is fundamental to most theories of migration. See Daniel Kubat and Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny, 'Migration: Towards a New Paradigm', *International Social Science Journal* 33 (1981), pp. 307-329.

143 *The Making of the Modern Family*, p. 24. See also Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, p. 2: 'the migrants did not represent a cross section of western European society. (...) perhaps most importantly, most were the kind of people who sought individual satisfaction.'

144 Häberlein, 'Oberrhein', pp. 270-277; Pfister, 'Zielwahl der Zürcher Auswanderer'.

145 Sabean, *Neckarhausen*.

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