IMIS-BEITRÄGE

Heft 14 / 2000

Herausgegeben vom Vorstand
des Instituts für Migrationsforschung
und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS)
der Universität Osnabrück

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Juni 2000
Druckvorbereitung und Satz: Sigrid Pusch, Jutta Tiemeyer (IMIS)
Umschlag: Birgit Götting
Layout: Universitätsverlag Rasch, Osnabrück
Printed in Germany
ISSN 0949-4723

THEMENHEFT

Europa als Wanderungsziel

Ansiedlung und Integration von Deutschen im 19. Jahrhundert

Herausgegeben von
Peter Marschalck

Vorwort

In den IMIS-Beiträgen werden kleinere Studien und Projektergebnisse aus der Arbeit des Instituts, für den Druck überarbeitete Vorträge am IMIS und gelegentlich auch von außen angebotene Arbeiten zu den Themenfeldern des Instituts veröffentlicht, wobei in der Regel thematische Offenheit herrscht. Daneben stehen bestimmten Bereichen oder Fragestellungen gewidmete Themenhefte.

Das von Dr. Peter Marschalck herausgegebene vierte Themenheft der IMIS-Beiträge gilt deutschen Auswanderungen und Arbeitswanderungen ins europäische Ausland. Das Heft umfaßt die Beiträge der Sektion »The Settlement Process of Germans in Different European Countries in the Nineteenth Century« der zweiten European Social Science History Conference vom 5.–7. März 1998 in Amsterdam. Die Sektion wurde von Marlou Schrover, Ph.D. organisiert, die Diskussionsleitung hatte Dr. Peter Marschalck.

Wir danken dem Herausgeber für die redaktionelle Betreuung der Manuskripte in Abstimmung mit den Autoren, Prof. Dr. Walter D. Kamphoefner und Joey-David Ovey für Hilfen bei der sprachlichen Überprüfung der Texte, Sigrid Pusch und Jutta Tiemeyer im IMIS-Sekretariat für die Vorbereitung der Manuskripte zum Druck.

Der Vorstand: Klaus J. Bade
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Einführung

Die wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit der Auswanderungsgeschichte der Deutschen stand seit dem transatlantischen Massenexodus des 19. Jahrhunderts bis in die frühen 1980er Jahre ganz vorwiegend im Zeichen der überseeischen Auswanderung.[1] Annähernd zeitgleich mit dem in diesen Jahren zunehmenden wissenschaftlichen Interesse an der Geschichte der Arbeitswanderung in die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, die zu dieser Zeit allerdings schon fast drei Jahrzehnte alt war, begann auch eine vertiefte Beschäftigung mit der Geschichte der deutschen Auswanderung und Arbeitswanderung in das europäische Ausland. Zum Teil wurde auch die Geschichte von überseeischer und kontinentaler Auswanderung sowie von kontinentaler Arbeitswanderung und Einwanderung nach Deutschland in integralen Forschungsansätzen zusammengeführt.[2] Die Beschäftigung mit der Geschichte der Deutschen im europäischen Ausland erfuhr einen neuen Anstoß durch die Aussiedlerzuwanderung, durch die die Geschichte der Jahrhunderte zurückliegenden West-Ost-Wanderung aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum ins Be-

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1 Hierzu s. z.B. die von Günter Moltmann herausgegebene Reihe »Von Deutschland nach Amerika. Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20 Jahrhundert« mit den Bänden von Hartmut Bickelmann, Deutsche Überseewanderung in der Weimarer Zeit, Stuttgart 1980; Agnes Bretting, Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800–1860, Stuttgart 1981; Michael Just, Ost- und Südosteuropäische Amerikaauswanderung 1881–1914, Stuttgart 1988; Agnes Bretting / Hartmut Bickelmann, Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Stuttgart 1991; Michael Just / Agnes Bretting / Hartmut Bickelmann, Auswanderung und Schiffahrtsinteressen / ›Little Germanies‹ in New York / Deutschamerikanische Gesellschaften, Stuttgart 1992; Ingrid Schöberl, Amerikanische Einwandererwerbung in Deutschland 1845–1914, Stuttgart 1990; Gerhard Wiesinger, Die deutsche Einwandererkolonie in Holyoke, Stuttgart 1994; Karen Schniedewind, Begrenzter Aufenthalt im Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten. Bremer Rückwanderer aus Amerika 1850–1914, Stuttgart 1994.

2 Dazu exemplarisch Klaus J. Bade, Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland? Deutschland 1880–1980, Berlin 1983; ders. (Hg.), Auswanderer – Wanderarbeiter – Gastarbeiter. Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, Ostfildern 1984; ders. (Hg.), Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart, München 1992.

wußtsein der weiteren Öffentlichkeit zurückgerufen wurde.[3] Neue Forschungsansätze aus der internationalen Diskussion zur historischen Migrationsforschung haben auch die Forschungsdiskussion zur deutschen Migrationsgeschichte herausgefordert und weiter vorangebracht.[4] Trotzdem ist die Geschichte der deutschen Auswanderungen und Arbeitswanderungen ins europäische Ausland in vieler Hinsicht bislang erst ansatzweise erforscht.[5]

Vor diesem Hintergrund suchte die Sektion »The Settlement Process of Germans in Different European Countries in the Nineteenth Century« auf der zweiten European Social Science History Conference 1998 in Amsterdam anhand einzelner Fallstudien weitere Forschungsanstöße zu geben. In fünf Beiträgen werden Niederlassung und Eingliederung von Deutschen in russischen, englischen, niederländischen, dänischen und belgischen Städten exemplarisch analysiert, die spezifischen Formen der Zuwanderung beschrieben und die unterschiedlichen Perspektiven in Beruf und Beschäftigung erläutert.

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3 Hierzu zuletzt Klaus J. Bade / Jochen Oltmer (Hg.), Aussiedler: deutsche Einwanderer aus Osteuropa (IMIS-Schriften, Bd. 8), Osnabrück 1999; Detlef Brandes, Vom Zaren adoptiert. Die deutschen Kolonisten und die Balkansiedler in Neurußland und Bessarabien 1751–1941, München 1993; Dittmar Dahlmann / Ralf Tuchtenhagen (Hg.), Zwischen Reform und Revolution. Die Deutschen an der Wolga 1860–1917, Essen 1994; vgl. u.v.a. auch die in der Reihe »Deutsche Geschichte im Osten« erschienenen Bände von Joachim Rogall (Hg.), Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Land der großen Ströme – Von Polen nach Litauen, Berlin 1996; Gerd Stricker (Hg.), Rußland. Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas, Berlin 1997; Arnold Suppan, Zwischen Adria und Karawanken. Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas, Berlin 1998.

4 Hierzu zuletzt Dirk Hoerder / Leslie Page Moch (Hg.), European Migrants. Global and Local Perspectives, Boston 1996; Jan Lucassen / Leo Lucassen (Hg.), Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives (International and Comparative Social History, Bd. 4), Bern 1997.

5 Zur deutschen Auswanderung in europäische Staaten s. Panikos Panayi, German Immigrants in Britain During the Nineteenth Century, 1815–1914, Oxford / Washington 1995; Hannelore Oberpenning, Migration und Fernhandel im ›Tödden-System‹. Wanderhändler aus dem nördlichen Münsterland im mittleren und nördlichen Europa des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts (Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung, Bd. 4), Osnabrück 1996; Piet Lourens / Jan Lucassen, Arbeitswanderung und berufliche Spezialisierung. Die lippischen Ziegler im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung, Bd. 6), Osnabrück 1999; zur europäischen Arbeitswanderung nach Deutschland s. u.a. René Del Fabbro, Transalpini. Italienische Arbeitswanderung nach Süddeutschland im Kaiserreich 1870–1918 (Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung, Bd. 2), Osnabrück 1996; Adolf Wennemann, Arbeit im Norden. Italiener im Rheinland und Westfalen des späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts (IMIS-Schriften, Bd. 2), Osnabrück 1997; Michael Kösters-Kraft, Großbaustelle und Arbeitswanderung. Niederländer beim Bau des Dortmund-Ems-Kanals 1892–1900 (Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung, Bd. 7), Osnabrück [2000].

Trude Maurer untersucht die Eingliederung bürgerlicher Einwanderer aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum in den Städten des zaristischen Rußland. Sie beschreibt die Niederlassungs- und Eingliederungssituation in den großen russischen Städten, wo um die Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert mit mehr als 400.000 fast ein Viertel aller Rußlanddeutschen lebten – mehr als 50.000 in St. Petersburg, rund 18.000 in Moskau und etwa 10.000 in Odessa. Unabhängig von ihrer Staatsangehörigkeit verstanden sie sich als Deutsche, und als Deutsche wurden sie auch von ihrer Umgebung in der Aufnahmegesellschaft betrachtet. Der Frage nach Art und Grad der Akkulturation, nach dem Versuch, die mitgebrachte Kultur zu bewahren und sich gleichzeitig der russischen Gesellschaft nicht nur in sprachlicher Hinsicht anzupassen, wird u.a. anhand von Quellen über zugewanderte Personen nachgegangen. Wo, wie z.B. in St. Petersburg, gemischt deutsch-lettische, deutsch-estnische und deutsch-russische kirchliche Gemeinden entstanden waren, dürfte das religiöse Leben seine Eigenschaft als Garant der Bewahrung kultureller Identität reduziert oder gar ganz verloren haben. Mehr Bedeutung kam den Kirchen für die Organisation von Wohlfahrt und sozialer Fürsorge – bis hin zur Gründung von Sportvereinen – zu; Schulen und in ihnen die Sprache spielten dabei eine entscheidende Rolle. Die Kenntnis Rußlands und der russischen Sprache wurden als Voraussetzung dafür erachtet, daß die Einwanderer nicht zu Fremden in ihrem (neuen) Vaterland würden; und Russisch wurde zur lingua franca einer multinationalen Schülerschaft an den Schulen auch der deutschen Gemeinden. Die Integration der Deutschen in Rußlands Städten – so das Fazit – mündete weder in die Assimilation, die bedingungslose Anpassung an die russische Kultur, noch blieben die Deutschen ihrer Herkunftskultur eindeutig verbunden. Sie wurden vielmehr Teil der ›multiethnischen‹ Städte des russischen Reiches.

Panikos Panayi geht es um die Niederlassung und Integration von Deutschen in den Städten Großbritanniens. Er bettet diese Zuwanderungen nach England in die große überseeische Auswanderungsbewegung aus Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert ein. Neben Einwanderern, die auf ihrem Weg nach Amerika oder Australien in London oder Liverpool hängengeblieben waren, waren es vor allem Arbeitskräfte in der Industrie sowie im Dienstleistungssektor, die aufgrund der hier weiter fortgeschrittenen Industrialisierung ins Land gekommen waren. Aber England war auch das Land der politischen Liberalität, das seine Grenzen für politische Flüchtlinge besonders auch aus Deutschland offen hielt. Rund die Hälfte der Zuwanderer ließ sich in London nieder, wo um 1900 etwa 25.000 Deutsche aus unterschiedlichen sozialen Schichten gezählt wurden. Am unteren Ende der sozialen Leiter lebten neben Armen, Kriminellen und Prostituierten vor allem Arbeiter in Zuckerraffinerien und in der Bekleidungsindustrie sowie, besonders nach der Jahrhundert-

wende, Kellner in London; in der Mittelschicht waren es Angehörige von Büroberufen, Lehrer und selbständige Geschäftsleute. Aufgrund schicht- und herkunftsspezifischer, religiöser und politischer Differenzierungen lassen sich die Deutschen in Großbritannien nicht als einheitliche ›ethnische‹ Gruppe beschreiben. Dennoch gibt es Gemeinsamkeiten, die die deutschen Einwanderer auch in ihrer individuellen Verschiedenheit auszeichnen: Während die religiöse Struktur fast vollständig aus der deutschen Heimat übernommen wurde, waren die politischen Gliederungen stärker an denen des Gastlandes orientiert gewesen. Wie Iren und Juden gehörten damit auch die Deutschen zur englischen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Marlou Schrover untersucht in ihrem Beitrag die Ansiedlung von Deutschen im niederländischen Utrecht und verdeutlicht ihre Ergebnisse an einer Analyse von zwei besonderen Gruppen deutscher Zuwanderer: den Steinzeughändlern aus dem hessischen Westerwald und den Feilenhauern aus dem Bergischen Land. Um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts lebten etwa 500 Deutsche in der Stadt, die zu gleichen Teilen katholisch bzw. protestantisch waren, ein Verhältnis, das sich gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts zugunsten der katholischen Konfession geändert hatte. Aber die Religion spielte für die Ansiedlung und die Integration der Zuwanderer eine deutlich geringere Rolle als regionale Herkunft, familiäre Bindungen oder berufliche Spezialisierungen. Darüber hinaus entschied auch die Möglichkeit, sich in einem bestimmten Viertel der Stadt niederzulassen, über den Integrationserfolg einer Gruppe. Die Kohärenz, die Steinzeughändler wie Feilenhauer als Berufsgruppen schon im Herkunftsgebiet gezeigt hatten, übertrug sich auch auf ihre Situation in Utrecht. Dennoch gab es Unterschiede: Während z.B. die Steinzeughändler aus dem Westerwald häufig als Saisonwanderer und im Familienverband kamen, ließen sich die bergischen Feilenhauer eher dauerhaft in Utrecht nieder. Das lag jedoch nicht zuletzt auch an den unterschiedlichen Zugangsmöglichkeiten zu den beiden Berufsgruppen. Während es etwa auch für Frauen verhältnismäßig einfach war, im Steinzeughandel Beschäftigung zu finden und ein Einkommen zu erzielen, waren selbst für Männer die Möglichkeiten, Zugang zum Gewerbe des Feilenhauers zu bekommen, beschränkt. Damit scheinen gleichermaßen unterschiedliche Integrationsstrategien verbunden gewesen zu sein: Feilenhauer mit den geringeren ökonomischen Möglichkeiten in ihrem Gewerbe waren eher gezwungen, sich nach alternativen Einkommensquellen außerhalb der eigenen ökonomischen Nische umzusehen; ein Faktor, der Ansiedlung und Integration gefördert haben könnte.

Gesa Snell beschreibt Ansiedlung und Integration der deutschen Einwanderer in Kopenhagen um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts und analysiert die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Voraussetzungen für die Entwicklung der

deutschen Zuwanderung in den dänischen Staat. Grundlage ist eine detaillierte Auswertung der Materialien der dänischen Volkszählung von 1845, mit der erstmals der Geburtsort und damit die regionale Herkunft der Einwohner erfaßt wurde. Die deutsche Einwanderung war zu dieser Zeit gegenüber dem 18. Jahrhundert, als auch noch die Ämter in Regierung und Verwaltung nicht-dänischen Einwohnern offengestanden hatten, erheblich zurückgegangen. 1845 kamen die Zuwanderer überwiegend aus dem norddeutschen Raum. Vier Fünftel der Immigranten waren Männer, und der Anteil der Männer wie der Frauen im Alter der Erwerbsfähigkeit war besonders hoch. Drei Viertel aller deutschen Immigranten in Kopenhagen waren erwerbstätig, etwa 70% von diesen in handwerklichen Berufen, vor allem im Textilgewerbe, im Baugewerbe und in der Nahrungsmittelproduktion. Von den nicht im Handwerk Beschäftigten fanden etwa 25% in den Dienstleistungen und rund 15% im Handel Arbeit. Deutsche Einwanderer waren somit nicht in eine ökonomische oder eine ›ethnische‹ Nische gedrängt. Diese breite berufliche und erwerbsmäßige Differenzierung sowie die lange Einwanderungstradition waren günstige Voraussetzungen für eine bedächtige Integration der deutschen Einwanderer, solange deutsche Kultur durch die Zugehörigkeit der schleswig-holsteiischen Landesteile zu Dänemark auch Bestandteil der Kultur des dänischen Gesamtstaats war. Erst als 1864 die Herzogtümer an Preußen verlorengingen, büßten deutsche Kultur und deutsche Sprache, die bis dahin hohes Prestige genossen und soziale Chancen eröffnet hatten, ihr Ansehen ein. Damit setzte auch in Kopenhagen ein verstärkter Anpassungsdruck auf die deutschen Einwohner ein.

Greta Devos und **Hilde Greefs** benutzen bei ihrer von wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Fragestellungen geprägten Analyse der Ansiedlung und der Niederlassungsstrategien von Kaufleuten und Handelsunternehmern vor allem die Akten der Antwerpener Einwanderungsbehörde. Fremde Geschäftsleute und Unternehmer gelten im allgemeinen als vorteilhaft für die Länder oder Städte, in denen sie ansässig werden. Vor allem zwei Gruppen von Immigranten waren dabei für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung Belgiens im 19. Jahrhundert von entscheidender Bedeutung: die englischen Techniker für die Entwicklung der Industrieregionen Verviers und Liège und die deutschen Bankiers und Kaufleute für die Wiederbelebung von Handel und Finanzen in Antwerpen und Brüssel. Unter französischer Besatzung wurde dem Antwerpener Hafen der bis dahin versperrte Zugang zur See und damit zur internationalen Schiffahrt wieder eröffnet. Mit dem zunehmenden Hafenverkehr gewann auch die Stadt ökonomische Prosperität zurück. Deutsche Kaufleute ließen sich in der Stadt nieder, deutsches Know-how und deutsches Kapital beflügelten den Handel. Die Autorinnen versuchen auf der Grundlage der Analyse auch der Bevölkerungsregister Antwerpens zu klären, in welchem

Grade die Niederlassung in Antwerpen Teil der Unternehmensstrategie gewesen ist. Deutsche Unternehmer kamen aus Frankfurt am Main oder Hamburg, andere aus Karlsruhe, Göteborg, Stockholm oder Stralsund. Sie konzentrierten sich auf den Handel mit Wolle und Häuten, u.a. mit dem deutschen Zollverein. Deutsche Kaufleute und Großhändler nutzten die günstige geographische Lage Antwerpens und die guten Verkehrsverbindungen ins kontinentaleuropäische Umland, solange die konjunkturelle Entwicklung positiv war. Weil sie – anders als die niederländischen Einwanderer – meist jung und ohne Familie nach Antwerpen gekommen waren, war es für sie allerdings auch leichter, in Krisenzeiten die Stadt zu verlassen, andernorts Niederlassungen zu gründen und Geschäfte zu betreiben. Verwandtschaftliche Bande und geschäftliche Beziehungen, wie sie bei dieser Einwanderergruppe bestanden, waren die besten Voraussetzungen für diese Art der Mobilität.

Trude Maurer

Between German and Russian Cultures: Germans in the Cities of the Tsarist Empire

»The Moscow Germans enjoyed the best of two worlds without being compelled to decide in favour of one or the other. They lived amongst a people noted for its hospitality and ›broadness of view‹, made a good living, were esteemed […] and yet remained Germans.«[1] That is how the journalist and political scientist Klaus Mehnert, who was born in Moscow in 1906, recalls his youth. Germans maintained their own network of churches, schools and clubs and at the same time participated in Russian cultural life. But in their fundamental attitude, Mehnert continues, »they were more German than the Germans back home«. In his memoirs he conveys the picture of participation in two worlds that were different and separate, but coexisted harmoniously.

He obviously designed this picture to contrast with the much harsher reality of twentieth-century experience in general, and Russian-German relations in particular. But it also evokes the contrast between urban Germans and the colonists in the Volga and Black Sea regions whose settlements constituted fairly isolated worlds of their own. There, national and religious homogeneity allowed German culture to persist fairly unchanged.[2] Finally, nineteenth-century German travellers reported that in Russia the Germans quickly adapted to their new surroundings whereas the English remained a

1 Klaus Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt. Erinnerungen 1906–1981, Stuttgart 1981, p. 19.

2 For the most recent (and comprehensive) history of Germans in Russia see Gerd Stricker (ed.), Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas: Rußland, Berlin 1997; for short surveys: Detlef Brandes, Die Deutschen in Rußland und in der Sowjetunion, in: Klaus J. Bade (ed.), Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Munich 1992, pp. 85–134; Alfred Eisfeld (ed.), Die Rußlanddeutschen, Munich 1992; Hans Hecker, Die Deutschen im Russischen Reich, in der Sowjetunion und ihren Nachfolgestaaten, Cologne 1994. For important research perspectives: Andreas Kappeler, Die Deutschen im Rahmen des zaristischen und sowjetischen Vielvölkerreiches, in: idem / Boris Meissner / Gerhard Simon (eds.), Die Deutschen im Russischen Reich und im Sowjetstaat, Cologne 1987, pp. 9–20; Carsten Goehrke, Die Einwanderung in das Zarenreich. Forschungsstand und Forschungsaufgaben aus der Sicht einer Untersuchung über die Rußlandschweizer, in: ibid., pp. 21–37. Bibliography: Detlef Brandes / Margarete Busch / Kristina Pavlović, Bibliographie zur Geschichte und Kultur der Rußlanddeutschen, Bd. 1: Von der Einwanderung bis 1917, Munich 1994.

»completely foreign colony«.[3] These observations might point to a third contrast: between Germans and *other* foreign residents.

This paper gives an outline of the complexity of preserving German culture and at the same time adapting to the new surroundings and adopting Russian habits. Thus, some received conceptions of their faithful adherence to an undiluted *Deutschtum* shall be questioned, pointing to the transformation of the culture of German immigrants.

In this context of studying acculturation, neither language nor citizenship are essential for defining who was a German. The question of citizenship was for a long time decided pragmatically and therefore cannot serve as an indicator of national consciousness. Most of those who became Russian subjects nevertheless considered themselves Germans: The best case in point are the colonists in the Volga and Black Sea regions. On the other hand, retaining foreign citizenship did not imply conscious separation from the Russian environment. And it was not uncommon for members of the same family to be citizens of different states.[4] During the first half of the nineteenth century many Germans preferred to retain the privileges foreigners enjoyed. For that reason they might even leave Russia temporarily and return as »newcomers« or obtain new »foreign passports« in Russia herself.[5] Subjects of the lesser German states which had no diplomatic missions in Russia, however, might prefer to enjoy at least the protection of being Russian subjects. Later on, when the activities of foreign entrepreneurs were subjected to certain restrictions, some adopted a middle course between becoming Russian subjects or retaining their original citizenship: By joining the merchant guild of a town in Finland (which in 1809 had been annexed by way of personal union but enjoyed autonomy within the Russian Empire) they obtained Finnish citizenship.[6] Only with the formation of the German Empire in 1871 and the rise of

3 For the general conclusion see Regina Stürickow, Reisen nach St. Petersburg. Die Darstellung St. Petersburgs in Reisebeschreibungen (1815–1861), Frankfurt a.M. 1990, p. 250; quotation: Aurelio Buddeus, Halbrussisches, vol. II, 3rd ed. Leipzig 1854, p. 124. Whereas some authors assessed this adaptation favorably as a proof of German adaptability, others deplored it as a deficit of national pride. For an example of the first see Johann Georg Kohl, Petersburg in Bildern und Skizzen, vol. II, Dresden / Leipzig 1841, p. 223. For an example of the latter Buddeus, Halbrussisches, vol. II, p. 241.

4 For a case in point see the family of Mehnert's mother: Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt, p. 19.

5 Kohl, Petersburg in Bildern und Skizzen, vol. II, p. 32.

6 Thomas Martin, Deutsche Unternehmer in St. Petersburg und Moskau in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, in: Boris Meissner / Alfred Eisfeld (eds.), Der Beitrag der Deutschbalten und der städtischen Rußlanddeutschen zur Entwicklung des Russischen Reiches in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg, Cologne 1999, pp. 157–168, here p. 161.

Russian nationalism did the decision for one citizenship or the other assume political significance.

But neither can language be considered a reliable criterion of belonging to the German minority in Russia. When citizens of the German Empire were interned as enemy aliens during the First World War, some of them did not know a word of German.[7] On the other hand, in the Russian census of 1897 not only Germans, but also some Estonians, Finns, Swedes and Czechs declared German their mother tongue – while some children of German families would register as Russian-speaking.[8]

Thus, Germans should rather be considered an ethnic group that possessed cultural homogeneity (at least at the time of immigration), perceived itself as German and was seen by others in the same way. They shared common historical as well as personal experiences, a collective identity and a notion of ethnic boundaries.[9] Considering the perception of oneself as one of the criteria for defining Germans implies acknowledging an individual decision. Whereas this might complicate research, it is in accordance with the form of migration: Unlike the colonists, the urban Germans had come as individuals.[10] ›Acculturation‹ is used here as the acquisition of knowledge and other accomplishments, the modification of behaviour and life styles, and changes in values and attitudes as a result of contacts with other ethnic groups.[11] These changes shall be demonstrated here in discussing the reli-

7 Anders Henriksson, Nationalism, Assimilation and Identity in Late Imperial Russia: The St. Petersburg Germans, 1906–1914, in: Russian Review, 52. 1993, pp. 341–353, here p. 347.

8 Natalja V. Juchneva, Die Deutschen in Sankt Petersburg von der zweiten Hälfte des 19. bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, in: Ingeborg Fleischhauer / Hugo Jedig (eds.), Die Deutschen in der UdSSR in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Ein internationaler Beitrag zur deutsch-sowjetischen Verständigung, Baden-Baden 1990, pp. 83–96, here pp. 84f. For examples of particular families in Odessa see Ė[l'vira] R[omanovna] Plesskaja-Zebol'd, Odesskie Nemcy 1803–1920, Odessa 1999, pp. 385, 414. I am much obliged to both the author and the Institut für Deutschland- und Osteuropaforschung, Göttingen, for granting permission to use the manuscript before it went to press.

9 For this definition of an ethnic group see Friedrich Heckmann, Ethnische Minderheiten, Volk und Nation. Soziologie inter-ethnischer Beziehungen, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 35–38.

10 There was, however, some chain migration – usually relatives following members of the family or first-generation immigrants looking for wives at home. See e.g. Erik Amburger, Deutsche in Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Rußlands. Die Familie Amburger in St. Petersburg 1770–1920, Wiesbaden 1986, pp. 71f. and Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt, p. 15.

11 For this definition of acculturation (as distinct from complete assimilation) see Heckmann, Ethnische Minderheiten, pp. 167–172.

gious life, education and language of the Germans, the adoption of Russian habits and, finally, some aspects of German social life.[12]

Traditionally, historians have attributed great importance to church life, both for social relations and to preserve German identity.[13] Usually religious denomination and nationality have been seen as being identical. To the Germans themselves as well as to outside observers the terms ›German‹ and ›Protestant‹ seemed to be interchangeable.[14] (And by way of compensation, the unity of faith was emphasised even by those who had become fully Russified. For this reason, seceding from the church as the subsequent psychoanalyst Lou Andreas-Salomé did in her youth resulted in social ostracism.[15])

But up to the 1870s, the individual parishes rather sought to isolate themselves from each other. It was only under the pressure of anti-German

12 In 1897 when a general census was taken there were 1.79 million Germans (i.e. German-speaking residents regardless of citizenship) in the Russian Empire. Roughly 77% of them lived in the countryside, 23% in towns of various regions of the Empire, including the Baltic provinces (Hecker, Die Deutschen im Russischen Reich, p. 51). In St. Petersburg, there were 51,000 Germans, in Moscow 18,000 and in Odessa 10,000. Data on the occupational structure are available in Henning Bauer / Andreas Kappeler / Brigitte Roth (eds.), Die Nationalitäten des Russischen Reiches in der Volkszählung von 1897, Bd. B: Ausgewählte Daten zur sozio-ethnischen Struktur des Russischen Reiches, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 161, 169, for the urban population of the whole empire (including the Baltic provinces!) according to gender. In St. Petersburg, 29% of the actively employed Germans worked in crafts and industry, 8.8% in banking and commerce, 4.7% in the service sector, 9.9% in the professions, 2% in the administration, 2.4% in the army, 18.7% were servants (no differentiation according to gender available) (ibid., p. 468). Moscow: 21% crafts and industry, 16.7% banking and commerce, 4.2% service sector, 17.5% professions, 0.7% administration, 3.3% army, 17.9% servants (ibid., p. 466). Odessa: 29% crafts and industry, 8.2% banking and commerce, 5.3% service sector, 6.2% professions, 1.2% administration, 14.7% army, 19.7% servants (ibid., p. 467).

13 For the most recent statement see Gerd Stricker, Deutsches Kirchenwesen, in: idem (ed.), Deutsche Geschichte im Osten, pp. 324–428, here p. 333.

14 Wilhelm Kahle, Aufsätze zur Entwicklung der evangelischen Gemeinden in Rußland, Leiden / Cologne 1962, pp. 190, 238. Whereas in the Volga and Black Sea colonies, Catholics constituted one third and one fourth of the German population respectively and usually lived in settlements or villages of their own, in the big cities the Catholics formed a tiny minority: In 1900, 93% of the Germans in St. Petersburg were Protestant, 5% Catholic. German Catholic parishes came into being only in 1902 and 1910. Before that, a special mass was said for them by a German priest in a Polish church. In Moscow, there were only nationally mixed Catholic parishes (Stricker, Kirchenwesen, pp. 361, 331, 335).

15 Lou Andreas-Salomé, Lebensrückblick. Grundriß einiger Lebenserinnerungen. Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Ernst Pfeiffer, Frankfurt a.M. 1968, reprinted 1974, p. 46. I am obliged to Dr. Gesa Dane (Göttingen) for calling my attention to this source on the history of Germans in Russia.

feelings that cautious cooperation developed.[16] Moreover, the Protestant parishes of the eighteenth century had been ethnically mixed and only later divided along linguistic lines.[17] But even then some, like for example the Reformed or Calvinist community in Moscow, continued to be mixed, but were dominated by one or two of the ethnic groups.[18] Finally, during the second half of the nineteenth century, some of the Lutheran parishes in St. Petersburg developed into linguistically or ethnically mixed communities, that is, German-Latvian, German-Estonian, or German-Russian.[19] Whereas in the first two cases this resulted from the migration of people from the Baltic provinces to the capital, the third seems to indicate the Russification of Lutheran immigrants.

The role religion played in upholding German culture and consciousness may also have been reduced by various periods of religious indifference, not only at the end of the nineteenth century[20], but also during its first decades.[21] In 1810, the recently appointed minister of the St. Petersburg Calvinist congregation found fault with parents who »had one child baptised an Orthodox, another a Lutheran, and the third a Calvinist, the first one two months, the second one six months and the third one a year after birth«.[22]

But even though the intensity of religious life varied, and in the long run was impaired by increasing secularisation, the church *did* fulfil important functions in preserving German cohesion. In contrast to the tradition in their country of origin, German church institutions in Russia were not only responsible for charity and social welfare but devoted themselves to activities

16 Stricker, Kirchenwesen, p. 333.

17 Harry Schneider, Schweizer Theologen im Zarenreich (1700–1917). Auswanderung und russischer Alltag von Theologen und ihren Frauen, Zürich 1994, pp. 26f.; Kahle, Aufsätze zur Entwicklung der evangelischen Gemeinden, p. 9.

18 Schneider, Schweizer Theologen, p. 39.

19 For a typology of parishes see Margarete Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg 1865–1914. Identität und Integration, Essen 1995, p. 116; on the ethnically mixed parishes also Kahle, Aufsätze zur Entwicklung der evangelischen Gemeinden, pp. 13, 85, and Schneider, Schweizer Theologen, pp. 153f.

20 For declining participation in the communion see Stricker, Kirchenwesen, p. 333; statistics for some Protestant churches in St. Petersburg and Odessa: Kahle, Aufsätze zur Entwicklung der evangelischen Gemeinden, pp. 54, 59; long-term comparison for St. Petersburg Protestant parishes in Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg, p. 127.

21 For meagre attendance of services see Kahle, Aufsätze zur Entwicklung der evangelischen Gemeinden, p. 30; Schneider, Schweizer Theologen, p. 162.

22 Letter to his family in Switzerland, quoted in: Hermann Dalton, Johannes von Muralt. Eine Pädagogen- und Pastorengestalt der Schweiz und Rußlands aus der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts, Wiesbaden 1876, p. 106. For religious indifference in Moscow cf. Schneider, Schweizer Theologen, p. 41, and Kahle, Aufsätze zur Entwicklung der evangelischen Gemeinden, p. 31.

which can hardly be seen as emanating from the commandment to love one's neighbour. In Odessa, for example, a German sports club was founded at the initiative and on the premises of the Lutheran parish. And even though it later became the basis for Odessa's general sports club, until the First World War it remained chiefly a German society.[23]

The churches also organised and maintained the first immigrant schools – which in the long run developed into an elaborate system of education.[24] As a consequence of the Reformation, schooling had gained major importance for the preservation of faith.[25] But the curriculum of these schools was constantly expanded to include more and more secular and practical subjects. As the teaching was oriented to the needs of the minority, it contributed to the preservation of German identity.[26] And this might have been accomplished not only by teaching German history and literature, but also by teaching subjects like housekeeping or hygiene for girls which in turn allowed their families to continue their traditional way of life.[27]

But some headmasters realised very early that school not only had to preserve the German cultural heritage but must also prepare students for the life of the world they lived in. Anton Friedrich Büsching, for example, a Göttingen professor who in the 1760s developed the school of St. Peter's into a classical *Gymnasium* of European standards claimed: »It is the Russian Empire they have to know first of all in order not to become strangers in their fatherland.«[28] Gradually the curricula of secondary schools and *Gymnasia* were adapted to their Russian counterparts. Thus, their graduates were allowed to study at institutions of higher learning without having to pass an

23 Plesskaja-Zebol'd, Nemcy, p. 323.

24 For recent surveys of German education in Russia see Gerd Stricker, Rußlanddeutsches Bildungswesen. Von den Anfängen bis 1941, in: idem (ed.), Deutsche Geschichte im Osten, pp. 420–481; Ralph Tuchtenhagen, Bildung als Auftrag und Aufgabe. Deutsche Schulen in St. Petersburg 1704–1934, in: Nordost-Archiv, 3. 1994, no. 1, pp. 63–87; Eric Amburger, Die deutschen Schulen in Rußland mit besonderer Berücksichtigung St. Petersburgs, in: Friedhelm Berthold Kaiser / Bernhard Stasiewski (eds.), Deutscher Einfluß auf Bildung und Wissenschaft im östlichen Europa, Cologne / Vienna 1984, pp. 1–26.

25 Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg, p. 138; Kahle, Aufsätze zur Entwicklung der evangelischen Gemeinden, p. 238.

26 Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg, p. 137.

27 For St. Petersburg curricula see Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg, p. 147; for Odessa Plesskaja-Zebol'd, Nemcy, p. 241. For typical German dishes in early twentieth-century St. Petersburg see an article based on oral tradition: A.V. Keller, Rol' vnutrisemejnogo obščenija v vospitanii detej v nemeckich sem'jach Peterburgskoj gubernii v načale XX v., in: ›Mir detstva‹ v tradicionnoj kul'ture narodov SSSR. Sbornik naučnych trudov, Leningrad 1991, pp. 44–51, here p. 45.

28 Quoted in Kahle, Aufsätze zur Entwicklung der evangelischen Gemeinden, p. 239.

additional exam. For that reason from the 1870s on the final exams in a number of subjects had to be taken in Russian.[29] (But attention to Russian was paid not only for tactical reasons. By supplying adequate reading and organising theatre groups, schools tried to familiarise students with both cultures, Russian as well as German.[30])

Generally, in the course of the nineteenth century all schools adopted Russian as the language of instruction, at least for some of the subjects. However, this process was in no way consistent. Rather, it went back and forth, and for some girls' schools even included a phase with French as the language of instruction.[31] And by voluntarily introducing Russian for *some* subjects, schools in St. Petersburg and Moscow successfully evaded complete Russification by the state.[32] Observers noted at the turn of the twentieth century that during breaks children spoke chiefly Russian.[33] This reflects the fact that Russian was absolutely necessary if one wanted to succeed in business or the civil service. And even at home families switched to Russian.[34]

But at school there was an additional reason for speaking Russian as the institutions that were supported by the German parishes had in fact a multinational student body for which Russian was a convenient *lingua franca*. Before the First World War between 25 and 50 per cent of the roughly 5,000 students in the German schools of the capital were Russian.[35] In addition, there were Poles and Jews and members of some other ethnic groups. In the Lutheran school of Odessa the share of Lutherans (which can roughly be equated with the share of Germans) fluctuated between 14 and 32 per cent, making the Germans only the second or even third largest group after Russians and Jews.[36] German schools were considered particularly successful in providing an élite education while at the same time demanding lower tuition

29 Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg, pp. 140, 162.

30 H. Pack, Die deutschen Schulen in Moskau, in: Franz Schmidt / Otto Boelitz (eds.), Aus deutscher Bildungsarbeit im Auslande. Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen in Selbstzeugnissen aus aller Welt, Langensalza 1927, pp. 303–329, here pp. 325, 327.

31 For Moscow schools see Stricker, Rußlanddeutsches Bildungswesen, pp. 422f.

32 Ibid., p. 431.

33 H[einrich] Pantenius, Die Schulpolitik der St. Petersburger Deutschen, in: idem / Oskar Grosberg (eds.), Deutsches Leben im alten St. Petersburg. Ein Buch der Erinnerung, Riga 1930, pp. 53–59, here p. 58.

34 Karl Stumpp, Fremdes Wortgut in der Umgangssprache der Rußlanddeutschen, in: Jahrbuch für ostdeutsche Volkskunde, 21. 1978, pp. 294–321, here p. 294; Henriksson, Nationalism, Assimilation and Identity, p. 346.

35 For Protestants vs. Orthodox in the individual schools see tables 22–26 in Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg, pp. 150–152. On the multi-ethnic composition of the student body also cf. Tuchtenhagen, Bildung als Auftrag, p. 84; Amburger, Die deutschen Schulen, pp. 17f.

36 Plesskaja-Zebol'd, Nemcy, pp. 247f.

fees. Especially Russian merchants preferred to have their sons educated in German schools because of the language training and commercial instruction they provided. On the other hand, many Germans sent their sons to Russian institutions in order to facilitate their integration into Russian society and improve their chances in particular fields.[37] Well-off entrepreneurs, however, might prefer to have their offspring educated in boarding schools in Germany or Switzerland.[38]

But not only did the use of Russian increase with the passage of time. The German language itself underwent some change. The Mehnert family, it is true, included some Russian words into colloquial German. But little Klaus was able to distinguish between the two languages and apply them according to the particular situation.[39] However, at least from the end of the nineteenth century on, teachers lamented the corrupted German of their students. Around 1910, a teacher of German at the *Gymnasium* of the St. Petersburg Reformed congregation claimed that only 10 per cent of the students spoke »authentic German«. What the others uttered could only be understood if one translated it literally into Russian.[40] And the editor of the German daily *Sankt Petersburger Zeitung* recorded not only alterations of the vocabulary, but of German syntax and grammar as well.[41] It is not clear, however, whether these changes applied to the German population at large or only to particular social groups. For one thing, the upper classes were in closer contact with Russian society than the artisans who mainly confined themselves to their own circles. Thus, the upper classes became bilingual more quickly. On the other hand, at the turn of the century, artisans and workmen pronounced the German ›h‹ as ›g‹, as the Russians did, and could hardly make themselves understood among educated Germans. This might have resulted from their increasingly Russianised work environment. As immigration declined after 1871, many German masters preferred to hire cheaper Russian labour. At the same time, more and more local German craftsmen found work in the Russian industrial complex.[42]

37 Andreas Keller, Bildung und Wohlfahrt, Gesellschaften und Vereine. Deutsches Leben in Moskau im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert, in: Nordost-Archiv, 3. 1994, no. 1, pp. 89–111, here p. 96.

38 Dittmar Dahlmann, Lebenswelt und Lebensweise deutscher Unternehmer in Moskau vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges, in: ibid., pp. 133–163, here p. 151; Roman Bühler / Heidi Gander-Wolf / Carsten Goehrke, Schweizer im Zarenreich. Zur Geschichte der Auswanderung nach Russland, Zürich 1985, p. 251.

39 Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt, p. 20.

40 Quoted in Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg, p. 165.

41 Quoted in Henriksson, Nationalism, Assimilation and Identity, p. 343.

42 Ibid., pp. 347–349.

Language also exemplifies the adoption of Russian habits: Germans addressed each other in the Russian way, that is, by Christian name and patronymic. They also used the Russian diminutives as pet names – Saša instead of Alexandre.[43] Klaus Mehnert's mother even spoke of her husband as »Väterchen«[44], thus translating the ubiquitous Russian diminutive into German. This reflects not only a change in the form of communication but a change within family relations as well. Its most obvious indicator was the position of the nurse, who not only was called *njanja* but, in fact, was usually a Russian woman.[45] But whereas in Germany nurses were essentially excluded from the intimate sphere of the bourgeois family, nurses, governesses and private tutors in Russia were considered part of it.[46]

Some changes in everyday life – like, for example, having the main meal at 5 p.m.[47] – may be regarded as a necessary accommodation to Russian business partners, office hours and local customs in general. But spending the summer on the *dača* out of town seems to have been identical neither with the customary German *Sommerfrische* nor with Russian life in the countryside, but rather a blending of both.[48] In 1858, when the future minister of the Reformed congregation first came to St. Petersburg, about 90 per cent of the members were spending the summer in their country homes – which had developed from peasant huts into country houses. (And unlike in Germany, even craftsmen of little means tried to save up money in order to provide

43 For the Salomé family of Huguenot and Baltic descent whose every-day language was mainly German, but whose children had French Christian names see Andreas-Salomé, Lebensrückblick, pp. 31, 44 (Louise / Lolja or Ljola, Alexandre / Saša, Eugène / Ženja).

44 Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt, p. 25.

45 Amburger, Deutsche in Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Rußlands, pp. 123f. For examples see Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt, p. 26; Alexis Dettmann, Wohlhabende Deutsche an der Newa. Eine Kindheit in St. Petersburg – Eindrücke, Bilder, Erinnerungen, in: Rudolf Pörtner (ed.), Heimat in der Fremde. Deutsche aus Rußland erinnern sich, Düsseldorf / Vienna / New York / Moscow 1992, pp. 44–59, here p. 48; Erich Franz Sommer, In Moskau geboren, in Riga zu Hause. Die Pioniere, die Troika und die Genossen Herren Lehrer – Meine Schulzeit im nachrevolutionären Moskau, in: ibid., pp. 92–115, here p. 94.

46 Dahlmann, Lebenswelt und Lebensweise deutscher Unternehmer, pp. 150f.

47 Friedrich Meyer von Waldeck, Unter dem russischen Scepter. Erinnerungen eines deutschen Publicisten, Heidelberg 1894, p. 162.

48 For individual examples see Dettmann, Wohlhabende Deutsche an der Newa, p. 45; Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt, pp. 23f. Both near Moscow and near St. Petersburg there were extended *dača* settlements. For Moscow see Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt, p. 21, for early nineteenth-century St. Petersburg: J.F.A.L. Woltmann, Beschreibung einer Reise nach St. Petersburg, Stockholm und Kopenhagen, Hamburg 1833, p. 157.

their family with a stay in the countryside.)[49] The Mehnert family, however, avoided the typical *dača* settlements and hired three rooms in a Russian village. There they would spend Russian Easter, indulge in the traditional Russian Easter dishes of *pascha* and *kulič* and even attend the midnight service in the Orthodox church. Little Klaus would greet everybody he met with the Russian traditional salutation *Christos voskrese*, that is »Christ has risen«, and then exchange the triple Easter kiss with him.[50]

In the sphere of business there were, of course, adjustments as well. In Russia, even German merchants might dispense with written contracts[51] or exchange kisses of welcome with their partners.[52] The system of social security which Julius Hess introduced in his factory may be regarded as a fusion of Russian and German practices: His employees retired after 25 years of work and received their full salaries until the end of their lives – as did Russian civil servants. On the other hand, when church holidays, marriages or funerals came up he paid them bonuses, as was done in Germany. And he assisted them in case of need.[53]

Social activities of the Germans included, of course, all kinds of traditional charity and welfare work. But there were also specifically Russian commitments, like work in committees for the promotion of literacy. Mehnert's mother as a young woman had taught as a volunteer in an orphanage. But by calling it »*ins Volk gehen*«[54] she also viewed her activities in a specifically Russian way (which of course went back to the *Narodniki's* ›going to the people‹ in 1873 and Alexander Herzen's earlier appeal).

Germans of the well-to-do upper strata eagerly went to Russian theatres, concerts and operas.[55] But the case of a family who had been residing in Russia for three generations also indicates the limits of participation in Russian culture, its different perception, and the remaining distance. Whereas

49 Hermann Dalton, Lebenserinnerungen, 3 vols., Berlin 1906–1908, vol. I, p. 491 and vol. II, pp. 108f.; also cf. vol. II, pp. 17, 35.

50 Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt, p. 24. In the Russian hierarchy of festivals, Easter equals German Christmas. And many Russians came to know and in part adopted the German celebration of this festival in German schools; Pack, Die deutschen Schulen in Moskau, p. 327.

51 Dahlmann, Lebenswelt und Lebensweise deutscher Unternehmer, p. 156.

52 For an example see Egon Kunhardt, Wanderjahre eines jungen Hamburger Kaufmannes. Eine Reise um die Erde in 777 Tagen, Berlin 1898, p. 183, as quoted in Lothar Deeg, Kunst & Albers, Vladivostok. Aufstieg und Untergang eines deutschen Handelshauses im russischen Fernen Osten (1864–1924), in: Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur der Rußlanddeutschen, 6. 1996, pp. 131–136, here p. 133.

53 Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt, p. 16.

54 Ibid., p. 27.

55 See e.g. Dettmann, Wohlhabende Deutsche an der Newa, p. 47; Sommer, In Moskau geboren, p. 97.

their Russian friends perceived Gor'kijs *Lower Depths* or the *Song of the Volga Boatmen* performed by the famous opera star Šaljapin as »political outcries against the tsarist regime«, the Mehnerts enjoyed them as »performances of art«. They conceived of themselves as ›Western people‹ who loved Russia, but were only guests within the Empire.[56] On the other hand, the members of the Salomé family of Huguenot and Baltic descent who spoke mostly German (and sometimes) French at home considered themselves »not only in Russian ›service‹, but as Russians«.[57] And subsequently, whenever their daughter Lou(ise), returning from abroad, transferred at the border to the wider Russian railway cars and the conductor, while getting her sleeping compartment ready for bed, used tender diminutives to address her; when the smell of shaggy sheepskin or of Russian cigarettes began to envelop her, »then the threefold tinkling, that old-fashioned signal of departure, aroused in me the unforgettable feeling of a happy homecoming.«[58]

Finally, a short glance at the social life of Germans in Russia: Again, the church played an important role in organising many events. Apart from that, there were many clubs organised along occupational lines or by the school one had attended, but also more general societies oriented towards the preservation of German traditional culture.[59] With these *Vereine*, the Germans brought a specific form of sociability to Russia which at the same time reinforced the ethnic ties among themselves and underlined the difference between the Russian and German communities, respectively. But even these institutions were not nationally exclusive: The clubs of graduates cared for *all* needy students of their former school, irrespectively of creed or nationality.[60] And the famous German Club in Moscow, which was attended by craftsmen, shopkeepers and also some of the educated élite, in 1870 counted 859 members of German or some other foreign origin versus 949 Russians (although

56 Mehnert, Ein Deutscher in der Welt, p. 28.

57 Andreas-Salomé, Lebensrückblick, p. 60.

58 Ibid., pp. 68f. (»Aber bei Gelegenheit meiner Heimatbesuche aus der Schweiz oder Deutschland, nach der Übersiedlung, wenn ich an der russischen Grenze in die breiteren, schwereren Eisenbahnwagen umstieg und vom Schaffner als ›Mütterchen‹ oder ›Täubchen‹ zum Schlaf verstaut wurde, wenn der Geruch zottiger Schafspelze oder der Duft russischer Zigaretten mich umfing – dann weckte das dreifache Gebimmel, das altmodische Abfahrtszeichen, ein unvergeßliches Heimatglück«).

59 For St. Petersburg see the chapter in Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg, pp. 87–112; for Moscow: Keller, Bildung und Wohlfahrt, pp. 105–111, and Elena Boldina, Aktenbestände des Zentralen Historischen Archivs Moskau über Deutsche und deutsche Einrichtungen in Moskau (1850–1917), in: Meissner / Eisfeld, Der Beitrag der Deutschbalten und der städtischen Rußlanddeutschen zur Entwicklung des Russischen Reiches, pp. 373–385, here pp. 378f.; for Odessa the chapter *Nemeckie Obščestva* in Plesskaja-Zebol'd, Nemcy, pp. 317–356.

60 Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg, pp. 89f.

the latter did not yet enjoy full membership rights).[61] This multinational composition (including Jews, Armenians and even Persians) points to fairly widespread inter-ethnic contacts – as does, by the way, the opposite fact, namely German entrepreneurs standing aloof and preferring to attend the so-called English or the Merchants' club.[62] A Russian official even considered the name ›German Club‹ inappropriate: In the club, he argued, there were not only Germans, but also Russified Germans and Russians – and the ›German element‹ had generally adapted to the Russian way of life.[63]

German immigrants in Russia attained new knowledge and other accomplishments like, for example, the Russian language and socio-cultural know-how. They modified their way of life, and at least in parts of the second and third generations the adoption of new values can be traced as well. Thus, they underwent a process of acculturation: They changed, but ethnic boundaries persisted. There was no complete assimilation in the sense of merging with another ethnic group. But neither was there unchanged preservation of their traditional German culture. The Germans were *more* than guests of the Russian Empire: They formed part of its multiethnic cities. Their identity was complex, shaped by occupation, social status, creed and national identification for which there were many gradations on a polarised scale between the extremes of Russian or German. The individual lived in overlapping circles which certainly were *dominated* by German and Russian cultures, but were not circumscribed by them. In a manifold system of relations between various denominations, religions and ethnic groups within the Russian Empire, but also reaching back to their country of origin, they did not ›commute‹ between two worlds, but in fact lived in a cosmos of their own.

61 For details on the various forms of membership and the number of members in the individual categories see Andreas Keller, Der Deutsche Klub in Moskau 1819–1914, in: Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur der Rußlanddeutschen, 7. 1997, pp. 151–164, especially p. 152, 154, 161; also cf. Boldina, Aktenbestände des Zentralen Historischen Archivs Moskau, pp. 380f.

62 Dahlmann, Lebenswelt und Lebensweise deutscher Unternehmer, p. 155; for admission of any nationality to the English Club in St. Petersburg see Buddeus, Halbrussisches, vol. II, p. 124.

63 Quoted in Keller, Der Deutsche Klub, p. 156. On the conflict between Germans and Russians which resulted in statutes granting the Russians equality and parity see ibid, pp. 155–162. As a result of these new regulations, the cultural activities of the club also changed: Russian events expanded and finally became dominant.

Panikos Panayi

The Settlement of Germans in Britain during the Nineteenth Century

Germans have resided in Britain throughout its history. These have included German soldiers serving in the Roman army and the Anglo-Saxon settlers of the fifth century, as well as the Hanseatic merchants of the Middle Ages. From the sixteenth century Protestant refugees entered Britain, fleeing from the instability caused by the religious changes consequent upon the Reformation. By the end of the seventeenth century, a significant German community had developed, consisting mostly of businessmen, mainly from Hamburg, and sugar bakers. Due to numbers and the passage of the religious Toleration Act of 1689, four German churches existed in London by 1700.[1]

During the eighteenth century, the German population of Britain began to increase as a consequence of the growth in emigration from central Europe. A major influx into London occurred in 1708/09 from the Palatinate, partly on the instigation of Queen Anne, who offered to send the newcomers to the British colony in Carolina, but also because of the long-term reduction of size of the land-plots they inherited, as well as short-term religious persecution and an economic crisis in the Palatinate. Eventually between 13,000 and 15,000 Palatines arrived in London, where they faced widespread persecution, which meant that nearly all of them left the capital for a variety of destinations, notably North America and southern Ireland.

The eighteenth century meant the beginning of the patterns of migration of Germans to Britain which would continue after 1800. We can identify three groups consisting of merchants, who moved to the country for a variety of reasons, including the opportunities offered by industrialisation; transmigrants, travelling through Britain on their way to North America; and craftsmen who had a desire to remain in the country. Within the last group we can include sugar bakers, who worked in London from the mid-eighteenth century, but whose numbers increased further during the Napoleonic Wars. They mainly settled where they worked in east London. In addition to the three groups outlined above we can also point to the expansion of the eighteenth-century German-Jewish community, as well as an influx connected with the accession to the throne of the House of Hanover. Perhaps the most

1 See Panikos Panayi, Germans in Britain's History, in: idem (ed.), Germans in Britain since 1500, London 1996, pp. 1–6.

prominent German here was the composer Georg Friedrich Händel. The growth of the German population of London during the eighteenth century led to the foundation of a new church in Little Alie Street, Whitechapel, which still exists, and another in Ludgate Hill. Later, in 1809, a German Catholic congregation came into existence. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress, an essentially German charity, had also been founded. Meanwhile, St. Mary's Church had a school connected to it from 1708 as did St. George's in Little Alie Street from 1805. At the same time, the Ashkenazi Jewish community had also developed its own institutions by the early nineteenth century, including a hospital, free school, and ladies benevolent society.[2]

The Migration Process

It is impossible to establish the number of Germans living in Britain during the eighteenth century, because of the absence of censuses. Although the first British census dates from 1801, the first which counted immigrants on a nation-wide scale did not occur until 1861. From that time until 1891, Germans formed the largest continental grouping in the country. After that time, they came second to the Russian Jewish immigrants. Thus, the number of Germans in England and Wales increased from 28,644 in 1861 to 53,324 in 1911, the peak figure before 1914.[3]

The number of Germans who entered Britain during the nineteenth century probably exceeded the entire total who made their way to the country during the previous thousand years. However, attempting to explain the reasons for the nineteenth-century influxes proves difficult and we need a theoretical background to avoid a purely descriptive account. Rather than accepting traditional or Marxist arguments, we can best construct a theoretical framework which recognises the existence of push, enabling and pull factors, which are further conditioned by the nature of the migration, whether economic or political, and which accepts three levels of causation: underlying, medium-term and personal. These ideas do not represent a model, but simply allow for a structured understanding of the reasons for German migration to Britain.

We can begin with economic causation, focusing initially upon push factors. The most fundamental socio-economic development in nineteenth-century Germany and the deepest underlying factor for the process of emigration was the enormous expansion in population which meant an increase

2 Idem, Germans in Eighteenth-Century Britain, in: ibid., pp. 29–48.

3 Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, vol. 2, London 1863, p. lxxv; Census of England and Wales, 1891, vol. 3, London 1893, p. xxxvi; Census of England and Wales, 1911: Birthplaces, London 1913, p. xviii.

from 24,831,000 in 1816 to 64,568,000 in 1910, using the German boundaries of 1910.[4] The consequences of this growth combined with a lack of economic opportunities were overpopulation on the land. Against this we need to superimpose other underlying factors such as patterns of landownership. In the southwest of Germany, from where emigration took off in the first half of the nineteenth century, equal distribution of land led to »fragmented agricultural lands into a multitude of tiny holdings […] which were ordinarily barely able, and often unable, to support the families which depended upon them«.[5] In northeast Germany, to which emigration spread during the course of the nineteenth century, the inheritance system gave land to the eldest son, which, in many cases meant that, for the rest of the sons, »there was only one way of maintaining their social and economic status and way of life: the exodus to the new world«.[6]

We also need to recognise another underlying factor in the form of changes in the system of production, which essentially refers to the industrialisation process. This had various effects. In the first place, during the early nineteenth century, British industrialisation meant the undercutting and destruction of cottage industries producing textiles in the west of Germany, leading to unemployment and consequent migration.[7] However, in the long run German industrialisation acted more positively in the sense that by the end of the nineteenth century it could absorb the country's excess population, which no longer needed to move to the U.S.A., the main destination of German emigrants.[8]

The above acted as the long-term underlying economic push factors which led to emigration from Germany. In addition, medium-term motivations played a role, as movement out of Germany was not a steady stream but a series of peaks. The first, minor one, occurred immediately after the end of the Napoleonic period against the background of the post-war agricultural crisis and recession.[9] A larger peak of emigration took place in the years

4 John E. Knodel, The Decline of Fertility in Germany, 1871–1939, Princeton 1974, p. 32.

5 Mack Walker, Germany and the Emigration 1816–1885, Cambridge, Mass. 1964, p. 3.

6 Klaus J. Bade, German Emigration to the United States and Continental Immigration to Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, in: Central European History, 13. 1980, pp. 348–377, here pp. 360f.

7 Walter D. Kamphoefner, At the Crossroads of Economic Development. Background Factors Affecting Emigration from Nineteenth Century Germany, in: Ira D. Glazier / Luigi D. Roza (eds.), Migration Across Time and Nations. Population Mobility in Historical Contexts, New York 1986, pp. 174–178.

8 Wilhelm Mönckmeier, Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung, Jena 1912, pp. 27f.; Bade, German Emigration to the United States, pp. 362–365.

9 Günter Moltmann (ed.), Aufbruch nach Amerika. Friedrich List und die Auswanderung aus Baden und Württemberg 1816 / 17. Dokumentation einer sozialen Bewegung, Tübingen 1979.

1846–57 during the mid-nineteenth century European socio-economic crisis which we can describe as the first crisis of capitalism, which was coupled with agricultural failures all over the continent. Reactions to this development varied from one state to another but the most common manifestations of discontent were revolution or emigration. Germany, perhaps almost uniquely in this sense, experienced both phenomena.[10] Emigration further resembled revolution in the sense that both became movements. The former involved the development of emigration newspapers and societies.[11] The final two peaks of German emigration during the nineteenth century, 1864–73 and 1880–93, were essentially caused by booms in the U.S. economy which had the power to suck in millions of immigrants from all over the European continent[12], although the first was also partly influenced by the German Wars of Unification.[13] In all, around five million people left Germany during the nineteenth century.[14]

However, the vast majority made its way to the U.S.A. Our task is to establish the reasons why a tiny minority made its way to Britain by examining the economic pull factors which attracted people to the country. In fact, we can begin by dealing with an enabling factor which proved fundamental for economic immigrants who made their way to Britain in the form of transatlantic shipping lines which involved a stop in Britain. We can first point to the fact that during the nineteenth century the journey across the Atlantic became quicker, cheaper and safer, while the development of railways, canals, and improvement in river routes, also meant that potential emigrants could reach their port of embarkation more easily.[15] From the 1840s most German emigrants sailed out of Hamburg and Bremen. While many ships, especially those from Bremen, made their way direct to the U.S.A., indirect routes, sail-

10 This crisis is discussed by James J. Sheehan, German History 1770–1866, Oxford 1989, pp. 453–504, 637–653.

11 Peter Marschalck, Deutsche Überseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert, Stuttgart 1973, pp. 19, 21.

12 Reinhard R. Doerries, German Transatlantic Migration from the Early 19th Century to the Outbreak of World War II, in: Klaus J. Bade (ed.), Population, Labour and Migration in 19th and 20th Century Germany, Leamington Spa 1987, pp. 115–134, here pp. 124f.

13 Friedrich Burgdörfer, Migration Across the Frontiers of Germany, in: Walter F. Willcox (ed.), International Migrations, vol. 2, London 1969, pp. 313–389, here p. 343.

14 Dudley Baines, Emigration from Europe, 1815–1930, London 1991, p. 9, gives a figure of 4.8 million for the period 1815–1930, while Ernst Franz Weisl, Die Auswanderungsfrage, Berlin 1905, p. 3, speaks of 5,146,528 German emigrants between 1820 and 1904.

15 J.D. Gould, European Inter-Continental Emigration 1815–1914. Patterns and Causes, in: Journal of European Economic History, 8. 1979, pp. 611–615.

ing from Hamburg to east-coast British ports and then by rail to Liverpool remained important throughout the nineteenth century.[16]

Clearly, crossing the Atlantic via England meant a short stop in the country. Did any of the transmigrants decide to settle? This seems difficult to deny. In Liverpool, for instance, some emigrants who found work in the city decided to remain rather than to sail on to North America or Australia.[17] Numerous advertisements were also placed by transatlantic shipping lines in German newspapers in London, offering passages to those in transit, who may have decided to spend a spell in the capital.[18] Furthermore, as late as 1910 the German Society of Benevolence mentioned the presence in London of many German emigrants who had made their way to Britain as part of their journey to the U.S.A. but found that they did not have enough money to make the second part of their trip, consequently remaining in London.[19]

But as well as these temporary immigrants, there also existed more permanent ones. Did any underlying economic pull factor attract them to the country? We might point to the fact that the British economy was more advanced than the German one or that of any other European country, which meant that it acted as a natural magnet for populations from poorer states. However, we should not exaggerate this point, both because Britain did not have the pulling power for immigrants of the much larger U.S. economy, and because Britain had its own surplus population which acted as fodder in the industrialisation process. In fact, Britain was a massive exporter of population for much of the nineteenth century.[20] Individual groups of German economic immigrants entered the country for different reasons during the course of the nineteenth century. Waiters and clerks, for instance, initially made their way to Britain on a temporary basis, with the aim of improving their English so that they could return to Germany and enhance their employment prospects.[21] Brass bands, meanwhile, entered Britain on a seasonal basis for

16 Maldwyn A. Jones, The Role of the United Kingdom in the Transatlantic Emigrant Trade, 1815–1875, unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford 1955.

17 Albert E. Rosenkranz, Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Kirche zu Liverpool, Stuttgart 1921, p. 49.

18 See, for instance, Londoner Courier, 28 January, 12 March 1884.

19 Bundesarchiv (BA), Coblenz, R 57 neu, 1065/3: Jahresbericht der Deutschen Wohltätigkeitsgesellschaft in London 1910–11.

20 Colin Holmes, John Bull's Island. Immigration and British Society, 1871–1971, London 1988, pp. 14f.

21 For waiters see: British Library of Political and Economic Science (BLPES), Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 159, p. 43; and London Hotel and Restaurant Employees Gazette, 6 September 1890. Information on clerks can be found in: Clerks Journal, 1 March 1889; Report on the Early Training of the German Clerk, Parliamentary Papers, vol. LXXVII, 1889; National Review, March 1910.

the duration of the summer.[22] German businessmen made their way to Britain for a variety of reasons, including the wish to open branches of existing companies in the English market. During the 1880s and 1890s Jewish bankers moved from Frankfurt into the City of London because they were prepared to transfer to the latter rather than to Berlin, which had replaced Frankfurt as Germany's banking capital. Other individuals initially entered Britain as clerks and then moved into business on their own account.[23]

Evidence also exists of chain migration into Britain during the nineteenth century. A small number of immigrants from the Osnabrück district entered the country because members of their families already lived there. For instance, Anton Friedrich Schröder emigrated from Quakenbrück in 1866 because of the residence of his brother-in-law in London, while Johann Thies, who left in the same year, had an uncle in London.[24] More solid evidence for chain migration exists in the residence of Germans from particular states in particular areas of Britain. For instance, for much of the nineteenth century east London acted as a focus for natives of Hanover and Hesse.[25]

Clearly the reasons for the movement of German economic immigrants to Britain during the nineteenth century, who formed the overwhelming majority of newcomers, were extremely complex. A similar mixture of motivations determined the movement of the much smaller number of political refugees who made their way to Britain. The underlying push factor was the autocratic system of government. However, German refugees only entered Britain after periods of repression within their own country, and, in some cases, the countries to which they had originally fled. Three main waves of refugees entered Britain. These occurred: firstly, in the 1830s, following the repression of progressive movements, including Young Germany[26]; secondly, in the years immediately following the failure of the 1848 revolu-

22 Musical Herald, 1 December 1899; George B. Gardiner, The Home of the German Band, in: Blackwood's Magazine, 17. 1902, pp. 451–465.

23 Stanley D. Chapman, The International Houses. The Continental Contribution to British Commerce, 1800–1860, in: Journal of European Economic History, 19. 1977, pp. 15, 19, 21–23; idem, The Rise of Merchant Banking, London 1984, pp. 5–48, here pp. 50f.

24 Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Osnabrück, Verzeichnis der Auswanderungskonsense, Nos. 2136, 5150.

25 Jerome Farrell, The German Community in 19th Century East London, in: East London Record, 13. 1990, pp. 2–8, here p. 4.

26 Werner Brettschneider, Entwicklung und Bedeutung des deutschen Frühsozialismus in London, Bottrop 1936.

tions[27]; and, thirdly, as a result of the passage of the Anti-Socialist Laws of 1878.[28]

Britain's most deep-seated political attractions lay in its liberal system of Government, especially as perceived by Germans, who were attracted by »the vaunted freedoms enjoyed by Britons and denied to Germans in their own country.«[29] More importantly is Britain's policy of asylum for much of the nineteenth century, which meant that it accepted ›anyone‹, including autocrats, liberals and socialists. This asylum policy concretely manifested itself in the fact that »from 1826 until 1848, and again from 1850 to 1905, there was nothing on the statute book to enable the executive to prevent aliens from coming and staying in Britain as they liked«.[30] Clearly, Germans migrated to Britain for a variety of reasons, and fit fairly neatly into the theoretical framework mentioned above. As well as the underlying causation outlined, examination also needs to be made of the motivations of individual groups at particular periods. In the case of economic immigrants the reasons for movement varied significantly from one group to another.

Settlement Patterns

Throughout the Victorian and Edwardian periods approximately 50 per cent of all Germans in England and Wales resided in London, where the German population rose from 16,082 in 1861 to 27,290 in 1911.[31] Within the capital particular areas of concentration had developed. The first of these consisted of the East End, which had a German population from the eighteenth century, focused upon Whitechapel, St. George's in the East and Mile End. The main attractions of this part of London lay in both the existence of sugar refineries and »on account of its being surrounded by the various docks, and consequently being the landing place of almost all foreigners«. With the passage of time, movement took place out of the core part of inner east London towards Hackney, due to the decline of sugar baking, railway construction, and the influx of east European Jews, although a German community remained centred around Leman Street at the turn of the century.[32]

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27 The most concise history is Rosemary Ashton, Little Germany. Exile and Asylum in Victorian England, Oxford 1987.

28 The best account is Ignaz Auer, Nach zehn Jahren. Material und Glossen zur Geschichte des Sozialistengesetzes, Nürnberg 1913.

29 Ashton, Little Germany, p. 38.

30 Bernard Porter, The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics, Cambridge 1979, pp. 1–3.

31 Census 1861, p. lxxv; Census 1911, p. xviii.

32 London City Mission Magazine, 2 January 1865; Charles Booth, Life and Labour of the People in London, First Series, vol. 1, London 1902, pp. 102f, 112; BA, Potsdam,

Major focuses of German settlement also developed in the West End of London. The first of these, especially important during the mid-nineteenth century, centred upon Soho and was one of the areas of settlement for refugees.[33] By the end of the Victorian period, a new area of German settlement had developed around Goodge Street and Mortimer Street, »the south-western corner of St. Pancras; that is, the angle bounded by Tottenham Court Road, Cleveland Street, and Euston Road«. The reason for the growth of this working-class community lay in its proximity to »the West End houses of business« because »tailors and kindred tradespeople who bring their work home, of necessity, try and live near the district, because of the difficulty of getting a distance«. English contemporaries also pointed to the fact that Germans in this area lived in poor housing conditions and to the fact that it attracted prostitutes, again connected with its proximity to the West End.[34] The main middle-class German community lay in Sydenham in southwest London, although others also existed in the north of the capital in Islington, of a mostly petty-bourgeois nature, and Hampstead.[35]

Outside the capital tiny German communities developed in a few northern cities. Manchester, for instance, had the second largest community in 1911, counting 1,318. Constituent parts of the Manchester German community included Jews, middle-class businessmen, and people lower down on the social scale. A similar mixture existed in the smaller community in Bradford. The German community of Hull (855 in 1911) developed both due to the fact that the town lay on the route for transmigrants to the U.S.A. and to the fact that it was visited by German sailors. The same reasons explain the development of the largest provincial German community in Britain, which lay in Liverpool (1,326). However, this also counted an important group of merchants, as well as attracting sugar bakers in the early part of the nineteenth century. Smaller German communities also existed in other provincial centres.[36]

Auswärtiges Amt (AA), 38981: The Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Mission Among the German Poor in London and the School in Connection with it, 1882; Count E. Armfelt, German London, in: George R. Sims (ed.), Living London, vol. 3, London 1903, pp. 57–62, here p. 57.

33 Asa Briggs, Marx in London. An Illustrated Guide, London 1982, pp. 23, 36, 37.

34 Armfelt, German London, p. 62; Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, vol. 3, pp. 443, 652, Parliamentary Papers, vol. 9, 1903.

35 William F. Brand, London Life Seen with German Eyes, London 1902, p. 117.

36 For the size of German communities in provincial centres see Census of England and Wales, 1891, vol. 3, London 1893, pp. 300f., 445; Census, 1911, pp. xviii, 166f.; for Manchester see references to Germans in Bill Williams, The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740–1875, Manchester 1976; for Bradford see Michael Pratt, The Influence of the Germans in Bradford, unpublished BA dissertation, Margaret Macmillan College, Bradford, 1971; for Hull see Deutscher Kirchen-Verein, Bericht des Deutschen

Social and Economic Patterns

Age and sex structures of Germans in nineteenth-century Britain reveal the following patterns. Between 1861 and 1911 males made up about two thirds of German immigrants in Britain, a figure which decreased from 69 per cent in 1861 to 63 per cent in 1911. The percentage of children under fifteen declined from 6.7 per cent in 1861 to 2.9 per cent fifty years later. These figures suggest that Germans, whether male or female, tended to move to Britain as unmarried individuals, because any children which they had within the country became British because of nationality laws based upon jus soli.[37] The gender structure, while uneven, did allow scope for Germans to marry each other, as well leading to intermarriage of German males with English women.[38]

The German communities which existed in nineteenth-century Britain counted people on every rung of the social ladder from the underclass to the middle classes, reflecting the divisions of the German settlements. Few other immigrant groupings in Britain before 1914 counted such a diverse number of occupations and social groups. The underclass counted three major strands. The first of these consisted of the poor, made up of a variety of people including: those who had moved to Britain and then found difficulty in obtaining employment; individuals who did have steady employment but then faced problems due to a general economic downturn or a deterioration in the employment prospects of their trade; and the old. The 1880s resulted in the highest peak in the numbers of German poor in London, connected with the general economic downturn of that decade.[39]

The second strand of the German underclass consisted of criminals. Leopold Katscher believed that »an astonishing number of swindlers and impostors exist among the Germans of London«, while a report on the Ger-

Kirchen-Vereins in Hull, Hull 1845; Liverpool is covered by Rosenkranz, Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Kirche zu Liverpool.

37 These figures are deducted from: Census, 1861, vol. 2, p. lxxvii; Census of England and Wales, 1871, vol. 3, London 1872, p. liii; Census of England and Wales, 1881, vol. 3, London 1883, p. liii; Census, 1891, vol. 3, p. xl; Census of England and Wales, 1901: Summary Tables, Area, Housing and Population, London 1903, p. 266; Census of England Wales, 1911: Summary Tables, London 1915, p. 373.

38 I have established marriage patterns by sampling the marriage registers of St. George's German Lutheran Church in Whitechapel between 1843 and 1896 held in the Tower Hamlets Local History Collection; Panikos Panayi, German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815–1914, Oxford / Washington, D.C. 1995, pp. 109f.

39 Idem, The German Poor and Working Classes in Victorian and Edwardian London, in: Geoffrey Alderman / Colin Holmes (eds.), Outsiders and Outcasts. Essays in Honour of William J. Fishman, London 1993, pp. 53–79, here pp. 57–59.

man Catholics in London from the 1860s claimed that people who had committed crimes in Germany continued with the same activities once they had arrived in London. Lucio Sponza, meanwhile, has revealed that the main criminal activities of Germans in London consisted of larceny, receiving of stolen goods, housebreaking, forgery, and crimes against the person.[40] Germans also became involved in prostitution either as pimps and brothel keepers or as prostitutes. Much information survives on the last of these. Women became involved in this trade either by answering bogus advertisements in German newspapers, which offered them respectable employment, or by being enticed upon their arrival in London, where the major area of their activities consisted of Leicester Square.[41]

The major London German occupation for much of the Victorian period consisted of sugar baking. Working conditions in this trade were severe, with Germans enduring excessive heat. But by the First World War Germans were no longer employed in this activity due to its decline in the East End.[42] Germans were also involved in various forms of footwear and clothing production in mid-nineteenth century London, where they faced similar exploitation to that in sugar baking. The production of skin and fur offered employment in Whitechapel during the 1850s, with wages ranging from 18 to 50 shillings a week, according to the time of year.[43] In footwear production German women could earn as little as eight shillings per week for a twelve hour day, while male income could reach 21 shillings.[44] Conditions remained similar until the turn of the century.[45] By the outbreak of the First World War waiting had become the most important German occupation, with Germans making up about 10 per cent of waiters and waitresses involved in restaurant work according to the 1911 census. In contrast to Englishmen, they worked longer hours and relied on tips, earning up to £2 per week. They had also received a formal education within Germany and therefore had a reputation for ›civility‹. Many Germans progressed to become hotel and restaurant

40 Leopold Katscher, German Life in London, in: Nineteenth Century, 21. 1887, pp. 726–741, here pp. 733f.; F.X. Kärcher, Bericht über die Mission der deutschen Katholiken, Düsseldorf 1869, p. 9; Lucio Sponza, Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth Century Britain. Realities and Images, Leicester 1988, p. 330.

41 Panayi, The German Poor and Working Classes, pp. 60f.

42 The best account of sugar bakers is Thomas Fock, Über Londoner Zuckersiedereien und deutsche Arbeitskräfte, in: Zuckerindustrie, 3. 1985, pp. 233–235, 5. 1985, pp. 426–432.

43 Londoner Deutsches Journal, 22 September 1855.

44 Ibid., 13 October 1855.

45 See, for instance, ibid., 20 October 1855; and Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, vol. 2, p. 403.

managers and would employ their own countrymen.[46] Sailors represented a significant, although temporary, component of the German communities in nineteenth-century Britain. According to the Annual Report of the German Evangelical Seaman's Mission for 1910, 38,492 sailors used its reading rooms at the ports at which it worked throughout the country, which, at the outbreak of the First World War, totalled fifty.[47]

A series of occupational groups counted both working-class and middle-class members. The first of these consisted of musicians, where the two class groups had no connections at all, consisting of brass bands, performing in the streets, and serious orchestral players. The former included youths between the ages of twelve and fourteen who were imported by a master and then faced exploitation. However, other street musicians fared better. They could be found throughout the country.[48] German orchestral players, meanwhile, constituted a significant component of several British orchestras during the Victorian and Edwardian periods, notably the Halle Orchestra, founded and conducted until his death by Sir Charles Halle, a German in Manchester.[49] Butchers, bakers and hairdressers counted Germans both within the working classes and the petty bourgeoisie in the form of shopkeepers on a small scale, and had become especially important in these trades by the start of the twentieth century. In all three cases Germans had a desire to establish their own businesses after their arrival in Britain, and employed their own countrymen once they had done so. Conditions for employees in baking were as bad as those for Germans involved in clothing. After importing German agricultural labourers, German masters would simply provide their new employees with food and lodging for two years, then »having picked up a few ideas about the trade they would go elsewhere and get a place for about 18/- a week‹‹, after which »their thrift pushes them on to become masters in a small way and so they progress«. They could work up to 112 hours per week.[50] In hair-

46 Census 1911, Summary Tables, pp. 220–228; Charles Booth, Life and Labour of the People in London, Second Series, vol. 4, London 1902, pp. 232–235; British Library of Political and Economic Science (BLPES), Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 29, pp. 42–44, 52f., 72f.

47 BA, Coblenz, R 57, neu, 1065/2: Deutsche Evangelische Seemansmission; Manchester Nachrichten, December 1911.

48 London City Mission Magazine, 2 June 1865; Henry Mayhew, The Morning Chronicle Survey of Labour and the Poor. The Metropolitan Districts, vol. 5, London 1981, pp. 2f.

49 Brand, London Life, p. 123; Arthur Shadwell, The German Colony in London, in: National Review, February 1896, p. 809; Michael Kennedy, Halle, 1858–1976. A Brief History of the Orchestra's History, Travels and Achievements, Manchester n.d., pp. 3–11.

50 BLPES, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 22, p. 5, Group B, vol. 127, pp. 45, 63f.; London City Mission Magazine, 2 June 1884.

dressing Germans had »the reputation of being more industrious, more cleanly, and more sober« than natives.

While some Germans may have entered the country as unskilled agricultural labourers, others had already received a full training before they moved. Working hours amongst Germans became excessive with some shops staying open after 9 p.m. on weekdays, as well as working on Sundays.[51] Little information survives on butchers although they did exist throughout the country.[52] German employees clearly suffered from exploitation, usually from their own countrymen, both in terms of the pay they received and the hours which they worked, especially in the early stages of their residence within Britain, although many subsequently progressed to own their own businesses. Germans supplied the cheapest form of employment for most of the nineteenth century, although by the turn of the century they had been replaced by Russian Jews.

An examination of the purely middle-class occupations reveals three in which Germans in Britain found a role for most of the nineteenth century: clerical work, teaching, and business, often on a significant scale. In all these cases, in contrast to some of the lower-class occupations, the newcomers had usually become involved in their professions before they had entered the country.

In clerical work, Germans played a particularly important role as foreign correspondence clerks, where, throughout the period 1900–14, they took up fifty per cent of positions because of a lack of language teaching in Britain. In addition, Germans had also received a more thorough training than their English counterparts. As many of them simply moved to Britain to improve their language skills, in the hope of securing better employment upon their return to Germany, often being sponsored by German Mercantile Unions, they worked for lower wages than English employees.[53] In teaching three groups of Germans have been involved. First, governesses, whose initial reason for moving to England often lay, as with clerks, in the desire to improve their English so that they could secure a better position on their return to Germany, although, in reality, many remained. German governesses had the advantage of a command of foreign languages over English ones, although

51 Booth, Life and Labour, Second Series, vol. 4, p. 278; BLPES, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 160, pp. 66f., 87; Shadwell, German Colony in London, p. 809; Hairdresser, 15 March 1912; Stratford Express, 21 November 1908.

52 See Rosenkranz, Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Kirche zur Liverpool, p. 57; and John Markham, Keep the Home Fires Burning, Beverly 1988, p. 32.

53 The best account of clerical work is Gregory Anderson, German Clerks in England, 1870–1914. Another Aspect of the Great Depression Debate, in: Kenneth Lunn (ed.), Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities. Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, Folkestone 1980, pp. 201–221.

they did not lead ›comfortable‹ lives either in terms of their salary or their position within the family for which they worked.[54] The second strand of Germans involved in teaching in nineteenth-century Britain consisted of male tutors who worked either in schools or for families.[55] Finally, Germans also obtained University posts throughout the nineteenth century, especially in the teaching of their own language, but also as Orientalists.[56] The third strand of the German middle classes in Britain encompassed businessmen, many of whom were highly successful. Areas of particular importance included banking where notable names were Schröder, Speyer, Rothschild, Cassel and Japhet. Many Germans became involved in the production of a variety of textiles including linen in Dundee, lace in Nottingham, worsted in Bradford and cotton in Manchester. A smaller number of Germans moved into the chemical industry, most notably Ludwig Mond. Meanwhile, Hugo Hirst, Gustav Bing, Charles Kayser, Sir Joseph Jonas and Paul Kuehnreich became involved in various branches of the engineering and metallurgical industries.[57]

Ethnic Organisations

All ethnic groups during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from all destinations and in all new locations, have attempted to recreate, in some way, the conditions of their land of origin, despite the fact that, by migrating, they have fundamentally cut themselves off from their homelands. One of the main ways in which they attempt to do this is through the creation of religious, philanthropic, cultural, trade-union and political activities.

However, it proves impossible to speak of a single German ethnicity in nineteenth-century Britain, because of the numerous ways in which Germans divided. First, along class lines as the cultural bodies indicate. The ›Vereine‹ in central London, Manchester or Bradford remained exclusive, serving the

54 The best two works on governesses are Julius Einsiedel, Das Gouvernantenwesen in England. Eine Warnung, Heilbronn 1884; and H.Z. König, Authentisches über die deutsche Erzieherin in England. Eine Entgegnung auf: Das Gouvernantenwesen in England, eine Warnung, von Julius Einsiedel, London 1884.

55 See BA, Coblenz, R 57 neu, 1064/44/1034, 1035, 1036; BA, Potsdam, AA, 38956: Prospectus of the School Agency in Connection with the German Teachers' Association, and Rules of the German Teachers Association in England.

56 Friedrich Althaus, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen in England, 1, in: Unsere Zeit, 9. 1873, pp. 436–440; Stuart Wallace, War and the Image of Germany. British Academics 1914–1918, Edinburgh 1988, pp. 160f.

57 For general information on German business interests in nineteenth-century Britain see Stanley D. Chapman, Merchants and Bankers from Britain in Germany, in: Werner E. Mosse et. al. (eds.), Second Chance. Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom, Tübingen 1991, pp. 335–346.

richest members of German society within those cities, just as similar organisations in Whitechapel served the local communities of sugar bakers, tailors or bakers, or as the trade-union organisations catered for working-class members of a particular occupation. Even in religion, certainly within London, a similar division developed, as churches existed on a geographical basis, serving the local community. In the provinces this differed because the size of the German community meant that only one church could exist in cities such as Hull, Bradford or Middlesborough, catering for all classes of the German population. At the same time, we can point to the existence of welfare organisations which linked all members of the German community, but in a clearly hierarchical manner, in which the wealthy members of the community assisted their poorer countrymen, therefore essentially maintaining class divisions. But class did not serve as the only division amongst the German communities in nineteenth-century Britain. Frederick C. Luebke's assertion that »few ethnic groupings in America have been as varied in religious belief, political persuasion, socio-economic status, occupation, culture, and social character as the Germans are«[58], applies equally to their countrymen within Britain. Politically, for instance, Germans in Britain, during the nineteenth century as a whole, developed a range of groups which included left-wing anarchists and communists, liberals, and right-wing pan-Germanists and supporters of the German Navy League. In religion the newcomers included Jews, Catholics and Protestants. German newcomers did not remain tied to any one organisation but could belong to a trade union, club and church.

Religion represented the most important focus of ethnic activity, a fact recognised by two pioneers in the field of ethnicity in the U.S.A., Will Herberg and Oscar Handlin. The latter described religion as »paramount« in the way of life of the immigrants, while Herberg believed that the »first concern of the immigrants was with their churches«.[59] In 1815 there existed within London five German Protestant churches and one Catholic place of worship, as well as Ashkenazi synagogues all over the country attended by German Jews. The Protestant London Churches underwent several developments during the course of the nineteenth century including a change in location away from the City and Westminster to the new focuses of German population in the East End and West End of London. In addition, they all founded schools and other philanthropic organisations on a significant scale, with the exception of the Court Chapel which closed in 1901. However, new German

58 Frederick C. Luebke, Introduction, in: idem (ed.), Germans in the New World. Essays in the History of Immigration, Urbana / Chicago 1990, pp. xiii–xxii, here p. xiii.

59 Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted. The Epic Story of the Great Migration that Made the American People, 2nd ed. London 1979, p. 105; Will Herberg, Protestant – Catholic – Jew. An Essay in American Religious Sociology, Chicago 1983, p. 14.

places of worship sprang up in other parts of London. These included the German congregation in Forest Hill, established to serve the middle-class population in that area, as was the Church in Denmark Hill, while Christ's Church in Kensington opened in 1904 as a replacement for the Court Chapel. Earlier, in 1857, an Evangelical Church had been established in Islington to serve the German petty-bourgeois communities of clerks, governesses and artisans in north London. In addition, in 1849 the pastors of the German churches in London had founded the German Mission Among the Poor in London.[60]

Outside the capital all of the major German settlements developed places of worship. Manchester, for instance, had three Protestant churches by the end of the nineteenth century, whose congregations divided upon geographical and class lines.[61] German Protestant services in Liverpool had begun in the 1840s to serve visiting sailors, and by the late Victorian period the congregation averaged 300. The church developed a wide range of parish activities in the form of missionary and educational work.[62] Other important congregations developed in Hull, Sunderland, Bradford, Edinburgh and Birmingham.[63] Any attempt to measure the precise number of German Lutheran and Evangelical churches proves difficult, but a snapshot from 1913 lists fifteen locations in London and thirteen outside the capital. In 1914, 26 German pastors held positions in Great Britain.[64] By this time the Association of German Evangelical Congregations in Great Britain and Ireland had come into existence.[65] Only one German Catholic church existed in nineteenth-century London, St. Bonifacius, established in 1809. Over the next hundred years, it changed location several times, especially within the East End. However, it carried out a large number of activities, revolving around education and the seeking out of German Catholics for the congregation. By the Edwardian period it had societies aimed at female servants, the support of families, the maintenance of faith amongst families, and social activities en-

60 German religion in nineteenth-century London can be traced in Carl Schöll, Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Kirchen in England, Stuttgart 1852; Heinrich Dorgeel, Die deutsche Colonie in London, London 1881; and Anglo-German Publishing Company, Die deutsche Kolonie in England, London 1913.

61 Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart: Curt Friese, Some Thoughts on the History of the Germans and their Church Communities in Manchester, unpublished paper, n.d.

62 Rosenkranz, Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Kirche zu Liverpool.

63 Brief details of German provincial congregations can be found in Anglo-German Publishing Company, Die deutsche Kolonie in England.

64 BA, Coblenz, R 57 neu: Kirchlicher Anzeiger zum Gemeinde-Boten, October 1912; Friedeborg L. Müller, The History of the German Lutheran Congregations in England, 1900–1950, Frankfurt-on-Main 1987.

65 Müller, The History of the German Lutheran Congregations, pp. 25–31.

compassing men and women, businessmen and young women.[66] German Jews, meanwhile, tended to either join synagogues with their co-religionists from England or other parts of Europe[67], or assimilated fairly rapidly.[68] Only two Jewish places of worship, in Dundee and Bradford, were established by German Jewish immigrants.[69]

Despite the religious divisions amongst Germans in nineteenth-century Britain, the development of philanthropic organisations suggests a more unified ethnic group in the sense that many of the bodies established could encompass all religious denominations and suggest an all-embracing ethnicity which transgresses class lines. However, we should also recognise, as indicated above, that philanthropy stresses class differences, with the rich giving to the poor.

The most important benevolent bodies established included charities, the most famous of which were the German Society of Benevolence, the Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress, and Libury Hall. The first two of these offered financial assistance to Germans, while the third almost served as a German workhouse for the indoor relief of paupers.[70] In 1845 the German Hospital was opened in Hackney, although it catered for both German immigrants and native patients.[71] We can also point to the German Old People's Home, as well as the German Orphanage.[72] From 1860 there also existed a German Young Men's Christian Association in the City of London.[73] By the end of the nineteenth century, the German Evangelical ›Seemannsmis-

66 Georg Timpe, Die deutsche St. Bonifatius Mission in London, 1809–1909, London 1909.

67 This happened in Manchester, for which see Williams, The Making of Manchester Jewry, pp. 262, 350f.

68 Todd M. Endelman, Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656–1945, Bloomington / Indianapolis 1990, pp. 114–143.

69 C.C. Aronsfeld, German Jews in Dundee, in: Jewish Chronicle, 20 November 1953, p. 20; idem, German Jews in Nineteenth Century Bradford, in: Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 53. 1981, pp. 114f.; M.R. Heilbron, Bradford, in: Aubrey Newman (ed.), Provincial Jewry in Victorian England, London 1975, pp. 1–4.

70 For the German Society of Benevolence see Anglo-German Publishing Company, Deutsche Kolonie in England, pp. 42–44; see also, for instance, Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress, An Account of the Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress for the Year 1866, London 1866; brief details of Libury Hall can be found in The Times, 13 July 1906; and Morning Post, 3 February 1909.

71 Maureen Neumann, An Account of the German Hospital in London from 1845 to 1948, unpublished B.Ed. thesis University of London 1971; Jürgen Püschel, Die Geschichte des German Hospital in London (1845 bis 1948), Münster 1980.

72 Dorgeel, Deutsche Colonie in London, pp. 34–37; Anglo-German Publishing Company, Deutsche Kolonie in England, pp. 50f.

73 Deutscher Christlicher Verein Junger Männer, Ein Glaubenswerk in der Themsestadt. Rückblick auf 50 Jahre Vereinsarbeit des Deutschen Christlichen Vereins Junger Männer zu London, London 1910.

sion‹ had also come into existence with the aim of protecting German sailors visiting England from the dangers they faced and caring for their physical and spiritual well-being.[74] In addition, though not strictly philanthropic, there also existed four independent schools, catering for the sons and daughters of the German middle classes.[75]

During the course of the nineteenth century countless German newspapers existed in London, covering all aspects of German life including religion, trade organisations and politics, many of them having short print runs. The three longest-running German newspapers in Victorian and Edwardian London, all still in existence at the outbreak of the First World War, consisted of: ›Die Finanzchronik‹, a financial weekly launched in 1895; the ›Londoner General Anzeiger‹, which began in 1889 and concentrated upon major British news stories as well as those affecting the British community; and the ›Londoner Zeitung‹, originally founded as ›Hermann‹ in 1858 for liberal refugees from the 1848 revolutions, but subsequently broadening its scope.

Newspapers reflect the divisions of Germans in nineteenth-century Britain, as do, fundamentally, cultural organisations, which stress, as much as any other form of activity, class differences. Working-class bodies, about which relatively little information survives, were locally based and often met in pubs. The activities they pursued included bowling, education, sport and singing.[76] More information survives on the exclusive middle-class clubs which existed in most cities with German populations in nineteenth-century Britain. In London, we can begin by mentioning the Goethe Society whose membership also included natives.[77] More importantly, we can point to the German Atheneum, established in 1869 and one of the most exclusive of German societies. The German Gymnastic club, or ›Turnverein‹, opened in 1859, aimed at improving the physical well-being of middle-class Germans in London, although it also possessed a library and held literary meetings.[78] Outside the capital, Manchester developed a middle-class German cultural life resembling London's. Its most famous club consisted of the ›Schiller-Anstalt‹, established in 1860 and counting Frederick Engels and Charles

74 Reinhard Münchmeyer, Handbuch der deutschen evangelischen Seemannsmission, Stettin 1912.

75 Johannes Paul Müller, Die deutsche Schulen im Auslande, Breslau 1895, pp. 33–36, 44–46; Allgemeiner Deutscher Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums im Auslande, Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande, Berlin 1906, pp. 461f.

76 Armfelt, German London, pp. 60f.

77 Günter Hollenberg, Die English Goethe Society und die deutsch-englischen kulturellen Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert, in: Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, 30. 1978, pp. 39–45.

78 Katscher, German Life in London, pp. 728–730.

Halle among its members although by 1911 it had ceased to exist.[79] The Manchester ›Turnverein‹ began in 1860 and continued until the outbreak of the First World War, devoting much attention to the organisation of celebrations and excursions.[80] Bradford middle-class organisations included the ›Schillerverein‹ from 1861 and the ›Liedertafel‹ from 1846[81], while the major societies in Liverpool were the ›Liederkranz‹ and ›Deutscher Club‹.[82]

Organisations also developed for Germans working in particular occupations. The Association of German Governesses, established in 1876, acted as a benevolent society and employment agency.[83] For barbers and hairdressers the London Concordia and the International Union of Journeymen Hairdressers carried out similar functions.[84] A large number of organisations existed for German waiters in Britain, most notably, at the end of the nineteenth century, the London branch of the International Hotel Employees Society and the London Hotel and Restaurant Employees Society.[85]

A wide range of political groupings developed in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, which served to bring German immigrants together. In 1834 a branch of Young Germany existed in London.[86] A more important grouping came into existence in 1840 in the form of the communist German Workers Educational Association, with the aim of making workers politically conscious. It survived until the First World War.[87] The Fraternal Democrats, meanwhile, brought together exiles from a variety of nations in London during the years before the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions.[88] The Commu-

79 Friese, Some Thoughts on the History of Germans; Manchester Nachrichten, August 1911.

80 Manchester Nachrichten, November 1910; BA, Coblenz, R 57 neu, 1065/21: Deutscher Turnverein Manchester, Jahresbericht 1913–1914.

81 Aronsfeld, German Jews in Nineteenth-Century Bradford, p. 113; William Cudworth, Musical Reminiscences of Bradford, Bradford 1885, p. 42.

82 BA Coblenz, R57 neu, 1064/11: Deutscher Club. Erster Musikalischer Abend am Samstag den 13. Oktober, 1888; BA Coblenz, R57 neu, 1064/17: Statuten des Deutschen Clubs.

83 König, Authentisches über die deutsche Erzieherin, pp. 33–38.

84 BLPES, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 160, pp. 66f.

85 Booth, Life and Labour, Second Series, vol. 4, pp. 242f.; London Hotel and Restaurant Employees Gazette, 31 May, 14 June, 1 November 1890.

86 J. Watson, Young Germany, London 1844.

87 Alexander Brandenburg, Der Kommunistische Arbeiterbildungsverein in London. Ein Beitrag zu den Anfängen der deutschen Arbeiterbildungsbewegung (1840–47), in: International Review of Social History, 14. 1979, pp. 341–370; Hermia Oliver, The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London, London 1983, p. 5.

88 Henry Weisser, British Working Class Movements and Europe, 1815–1848, Manchester 1975, pp. 125f., 134–140.

nist League also operated in London in the 1840s and 1850s.[89] Furthermore, Liberal exiles from 1848 established the German Agitation Union of London and the Emigration Club.[90] Following the passage of the Anti-Socialist Laws in 1878 a series of anarchist groupings developed clubs in London which served not just as meeting places for the discussion of politics but also provided education and social activities such as singing and dancing.[91] By the beginning of the twentieth century right-wing nationalistic pressure groups had also developed branches in Britain, notably the Navy League, with supporters in London and Glasgow, together with the German Colonial Society with a branch in London.[92]

The most striking fact about Germans in nineteenth-century Britain, as this article has stressed, is that we cannot refer to a single immigrant community but, rather, to a whole series of them divided in a variety of ways. In the first place the reasons for migration distinguished the newcomers. While underlying factors of population growth and socio-economic change may have played a role in the decision of all Germans who migrated to Britain, the equation is far more complex. The most obvious division here involves political and economic refugees. But within each grouping, there exist subgroups. In the first case they divide along ideological lines. In the case of economic immigrants, who formed the vast majority of Germans in Britain, the reasons for entry were extremely complex and can only be fully understood by making distinctions in terms of time period, geographical origin, and class.

If we turn to the structure of German immigrants in nineteenth-century Britain, we find that class and occupation were the most important dividing lines, affecting other issues, such as geographical location, so that rich Germans in London would not live in the same areas of the metropolis as their poorer compatriots. The class structure of German immigrants in Victorian and Edwardian Britain was complete, ranging from the sub-proletariat to a financial middle class and encompassing a wide variety of occupational groups in between. Class affected ethnicity, in the sense that most activities occurred upon a class basis. With regard to social clubs, for instance, it was

89 B. Nicolaevsky, Toward a History of ›The Communist League‹ 1847–1852, in: International Review of Social History, 1. 1956, pp. 234–252.

90 Christine Lattek, Die Emigration der deutschen Achtundvierziger in England. Eine reine ›School of Scandal and of Meanness‹?, in: Gottfried Niedhart (ed.), Großbritannien als Gast- und Exilland für Deutsche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Bochum 1985, pp. 42–45.

91 Oliver, International Anarchist Movement; Rudolf Emil Martin, Der Anarchismus und seine Träger, Berlin 1887, pp. 53–74; for the activities of anarchist clubs see Hermann, 2 January 1869; Londoner General Anzeiger, 2 June 1894; Londoner Zeitung, 9 September 1911.

92 Anglo-German Publishing Company, Deutsche Kolonie in England, pp. 74–78.

impossible for an East End sugar baker to attend the German Atheneum. Similarly, philanthropy stressed rather than broke down class barriers. However, we also need to recognise religious differences, together with political ones, as factors in the division of Germans in Victorian and Edwardian Britain.

Nevertheless, in analysing German immigrants to Britain we can refer to a single German society in nineteenth-century Britain which reflected both the country from which it originated and the country in which it settled. The religious divisions came almost entirely from the former, while the political ones also originated mostly in Germany, although these mirrored Britain's political parties, except in the greater importance of extremism amongst Germans in Britain. Finally, in terms of class, this reflected both British and, by the end of the nineteenth century, German society, which had, by that time become a mature industrial society. Thus while we need to recognise the divisions within German society in nineteenth-century Britain, we must also bear in mind that it reflects the established norms in both Britain and Germany. Within the latter, the other major immigrant groups in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, the Irish and, more especially, the Jews, displayed a similarly complex structure.[93] We can view immigrants as one part of the mosaic of nineteenth-century British society.

93 Steven Fielding, Class and Ethnicity. Irish Catholics in England, Buckingham 1993; Geoffrey Alderman, Modern British Jewry, Oxford 1992.

Marlou Schrover

German Communities in Nineteenth-Century Utrecht: Factors Influencing the Settlement Process

In the nineteenth century, as in the preceding centuries, Germans were by far the largest minority in the Netherlands. Of all foreigners in the Netherlands, 60 per cent came from German regions. They formed the same proportion of the Dutch population as the whole present migrant community in the Netherlands. In the middle of the nineteenth century, there were officially over forty thousand Germans in the Netherlands. This official figure only includes those born in Germany, not their offspring, because until 1892, children born in the Netherlands of a German parent automatically received Dutch citizenship.[1] The number of Germans who migrated to the Netherlands fluctuated over time. The Revolution of 1848, and the wars of 1866 and 1870–71, increased German emigration; industrialisation of Germany after 1870 decreased it.

When distinctions are made on the basis of regional or religious affiliation, rather than nation of origin, it becomes clear that the seemingly amorphous German migrant community in the Netherlands actually consisted of several clearly distinguishable groups. These German communities continued to exist throughout the nineteenth century, often working and living in isolation from the rest of society, and getting married to people of their own group or to newcomers from the same background. When there were several different German communities within one town, there were no ties between them because of endogamy and spatial concentration. There were also few ties with the likewise separated communities of Belgian, English, Italian and Swiss immigrants.

I would like to thank Maarten Prak, Jan Lucassen and Peter Marschalck for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of this article, Adri van der Meulen and Paul Smeele for their extensive information on Westerwalder stoneware, and Klaas Padberg Evenboer, for the information on the Sauerland region and its inhabitants. Research for this article was funded by the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).

1 Eric Heijs, Van vreemdeling tot Nederlander. De verlening van het Nederlanderschap aan vreemdelingen 1813–1992, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 216, 229.

In this article the settlement process of two groups of German migrants, the ›stoneware traders‹ and the ›filemakers‹, in the Dutch town of Utrecht is examined. The stoneware traders, who came from the German Westerwald, formed the largest German minority in Utrecht. The filemakers, who came from the Remscheid region, formed a much smaller group. These groups were chosen because they differed on significant points. Apart from their origin, there were also differences in the migration pattern, their religious persuasion and their economic activities. Moreover, the stoneware traders lived concentrated within a restricted part of Utrecht, whereas the filemakers did not.

Research Approaches

As yet, there is no elaborate theory about the factors that influence the long-term group-wise acculturation process.[2] Lucassen and Penninx have shown that the acculturation process is an interaction between the acquisition of a position in society, and its allocation.[3] Allocation of a position refers to the mechanisms which keep a migrant in a certain position, imposes a position or grants it. The effects can help or hinder the migrant. Acquisition of a position refers to the initiatives and efforts of the migrant to acquire as good as possible a position within the given circumstances. How the interaction between acquisition and allocation develops depends, among other things, on the access group members have to resources that evolve from the group's cohesion, and reactions of the host society towards this cohesion. There are three factors influencing the settlement process: the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of migrants, the migration process itself, and the structure of the receiving society.

Characteristics of the migrants include the capacity to overcome language and cultural differences, and any special skills the migrants bring with them.[4] Newcomers may profit from the fact that they have a different vision on life, or that they are less rooted in society.[5] Prejudices in the host society

2 Rinus Penninx, Raster en Mozaiek. Uitgangspunten voor onderzoek naar internationale migratie, etnische processen en sociale ongelijkheid, Amsterdam 1994, p. 5.

3 Jan Lucassen / Rinus Penninx, Nieuwkomers, nakomelingen, Nederlanders. Immigranten in Nederland 1550–1993, Amsterdam 1994, pp. 99–111.

4 Thomas Sowell, Ethnic America, New York 1981; Suzanne Model, The Effects of Ethnicity in the Workplace on Blacks, Italians, and Jews in 1910 New York, in: Journal of Urban History, 16. 1989, no. 1, pp. 29–51; Wim Willems / Annemarie Cottaar, Het beeld van Nederland, Baarn / The Hague 1989.

5 Kurt Samuelsson, Religion and Economic Action. The Protestant Ethic, the Rise of Capitalism, and the Abuse of Scholarship, Toronto 1993; Sowell, Ethnic America; Werner Sombart, Der Moderne Kapitalismus. Historisch-systematische Darstellung des gesamt-europäischen Wirtschaftslebens von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart,

about the skills of the newcomers can lead to exclusion, but can also reserve an economic niche for a group. Larger groups of migrating families have the advantage that members of the group can support each other. Isolated individuals are more vulnerable, but being more dependent on the host society forces them to have more contacts with others, which speeds up integration.[6]

Success or failure of migrants in their new surroundings also depends on the help and support they get from migrants who had arrived before.[7] Whether new migrants really obtain this support, depends on the coherence of the group, which is influenced by the degree of self-organisation. Self-organisation can strengthen the position of the group, because individuals can fall back on the group's support, but it can also slow down integration when too strong a group cohesion leads to segregation, to which the rest of society reacts with envy and exclusion.[8] As long as there are still people coming from a certain area, integration of the group as a whole is delayed, because it has to deal with and is held responsible for the problems of the newcomers. Once migration stops, the integration of the community already in existence is accelerated.[9] A sudden increase in the number of migrants can slow down the integration process because it can cause fear of replacement in the settled community.

The extent of return migration and its nature is also important. Firstly, successful migrants might return to their country of origin, leaving behind in the host country a community of those who have not yet made it. Secondly, migrants who have not succeeded can return to the country of origin, leaving behind a strikingly successful migrant community in the host country. Thirdly, there may not be a possibility for return migration causing migrants to be oriented towards permanent settlement from the beginning.[10] Further-

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Munich 1921; Paul H. Wilken, Entrepreneurship. A Comparative and Historical Study, Norwood, N.J. 1979; Gianfranco Poggi, Calvinism and the Capitalist Spirit. Max Weber's Protestant Ethic, London 1983, p. 82; Friedrich Lenger, Werner Sombart 1863–1941. Eine Biographie, Munich 1994, pp. 187–218.

6 James Harvey Jackson, Migration in Duisburg, 1867–1890. Occupational and Familial Contexts, in: Journal of Urban History, 8. 1982, no. 3, pp. 235–270.

7 B.P. Mullan, The Impact of Social Networks on the Occupational Status of Migrants, in: International Migrations, 27. 1989, no. 1, pp. 69–86.

8 Model, The Effects of Ethnicity; Edna Bonacich / John Modell, The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity. Small Business in the Japanese-American Community, Berkeley / Los Angeles 1980; Jan Rath, Minorisering: de sociale constructie van etnische minderheden, Utrecht 1991.

9 Roger Waldinger, Still the Promised City? African-Americans and New Immigrants in Postindustrial New York, Cambridge, Mass. / London 1996, pp. 21–25, 302–304.

10 Masao Suzuki, Success Story? Japanese Immigrant Economic Achievement and Return Migration 1920–1930, in: Journal of Economic History, 55. 1995, no. 4, pp. 889–901.

more there is a link between the migrants and the region of their origin[11], which will be stronger if the region of origin is a restricted, geographically demarcated area. It may continue to exist if the second and third generation of migrants keeps alive the illusion of future return to the country of origin.[12] As long as the illusion of return exists, the values of the region of origin, and ties with the own group will be considered more important than that of the host society.[13]

The way in which migrants are received by the host society depends, amongst other things, on the economic situation of that society. This economic situation, however, does not affect all groups of migrants in the same way. The agricultural depression at the end of the nineteenth century might have had more consequences for migrants that worked as agricultural labourers than for the traders that went to the towns.

It is not uncommon for migrants to cluster together in an economic niche. This means that almost all members of a certain group work in the same sector. One of the reasons for the origin of such niches is the exclusive access some migrants have to certain trade goods. They can act as sole representatives of certain goods, or through family ties or other contacts can obtain more favourable trade conditions.[14] A favourable access to the market can be combined with the recruitment of employees from the region of origin, who are willing to work for lower wages or longer hours.[15]

According to Waldinger the formation of niches is the logical outcome of migration[16]: Newcomers have a restricted number of contacts, and mostly with people from the same regional background. The exchange of informa-

11 Jan Lucassen, Naar de kusten van de Noordzee. Trekarbeid in Europees perspectief, 1600–1900, Gouda 1984; Hannelore Oberpenning, Migration und Fernhandel im ›Tödden-System‹. Wanderhändler aus dem nördlichen Münsterland im mittleren und nördlichen Europa des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts (Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung, vol. 4), Osnabrück 1996; Lucassen / Penninx, Nieuwkomers, nakomelingen, Nederlanders.

12 Willems / Cottaar, Het beeld van Nederland.

13 Edna Bonacich, A Theory of Middlemen Minorities, in: American Sociological Review, 38. 1973, no. 5, pp. 583–594.

14 Marlou Schrover, Omlopers in Keulse potten en pottentrienen uit het Westerwald, in: Marjolein ‘t Hart / Jan Lucassen / Henk Schmal (red.), Nieuwe Nederlanders. Vestiging van migranten door de eeuwen heen, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 101–120; Ku-Sup Chin / In-Jin Yoon / David Smith, Immigrant Small Business and International Economic Linkage: a Case of the Korean Wig Business in Los Angeles, 1968–1977, in: International Migration Review, 30. 1996, no. 2, pp. 485–510.

15 Alejandro Portes, The Informal Economy and its Paradoxes, in: Neil J. Smelser / Richard Swedberg (red.), The Handbook of Economic Sociology, Princeton 1994, pp. 426–449, esp. p. 437.

16 Waldinger, Still the Promised City?

tion and the recruitment of personnel takes place through these restricted networks. As a result the group tends to concentrate in certain sectors. The creation of niches is related to pre-migratory skills. The skills the migrants bring with them give them advantages in certain sectors. One can add to Waldinger's argument that an emerging niche formation can be strengthened by, and result in a selective migration process. When a successful start has been made with the creation of a niche, migrants follow who are able or willing to work in this emerging sector.

Light has pointed out that the nature of niche formation is determined, amongst other things, by the possibilities it offers for family members to become involved in it.[17] When both men and women can work in the niche, a much closer relationship develops between the group and the economic sector. The possibilities for family members to get involved depend not only on the nature of the sector, but also on work options outside it. When there are many possibilities within the niche, and only few outside it, entrepreneurs can profit from the existence of a large reservoir of cheap labour. This will strengthen the success and continuity of the niche.

A coherent group has possibilities to close off a sector from outsiders and profit from this monopolisation. Successful closure of a sector can, however, make workers extremely dependent, forcing them to work long days with little reward. Monopolisation of a sector therefore does not, in general, lead to wealth for the group as a whole, or the majority of its members. Niche formation can have a self-suffocating effect. The system whereby group members are recruited as cheap workers with the implicit promise of a future business of their own can lead to so much competition that it erases the profitability of the sector.

Utrecht: Immigrant History and Sources

The reconstruction of the German, and other, migrant populations, as it follows below, is based mainly on data from the population registers. From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, the Netherlands, like Belgium, Italy, Prussia and the Scandinavian countries, had population registers. The population registers were centrally organised, and administered by local government. They were based on ten yearly censuses held in December of the census year. To the census data were added all changes that occurred in the ten years after the census. Every ten years, there was a new census and a fresh start of the population registers. The municipal population registers list addresses, names, date and place of birth, religion, marital status, occupation, date of death, and previous and new addresses. The registers allow the re-

17 Ivan Light / Stavros Karageorgis, The Ethnic Economy, in: Smelser / Swedberg (red.), The Handbook of Economic Sociology, pp. 647–670, esp. p. 663.

construction of geographically based networks. The occupational information in population registers is far richer than that in the marriage registers, because it gives occupational information for many more moments than just at marriage, and therefore allows one to reconstruct career mobility.

For the research presented here, the whole population register for the ten-year period from 1850 to 1859 has been worked through, and half of the register for the twenty-year period from 1860 to 1879. All the data in this register about people born in German regions, plus the data on their spouses, children and other members of their household were recorded in a database.

Utrecht

The map of Utrecht is necessary in order to explain the position of the German migrant groups, because the morphology of the town determined to a large extent the settlement patterns of German as well as other immigrants and thereby shaped the integration process and the formation of groups.[18]

Utrecht is located in the centre of the Netherlands. From 1856, it had a railway connection with Prussia. In 1849, Utrecht had a population of 50,000. It increased to almost three times that amount by 1920. Until 1880, expansion was mainly due to natural growth; after 1880, immigration was more important.[19] In the first half of the nineteenth century, almost all people lived within the city moat. By 1890, more than half of the population lived outside it. Houses were built on land that had previously been used for horticulture. In the course of the nineteenth century, the employment opportunities in industry, trade and commerce increased, whereas work in the domestic sector became less important. The number of people working in agriculture was halved between 1849 and 1930. Although it is true that Utrecht industrialised late, possibly later than the rest of the Netherlands[20], its lateness must not be exaggerated. Utrecht did not industrialise late; it was rather never much of an industrial town. Utrecht, because of its central position, became an important centre for trade and commerce.

Since Napoleonic times, Utrecht was divided into twelve districts. The districts A to H lay within the city moat. The districts I, K, L and M were situated outside the moat.[21] The division into twelve districts originated in a sixteenth-century division of the old town in eight quarters.[22] The four districts

18 Compare Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City. Past and Present, New York 1960.

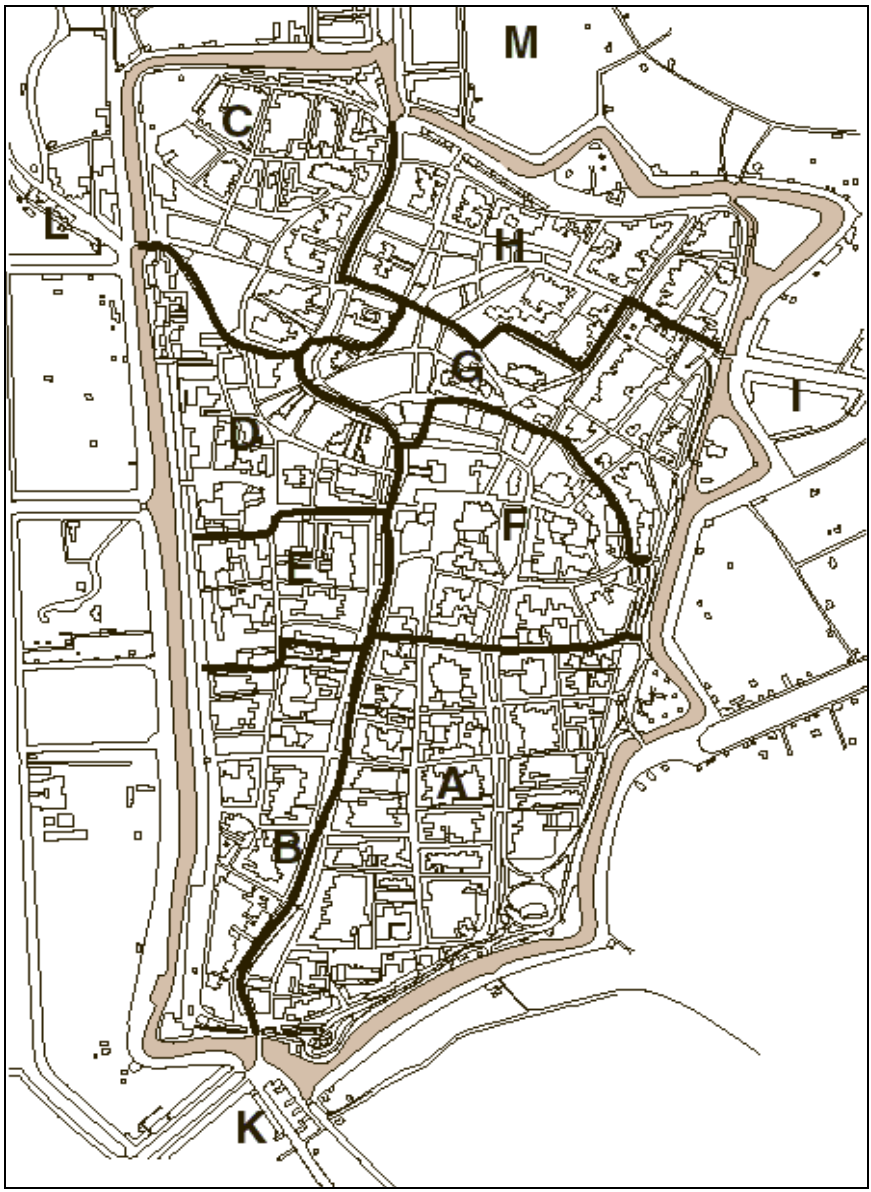
19 Piet D. 't Hart, Utrecht en de cholera 1832–1910, Utrecht 1990, pp. 297f.

20 Marco H.D. van Leeuwen / Ineke Maas, Social Mobility in a Dutch Province. Utrecht 1850–1940, in: Journal of Social History, 31. 1997, pp. 619–644.

21 The letter J was not used because of the risk of confusion with the letter I.

22 Renger E. de Bruin, Burgers op het kussen. Volkssoevereiniteit en bestuurssamenstelling in de stad Utrecht, 1795–1813, Utrecht 1986, p. 29.

Utrecht in 1850 (by Municipal Districts)



Source: Municipal Archive Utrecht.

outside the moat were situated at the four town gates that had originally been part of the town's defences. The city within the moat was separated from the rest outside it in a geographical and administrative sense. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the walls and gates closed the town off. Even after these had been demolished, the moat still formed a barrier.[23] There were only five bridges. In addition there were five ferries that shipped people across the moat, but for these a fare had to be paid. Furthermore, until 1866 a tax had to be paid for goods that were brought into town.[24] Traders who did not sell all their goods within the town, but used the town as a centre for regional distribution, could avoid this taxation by storing their goods just outside the inner city.

The inner city was also separated from the rest in a social sense. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the rich lived within the inner city. Furthermore there was a religious segregation. Utrecht had a religiously mixed population with approximately equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants. About twice as many Protestants as Catholics lived in the inner city. The areas outside the moat were predominantly Catholic. This religious segregation seemingly had existed before the nineteenth century, but precise data are difficult to provide, because the outer wall districts were much less well documented.[25] Utrecht had a rather large Lutheran community. Most Lutherans lived within the city moat. There were only a few Jews in Utrecht because the settlement of Jews had been forbidden until 1788. In the second half of the nineteenth century, some Jews lived near the synagogue in district B.[26] More, however, lived in the districts D and E, and to a lesser extent in F and C. There was no clearly Jewish neighbourhood.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the area within the inner city was totally built up, so that additional houses could only be built outside the city moat. In the inner city, the number of houses remained stable at about six thousand.[27] Outside the city moat the number of houses increased from about two thousand in 1850 to over nine thousand in 1890. In the inner city the population remained more or less stable. Outside the moat, the population grew from eleven thousand in 1850 to fifty thousand forty years later. At the end of the nineteenth century more people lived outside the moat than

23 't Hart, Utrecht en de cholera, p. 67.

24 Albertus van Hulzen, Utrecht en het verkeer 1850–1910, Baarn 1987, pp. 7–15.

25 Ronald Rommes, Oost, west, Utrecht best? Driehonderd jaar migratie en migranten in de stad Utrecht (begin 16e – begin 19e eeuw), Utrecht 1998, p. 175.

26 Gert-Jam Jansen, De verhouding tussen joden en niet-joden in de stad Utrecht in de periode 1789–1824, Doctoraal scriptie geschiedenis Universiteit, unpublished paper, Utrecht 1986, p. 40.

27 Carl Denig, Utrecht van het ancien régime tot nieuwe tijd. De bewoning van de Utrechtse binnenstad in haar ruimtelijke structuur, 1793–1891, Utrecht 1995.

within it. Newcomers looking for a place to live were more likely to end up outside the moat than within.

The twelve Utrecht districts were not socially homogenous. Within each district there were poorer and richer streets next to each other. Measured according to the value of the houses, G and especially F stand out as the richer neighbourhoods.[28] When money was raised for the poor during the cholera epidemics in 1832 and 1849 the largest sum came from the districts F, G and H.[29] The social structure of the various districts can also be deduced from the distribution of winter relief in the middle of the nineteenth century. This was a special form of poor relief given because of the extremely cold winter. People who were not on permanent poor relief were eligible for this form of winter relief. Winter relief was not equally distributed over the various town districts. The districts C, M and K stand out as the districts with most people on winter relief, whereas in district F only 10 per cent received winter relief.

Table 1: Population of Utrecht: People on Winter Relief and Registered Germans

Municipal District	Number of Citizens 1849	People on Winter Relief in %	Officially Registered Germans in ‰
C	6,831	49	8
M	4,882	43	6
K	2,322	42	31
B	6,032	39	9
E	3,386	33	12
L	2,130	31	6
A	6,307	29	6
D	3,282	27	6
I	2,549	26	11
H	4,552	23	12
G	3,432	20	16
F	2,625	10	18
Total	48,330	31	10

Source: Municipal Archive Utrecht, IV 1172–1173.

28 Ibid., pp. 59f.

29 ‘t Hart, Utrecht en de cholera, p. 67.

Officially there were about 500 German residents in Utrecht in 1849.[30] This figure rose to just over 600 in 1879. The figure does not describe the German community in an analogous manner to contemporary definitions of migrant communities, because it does not include migrants' children. Furthermore, it does not include the temporary migrants. In 1849, there were 1,700 such temporary migrants residing in the town. Temporary migrants were all those who did not have their residence registered with the civil administration. This included people who resided in town for a couple of weeks, but also ones who stayed for years on end. Students, domestic servants and travelling traders and artisans, who assumed they came only on a temporary basis, often did not change their residence officially. It is not known how many of the 1,700 temporary residents were German.

German and other migrants were not distributed evenly over the various town districts. There was no correlation between social status of the neighbourhood and number of German migrants. Migrants did not concentrate in the poorer districts of the town. This is consistent with Rommes' findings for earlier centuries. He found that German migrants were not concentrated in a particular district of the town, nor were they, with the exception of soldiers, concentrated in the poorer parts of the town.[31]

Analysis of Integration: Religion and Profession of Immigrants

German migrants can be divided according to religion. Between 1850 and 1859, the numbers of Protestant and Catholic German migrants were more or less equal. About two per cent of the German migrants were Jewish. After 1866, with the increasing influence of Prussia's Protestant rule, the migration of Catholics to the Netherlands increased, and Catholic German migrants to Utrecht started to outnumber Protestants. Within the German Protestant group a distinction can be made between those who belonged to the Reformed Church, which was the main Dutch Protestant church, and those who belonged to the Lutheran church, which was a minority church in the Netherlands. Lutheran migrants could, if they wished, become members of the well-organised minority church. The Lutheran church had its own organisations for care of the poor, orphans and the old. Almost all Lutherans in Utrecht could trace back their own or their families' history to migration from Germany. German Lutheran migration to Utrecht had already been quite considerable in former times, so that Lutheran migrants coming to

30 Volkstelling 1849.

31 Rommes, Oost, west, Utrecht best?

Utrecht in the nineteenth century easily found migrants or children of migrants that preceded them in earlier decades.

The Lutheran church in Utrecht was an immigrant church. However, although Lutherans could be part of this well-organised community, in practice not all were. Within the Lutheran community there was a discussion about the future of the church. For years on end, and time and again, it was discussed whether preaching should take place in German or in Dutch. The issue was not only which language the churchgoers would best understand, but also a choice between adaptation to Dutch society or maintaining one's orientation towards the region of origin.[32] However, even those who favoured the Dutch language did not agree amongst each other about all church matters. The Lutheran community was split in three. The more orthodox Lutherans found their church too liberal, and sought contacts with the small orthodox Dutch Protestant churches. The most liberal Lutherans found the Lutheran church too conservative, and too strongly oriented towards its German background. They chose the Dutch Reformed church. The result was a divided Lutheran community. Although at first sight it may seem as if adherence to a minority, immigrant church might strengthen group coherence, in the case of the Lutherans this was only true for some. The ambiguous relationship of the Lutherans regarding their church is reflected in the fact that many of them got married to Protestants or Catholics. In the middle of the nineteenth century some mixed married couples had the striking practice of baptising their children alternately, irrespective of their gender, as Lutheran and as Reformed – a practice which also existed amongst mixed married Lutheran migrants in other countries.[33]

Apart from the Lutheran church there was another organisation active amongst the German-Lutheran migrants in the Netherlands: the Gustaaf-Adolf-Society. This society, named after the Swedish king, had been set up in the seventeenth century. Its aim was to support Lutheran minorities in predominantly Catholic German regions, mainly in Westphalia and the Rhineland. For this cause money was raised which was used to build schools and churches, and appoint Lutheran ministers. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the society started collecting money in the Netherlands. Officially, the Gustaaf-Adolf-Society was of a general Protestant signature, and it was not attached to a certain church. In practice, its main support came from Lutherans in the Netherlands. In 1860 the society had 360 members in Utrecht.[34]

32 Ronald Rommes, Lutherse immigranten in Utrecht tijdens de Republiek, in: 't Hart / Lucassen / Schmal (red.) Nieuwe Nederlanders, p. 50.

33 See Trude Maurer's contribution to this volume.

34 Regional Archive Utrecht (RAU), archief Gustaaf-Adolf-Vereeniging, no. 49.

Catholic migration to Utrecht was already different from that of the Lutherans before the nineteenth century. In 1655, Catholic migrants, both from within the Netherlands and from outside, had lost the right to become a citizen of the town of Utrecht. In the years after 1655 this rule was applied less strictly for migrants from within the Netherlands, but it was maintained for those from outside. Until the nineteenth century, this meant in practice that Catholic migrants from outside the Netherlands could not become members of the guilds, as citizenship was a requirement for guild membership.[35] Catholic German migrants could therefore only work in trades for which no guilds existed, or as apprentices to guild masters.

The settlement of newcomers was affected by Utrecht's infrastructure in different ways. The river Vecht flows through Utrecht from south to north. On the south side of the town there were industries that needed fresh water, such as the breweries, and traders that depended on the transport of goods across the water from the east and south, such as the stoneware traders. At the north side of the town were the industries that polluted the waters, such as the metal industries. Consequently German brewers and stoneware traders were found on the south side of the town, and German metal workers on the north side. In addition to religion German migrants, as most other migrants, can be divided according to profession. And with professional segregation comes gender segregation. There were railway men, stucco workers, soldiers, filemakers, brewers, students and scientists; these were all men. Domestic servants were all women. Traders in stoneware and in textiles were both male and female.

In district M, and later also in L, we find Germans working on the railway. Railway construction begun in 1843. The main station was built on the west side of the town, and as a result German specialists lived in that part of the city, as did the British engineers. Whereas British-born wives, children, and servants accompanied the British engineers, this seems to have been much less the case with German migrants, who were mostly skilled workers and engine drivers. German railway men often married Dutch women. Railway workers, the number of which increased sharply between 1860 and 1880, did not come only from one region in Germany. They moved frequently both inside and outside Utrecht as well as with their families to Germany and back. As a result of these frequent moves there could be children with Dutch and German nationality within one family. Engine drivers and others involved in railway building and rail transport formed a mobile group. In 1869, the decrease in the Utrecht population was, for instance, explained in the city's annual report[36] by the transfer of a large group of railway workers to

35 Rommes, Oost, west, Utrecht best?, p. 108.

36 Gemeenteverslag Utrecht 1869.

Groningen and Tilburg. The nature of their job made part of the group's residence temporary. Moving around frequently meant that the workers had little ties with the town and its inhabitants.

German ex-soldiers can be found in virtually all districts of the town. The Utrecht garrison included many foreign professional soldiers of all ranks. Most of these foreign soldiers had Swiss nationality, but there were also quite a few Germans. The soldiers lived both in and outside the army barracks, which were situated in the south of district A. Migration of soldiers took place through the transfer of army units. Although the soldiers were of course all men, migration connected to army transfers was not all-male. Married soldiers came with their wives and children. In around 1850, the wives and children of soldiers in Utrecht were mostly born in the South of the Netherlands and in Belgium. This reflects army manoeuvres in these regions at the time of the Belgian uprising of 1830. Migrating with the soldiers, and living near the army barracks, were some unmarried women with illegitimate children; they were possibly prostitutes. Amongst these were women from France and Belgium.[37]

It was not uncommon for soldiers, even for those of higher ranks, to leave the army at an early age and enter civilian life, marrying local women. Although soldiers, like railway workers, were a rather mobile group, their mobility usually stopped at an earlier age than that of the railway men because they often left military life before marrying. The soldiers lived together during their army service. After leaving the army they seem to have dispersed over the town. They did not share a common religious or regional background. Working for the army, however, did prove hereditary to a high degree. Sons of soldiers, both of migrants and of non-migrants, often likewise ended up in the army.

In the rather wealthy district F we find traders in textiles, both men and women, from Tecklenburg and Oldenburg.[38] Surprisingly, although these migrant groups traded in more or less the same products, and came from adjacent regions, they hardly interacted or intermarried. The textile traders set up shops. Amongst the personnel they recruited for these shops were many German men and women. Although a substantial part of the workforce was German, it was by no means exclusively German. The migrant shop assistants did not come from the same region as the shop owners. The shop assistants may have been recruited through German owned inns and pubs, because there were several inns in Utrecht in which a large number of German

37 MA Utrecht Vestigingsregister.

38 Roger Miellet, Honderd jaar grootwinkelbedrijf in Nederland, Zwolle 1993, p. 27.

migrants, mainly described as shop assistants, found lodging. In earlier centuries, German owned inns and pubs had functioned as labour exchanges.[39]

Rather separate from the textile traders from Oldenburg and Tecklenburg was a group of traders from Oberkirchen, Westfeld, Nordenau, and Ober-Sorpe; villages in the mountainous part of the German Sauerland region.[40] These traders were mostly men, and family ties often related them to each other. They concentrated in district D, but there were also some people from the same region in other parts of the town. They are described as traders, without a specification of the object of their trade. They may have traded in wooden products, as the region they came from was known for this[41], however they may also have traded in iron products or knitted goods. In the first part of the nineteenth century, the villages from which they originated specialised in the production of ironware. In the second half of the century they switched to the production of knitted goods such as stockings and underwear. In this period, the region produced 720,000 pairs of stockings per year. This domestic industry involved some 300 people working on advanced knitting frames. Towards the end of the nineteenth century this industry collapsed due to competition from factories outside the region.[42] The Utrecht traders may have dealt in iron goods, knitted ware and wooden products at the same time. This would explain the lack of a specification in their job description. In Utrecht the traders married outside their own group which was not large and moreover consisted mainly of men.

One of the largest groups of German migrants is formed by the female domestic servants. Domestics can be found in all districts of the town, but obviously mostly in the better-off parts, like district F. The professional structure of Utrecht, with its wealthy traders, its administrators, and its academics, meant that there was a rather large demand for domestics. This had already been the case before the nineteenth century. To satisfy the demand for female domestics, it was arranged in earlier centuries that single female domestics did not have to acquire the right to live in town.[43] Thus Catholic German women could immigrate as domestics even before the nineteenth century, whereas their male peers could not.

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39 Rommes, Oost, west, Utrecht best?, p. 162.

40 Klaas Padberg Evenboer, Padberg (I) (kwartierstaat), in: Nederlandse Genealogieën Deel 9, Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Geslacht – en wapenkunde, The Hague 1989, pp. 55–63.

41 Peter Höher, Heimat und Fremde. Wanderhändler des oberen Sauerlandes, Münster 1985.

42 A. Bruns, Gericht und Kirchspiel Oberkirchen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Schmallenberg, Schmallenberg 1981, p. 445, 447.

43 Rommes, Oost, west, Utrecht best?, p. 141.

German domestics usually worked for Dutch employers. Although they formed a large group, German women did not monopolise the trade. There were many more Dutch women working as servants, over 2,000, than there were German women. The female German servants came from a restricted area in Westphalia. This predominance might have been the result of chain migration. Most of the servants were Catholic. Some belonged to the Reformed church. There were no Lutherans amongst them. Some of the servants left Utrecht to return to their region of origin after working a few years. Many, however, remained in Utrecht and married local Dutch men.

Brewers, bakers, stucco workers, and students formed smaller groups of German immigrants. The German influence on brewing had a long tradition that continued throughout the nineteenth century. In the sixteenth century, brewers and their hands at the Utrecht breweries had almost all been Germans.[44] In the nineteenth century, German influence was still strong, but the importance of the breweries had decreased considerably, due to competition from large breweries in other towns, and small breweries in the countryside. This meant that, in the nineteenth century, the group of German brewers was numerically rather unimportant, and the number of migrants attracted by brewing was not large.

In Amsterdam, German bakers held a monopoly position prior to the nineteenth century.[45] Recruitment of bakers took place via German inns. Rather surprisingly, German bakers do not seem to have been important in Utrecht before the nineteenth century.[46] In the nineteenth century, there were some German bakers, but there was no monopolisation of the trade in the manner seen in early modern Amsterdam. The stucco workers were all Lutheran men from Oldenburg. Most were single. In the period between 1850 and 1859 they mainly married local women. These women were usually Lutherans, and hence mostly second or third generation German migrants. The few who married Reformed women baptised all their children as Lutherans. In this group, ties with the Lutheran church seem to have been quite strong. In the period from 1860 to 1880, the marital behaviour of the group changed somewhat since no longer only single men came from the Oldenburg region, but also married men with their wives and children.

German students lived dispersed across town. They usually lived two or three together, sometimes with a landlord or landlady. Although it was not uncommon for two German students to share a house, there were no all-German student houses. German students lived with Dutch students, stu-

44 Ibid, p. 142, 157.

45 Ad Knotter/Jan Luiten van Zanden, Immigratie en arbeidsmarkt in Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw, in: Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis, 13. 1987, no. 4, pp. 403–431, esp. p. 413.

46 Rommes, Oost, west, Utrecht best?.

dents from the Dutch East and West Indies, and students from the Cape of Good Hope. Between 1850 and 1859, almost all students were Protestant, mostly Reformed. After 1860 there were also a few Catholic students. The students came from different regions in Germany. Only a few of them married in Utrecht. Brewers, bakers, stucco workers, and students did not really form groups. Only the stucco workers showed some group coherence, because they shared a common religion, regional background and profession. Bakers and brewers could not form a group at all, because there was only a handful of each. The students differed too much as far as regional background was concerned.

Apart from German migrants, there were also migrants from other regions. In 1849, the largest group consisted of 225 Belgians. Amongst the Belgian migrants the makers of strawhats were the most conspicuous. With the Belgian strawhat makers, men and women were roughly equally represented. The strawhat makers originated from a few villages in the Belgian Luikerland region. They came for the summer months and lived near their employer, mostly in district E, with a smaller group in district G. Every year, half of these migrants left after the summer; the other half remained in Utrecht permanently. Other noticeable groups were Italian stucco casters, Italian and Swiss chimney sweeps, and French umbrella makers and sellers. All these were male migrants.

A numerically rather important group of permanent migrants was formed by people born in the Dutch West and East Indian colonies. In most cases, at least one of their parents was born in the Netherlands. Some came on leave, but most families came to the Netherlands permanently. Although at least partly of Dutch descent, these migrants were in a sense foreigners to the Dutch society, as they had been born and raised abroad. Repatriating families from the Indies sometimes brought their Indian servants with them. These families were mostly found in the districts outside the city centre, mainly in district I.

The repatriates from the colonies Berbice and Demerary formed a group a little apart from the migrants from the East and West Indies. The Dutch founded these colonies on the northern coast of South America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the end of the eighteenth century these colonies came, in practice, under British rule. At the beginning of the nineteenth century British rule was formalised, and the colonies became part of British Guyana. The transfer from Dutch to British rule was probably the reason why some of the descendants from the original migrants of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came to the Netherlands in the nineteenth century. Repatriating families did show some group coherence as they lived together, and to some extent also intermarried. Civil servants and army personnel were rather well represented amongst these migrants.

Case Studies: Stoneware Traders and Filemakers

Stoneware Traders

Stoneware traders, all coming from the Westerwald in Nassau, formed the largest German minority in Utrecht. The Westerwald is situated in what was, until 1866, the German duchy of Nassau, on the right bank of the Rhine, some two hundred kilometres from Utrecht. The Westerwalders all lived in district K. Similar communities of Westerwalders existed in many other Dutch towns.[47] Migration from the Westerwald to the Netherlands had already begun before the nineteenth century, but considerably increased during this century.

Westerwalder migrants specialised in stoneware trade, mainly in jars and pitchers. All Westerwalders in Utrecht were engaged in this business. The production of stoneware goods in the Westerwald originated from Roman times. The clay in the Westerwald has the special quality that its particles sinter together when baked at high temperature. The result is a water- and airtight container that is particularly suited for holding fluids.[48] In the nineteenth century, the stone bottles produced in the Westerwald were widely used for natural mineral waters, as their airtight quality guaranteed that the level of carbon dioxide was maintained.

Already before the nineteenth century, traders from the Westerwald went beyond their region of origin to sell jars and jugs. Traffic in stoneware was a seasonally based, long-distance trade, which involved both men and women. At the beginning of the century, many aspects of this jug trade changed. Firstly, the method of transport changed. Until the nineteenth century, traders had transported their goods at least part of the way by cart. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, they switched to sending their goods by boat by way of the Rhine, while they themselves walked. Although the Westerwald has a direct waterway connection with Utrecht, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, part of this waterway connection was of little use to the Westerwalder traders, because it was difficult to navigate on the Rhine between Koblenz and Cologne. Furthermore, there were many tolls, and goods had to be transshipped in Cologne. From Cologne, and within the Netherlands, stoneware was being transported by boat before the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century, the number of tolls was gradually re-

47 Marlou Schrover, Groepsvorming onder Duitse aardewerkhandelaren in 19e-eeuws Holland en Utrecht, in: Historisch tijdschrift Holland, 1998, no. 2, pp. 94–112; idem, Gescheiden werelden in een stad. Duits ondernemerschap in Utrecht in de negentiende eeuw, in: Jan Rath / Robert Kloosterman, Het zelfstandig ondernemerschap van immigranten in Nederland, Amsterdam 1998, pp. 39–60.

48 J. de Kleyn, Volksaardewerk in Nederland 1600–1900, Zeist 1965, pp. 36f.; A. Wegener, Ochtrup, ein Heimatbuch, Münster 1960, pp. 204, 216.

duced, forced transshipping disappeared, and navigability improved. The increased use of steamships added to making the Rhine a waterway rather than a barrier.[49] After the middle of the nineteenth century, Westerwalders could also send their goods to the Netherlands by rail. The improved transport facilities made it possible for traders to react to increases in demand, but also enabled them to open up new markets.

Secondly, there were changes in the demand for stoneware. Until the Napoleonic period, Dutch guilds had restricted the trade in stoneware. Guild rules stipulated that those from outside town could only work as wholesalers, selling their goods to the local shopkeepers.[50] When a trader from outside arrived, guild authorities had to be notified. Local shopkeepers were then informed, and the outside trader received a restricted permit to sell to shopkeepers only. Guild membership was restricted to those who were burgesses of the town. Westerwalders were neither burgesses nor guild members.[51] After the Napoleonic period, guilds were abolished. As a result trading opportunities for the Westerwalders increased. They could now act both as wholesalers and as retailers. The nineteenth century saw an increase in the demand for the goods in which the Westerwalders traded. A slight increase in wealth amongst the Dutch population as a whole was translated into an increased demand for kitchen- and tableware.[52] Stone jars from the Westerwald were widely used, and well suited, for preserving fruits and vegetables. The Westerwalder traders expanded by including in their business other articles of everyday and kitchen use.[53] It was only at the end of the nineteenth century that the demand for stoneware started to decline. Glass bottles became widely used for mineral waters: they were lighter and easier to clean. At the end of the nineteenth century it furthermore became the fashion to add extra carbon dioxide to the mineral water. This increased level of carbon dioxide could be kept better in glass bottles.[54] Glass preservers replaced the stone jars. Enamel products replaced some of the other kitchen goods the Westerwalders had traded in.

49 Hendrik Jacob Keuning, De economisch-geografische achtergrond van de Rijnvaart voor 1870, in: Physich- en Economisch-Geografische beschouwingen over de Rijn als Europese rivier. Vriendenboek aangeboden aan prof. W.E. Boerman, Rotterdam 1948, pp. 32–60; Henricus Cornelius Wilhelmus Roemen, De ontwikkeling na 1870, in: ibid, pp. 61–88.

50 Municipal Archive (MA) Utrecht, 86 BA 1 Gilden, inv. nrs. 63, 56.

51 MA Utrecht, 86 BA 1 Gilden, inv. nrs. 58, Register van de namen der aangenomen leden van het marslieden gild 17-24-1798.

52 Aloysius Johannes Franciscus van Maenen, Petrus Regout 1801–1878. Een bijdrage tot de sociaal-economische geschiedenis van Maastricht, Nijmegen 1959, p. 233.

53 Johann Plenge, Westerwälder Hausierer und Landgänger, Leipzig 1898, p. 204.

54 Peter Zwaal, Frisdranken in Nederland. Een twintigste eeuwse produktgeschiedenis, Rotterdam 1993, p. 31.

The increased demand for the Westerwalders' goods until the middle of the nineteenth century, and its decline towards the end of the century, was reflected in the migration pattern. In the middle of the century the number of migrants was at its largest. After 1870, it sharply declined. This decline is not only explained by a decreased demand for stoneware, but also by more employment opportunities near the Westerwald region at the time of Germany's industrialisation. When the trade in stoneware expanded, and the number of traders increased likewise, Westerwalder traders continued to recruit personnel in their region of origin. Originally most traders came from the neighbouring villages of Baumbach and Ransbach. Both these villages were Catholic. When the trade expanded, servants were found in other villages in the region. Although the Westerwald region was religiously mixed, the recruited servants were, like the original traders, all Catholic. Some of the servants were related to the earlier traders, others were not. The social distance between trader and servant seems to have been small. There were numerous marriages between servants and adult children of their employers. The growing demand for Westerwalder goods in the middle of the nineteenth century, meant that more people entered the trade. Although the region from which people were recruited expanded, the trade was kept within a regionally based group, and links with the region of origin continued to exist. These ties were strengthened by the fact that many of the earlier traders had property in the Westerwald, or acquired property after trading in the Netherlands for a few years.[55] Because of their property, which consisted of houses and land, the ties with the region of origin remained strong. When the trade expanded, people with more limited means entered into it as well. Their attempts at trade were stimulated by credit from the producers and wholesalers in stoneware. Originally, acquiring credit was facilitated by the fact that many of the traders had family ties with producers.[56] Traders could obtain their goods on credit, paying for them only when they returned from the Netherlands. Houses and pieces of land were used as security. Failure to pay the debt, because of illness or bad luck in the trade, led to the forced sale of property. This was not uncommon.[57] Once the property had been sold, the ties with the region of origin became less strong. The barrier of entry to the stoneware trade was not high. Servants, both men and women, could easily set themselves up in business. Contacts were important, as well as credit

55 Herzoglich Nassauisches allgemeines Intelligenzblatt 1854, pp. 10, 18, 22, 31, 115, 134, 146, 167, 197.

56 Heribert Fries, Kurrimurri. Erinnerungen an die Kannenbäcker in Höhr-Grenzhausen, Höhr-Grenzhausen 1993.

57 Herzoglich Nassauisches allgemeines Intelligenzblatt 1854, pp. 10, 18, 22, 31, 115, 134, 146, 167, 197.

from producers or suppliers. A few seasons in the trade as a servant were enough to acquire both.

Apart from being influenced by changes in transport, and in demand, the migration pattern was also affected by changes in rules and regulations from the authorities in both Nassau and the Netherlands. The Westerwalders differed from other German migrants because both the seasonal and the permanent migration were group migration. Not only young men or young women migrated, but also whole families took to the road. At the end of the eighteenth century, fearing that the seasonal migration of whole families might lead to vagrancy, local authorities in Nassau restricted the freedom of women to travel. This restriction severely distorted the trading and migration practices that had hitherto existed. Women could no longer be active in the long-distance stoneware trade. The fact that women and men were equally active in the stoneware trade had been important for the group's cohesion. Because whole families were active in this trade, family ties and business ties overlapped. This again had strengthened the ties within the group. The restriction of female migration at the end of the eighteenth century loosened these ties. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a group of Westerwalders evaded restrictions on group migration. Two hundred men, women and children, profited from the confusion of the Napoleonic period and journeyed to Utrecht to settle there permanently.

Restrictions on female participation in the trade became less severe after 1830. However, strong objections were maintained against taking school children on the nine-month trading journey.[58] School children were to be left in the care of paid caretakers or relatives. As in some villages over half of the population went away for the summer season, the possibility to leave children with relatives was restricted.[59] The price for paid care approximately equalled the level of the fine that was given to parents who took their children. As half of the fine could be nullified by doing roadwork in the winter months, some parents rather took their children than pay for care. As some of the migrating families did not go away for the summer only, but for several years, fines amounted to hundreds of guilders.[60] This no doubt persuaded migrants who had initially gone on a temporary basis, not to return.

Some migrants will have pretended to migrate on a seasonal basis whereas in reality they migrated permanently. This was mostly the case with young men. German regulations, in most German states, forbade permanent

58 Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, w 241–345; F. Baaden, Landgänger. Botschafter des Kannenbäckerlandes, Ransbach-Baumbach 1993, p. 13.

59 Ibid., p. 8.

60 Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, w 241–345.

migration of young men, unless they had fulfilled their military duties.[61] Furthermore, as some of the migrants going overseas had been unable to pay for their crossing, and had thus stranded in Dutch harbour towns, the Dutch government demanded that German trading houses would guarantee the passage of these migrants. For temporary migrants, there were no such restrictions. Moreover, people were stimulated to pose as temporary migrants, rather than as permanent migrants, because those who had migrated permanently from German regions could not make claims on German poor relief if their migration proved to be a failure, and they decided to return home. The result of these nineteenth-century attempts by Dutch and German authorities to regulate migration was that, unlike with overseas migration, which was carefully registered, most migrants from German regions came to the Netherlands as temporary migrants, and were thus not registered or registered incorrectly.

Possibly because of family migration, Westerwalders, contrary to other migrants, seldom stayed in boarding houses or inns. In some towns, Westerwalders lived on their boats. Mostly, however, they had houses that they either owned or rented permanently. They stored their goods in these houses and in nearby warehouses. Family migration, need for access to water and warehouses, all combined to enforce a geographical concentration in the towns Westerwalders settled in. All the Westerwalders in Utrecht settled in one small neighbourhood, a part of district K. The choice for this neighbourhood near the waterfront was not illogical. Furthermore, the tax that was levied on goods that were brought into town did not apply for goods stored in district K, because it was situated outside the city gates. As not all goods were sold within the town, some being distributed to other places, a tax advantage could be gained by situating deposits outside the town walls. District K may have had its advantages, but it was also one of Utrecht's worst slums.[62] It is striking that the Westerwalders continued to live in this neighbourhood throughout the nineteenth century. The group lived in some 180 houses, clustered together on a small site, with many blind alleys and warehouses. In other Dutch towns, Westerwalders likewise lived near the water, in warehouse districts.[63]

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61 Wolf Heino Struck, Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Nassau (1806–1866), Wiesbaden 1966, p. 9.

62 Herman Snellen, Utrechts Achterbuurten. Voordracht in de Algemeene vergadering van 25 februari 1868, Vereeniging tot Verbetering der Volksgezondheid, in: MA Utrecht archief 162, Verslagen van de Vereeniging tot verbetering der Volksgezondheid, 1868; Floris Egbertus Vos, Onderzoekingen over de cholera-epidemie van 1866 gemeente Utrecht, Alphen aan de Rijn 1867, pp. 84f.; 't Hart, Utrecht en de cholera, p. 304.

63 Schrover, Groepsvorming onder Duitse aardewerkhandelaren.

District K was a Catholic neighbourhood. The neighbourhood had held on to Catholicism despite the sixteenth-century conversion of the town and its surroundings to Protestantism. Throughout the centuries, Catholics continued to meet in a clandestine church in district K. Unlike the Lutherans, there was no German influence in the church. In the nineteenth century, no German priests or chaplains were appointed. The neighbourhood, however, formed a parish with a strong coherence. It was known as the paupers' parish. The community consisted of Catholic horticulturists, who kept very much to themselves, and a large group of paupers. The Westerwalders stood out amongst these paupers as the worst off. Part of the group lived in a large building, called the Arc, where families rented one or two rooms; a form of housing rather uncommon for the Netherlands.

For a whole century, the Westerwalders lived inside their neighbourhood. At the end of the nineteenth century, the community dissolved. The end of the community coincided with changes in other fields. The Westerwalders stopped working in the stoneware trade, and no new migrants came from the Westerwald. The demand for Westerwalder goods decreased. The Westerwalders in Utrecht started to marry outside their group, and moved to other parts of the town. After having existed for a whole century as a community with a great coherence, it is striking how fast the community dissolved at the end of the century.

Filemakers

The filemakers came from the border region between the Duchy of Berg (›Bergisches Land‹) and the County of Mark, south of the Ruhr town of Hagen. Part of this region was called the Enneper Straße (›Ennepetal‹), also known as the scythe-makers' valley. The filemakers in Utrecht mainly came from Schwelm and Barmen, and some smaller places in the region. Traditionally the region produced iron products and textiles. In the nineteenth century both industries boomed and industrialised. The region was not characterised by extensive emigration, like many other German regions in the nineteenth century, but rather attracted workers from elsewhere. Already before the nineteenth century, this region was strongly oriented towards trade, mainly with the Netherlands. In 1823, a traveller wrote about Barmen: »In den Sitten und Gebräuchen der Einwohner bemerkt man eine auffallende Ähnlichkeit mit denen der Holländer, mit welchen durch den Handel fast alle hiesige Häuser in Verbindung stehen.«[64]

64 »In manners and customs the inhabitants are remarkably similar to the Dutch, to whom all houses here are connected by trade«; Holger Becker, Christian Gottlieb Daniel Steins Bericht über das Bergische Land anläßlich seiner Reise nach den vorzüglichsten Haupstädten von Mittel-Europa (1823), in: Jürgen Reulecke / Burkhard Dietz (Hg.), Mit

All filemakers in Utrecht were Lutherans, although the region from which they originated was not homogeneously Lutheran, but had a mixed population of Lutherans, Catholics and Reformed. The filemakers in Utrecht mostly married other Lutherans. When they married a Reformed partner, their children were usually registered as Lutheran, and not as Reformed, nor alternately as Lutheran and Reformed as in the case of some other mixed marriages. Although this seems to indicate that the Lutheran religion was important to the filemakers, the same may not have been true for the Lutheran church. Only a few filemakers can be found in the mid-nineteenth century Lutheran church registers. As has been outlined earlier this can mean that either they found the church too liberal or too conservative.

The filemakers were not the only migrants to Utrecht from this region. There were also some people from Elberfeld. The Elberfelders, in contrast to the filemakers, seemed not to have formed a group. They did not have a shared profession. Although Elberfeld was a centre of textile production, there were no textile workers amongst the Elberfelders in Utrecht which did not have a textile industry. The Elberfelders did not have a common religion either; they were a mixture of Catholics, Lutherans and Reformed. They seemed to have had little contact with the filemakers, not living near them, nor marrying them. Barmen and Elberfeld are very near to each other; they are now both part of Wuppertal. Lack of contacts between the Elberfelders and the filemakers indicates that professional ties may have been more important than a shared regional origin.

In the region from which the filemakers originated there was a subdivision in ironware making. The region can roughly be split in two; to the north and west of Solingen there was a specialisation on finer ironware such as scissors and knives. From Remscheid to the north and east there was a specialisation on coarser ironware such as scythes, files, and saws. During most of the nineteenth century, the ironware was not factory made. Iron or steel were forged in the factory. Rods of iron and steel were then processed in the putting-out system. In 1900, the large forgeries in the region did not have a filemaking department, despite the importance of this product. Until the end of the nineteenth century, files were cut by hand. There were attempts to mechanise file cutting, but these did not have any success until after the turn of the century. Until 1900, files were cut as fast by hand as by machine, while hand-cut files were better than machine made ones. There was therefore no advantage to be gained by factory production.

Filemakers could not use any steel, but only steel that was rendered extra hard by a process called double conversion.[65] Rods were delivered to

Kutsche, Dampfroß, Schwebebahn. Reisen im Bergischen Land II (1750–1910), Neustadt / Aisch 1984, p. 128.

65 Beeton's Dictionary of Industries and Commerce, London (no date, 1880s), p. 142.

the filemakers in the form of roughly shaped files. They came in pairs attached at the side of the future handle. In Utrecht, the filemakers were probably supplied with the roughly file shaped rods from the Remscheid region. Ties with this region will have given the filemakers from this district an advantage over others who might wish to set up in this business.

Access to water was important for the Utrecht filemakers. District M, where filemaking was concentrated, was accessible by water, but if goods came from German regions, they would have to go through or around the town. District K seemed to have been the better choice, however several other aspects favoured district M.

The filemaker drew the roughly shaped file into the right size using a tilt hammer. He then shaped the square and the flat ones with a hammer and anvil, and the round, half-round and three-angled forms by means of bosses or dies which fitted into a groove of the anvil. The rods were annealed or softened, to render them capable of being cut, by placing a number of them together in an airtight brick oven. The use of ovens will have placed the Utrecht filemaking business outside the city centre. The fire in the oven had to be kept as constant as possible until the files were red-hot. This could take seven to twelve hours depending on the size of the oven. The largest ovens took twelve hours to heat up, and 48 to cool down. The surface to be cut was rendered smooth by grinding or filing. In the Remscheid district, the grindstone was usually waterpower-driven, although steam-power was also sometimes applied. In Utrecht, the filemakers have not been able to make use of waterpower, because of the general lack of drop in most Dutch rivers. After the files were filed, teeth were cut with a carefully ground chisel, each incision being made separately. Then the file had to be hardened again. The file was covered with a composition, the make-up of which was the filemaker's secret. The file was then again heated uniformly, and finally it was plunged into cold water. In the process of filemaking the filemaker polluted the water.[66] An 1866 investigation into the water quality of the Utrecht district M, where filemaking was concentrated, showed that the water was severely polluted by chemicals. The filemakers were not solely responsible for this pollution, but the water polluting nature of the industry might have been a reason to allocate it on the north side where the river left the town, rather than on the south side where it started its journey into town.

Filemaking was subdivided into many smaller tasks, and the file would have gone through as many as twenty pairs of hands before it was finished. The actual cutting of the file was a difficult skill to learn. It took four to six years to become a skilled cutter. Filemakers were assisted by less skilled

66 The filemaker used salt, saltpetre, potassium, colophony, sal-ammoniac, sulphate and sometimes even mercury.

workers who did the preparatory and finishing work. The group in Utrecht did not only consist of the actual filemakers. Living with the filemakers, and originating from the same region, were men whose profession was described as workman, labourer, smith, smith's mate, and similar auxiliary professions. A filemaker needed an anvil and hammer, a grindstone, an oven and a hardening vat. This means some capital was required to set up in business independently. Capital will, however, have been less of a barrier to entry, than skill. The trade not only offered possibilities for shielding it off from those outside the group, but also to limit growth from within the group.

All filemakers in Utrecht, except one, came from the Remscheid region. The only exception was the Catholic Christoffel Lauterslager born in Utrecht in the 1830s. Although his name indicates a German origin, he was not a recent migrant, and both his father and grandfather were born in Utrecht. Neither his father nor his grandfather was a filemaker. Christoffel Lauterslager did not live with other filemakers. In a later year he was registered as a manservant rather than as a filemaker. He may have tried to set up as a filemaker, but did not succeed. This may indicate that the filemakers from the Remscheid region were able to shield off their profession from outsiders.

Files were used in many different professions: watch and clock makers, sculptors, cabinet makers, lock smiths, gun makers, copper smiths, wire drawers, knife makers, needle and pin makers, organ and piano builders, dentists, spectacle makers, instrument makers, pipe makers, shoe makers, mirror makers, and shoeing-smiths. Although some files were used for stone, wood or fishbone (used in umbrellas and corsets), most were used in metalworking. Each profession requests its own type of file. Each file was made in ten to twelve different sizes and in various cuts: rough or coarse, middle cut, bastard-cut, second-cut, smooth, dead smooth or super fine. A filemaker not only needed to know how to cut a file, but to make files that met the requirements of each different profession. In the nineteenth century, it was uncommon for German towns to have their own filemaker. Files were made in two German regions only, or imported from England. Larger towns, such as Berlin, had a filemaker who was employed full-time in the re-cutting of blunt files. Blunt files could be filed down and re-cut up to nine times. Utrecht had a large metal industry, which will have been a favorable outlet for the filemakers. The Utrecht filemakers, however, did not work for the local Utrecht market only. The nature of the filemaking industry more or less dictated production for a national market.

Though the Utrecht filemakers shielded their profession, they did not have a monopoly. Files were also imported on a large scale from England. Furthermore, the Utrecht-made files had to compete with finished files imported from the Remscheid region. A long-distance trade in iron and steel

ware did exist between German regions and the Netherlands. These traders mainly came from the Sauerland, which bordered on the Remscheid region.[67]

Files were made in the Remscheid region at least from the fifteenth century onwards. All ironwork was severely guild regulated. Filemakers had their own guild. Even when the guilds were abolished, filemaking remained organised in a guild like manner. It stayed within only a few families, and went from father to son. In 1853, the filing cots in the Remscheid region were mostly owned by the Picard family; an important family in filemaking. Some authors have deduced from the French sounding name Picard, derived from Picardy in France, that the origin of filemaking must be found in Huguenot migration around 1685.[68] Others have, however, found no immigration of Huguenots to the Remscheid region in this period. Moreover, the name Picard predates the era of Huguenot migration.[69] There was a family by the name of Picard living in Utrecht in the middle of the nineteenth century. This family must have come to Utrecht, from Herdecke in the Remscheid region, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, because children were born to this family in Utrecht at that time. Although the family lived in district M, where most of the filemakers lived, Picard's son was not a filemaker, but a typesetter.

After the abolition of the guilds, filemaking remained a closed profession. Filemakers in the Remscheid region used to hire hands from within their own group. If a filemaker hired a hand from outside the group, his filing cot was likely to be burned down.[70] The filemakers in Utrecht also recruited workers from their region of origin. Not only requirements on skill, but also the traditionally closed nature of the profession will have contributed to this practice. Filemaking was mostly a male profession. It was common for filemakers' sons to marry filemakers' daughters, but filemaking itself offered few possibilities for female employment. As a result, family ties and business ties did not overlap to the same extent as in the case of the stoneware traders.

Although filemaking was a male profession, there were some women involved in the industry. The reason was that filemaking was an extremely unhealthy profession. While filing and polishing, the filemakers breathed in the fine particles of steel, which affected the lungs. Filing-disease was a common ailment amongst filemakers, and they tended to die young. Widows continued the business of their former husbands. Maria Plett, for instance,

67 Höher, Heimat und Fremde.

68 Otto Dick, Die Feile und ihre Entwicklungsgeschichte, Berlin 1925, p. 183.

69 Hans Hardenberg, Die Fachsprache der bergischen Eisen- und Stahlwarenindustrie, Bonn 1940, p. 17.

70 Ibid., pp. 20–25.

came from Schwelm to Utrecht with her husband and two children between 1842 and 1848. Her husband was a filemaker. When he died shortly afterwards, she was registered as a female filemaker, employing other filemakers, and auxiliary workers. Not long afterwards she married a typesetter who, like herself, came from Schwelm. After her marriage she left the business. Her daughter married a smith; her son became a clerk at the railway company. Her business was taken over by her brother Johannes who came to Utrecht not long after her. He was first described as a file cutter, and later as file-factory owner. His son and grandson continued his business.

Migrants coming to Utrecht from the Remscheid region at the beginning of the nineteenth century found a community of others that came before them from the same region. The filemakers differed in this respect from the stoneware traders who did not settle in Utrecht before the nineteenth century. At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, specialised metal workers from the Remscheid region came to Utrecht, mainly to make gun barrels and work in weapon assembly. These specialised metal workers seem to have disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century. From the registers of the Lutheran church it becomes clear that hands and journeymen metal workers from the same region continued to come to Utrecht until the end of the eighteenth century. They, however, apparently did not set themselves up in business. The cause for this may have been the high barrier to entry set up by the guilds and the unfavourable development of the trade after 1740.[71] Like in the case of the stoneware traders, abolition of the guilds will have opened up new possibilities for members of this group. The fact that now they could not only work as hands and journeyman, but also as independent craftsmen will have influenced the permanency of their stay, creating a much more stable community.

It has been argued that migrants tend to marry later than non-migrants, because after migration they first have to build up a network through which they can find a future partner.[72] The filemakers, however, did not take long to marry. Friedrich Lemcke's marriage may serve as an example. He came from the Remscheid region in August 1862 and married the Dutch born Neeltje Hak in December of the same year. She was not pregnant at the time; their first child being born just over nine months after their marriage. The marital behaviour of the filemakers seems to indicate that they might have had contacts with the Utrecht community before they migrated permanently. The population registers do indicate short stays of about three months. The records on temporary migration have, however, been lost in Utrecht. There is

71 Rommes, Oost, west, Utrecht best?, p. 157.

72 Frans van Poppel, Trouwen in Nederland. Een historisch-demografische studie van de 19e en vroeg 20e eeuw, Wageningen 1992, pp. 192–196.

therefore no possibility to find out whether Lemcke had come to Utrecht on earlier shorter visits. He might have been in Utrecht several times before moving there permanently, and during these temporary stays he may have met his future bride. Or he might, after migration, have landed in a well-established network, which enabled him to find a partner relatively soon after arriving. That contacts through work were important becomes clear from the marriage registers. The witnesses at a filemakers' marriage were almost always his co-workers.

Filemakers lived predominantly in district M and in the adjacent districts H and C. They lived much less concentrated than the stoneware traders. The part of district M where most filemakers were found was the better part of the district, and indeed one of the better parts of the town. This may indicate that either the filemakers were more successful as migrants, or that they invested less in their region of origin. Less investment could mean that they saw their migration as more permanent from the beginning. The migrant pattern of the filemakers was different from that of the stoneware traders. Individual filemakers, especially young men, frequently returned to their region of origin. There was, however, no seasonal family-wise return migration, as in the case of the Westerwalders.

The filemaker community did not experience a sudden disappearance like that of the stoneware traders. It disintegrated much more slowly. Although filemakers shared a profession and a regional background, and belonged to a well-organised minority church, they were a less recognisable minority than the stoneware traders. Both the beginning and the end of minority formation are in this case less clear. The filemakers did show a rather strong group cohesion. This was no doubt influenced by the strong group cohesion amongst filemakers in the region of origin.

Conclusion

Summing up, it can be concluded that there was not one German community in Utrecht, but rather several separated communities. In defining the communities, religion was much less important than regional ties, family ties and professional specialisation. It is not always easy to recognise a community with a common regional background. Mistakes in spelling and the fact that German migrants sometimes came from tiny hamlets, make it difficult to recognise a region of origin. And not always a certain professional specialisation was associated with a certain regional background. Not all German traders in ceramics had the same regional background, but all stoneware traders had. Likewise, not all German ironworkers shared the same geographical background, but all filemakers did.

Regional background, family ties and economic specialisation all influenced the nature of the settlement process. It is, however, difficult to separate

the dependent from the independent variables. Economic specialisation was regional specialisation, and family ties existed amongst people living in the same region. Furthermore, not all Westerwalders were stoneware traders, not all stoneware traders migrated permanently, and not all migrants were stoneware traders prior to their migration. The same is true for the filemakers and their region.

The strong coherence both groups showed before migration was reflected in the coherence of the group after migration. In both cases the reasonable success of both groups in niche formation will have strengthened group ties. The lower barrier to entry in the case of the stoneware traders may have led to self-suffocation and less success for the group as a whole in the long run. An unfavourable economic position will have retarded their integration. The higher barrier to entry in the case of filemaking will have been to the group's advantage. The stoneware traders and the filemakers came from different German regions. There is no reason to assume that one group had less difficulty to overcome language or cultural difficulties than the other, although the filemakers region seems to have been more strongly oriented towards the Netherlands for a longer period.

The morphology of the town of Utrecht shaped the formation of groups and thereby the integration process. It determined the allocation of stoneware traders on the southern outskirts of the town, and that of the filemakers in the northern outskirts. The fact that the inner city was full, more or less forced migrants to find housing outside the city centre. The difference between the stoneware traders, who crowded into a small part of district K, and the filemakers who lived more spread out over the districts M, H and C may have resulted from differences between the two trades.

In the case of the stoneware traders, seasonal migration and permanent migration existed side by side. Revenues of the stoneware trade were invested in real estate in the Westerwald. Investments in the region of origin caused Westerwalders in the Netherlands to live under sober or even poor conditions. The filemakers seem to have migrated to the Netherlands more permanently. There was amongst the filemakers no seasonal family-wise group migration, as in the case of the Westerwalders. In Utrecht they seemed to have invested more in housing.

The other groups that were described briefly stress another difference between the stoneware traders and the filemakers. The two groups of textile traders, although they came from adjacent regions, had few ties between them, or with the stucco workers from the same area. All three formed recognisable, more or less geographically concentrated groups in Utrecht. The community of the textile traders was comparable to that of the stoneware traders. The community of the stucco workers seems to have been more like that of the filemakers. The Belgian strawhat makers' community is similar to

that of the stoneware traders. The German female domestics came from a few neighbouring villages and shared their profession, but in Utrecht they do not seem to have formed a recognisable community.

Differences between the groups indicate that the settlement process was affected by the composition of the group in respect to gender. Migration of both men and women led to a much more coherent group than the migration of either men or women. Migration of both men and women resulted in more isolated communities. If, as in the case of the Westerwalders, the niche offered opportunities for both the men and the women of a group, this resulted in a group with a strong coherence. This coherent group could, however, easily dissolve once it had outlived its function. In the case of the filemakers, more men than women migrated, and the niche offered few possibilities for female employment. This made the community more outward oriented. Filemaking, with its high barrier to entry, did not allow unlimited growth. The sector hence did not offer seemingly unlimited possibilities, forcing the migrants to find alternatives elsewhere which will have favoured integration.

Gesa Snell

Deutsche Immigranten in Kopenhagen im 19. Jahrhundert

Die Migration von Deutschen nach Kopenhagen hat eine lange Tradition, die vom Mittelalter bis in die heutige Zeit reicht. Bis ins 19. Jahrhundert hinein läßt sich der Umfang der Wanderungsbewegung jedoch nur annäherungsweise feststellen, etwa wenn Quellen Auskunft geben über die Herkunft der Angehörigen einer Berufsgruppe oder einer sozialen Schicht.[1] Eine Quelle, die alle Immigranten erfaßt, steht erst mit der Volkszählung von 1845 zur Verfügung, in der auch der Geburtsort der gezählten Bürger erhoben wurde. Die dänische ›Statistische Kommission‹ sah sich mit der Auswertung dieser Daten allerdings überfordert und beschränkte die Veröffentlichung der Ergebnisse auf die übrigen Informationen.[2] Bei der bereits fünf Jahre später durchgeführten Volkszählung wurde das Material zur Herkunft der Gezählten dann ausgewertet und veröffentlicht, doch sind diese Zahlen nur beschränkt aussagefähig. Zwischen 1848 und 1850 hatten Dänemark und der Deutsche Bund bzw. Preußen Krieg um die Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein geführt. Dieser Krieg wirkte sich auch auf die Zahl der deutschen

1 Olsen wertet z.B. Bürgerschaftsprotokolle des 18. Jahrhunderts aus und weist nach, daß mehr als ein Drittel der Bürger nicht im Königreich Dänemark geboren worden war; Albert Olsen, Bybefolkningen i Danmark paa Merkantilismens Tid (Acta Jutlandica, 4/2), Aarhus 1932, S. 38f., 95. Diese Quelle erschließt allerdings nur einen kleinen Teil der Stadtbevölkerung, denn nur diejenigen, die einen bürgerlichen Erwerb betreiben wollten, mußten eine Bürgerschaft beantragen.

2 Im Jahre 1853 schilderte das ›Statistische Büro‹ die Probleme, die eine Auswertung der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung von 1850 in bezug auf die Geburtsorte behinderten: »Daß die verschiedenen statistischen Büros, die im Laufe dieses Jahrhunderts in einem Teil der europäischen Staaten eingerichtet wurden, bisher keine Untersuchung [der nationalen Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung] durchgeführt haben, kann nur als eine Folge des beträchtlichen Arbeitsaufwandes, den selbige verursacht, betrachtet werden. Auf die Darstellung der hier angesprochenen Verhältnisse, die hiermit dem Publikum vorgelegt werden, wurde vornehmlich die Zeit verwendet, die das Büro hier und da einmal neben der üblichen Tätigkeit erübrigen konnte, und hierin wie in ganz zufälligen Gegebenheiten ist der Grund zu finden, daß sie erst so lange nach der Erhebung des Materials veröffentlicht wird«; Folkemængden i Kongeriget Danmark den 1. Febr. 1850 efter Födested (Statistisk Tabelværk, Ny Række, Bd. 7), Kopenhagen 1853, S. I. (Alle Übersetzungen aus dem Dänischen wurden von der Verfasserin vorgenommen.)

Einwanderer aus, da sich die öffentliche Meinung gegen sie wandte und beispielsweise dänische Handwerker versuchten, die deutschen Gesellen zur Ausreise zu zwingen.[3] Die Vergleichbarkeit der Ergebnisse von 1850 mit denen der späteren Volkszählungen unterliegt außerdem der Einschränkung, daß die ›Statistische Kommission‹ Schweden und Norweger ebenso in einer Gruppe zusammenfaßte wie die Einwanderer aus Holstein und Lauenburg und jene aus Grönland, Island und den Färöern.

Die Kommission verzichtete bei der Auswertung der Volkszählung von 1860 erneut auf die Bearbeitung der Angaben zum Geburtsort. Erst im Zusammenhang mit der Volkszählung von 1870 wurde auch dieses Kriterium wieder ausgewertet, und die Ergebnisse wurden veröffentlicht. Inzwischen hatte Dänemark die Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg im Krieg von 1864 jedoch an Preußen und Österreich verloren. Die ›Statistische Kommission‹ reagierte auf die neue Sachlage insofern, als sie die Holsteiner und Lauenburger nun zu den Deutschen zählte und nur noch die Schleswiger gesondert auswies.

Diese Vorgehensweise der Kommission führt dazu, daß die Zahl der deutschen Immigranten im 19. Jahrhundert nicht genau bestimmt werden kann. In einer Untersuchung zu den Deutschen in Kopenhagen zwischen 1800 und 1870 wurde daher die Volkszählung von 1845, die den *status quo ante* festgehalten hatte, anhand des Primärmaterials statistisch ausgewertet.[4] Erhoben wurden aus Gründen der Vergleichbarkeit mit anderen Immigrantengruppen die Daten aller in der dänischen Hauptstadt wohnenden Einwanderer. Dabei wurden sämtliche verfügbaren Informationen aufgenommen, so daß nicht nur die Größe der Immigrantengruppen festgestellt werden konnte, sondern auch ihre Sozial- bzw. Berufsstruktur sowie ihre räumliche Verteilung über die Stadt.

Die Zuordnung der Einwanderer erfolgte über das Kriterium des Geburtsortes, wobei diejenigen zu den deutschen Immigranten gerechnet wurden, die auf dem Gebiet des Deutschen Bundes ohne Österreich, Luxemburg, Holstein und Lauenburg geboren waren. Eingeschlossen wurden außerdem die Gebiete, die zu Preußen, nicht aber zum Deutschen Bund gehörten. Die Auswertung der nicht-deutschen Einwanderer unterscheidet zwischen denen, die auf dem Gebiet des dänischen Gesamtstaates geboren waren[5], und

3 Dybdahl und Dübeck gehen davon aus, daß rund 1.000 deutsche Gesellen die Stadt verließen; Vagn Dybdahl/Inger Dübeck, Håndværkets kulturhistorie. Håndværket og statsmagten. Perioden 1700–1862 (Håndværkets kulturhistorie, 3), Kopenhagen 1983, S. 95.

4 Gesa Snell, Deutsche Immigranten in Kopenhagen 1800–1870. Eine Minderheit zwischen Akzeptanz und Ablehnung, Münster 1999.

5 Zum dänischen Gesamtstaat gehörten auch die Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg. Holsteiner und Lauenburger waren stark von deutscher Kultur ge-

denen, die aus anderen europäischen und überseeischen Staaten stammten. Erfaßt wurden auf diese Weise nur die Einwanderer der ersten Generation.

Bevor die Ergebnisse der Auswertung vorgestellt werden, sind einige grundsätzliche Bemerkungen zur Form der Quelle vorauszuschicken. Die Erhebung von 1845 ist als De-jure-Zählung zu betrachten, d.h. es wurden nicht nur diejenigen Einwohner aufgenommen, die tatsächlich angetroffen wurden, sondern auch diejenigen, die sich zum Zeitpunkt der Zählung an einem anderen Ort aufhielten. Die Zählbögen wurden meist den Hausbesitzern oder Hauswirten übergeben und dann von Wohnung zu Wohnung weitergereicht. Gefragt wurde nach den lokalen Gegebenheiten (Straßenname, Hausnummer, Stockwerk und Plazierung des Hauses) sowie nach Angaben zu den Personen, die zum Haushalt gehörten (Name, Alter, Beruf, Geburtsort und Familienstand). Außerdem sollte in die letzte Rubrik eingetragen werden, ob der Gezählte geisteskrank ist.

Die Aufnahme dieser Primärdaten nach den Rubriken der Zählbögen ergab 18 Variablen. Die vom Fragebogen vorgegebenen Felder wurden jedoch um die Informationen erweitert, die sich indirekt erschließen ließen – wie die Zahl der im Haushalt wohnenden Angestellten, Dienstmädchen oder Untermieter. Vermerkt wurde auch, ob der Gezählte selbst Untermieter war. Alle diese Informationen waren wichtige Hinweise auf den sozialen Status der Personen. Darüber hinaus wurden vereinzelt Angaben zur Konfession oder zur Abhängigkeit vom Armenwesen erfaßt.[6] Damit konnten insgesamt 30 Variablen in die Analyse einbezogen werden.

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prägt und sprachen überwiegend deutsch. Das gilt auch für die Südschleswiger, die daher bei der Auswertung der Primärdaten gesondert aufgenommen und mit den Bewohnern der anderen ›deutschen‹ Herzogtümer zusammengefaßt wurden. Der Begriff ›Südschleswig‹ bezeichnet den Teil des Herzogtums Schleswig, der heute zur Bundesrepublik Deutschland gehört. Der Begriff ›Nordschleswig‹ wird dagegen für den Teil des Herzogtums verwendet, der 1920 nach der Volksabstimmung an Dänemark abgetreten wurde. Er wird auch als Süd- bzw. Süderjütland (dänisch: Sønderjylland) bezeichnet; Carl Boehm, Die jüngere politische und kulturelle Entwicklung der dänischen nationalen Minderheit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der deutschen nationalen Minderheit im Königreich Dänemark unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des friesischen Bevölkerungsteils in der Bundesrepublik, Diss. Univ. Hamburg 1986, S. 6. Einbezogen in die Erhebung der Südschleswiger wurde auch der Ort Tondern, der heute nördlich der deutsch-dänischen Grenze liegt. Zum Sonderstatus Tonderns s. Troels Fink, Deutschland als Problem Dänemarks. Die geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der dänischen Außenpolitik, Flensburg 1968, S. 58f.

6 Die Fragen nach einer möglichen Abhängigkeit vom Armenwesen und der Konfessionszugehörigkeit wurden nachträglich auf den Zählbögen eingetragen. Dies geschah jedoch nicht auf allen Bögen, so daß die Fragen nur von einem Teil der Gezählten beantwortet wurden. Während die Angaben zur Konfession in einer Dichte vorlagen, die eine Auswertung möglich machte, war dies mit den Angaben zur Abhängigkeit vom Armenwesen nicht der Fall.

Nach der Volkszählung von 1845 lebten 7.369 Immigranten in Kopenhagen, das 126.787 Einwohner hatte; der Anteil von Einwanderern an der Bevölkerung der dänischen Hauptstadt belief sich also insgesamt auf 5,8%. Die größte Gruppe bildeten dabei zwar die deutschen Einwanderer mit 26%, doch im Verhältnis zur gesamten Bevölkerung Kopenhagens machten die 1.919 Deutschen nur 1,5% aus.[7]

Werden deutsche und deutschsprachige Einwanderer, zu denen neben den Südschleswigern, Holsteinern und Lauenburgern auch Österreicher und Schweizer gezählt wurden, zusammengefaßt, ergibt sich ein Anteil von nicht mehr als 3% an der Gesamtbevölkerung Kopenhagens. Die Volkszählung von 1845 belegt damit eine starke Veränderung der Wanderungsbewegung im Vergleich zum 18. Jahrhundert, in dem Deutsche einen deutlich höheren Bevölkerungsanteil ausmachten. Zwar steht kein empirisch nachprüfbares Zahlenmaterial zur Verfügung, doch wird in einer Schätzung für die Zeit um 1700 davon ausgegangen, daß rund 16% der Bewohner Kopenhagens in den deutschen Staaten geboren worden waren.[8] Hinweise auf die Zahl der deutschen Immigranten in der Mittelschicht im 18. Jahrhundert lassen sich außerdem aus einer Analyse der Kopenhagener Bürgerschaftsprotokolle gewinnen. Olsen belegt, daß der Anteil der Deutschen an der Bürgerschaft durchschnittlich 12,6% betrug.[9] Auch unter den Soldaten waren deutsche Einwanderer zu dieser Zeit stark vertreten, was daran deutlich wird, daß es in Kopenhagen allein zwei militärische Gemeinden gab, in denen auch deutscher Gottesdienst gehalten wurde.[10] Das breite Angebot ›ethnischer‹ Einrichtungen in Kopenhagen läßt ebenfalls darauf schließen, daß der Anteil der Deutschen an der Bevölkerung der dänischen Hauptstadt im 18. Jahrhundert deutlich über jenen 1,5% zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts gelegen hatte.

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7 Im Jahre 1848 lebten in Paris dagegen vergleichsweise viele deutsche Einwanderer. Die rund 62.000 deutschen Einwanderer (ca. 6,6% der Gesamtbevölkerung) fanden überwiegend als Handwerker oder Arbeiter Beschäftigung. Die Volkszählung aus dem Jahr 1851 verzeichnet allerdings nur noch 13.584 Deutsche; s. hierzu Hans-Ulrich Thamer, Grenzgänger: Gesellen, Vaganten und fahrende Gewerbe, in: Klaus J. Bade (Hg.), Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart, München 1992, S. 231–236, hier S. 234; Wilhelm Hoffmann u.a., Ritters geographisch-statistisches Lexikon, 4. Aufl. Leipzig 1855, S. 1013. London hatte in den 1820er Jahren etwa 20.000 deutsche Einwohner, das waren ca. 1,3% der Bevölkerung; Thamer, Grenzgänger, S. 235, Hoffmann u.a., Ritters geographisch-statistisches Lexikon, S. 790.

8 Vibeke Winge, Dänemark – ein fortgesetztes Teutschland? Sprachliche Grenzgänger in Kopenhagen, in: Heinrich Detering (Hg.), Grenzgänge. Skandinavisch-deutsche Nachbarschaften (Grenzgänge. Studien zur skandinavisch-deutschen Literaturgeschichte, Bd. 1), Göttingen 1996, S. 46–59, hier S. 51.

9 Olsen, Bybefolkningen i Danmark paa Merkantilismens Tid, S. 38f., 95.

10 Winge, Dänemark – ein fortgesetztes Teutschland?, S. 51.

Eine Ursache für den Rückgang der Einwandererzahlen bis 1845 liegt vermutlich im Erlaß des Indigenatsrechts im Jahre 1776, mit dem die Besetzung von Ämtern in Regierung und Verwaltung denen vorbehalten blieb, die im dänischen Gesamtstaat geboren worden waren.[11] Auch die im Rahmen der ›Deutschenfehde‹ 1789/90 öffentlich geäußerte Kritik am großen Einfluß der Deutschen in Dänemark, die sich insbesondere gegen die Angehörigen der Oberschicht gewandt hatte, könnte zu einer Abschwächung der Migrationsbewegung in dieser Schicht geführt haben.[12] Die Abschaffung der Anwerbung von Söldnern im Jahre 1802 wirkte sich ebenfalls vermindernd auf die Zahl der deutschen Immigranten aus.[13]

Die Herkunft der Einwanderer: Deutsche und andere Immigranten

Der Zugriff auf die Primärdaten der Volkszählung von 1845 ermöglichte nicht nur eine Bestimmung der Zahl der Immigranten, sondern in den meisten Fällen auch eine genauere Analyse ihrer regionalen Herkunft; denn der Fragebogen verlangte eine Spezifizierung des Geburtsorts, der entweder mit dem Namen einer Stadt, eines Kirchspiels oder eines Amtes bezeichnet werden sollte. Insgesamt gaben drei Viertel der deutschen Einwanderer ihren Geburtsort so genau an, daß er einem deutschen Staat zugeordnet werden konnte.[14]

Die überwiegende Zahl der Immigranten stammte aus dem norddeutschen Raum. Der Weg der Einwanderer führte entweder über die Ostsee oder über den Landweg via Holstein und Schleswig. Dabei dürften bestehende Handelsverbindungen die Migration ebenso gefördert haben wie die Tatsache, daß Handwerksgesellen, die eine gewisse Zeit auf der Wanderschaft verbringen mußten, ins nahe gelegene Ausland reisten, um Arbeit zu finden, und sich dort unter Umständen fest niederließen. Die geringe Distanz, die einerseits zu verhältnismäßig niedrigen Reisekosten führte, andererseits die Rückkehr nach einer fehlgeschlagenen Integration erleichterte, förderte die Einwanderung aus dem norddeutschen Raum. Auch wird sich

11 Ole Feldbæk, Fædreland og Indfødsret. 1700-tallets danske identitet, in: ders. (Hg.), Fædreland og modersmål 1536–1789 (Dansk Identitetshistorie, Bd. 1), Kopenhagen 1991, S. 111–230.

12 Ders./Vibeke Winge, Tyskerfejden 1789–1790. Den første nationale konfrontation, in: Ole Feldbæk (Hg.), Et yndigt land 1789–1848 (Dansk Identitetshistorie, Bd. 2), Kopenhagen 1991, S. 9–109.

13 Vibeke Winge, Dansk og tysk i 1700-tallet, in: Feldbæk (Hg.), Fædreland og modersmål, S. 89–110, hier S. 90.

14 Mehr als 80% der Zuwanderer konnten sogar eindeutig einer Herkunftsregion zugeordnet werden, s. Tab. 1.

der kulturelle Unterschied für Norddeutsche sowohl in bezug auf die Sprache als auch auf die Konfession weniger stark ausgewirkt haben als für Immigranten aus anderen Regionen.

Mehr als 40% aller deutschen Zuwanderer waren aus Norddeutschland nach Kopenhagen gekommen, etwa 10% aus dem Königreich Hannover, fast ebenso viele aus den beiden Mecklenburg und rund 8% aus der Hansestadt Hamburg.[15] Aus dem ostdeutschen Raum, der nach Norddeutschland wichtigsten Herkunftsregion, waren gut 20% der Deutschen in Kopenhagen gekommen, darunter mehr als 7% aus der preußischen Ostseeprovinz Pommern (Tabelle 1).

Neben diesen eindeutig zuzuordnenden Herkunftsangaben fanden sich solche, die keinen Geburtsort nannten, sondern sich auf eine regionale Einordnung wie ›Preußen‹ oder ›Sachsen‹ beschränkten. Teilweise erfolgte jedoch nicht einmal eine regionale Einordnung des Geburtsortes, wenn z.B. ›Deutscher‹ eingetragen wurde; es findet sich sogar die Bezeichnung ›Ausländer‹ in dieser Rubrik. Da der Begriff ›Deutscher‹ bzw. ›deutsch‹ in Dänemark auch im 19. Jahrhundert synonym für ›Ausländer‹ bzw. ›ausländisch‹ gebraucht wurde[16], wurden die Personen, die ihren Geburtsort solchermaßen definierten, in der Auszählung als Deutsche betrachtet, jedoch der Gruppe mit unsicheren regionalen Angaben zugeordnet.[17] Zu dieser Gruppe gehören auch Orte, die nicht zuzuordnen waren, aber als deutsch zu betrachten sind (›Frankfurt‹ an der Oder oder am Main), sowie solche Ortschaften, die in einem deutschen, aber auch in einem anderen Staat liegen könnten (z.B. Mühlhausen), aber von einer Person mit eindeutig deutschem Namen angegeben wurden.

Die relativ große Zahl ›unsicherer‹, sich nicht eindeutig auf ein bestimmtes deutsches Territorium beziehender Angaben läßt sich u.a. darauf zurückführen, daß nicht alle Gezählten ihre Angaben selbst in den Zählbogen eintrugen. Dies war beispielsweise der Fall, wenn Einwanderer als Gesellen beschäftigt wurden. Die Meister beschränkten sich oftmals auf eine vage Angabe zur Herkunft ihrer Angestellten. In anderen Fällen könnten sowohl Unkenntnis über die staatsrechtliche Zugehörigkeit als auch sprachliche Probleme bei der Übersetzung der Frage eine Rolle gespielt haben.

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15 Das Königreich Hannover hatte in dieser Zeit mehr als 1,7 Millionen Einwohner, das Großherzogtum Mecklenburg-Schwerin über 500.000 und die Freie Stadt Hamburg knapp über 188.000; Hoffmann u.a., Ritters geographisch-statistisches Lexikon, S. 567, 845, 563. Damit wanderten 0,01% der Bürger Hannovers nach Kopenhagen aus, 0,03% der Mecklenburg-Schweriner, aber 0,08% der Bürger Hamburgs.

16 Winge, Dansk og tysk i 1700-tallet, S. 99.

17 Die Tatsache, daß jemand seinen Geburtsort mit ›Waldeck, Ausland‹ umschrieb, stützt die oben geäußerte Annahme. Insgesamt bezeichneten sich drei Personen lediglich als Ausländer, ohne nähere Angaben zu ihrem Geburtsort zu machen.

Tabelle 1: Herkunft der deutschen Immigranten 1845

Herkunftsregionen in Deutschland	Anzahl	%	Bevölkerung der Herkunftsgebiete um 1845 in Tsd.
Norddeutschland[a]	830	43,3	3.328
Ostdeutschland[b]	424	22,1	11.968
Westdeutschland (incl. Hessen)[c]	109	5,7	6.435
Süddeutschland[d]	162	8,4	9.577
Thüringische Staaten	33	1,7	1.024
sichere regionale Zuordnungen	1.558	81,2	
unsichere regionale Zuordnungen[e]	361	18,8	
Deutsche in Kopenhagen insgesamt	1.919	100,0	

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche); a) Hannover, Mecklenburg (beide), Oldenburg, Braunschweig, Lippe, Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen; b) Brandenburg, Prov. Sachsen, Schlesien, Pommern, Posen, Prov. Preußen; c) Rheinprovinz, Westfalen, Hessen-Kassel, Hessen-Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Waldeck, Nassau; d) Bayern, Kgr. Sachsen, Baden, Württemberg; e) »Deutschland«, »Preußen«, »Sachsen« usw.

Die deutschen Einwanderer bildeten die größte Immigrantengruppe in Kopenhagen, doch kam auch eine große Zahl von Zuwanderern aus den Gebieten, die zum dänischen Gesamtstaat gehörten. Hierzu zählten außer den Schleswigern, den Holsteinern und den Lauenburgern, die – sofern sie zur bäuerlichen Bevölkerung zählten – der Militärpflicht in Dänemark unterlagen und als Rekruten in Kopenhagen ausgebildet wurden, auch die Einwanderer aus Island, Grönland, den Färöern sowie den dänischen Kolonien. Bei letzteren handelte es sich überwiegend um Nachfahren der dänischen Kaufleute sowie um Beamte und Angehörige des Militärs, die in Kopenhagen zur Schule gingen oder die Universität besuchten. Vereinzelt wanderten jedoch auch Angehörige der autochthonen Bevölkerung ein, wie das Beispiel zweier Dienstmädchen zeigt, die aus den Kolonien stammten und auf dem Zählbogen als ›Negerin‹ bezeichnet wurden. Auch auf den Färöern und Island lebten viele dänische Familien, aber nicht nur deren Nachkommen, sondern auch Isländer und Färinger kamen nach Kopenhagen, um zu studieren oder zu arbeiten. Unter den Zuwanderern aus Grönland ließen sich im Gegensatz dazu jedoch kaum Angehörige der autochthonen Bevölkerung feststellen.[18]

18 Diese Aussage stützt sich auf das Namensmaterial, da sich isländische und färingische Namen ebenso wie die Namen der Inuit zumeist deutlich von dänischen Namen unterscheiden.

Tabelle 2: Die nicht-deutschen Immigranten 1845

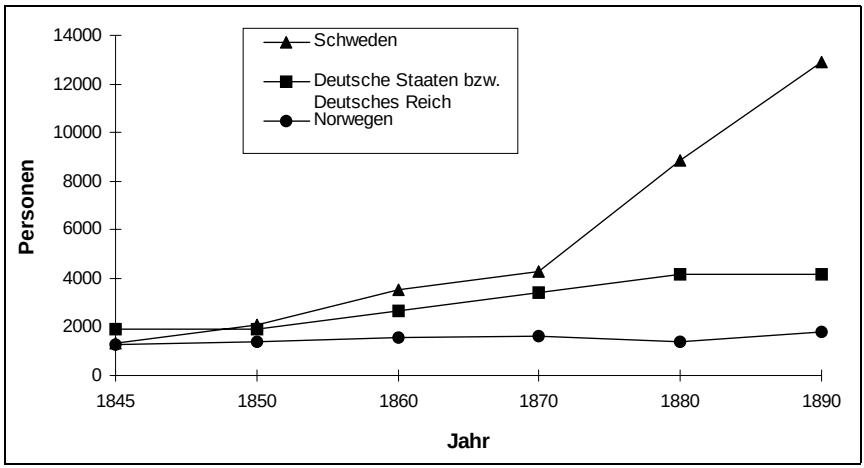
Land	Anzahl	%
Dän. Beiländer und Kolonien	2.205	30,5
Schleswig, Holstein, Lauenburg	1.757	23,8
Island, Grönland, Färöer	285	3,9
Dän. Kolonien	208	2,8
Schweden, Norwegen	2.601	35,3
Deutsche Staaten	1.919	26,0
Übriges Europa, Russisches Reich, Übersee	599	8,1
Insgesamt	7.369	100,0

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche).

Die größte Zahl der Immigranten, die nicht im dänischen Gesamtstaat geboren waren, kam aus Schweden und Norwegen. Diese Immigranten hatten nur eine geringe räumliche Distanz zu überwinden und stießen aufgrund der Verwandtschaft der skandinavischen Sprachen kaum auf Verständigungsschwierigkeiten. Zu den großen Einwanderungsgruppen kam außerdem eine Vielzahl kleinerer aus anderen europäischen oder überseeischen Ländern. Für einige dieser Gruppen lassen sich Vermutungen über die Faktoren anstellen, die die Wanderung ausgelöst hatten.

Eine Analyse der von den Angehörigen der kleineren Zuwanderergruppen ausgeübten Berufe zeigt, daß es vor allem der Bedarf des Kopenhagener Arbeitsmarktes war, der die Einwanderung von Briten, Italienern und Franzosen ausgelöst hatte. Der Schwerpunkt der Beschäftigung bei den britischen Einwanderern lag beim Maschinenbau sowie im Bereich des Handels. Da die Industrialisierung in Großbritannien deutlich früher eingesetzt hatte als in den übrigen europäischen Staaten, hatten britische Techniker einen erheblichen Erfahrungsvorsprung und wurden überall dort eingesetzt, wo die speziellen technischen Kenntnisse nachgefragt wurden. Franzosen und Italiener waren dagegen überwiegend im Bereich des Luxusbedarfs und der Unterhaltung beschäftigt, etwa als Perückenmacher, Parfumeure oder Friseure, Köche, Artisten, Kunstreiter, Tänzer, Musiker und Sänger. Doch auch die italienischen Stukkateure wurden als Fachleute gesucht. Ähnliches gilt für die französischen Paraffinmacher, die eine moderne Produktionsmethode in Kopenhagen einführten. Möglicherweise zählt auch der französische ›Hersteller hermetischer Lebensmittel‹ dazu, dessen Berufsbezeichnung die Konservierung in Dosen beschreiben könnte.

Schaubild 1: Deutsche, schwedische und norwegische Immigration nach Kopenhagen 1845–1890



Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folkætelling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche); Statistisk Tabelværk, Ældre Række, 1846; Statistisk Tabelværk, Nye Række, 1853; Statistisk Tabelværk, Fjerde Række, Litra A, Bd. 8a, Hovedresultaterne af Folketællingen i Kongeriget Danmark den 1ste Febr. 1890 med tilhørende Befolkningskaart, Kopenhagen 1894.

Zwischen 1845 und 1890 nahm die Einwanderung nach Kopenhagen stark zu.[19] Die drei großen Zuwanderergruppen waren allerdings in unterschiedlichem Maße von dieser Entwicklung betroffen. So stieg die Zahl der Norweger nur leicht und sank im Jahre 1870 sogar etwas ab. Die Zahl der eingewanderten Deutschen ging zwischen 1845 und 1850 leicht zurück (um 32 Personen), ein Ergebnis, das im Gegensatz zur herrschenden Meinung in der Literatur steht, die von einem Exodus der Deutschen im Zusammenhang mit dem Krieg um Schleswig und Holstein 1848 / 50 ausgeht.[20] Die Steigerung

19 Die Volkszählung von 1860 wurde von der ›Statistischen Kommission‹ nicht bezüglich der Geburtsorte der Gezählten ausgewertet, so daß für dieses Jahr keine Zahlen vorliegen. Um die Entwicklung der Migrationsbewegungen darstellen zu können, wurden für 1860 Mittelwerte berechnet. Da Norweger und Schweden in den veröffentlichten Ergebnissen der Volkszählung von 1850 nur als eine Gruppe ausgewiesen wurden, mußte ihre Zahl ebenfalls als Mittelwert errechnet werden; Statistisk Tabelværk, Ældre Række, 1846; Statistisk Tabelværk, Nye Række, 1853; Statistisk Tabelværk, Fjerde Række, Litra A, Bd. 8a: Hovedresultaterne af Folketællingen i Kongeriget Danmark den 1ste Febr. 1890 med tilhørende Befolkningskaart, Kopenhagen 1894.

20 Hierzu s. z.B. Even Marstrand, Arbejderorganisation og Arbejderkaar i Danmark fra 1848 til Nutiden, Kopenhagen 1934, S. 35.

zwischen 1850 und 1870 beruht allerdings hauptsächlich darauf, daß die ›Statistische Kommission‹ nun auch die Holsteiner und die Lauenburger in diese Gruppe einbezog. Die Zahl der Deutschen stieg jedoch bis 1880 weiter an. Die große Nachfrage auf dem dänischen Arbeitsmarkt und die Möglichkeit des sozialen Aufstiegs taten auch in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts ihre Wirkung.

Die Gruppe der schwedischen Einwanderer war im Jahre 1845 noch kleiner als die der deutschen, doch setzte hier bereits ein Wachstum ein, das sich ab 1870 sprunghaft steigerte. Im dänischen Kontext kann die Einwanderung der Schweden nach Kopenhagen als Massenwanderung bezeichnet werden, waren doch im Jahre 1890 52,7% aller Einwanderer Schweden. Auslöser war die anhaltend schlechte wirtschaftliche Situation besonders in den ländlichen Gebieten Schwedens.[21] Es war die blanke Not, die sie aus ihrer Heimat vertrieb; und ein sozialer Aufstieg gelang nur wenigen einwandernden Schweden, die überwiegend keine Ausbildung besaßen und zumeist als Dienstmädchen oder Arbeiter beschäftigt wurden.[22]

Ansiedlung und Integration der deutschen Immigranten

Eine Untersuchung der Zusammensetzung der Gruppe in bezug auf Geschlechterverhältnis, Berufs- und Sozialstruktur gibt Hinweise auf die Faktoren, die die Wanderungsbewegung bestimmten, sowie auf den Grad der Integration der Immigranten in die dänische Gesellschaft. Die Gruppe der deutschen Immigranten setzte sich aus 1.500 Männern (78,2%) und 417 Frauen (21,7%) zusammen[23], so daß die Männer beinahe vier Fünftel der gesamten Gruppe ausmachten. Diese Proportion verdeutlicht, daß es sich bei den Trägern der Wanderungsbewegung überwiegend um Arbeitsmigranten handelte, die auf die Nachfrage nach qualifizierten Fachleuten reagierten.

Daß es sich zumeist um Arbeitswanderung handelte, bestätigt darüber hinaus das Lebensalter der deutschen Einwanderer. Der Schwerpunkt liegt bei Männern und Frauen eindeutig in der Gruppe der Personen im Alter der Erwerbsfähigkeit, während es sich bei den unter 20jährigen zumeist um nicht erwerbstätige Kinder und Jugendliche handelte.

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21 Christina Gerger, Där nöden var som störst. En studie av fattigdom och fattigvård i en småländsk landsbygdssocken åren 1815–1935 (Kulturgeografiska Institutionen, Stockholms Universitet, Meddelanden serie B, Bd. 82), Stockholm 1992.

22 Im Jahre 1845 waren 34,9% der Schweden im Bereich der Dienstleistung beschäftigt, weitere 7,6% gehörten zu den Arbeitern; s. auch Richard Willerslev, Den slesvigske, svenske og russiske indvandring til København 1850–1914, in: Historiske meddelelser om København, 1981, S. 84–123, hier S. 99f.

23 Die Auswertung erfolgte über den Vornamen der gezählten Personen; bei zwei Personen ergab sich kein Hinweis auf das Geschlecht.

Tabelle 3: Lebensalter der deutschen Immigranten (%)

Lebensalter	Männer	Frauen
0–19 Jahre	4,0	12,5
20–59 Jahre	75,4	62,1
60–99 Jahre	20,6	25,4

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche).

Die Frage, ob die deutschen Immigranten der ersten Generation dazu neigten, sich innerhalb der Minderheit zu verheiraten oder ob sie sich mit Angehörigen der Majorität verbanden, ist insofern von Bedeutung, als angenommen wird, daß eine *intermarriage* die Integration beschleunige, wohingegen eine Ehe mit Angehörigen der Minorität sie eher behindere.[24] Die Kreuztabelle, die die Variablen ›Geschlecht‹ und ›Herkunft des Ehepartner‹ verbindet, macht deutlich, daß die Partner der deutschen Immigranten zumeist aus Dänemark oder den deutschen Ländern kamen, während Schweden, Norweger, Schleswiger und Holsteiner als Ehepartner von Deutschen eine untergeordnete Rolle spielten.[25]

Tabelle 4: Herkunft der Ehepartner deutscher Immigranten (%)

Immigranten	Ehepartner aus:			
	Dänemark	deutschen Staaten	den Herzogtümern Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg	sonstigen Ländern
Männer	83,1	7,1	4,4	5,4
Frauen	63,1	28,6	4,8	3,6

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche). Bemerkung: Bei 40 Personen wurde der Ehepartner nicht genannt, oder aber der Geburtsort war unleserlich bzw. nicht zuzuordnen; in der Tabelle sind damit die Angaben von 705 Männern und 168 Frauen erfaßt.

24 Hierzu s. Hartmut Esser, Aspekte der Wanderungssoziologie. Assimilation und Integration von Wanderern, ›ethnischen‹ Gruppen und Minderheiten. Eine handlungstheoretische Analyse (Soziologische Texte, N.F., Bd. 119), Darmstadt / Neuwied 1980, S. 98. Dabei ist zu beachten, daß 39% aller deutschen Immigranten unverheiratet, 47,6% verheiratet (738 Männer und 172 Frauen) und 13,2% verwitwet waren. 0,1% der Gezählten waren geschieden.

25 Weniger als 1% entfallen auf Estland, Finnland, Großbritannien, Island, Kurland, Polen, Westindien, Österreich und Rußland.

Insgesamt waren 83,1% aller männlichen deutschen Einwanderer mit Däninnen verheiratet, aber nur 7,1% mit Frauen aus den deutschen Ländern (Tabelle 5). Selbst wenn die deutschen Ehepartner mit denen aus den Herzogtümern zusammengefaßt werden, wurden nur 11,5% der Ehen mit deutschsprachigen Frauen geschlossen. Mit Schwedinnen oder Norwegerinnen waren jeweils weniger als 2% der deutschen Männer verheiratet. Der größte Teil der männlichen Immigranten kam demnach unverheiratet nach Dänemark und entschloß sich erst hier zur Eheschließung. Nur ein kleiner Teil wanderte zusammen mit einem deutschsprachigen Ehepartner bzw. suchte sich in Dänemark eine in den deutschen Staaten oder den Herzogtümern geborene Frau. Eine Familienwanderung fand nur in Ausnahmefällen statt (Tabelle 3).

Die weiblichen Immigranten weichen von diesem Verhaltensmuster deutlich ab. Zwar waren ebenfalls die meisten Frauen mit Dänen verheiratet, doch die zweitgrößte Gruppe bilden die Ehen mit deutschen Partnern, die ca. viermal so oft vorkommen wie bei den Männern. Dieser Befund läßt sich jedoch vor allem auf das unausgewogene Geschlechterverhältnis und die verhältnismäßig kleine Zahl zurückführen. Der hohe Prozentsatz von Ehen, die zwischen Deutschen und Dänen geschlossen wurden, deutet darauf hin, daß die Akkulturation der deutschen Immigranten bereits weit fortgeschritten war.[26] Es gab keine unüberwindlichen sozialen oder ›ethnischen‹ Schranken zwischen Majorität und Minorität.

Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung von 1845 ermöglichen auch eine Untersuchung der Wohngebiete der deutschen Immigranten in Kopenhagen. Neben den Schwerpunkten innerhalb der Gruppe insgesamt wurde auch der Anteil der Einwanderer an der Bevölkerung einer jeden Straße ausgewertet, da bevorzugte Wohngebiete erste Hinweise auf die Sozialstruktur der Gruppe zu geben vermögen.

Die Verteilung der deutschen Immigranten auf einzelne Straßen innerhalb des Stadtgebiets zeigt, daß es bei ihnen keinen deutlichen Siedlungsschwerpunkt gab. Der höchste Anteil wurde in der Adelgade festgestellt, hier wohnten 92 Immigranten, das sind 4,8% aller Deutschen in der Stadt. 89 wohnten in der Borgergade (4,6%), 78 in der Amaliegade (4,1%) und 73 in der Store Kongensgade in Kopenhagen (3,8%). Diese hohen Anteile sind unter anderem darauf zurückzuführen, daß die vier Straßen die längsten im neueren Stadtteil Kopenhagens jenseits der Stadtmauern sind. Anders sieht es aus, wenn die Zahl der Deutschen in Beziehung gesetzt wird zu allen Bewohnern der einzelnen Straßen. Nun zeigt sich, daß die deutschen Immigranten nur in zwei Stadtgebieten besonders stark vertreten waren. Einer

26 Milton J. Yinger, Toward a Theory of Assimilation and Dissimilation, in: Ethnic and Racial Studies, 4. 1981, S. 249–264, hier S. 255.

liegt zwischen Gothersgade und Springgade bzw. Pilestræde, der andere um das Schloß Amalienborg. Diese beiden Stadtteile sind unterschiedlich strukturiert, wie eine Auswertung des Materials der Volkszählung von 1850 in bezug auf die soziale Zusammensetzung der Wohnbevölkerung einzelner Straßen in Kopenhagen zeigt, die sich auf den Anteil von Dienstboten an der Bevölkerung bezieht.[27] Unterhalb der Gothersgade liegt ein Teil der Altstadt, der überwiegend von weniger Wohlhabenden bewohnt wurde. Nur wenige Einwohner beschäftigten hier Dienstboten, und zwischen 2% und 5,9% waren in diesem Stadtteil Deutsche. Ganz anders sah es um das Schloß Amalienborg aus, hier beschäftigten über 20% der Bevölkerung Personal. Die Immigranten erreichten in diesem Viertel einen Anteil an der Bevölkerung von bis zu 3,9%.

Im Schloß Amalienborg war die Zahl der Deutschen unter den Bewohnern am höchsten, ihr Anteil lag hier bei 6,1%.[28] Sie gehörten zum Personal, aber auch zum Hofstaat. Das dänische Königshaus war deutscher Abstammung, und die Regenten unterhielten daher enge Verbindungen zu den norddeutschen Fürstenhöfen – nicht zuletzt über eheliche Verbindungen. So hatte auch Christian VIII. (1786–1848) in erster Ehe Charlotte Friederike von Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1784–1840) geheiratet. Der verhältnismäßig hohe Anteil von Deutschen, der am dänischen Hof festgestellt wurde, dürfte auf diese Verbindungen zurückzuführen sein.

Im Bereich der deutschen Kirchen lebte dagegen nur ein wenig höherer Anteil von Deutschen. Rings um die St. Petri-Kirche machten sie nur in der Larslejstræde mehr als 2% der Bevölkerung aus. Ein höherer Wert wurde auch im Bereich der reformierten Kirche nicht festgestellt, während er auf Christianshavn, wo die Friedrichs-Kirche lag, nicht einmal 2% erreichte. Solche relativ niedrigen Werte sind unter anderem darin begründet, daß selbst diejenigen Mitglied einer deutschen Gemeinde werden konnten, die nicht in ihrem Gemeindebezirk wohnten.[29]

Es gab demnach zwar gewisse Schwerpunkte der Ansiedlung von Deutschen, aber es existierte kein ›deutsches Viertel‹, wie man es zumindest in der Umgebung der deutschen Kirchen vermuten könnte. Das läßt sich auf

27 Ole Hyldtoft, København. Fra fæstning til moderne storby, in: Kongens og Folkets København – gennem 800 år. Brikker til en mosaik, Kopenhagen 1996, S. 128–155, hier S. 128.

28 Die königliche Familie wurde auf den Zählbögen allerdings nicht aufgeführt.

29 Holger Fr. Rørdam, Om de tydske Menigheder i Danmark i 17de Aarhundrede, navnlig i Christian IV.'s og Frederik IIII.'s Tid, in: Ny kirkehistoriske Samlinger, 3. 1864/66, S. 134–224, hier S. 147, 150f. Dieses Privileg wurde der St. Petri-Kirche und der Friedrichs-Kirche gewährt, deren Mitglieder keine Gebühren an die dänischen Gemeinden abführen mußten, in deren Pfarrbezirk sie wohnten. In diesem Punkt kam es immer wieder zu Auseinandersetzungen zwischen dänischen und deutschen Gemeinden, die im 19. Jahrhundert mit zunehmender Schärfe ausgetragen wurden.

eine Reihe von Ursachen zurückführen. Die Einwanderung von Deutschen wurde im 19. Jahrhundert nicht durch außergewöhnliche Ereignisse, wie z.B. einen Krieg, ausgelöst, sondern sie fand kontinuierlich statt. Daher befanden sich die Angehörigen der Minderheit in verschiedenen Stadien der Integration und bildeten keine einheitliche Gruppe, die eine ähnliche Situation erlebte und daher vergleichbar handelte, etwa in ein schützendes, überwiegend deutsch besiedeltes Viertel zog. Zusätzlich verhinderte das verhältnismäßig breite soziale Spektrum der Gruppe ebenso wie die heterogene Berufsstruktur eine Konzentration auf bestimmte Gebiete in der Stadt. Den deutschen Einwanderern wurden von der dänischen Regierung außerdem keine Auflagen bezüglich ihrer Niederlassung gemacht. Die große Offenheit der dänischen Aufnahmegesellschaft verhinderte eine Ghettobildung und ermöglichte eine Integration im Rahmen individueller Strategien.

Die Berufe der deutschen Immigranten

Zwischen der regionalen Herkunft der deutschen Einwanderer und ihrer Berufszugehörigkeit läßt sich kein Zusammenhang nachweisen; hierin scheint die Situation in der dänischen Hauptstadt von der in anderen europäischen Ländern abzuweichen. Es zeigen sich jedoch deutliche Schwerpunkte in der Berufsstruktur selbst, wie sie auch in anderen Ländern und größeren Städten festzustellen sind.

Zunächst wird dargestellt, in welchen Berufszweigen die Erwerbstätigen – immerhin 1.473 Personen, also 76,8% aller deutschen Immigranten – tätig waren; anschließend wird untersucht, wie groß der jeweilige Anteil der deutschen Handwerker an der Zahl aller Handwerker in einer Berufsgruppe war. Diejenigen, die in den Volkszählungslisten nicht mit einem Beruf, sondern allgemein über ihre Lebensgrundlage definiert wurden, z.B. als Bewohner eines Armenhauses oder – auf der anderen Seite der sozialen Skala – als Privatier oder Pensionär, werden als Nicht-Erwerbstätige gesondert ausgewiesen.

Im Bereich des Handwerks arbeiteten insgesamt 69,9% der Erwerbstätigen, so daß im Gegensatz etwa zu den schwedischen Immigranten, die ganz überwiegend im Bereich der Dienstleitungen beschäftigt waren, von einer Dominanz dieses Berufsfeldes gesprochen werden kann. Besonders stark vertreten sind Berufe im Bereich der Textilherstellung und -verarbeitung, der Nahrungsmittelproduktion, des Baugewerbes und der Holzverarbeitung. Der am häufigsten ausgeübte Beruf ist der des Schneiders (12,5%), er wird gefolgt von dem des Bäckers (11,2%), des Zimmerers (6,7%) und des Maurers (5,5%).

Das große Gewicht handwerklicher Berufe läßt sich auf eine Reihe von Faktoren zurückführen. Die Wanderung eines zünftigen Gesellen gehörte auch in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts noch zu seiner Ausbildung, und da in Kopenhagen bis weit ins 19. Jahrhundert hinein nicht genug Gesellen

Tabelle 5: Deutsche Handwerker in Kopenhagen 1845

Berufsgruppen	Anzahl	in % aller berufstätigen Deutschen
Textilherstellung und -verarbeitung	358	24,3
Baugewerbe	205	13,9
Nahrungsmittelproduktion	190	12,9
Holzverarbeitung	86	5,8
Metallverarbeitung	50	3,4
Lederverarbeitung, Fasern	48	3,3
Druckgewerbe, Papier	24	1,6
Körperpflege	18	1,2
Schmuckherstellung	16	1,1
Tabakverarbeitung	14	1,0
Instrumentenmacher	10	0,7
Wagenmacher	5	0,3
Wachsverarbeitung, Seifenherstellung	5	0,3
alle Handwerker	1.029	69,9
dazu:		
übrige außerhalb des Handwerks Berufstätige	444	30,1
Berufstätige insgesamt	1.473	100,00

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche).

ausgebildet wurden, bestand stets eine Nachfrage nach qualifizierten Arbeitskräften.[30] Diese Nachfrage führte oft zur Gewährung gewisser Privilegien, so daß die Arbeitsbedingungen in Kopenhagen deutlich günstiger sein konnten als in den deutschen Territorien. Andererseits waren die Handwerker in den deutschen Staaten starkem ökonomischem Druck ausgesetzt, der insbesondere den stark besetzten Bereich des Textilgewerbes betraf. Zwar gab es einige wohlhabende Schuhmacher und Schneider mit großen Betrieben, die überwiegende Zahl arbeitete jedoch in Klein- und Kleinstbetrieben und hatte mit großen wirtschaftlichen Problemen zu kämpfen. Bäcker und Fleischer gehörten dagegen meist zu den besser gestellten Handwerkern, da der Zugang zu diesen Gewerben durch das für eine selbständige Existenz notwendige Kapital erschwert wurde. Ähnliches gilt auch für die Handwerker im Baugewerbe, doch war auch in diesen Bereichen eine starke Polarisierung zwischen armen und reichen Handwerkern festzustellen.[31] »Auch die

30 Hierzu s. Olsen, Bybefolkningen i Danmark på Merkantilismens Tid, S. 69f.

31 Friedrich Lenger, Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Handwerker seit 1800, Frankfurt a.M. 1988, S. 51–58.

›stabilen‹ Nahrungsmittelhandwerke und die expandierenden Baugewerbe hatten einen Sockel proletaroider Klein- und Alleinmeister. Der Masse der vormärzlichen Handwerker ging es kaum besser als den Gesellen oder den städtischen Tagelöhnern.«[32] So wird die Migration von Handwerkern zumeist als Ausweichen vor den schwierigen wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen in Deutschland zu betrachten sein, doch auch die Kenntnis von der Möglichkeit, sich in Dänemark erfolgreich zu etablieren, die nicht zuletzt von den wandernden Gesellen weitergetragen wurde, wird als wanderungsauslösender Faktor eine Rolle gespielt haben.

Tabelle 6 zeigt, wie sich die Gruppe der deutschen Handwerker in bezug auf ihre Ausbildung zusammensetzt: Besonders auffällig ist die große Zahl der Meister, zu denen fast ein Drittel der Handwerker zählt. Dieser Wert wird zwar auch bei den anderen Einwanderern beinahe erreicht, die absolute Zahl der deutschen Meister ist jedoch beinahe doppelt so hoch wie die der schwedischen oder norwegischen Meister. Sie ist ein Beleg dafür, wie stark deutsche Einwanderer in das Kopenhagener Handwerk integriert waren. 36,9% aller hier arbeitenden Bäckermeister, 27,3% der Zimmermeister, 23,8% der Korbmachermeister, 17,6% der Schneidermeister und 6,4% der Tischlermeister waren in den deutschen Staaten geboren. Zu ihren Kunden oder Auftraggebern gehörten gewiß nicht nur Immigranten; es ist vielmehr anzunehmen, daß sie wie die dänischen Meister ohne Einschränkung tätig werden konnten. Die große Zahl der deutschen Meister dürfte auch ein Grund dafür sein, daß das deutsche Zunftsystem in einigen Handwerkszweigen in Kopenhagen auch im 19. Jahrhundert noch eine Rolle spielte.[33]

Tabelle 6: Ausbildungsstand der deutschen Handwerker

Rang	Anzahl	%
Lehrlinge	9	1,0
Gesellen	604	67,9
Freimeister	20	2,2
Poliere	5	0,6
Meister	252	28,3
Gesamt	890	100,0

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche). Bemerkung: Insgesamt machten 139 Handwerker keine Angaben zu ihrem Ausbildungsstand.

32 Ebd., S. 58.

33 Georg Nørregaard, Arbejdsforhold indenfor dansk Haandværk og Industri 1857–1899, Kopenhagen 1943 (Repro Kopenhagen 1977), S. 22.

Zwei Drittel der deutschen Handwerker, d.h. rund 600, waren im Jahre 1845 Gesellen. Dieser Zahl steht allerdings die Vermutung gegenüber, daß 1.000 deutsche Gesellen zu Beginn des Krieges von 1848/50 als Reaktion auf die feindliche Haltung der dänischen Gesellen Kopenhagen verlassen hätten.[34] Zwar wird sich die Zahl der fest ansässigen Gesellen in den drei Jahren zwischen 1845 und 1848 noch um einiges erhöht haben, darüber hinaus setzte im April jedes Jahres die Zuwanderung von Gesellen ein, die sich auf Wanderschaft befanden.[35] Andererseits waren allein 185 (gut 30%) der 1845 gezählten fest ansässigen deutschen Gesellen verheiratet, und zwar überwiegend mit dänischen Partnerinnen. Diese Einwanderer konnten den Konflikten mit den dänischen Gesellen kaum ausweichen, indem sie das Land verließen.[36]

Die in Tabelle 6 aufgeführten Freimeister waren Handwerker, die – z.B. durch ein königliches Privileg – die Erlaubnis erhielten, wie ein Meister zu arbeiten, ohne der Zunft anzugehören. Solche Freimeister wurden von den Zünften als Bedrohung ihres Systems stets stark bekämpft, ihr Ansehen war innerhalb der Zunft deutlich geringer als das der Meister und vielfach auch als das der zünftigen Gesellen.[37] Der Anteil von Freimeistern ist bei den deutschen Handwerkern im Vergleich mit den anderen großen Einwanderergruppen am geringsten.

Der Prozentsatz von Lehrlingen war dagegen in den anderen großen Immigrantengruppen höher als unter den deutschen Handwerkern. 4,2% der Zuwanderer aus den Herzogtümern Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg gehörten zu den Lehrlingen, 9,8% der Norweger und 9,9% der Schweden. Die geringe Zahl der deutschen Lehrlinge weist noch einmal darauf hin, daß Familienwanderung zum Zeitpunkt der Volkszählung praktisch keine Rolle gespielt hat.

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34 Dybdahl/Dübeck, Håndværkets kulturhistorie, S. 95.

35 Der Krieg zwischen Dänemark und dem Deutschen Bund brach im Mai 1848 aus, also nachdem die Gesellenwanderung bereits eingesetzt hatte. In den Jahren 1849 und 1850 war die Zuwanderung im Bereich der Tischler beinahe zum Erliegen gekommen, und es läßt sich vermuten, daß sich dies auch auf die anderen Gewerke übertragen läßt; Jens Erik Frits Hansen, Københavns forstadsbebyggelse i 1850erne (Institut for økonomisk historie ved Københavns Universitet, Bd. 12), Kopenhagen 1977, S. 26.

36 Ein so umfangreicher Exodus von Gesellen, wie von Dybdahl und Dübeck vermutet, erscheint daher nicht plausibel.

37 Hierzu s. Forslag fra Tømmersvendene i Kjøbenhavn angaaende nogle Forandringer ved deres Laug; fremkaldt ved Spørgsmaalet om udvidet Næringsfrihed, Kopenhagen 1848, S. 11.

Tabelle 7: Deutsche in nichthandwerklichen Berufen in Kopenhagen 1845

Berufsgruppen	Anzahl	in % aller berufstätigen Deutschen
Dienstleistung	109	7,4
Handel	73	5,0
Militär	39	2,6
Akademiker, Studenten und Schüler	37	2,5
Arbeiter, Fabrikangestellte	33	2,2
Künstler	28	1,9
Fabrikanten	23	1,6
Verwaltung	21	1,4
Gastgewerbe	19	1,3
Gesundheitsdienst	12	0,8
Kirchen	12	0,8
Landwirtschaft, Gärtnerei	10	0,7
Techniker	7	0,5
Seeleute	5	0,3
Justiz, Polizei	3	0,2
Verschiedenes	13	0,9
Summe	444	30,1
dazu: handwerkliche Berufe	1.029	69,9
Berufstätige insgesamt	1.473	100,0

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche). Bemerkung: Unter dem Begriff ›Dienstleistung‹ werden im Haushalt beschäftigtes Personal (wie Dienstboten, Hausmädchen, Haushälterinnen, Ammen usw.), Näherinnen, Wäscherinnen, Kutscher, nicht in der Verwaltung tätige Schreiber, kommunale Angestellte u.a. zusammengefaßt. Der Oberbegriff ›Militär‹ umfaßt sowohl die Soldaten als auch Militärmusiker und andere Berufe in diesem Bereich. In der Gruppe ›Handel‹ sind auch Bank- und Versicherungsangestellte vertreten, die allerdings kein größeres Gewicht haben.

Während die Zahl der im Handwerk beschäftigten deutschen Einwanderer mehr als 1.000 betrug, gehörten zu den übrigen Berufsgruppen lediglich knapp 450 Berufstätige. Schwerpunkte wie im handwerklichen Bereich lassen sich nun nicht mehr ausmachen. Es fällt auf, daß die deutschen Einwanderer in Bereichen, in denen sie im 18. Jahrhundert eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hatten – wie im Handel, im Militär und in der Verwaltung –, nur noch zu jeweils 5% oder weniger vertreten sind. Während im 18. Jahrhundert eine ganze Reihe von deutschen Immigranten in der Verwaltung beschäftigt war und einzelne sogar Ministerposten bekleideten, hatte der Erlaß des Indigenatsrechts zur Folge, daß diese Tradition nun weitgehend abgebrochen ist. Eine Nische bot sich allerdings in der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Kanz-

lei, in der Deutsche beschäftigt wurden, da in der Verwaltung der ›deutschen Herzogtümer‹ deutsche Sprachkenntnisse eine wichtige Rolle spielten. Seit 1802 wurden auch keine Söldner mehr angeworben, so daß in diesem Berufsfeld praktisch keine Zuwanderung mehr stattfand. Bei den 1845 gezählten Militärangehörigen handelt es sich um Militärmusiker, die noch bis 1867 angeworben wurden, und um Soldaten bzw. Offiziere, die vermutlich aufgrund einer großzügigen Auslegung des Indigenatsrechts Aufnahme in das Heer gefunden hatten.

Die Gruppe der deutschen Immigranten umfaßte außer den Berufstätigen auch Haushaltsvorstände, die keiner Erwerbsarbeit nachgingen. Es handelte sich dabei um Privatiers bzw. Pensionäre und Bezieher von Transferleistungen. In Tabelle 8 wird ihre Zahl in Beziehung gesetzt zu allen deutschen Haushaltsvorständen.

Tabelle 8: Erwerbstätige und nichterwerbstätige deutsche Haushaltsvorstände in Kopenhagen 1845

Lebensgrundlage der deutschen Haushaltsvorstände	Anzahl	in % aller Haushaltsvorstände
Erwerbstätige	1.473	92,2
davon: handwerkliche Berufe	1.029	64,4
nichthandwerkliche Berufe	444	27,8
Nichterwerbstätige	125	7,8
davon: öffentliche Versorgung	81	5,1
Privatiers, Pensionäre	44	2,8
Haushaltsvorstände insgesamt	1.598	100,0

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche). Bemerkung: In der Gruppe ›Öffentliche Versorgung‹ wurden die Bewohner von Alters- bzw. Armenhäusern, die als Arme betrachtet werden müssen, Gefangene und Arbeitslose zusammengefaßt.

Zu denjenigen, die von öffentlicher Versorgung abhängig waren, gehörten vor allem alte Menschen, und zwar insbesondere verwitwete oder alleinstehende Frauen, die in Altersheimen bzw. Armenhäusern untergebracht waren. Das Alter stellte demnach ebenso wie der Verlust des die Versorgung sicherstellenden Ehepartners ein wesentliches Armutsrisiko dar. Zu den Empfängern von Transferleistungen gehörten außerdem ein Gefangener und sechs ›Sklaven‹.[38] Das soziale Spektrum der Gruppe der deutschen Einwan-

38 Als Sklaven werden die Straftäter bezeichnet, die eine besonders schwere Strafe erhalten haben; Jan Steenberg, Garnisonskirken (Danmarks kirker, Bd. 1.3), Kopenhagen 1966 / 72, S. 153–338, hier S. 156.

derer war demnach breit gefächert und reichte bis in die untersten Schichten der Bevölkerung Kopenhagens. Im Vergleich zu den erwerbstätigen Haushaltsvorständen ist die Anzahl der Armen unter den deutschen Einwanderern mit 81 jedoch vergleichsweise gering.

Auch der Anteil derjenigen, die von einem Vermögen oder einer Pension lebten, ist in der Gruppe der deutschen Immigranten vergleichsweise niedrig. Deutsche hatten seit 1776 weniger Möglichkeiten, in der Verwaltung oder beim Militär beschäftigt zu werden als beispielsweise Norweger und Einwanderer aus den Herzogtümern, und bezogen daher auch seltener eine Pension.

Die veröffentlichten Volkszählungsstatistiken enthalten ausführliche Daten zur Berufstätigkeit, die ein weit aufgefächertes Berufsspektrum bieten und viele einzelne Berufe, vornehmlich im Bereich Handwerk, nennen. Andere Berufe wurden in z.T. sehr große Gruppen zusammengefaßt wie ›Zivile Beamte und Angestellte‹ oder ›Private Wissenschaftler, Autoren, eigentliche Künstler, Studenten etc.‹. Um diese publizierten Daten mit dem Material der rechnergestützten Auswertung dieser Materialien zu vergleichen, müssen bestimmte Einschränkungen hingenommen werden.

Die ›Statistische Kommission‹ hatte die Berufstätigen in vier Gruppen unterteilt. Gruppe ›A‹ umfaßt die Selbständigen, Gruppe ›B‹ besteht aus Helfern, Büroangestellten, Gesellen, Lehrlingen u.a., Gruppe ›C‹ umfaßt im Haushalt tätige Dienstboten und Gruppe ›D‹ Familienangehörige, Hauslehrer und andere Abhängige.[39] Weil keine näheren Angaben dazu vorliegen, nach welchen Kriterien entschieden wurde, ob jemand als Selbständiger oder als Angestellter betrachtet wurde, wurden die Gruppen ›A‹ und ›B‹ zusammengefaßt und den Ergebnissen der rechnergestützten Bearbeitung der Volkszählung gegenübergestellt.

Der Vergleich zeigt, daß der Bereich des Textilhandwerks auch in Kopenhagen besonders stark besetzt war (Tabelle 9). Deutsche Einwanderer sind in diesen Handwerkszweigen jedoch unterschiedlich stark vertreten. Zwar gehörten sowohl Schneider als auch Schuhmacher und Weber zu denjenigen Handwerkern, deren Einkommenssituation in vielen Fällen desolat war, die auch als Meister häufig weniger verdienten als Gesellen in anderen, bessergestellten Gewerken, doch waren es vor allem die Schneider, die ihre Situation durch eine Migration nach Kopenhagen zu verbessern gesucht hatten. Besonders stark waren Deutsche mit mehr als 35% im Bäckerhandwerk vertreten. Sogar noch größer war mit fast 37% der Anteil der deutschen Meister an den Kopenhagener Bäckermeistern insgesamt, ein deutlicher Beleg für die in dieser Zeit auch in Deutschland zunehmende Zahl von ›Allein-

39 Statistisk Tabelværk, Ældre Række, Bd. 10, Folketællingen i Kongeriget den 1. Febr. 1845 (og i Bilandene og Colonierne i 1840), samt Vielser, Födsler og Dödsfald i Aarene 1840–44, Kopenhagen 1846, S. VIII.

Tabelle 9: Erwerbstätige in Kopenhagen in ausgewählten Berufen

Berufe	Erwerbstätige insgesamt	davon Deutsche absolut	in %
Schuhmacher	2.440	49	2,0
Schneider	1.615	184	11,4
Maurer	758	81	10,7
Zimmerleute	658	98	14,9
Baumwoll- u. Leineweber	580	56	9,7
Bäcker	468	165	35,3
Lehrer, Geistliche, Kirchenbedienstete	436	26	6,0
Schlachter	264	12	4,5
Barbiere	124	15	12,1

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche); Tabelværk, Ældre Række, 1846. Bemerkung: Die Resultate der Volkszählung weisen die Rubrik ›Bäcker‹ ohne weitere Spezifizierung aus, so daß alle deutschen Bäcker (ohne Konditoren) zusammengefaßt wurden.

meistern‹, die ihr Gewerbe ohne Gesellen auszuüben gezwungen waren. Die große Zahl von deutschen Bäckern ist um so erstaunlicher, als sich kulturelle Unterschiede gerade im Zusammenhang mit der Ernährung stark ausprägen. Der Befund ist jedoch nicht singulär, denn ein ähnlich hoher Anteil kann beispielsweise auch in St. Petersburg festgestellt werden, wo 1869 etwa ein Viertel aller Bäcker deutschsprachig war und ›der deutsche Bäcker‹ sogar als nationales Stereotyp literarisch verarbeitet wurde.[40] In Dänemark war dies trotz des höheren Anteils nicht der Fall, hier waren es vielmehr die deutschen Soldaten, Barbiere und Juden, die in Theaterstücken als Symbol für die deutschen Einwanderer dienten.[41]

Der ebenfalls verhältnismäßig große Anteil der deutschen Handwerker im Baugewerbe hatte bereits eine lange Tradition, und diese Tradition hatte u.a. bewirkt, daß es im Jahre 1850 nicht einmal ein dänischsprachiges Hand-

40 Margarete Busch, Deutsche in St. Petersburg 1865–1914. Identität und Integration (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa, Bd. 6), Essen 1995, S. 60. Schulz vermutet, daß deutsche Bäcker aufgrund der Qualität der Ware und der Vielfalt des Angebots erfolgreich gewesen seien; Knut Schulz, Die Handwerksgesellen, in: Johannes Kunisch u.a. (Hg.), Unterwegssein im Spätmittelalter (Zeitschrift für historische Forschung, Beih. 1), Berlin 1985, S. 71–92, hier S. 90f. Auch in London und in Paris arbeiteten viele Deutsche als Bäcker; Panikos Panayi, German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815–1914, Oxford / Washington, D.C. 1995, S. 131; Thamer, Grenzgänger: Gesellen, Vaganten und fahrende Gewerbe, S. 234.

41 Winge, Dansk og tysk i 1700-tallet, S. 103ff.

buch für Bauhandwerker gab.[42] Der vergleichsweise hohe Prozentsatz von deutschen Immigranten unter den Barbieren läßt sich möglicherweise ebenfalls auf ihre lange Einwanderungsgeschichte zurückführen.[43] Im Berufsfeld der Buchherstellung und des Buchverkaufs war der Anteil von Deutschen zur Zeit der Zählung dagegen verhältnismäßig gering, er lag zwischen 1% und 3,5%. Hier hat also eine Veränderung stattgefunden, wurde doch noch für das 18. Jahrhundert ein großer Anteil von Deutschen in diesen Berufen konstatiert.[44] Der Wandel ist vermutlich auf den Rückzug der deutschen Oberschicht zurückzuführen, die als zahlungskräftiges Publikum für deutsche Bücher, deutsche Zeitungen und Theaterstücke eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hatte. Bemerkenswert ist außerdem der Anteil, den deutsche Immigranten unter Geistlichen, Lehrern und Kirchenbediensteten erreichten. Er verweist auf die Größe der ›ethnischen‹ Infrastruktur mit ihren Gemeinden und Schulen.

Die Daten zur Berufs- und Erwerbsstruktur machen deutlich, daß Deutsche nicht in eine ›ethnische‹ Nische gedrängt wurden, sondern in vielen verschiedenen Bereichen besonders des Handwerks arbeiteten. Und obwohl deutsche Immigranten nur 1,5% der Gesamtbevölkerung Kopenhagens ausmachten, hatten sie in einigen Berufszweigen ein großes Gewicht erlangt. Besonders trifft dies auf das Bäckerhandwerk zu, aber auch im Baugewerbe und unter den Barbieren und Schneidern war der Anteil der deutschen Handwerker bedeutend. Deutsche Gesellen und Meister stellten durchaus eine starke Konkurrenz für ihre dänischen Handwerkskollegen dar. Hier könnte eine Ursache dafür liegen, daß die Konflikte zwischen deutscher und dänischer Bevölkerung im Krieg von 1848/50 vor allem unter den Handwerkern ausgetragen wurden.

Ausgehend von der Analyse der Berufsstruktur wird die Sozialstruktur der deutschen Einwanderer über ein Vier-Schichten-Modell (Unterschicht, Untere Mittelschicht, Obere Mittelschicht und Oberschicht) erschlossen, für das über die Angaben zu den Berufen hinaus vor allem sekundäre Statusindikatoren verwendet werden. Darunter fallen z.B. die Beschäftigung von Dienstpersonal oder anderen Angestellten und die Eigentumsverhältnisse an der Wohnung, in der der Gezählte lebt.

42 Hansen, Københavns forstadsbebyggelse i 1850erne, S. 61.

43 Svend Erik Stybe, Copenhagen University. 500 Years of Science and Scholarship, Kopenhagen 1979, S. 100.

44 Vibeke Winge, Dansk og tysk 1790–1848, in: Feldbæk (Hg.), Et yndigt land 1789–1848, S. 110–149, hier S. 126.

Tabelle 10: Schichtzugehörigkeit der deutschen Immigranten

	Oberschicht	Obere Mittelschicht	Untere Mittelschicht	Unterschicht	Gesamt
Anzahl	119	641	770	350	1.880
%	6,3	34,1	41,0	18,6	100,0

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche). Bemerkung: Gezählt wurden die Haushaltsvorstände einschließlich der nicht erwerbstätigen Familienangehörigen.

Einer schmalen Oberschicht stehen eine breite Mittelschicht und eine weniger ausgeprägte Unterschicht gegenüber. Das deutliche Übergewicht der Mittelschicht hat verschiedene Gründe. Einerseits besaßen zwei Drittel der deutschen Immigranten eine handwerkliche Ausbildung, sie waren also zu den qualifizierten Fachkräften zu rechnen. Die große Zahl von Handwerksmeistern zeigt, daß die Immigranten in diesen Berufen durchaus Chancen hatten, sich zu etablieren, häufig allerdings als Alleinmeister, doch gelang vielen von ihnen auch der soziale Aufstieg.

Andererseits wurde die Entwicklung einer zahlenmäßig bedeutenden Unterschicht unter den deutschen Immigranten durch die Zünfte wie durch die staatliche Verwaltung verhindert. Zuwandernde Handwerker, die keine Arbeit fanden, wurden eine Zeitlang von der Zunft unterstützt, mußten die Stadt bei fortdauernder Arbeitslosigkeit jedoch wieder verlassen. Die dänische Regierung versuchte zudem, seit 1828 bzw. seit 1854 ausländische wandernde Handwerker und Dienstmädchen, die länger arbeitslos oder aus anderen Gründen mittellos waren, an der Grenze abzuweisen. Sie konnten auch dann ausgewiesen werden, wenn sie sich seit vier Tagen in einer Stadt aufgehalten und noch keine Arbeit gefunden hatten.[45] Arme wanderten kaum zu, und diejenigen, die sich fest niederließen, fanden in den meisten Fällen günstigere wirtschaftliche Verhältnisse vor als in ihren Herkunftsländern. Ein Absinken schließlich in die Unterschicht hing gewöhnlich mit der nicht ausreichenden Absicherung für das Alter zusammen. Darüber hinaus waren mehr Angehörige der Oberschicht und der Oberen Mittelschicht verheiratet, so daß diese Schichten durch die nicht erwerbstätigen Familienmitglieder an Zahl zunahmen, während Gesellen, Dienstmädchen und Heimbewohner, die der Unteren Mittelschicht oder der Unterschicht angehörten, im allgemeinen unverheiratet waren.

45 Richard Willerslev, Den glemte indvandring. Den svenske indvandring til Danmark 1850–1914, Kopenhagen 1983, S. 150f.

Die deutschen Immigranten und ihre Kirchen

Für nur rund 30% der deutschen Einwanderer liegen Angaben zur Religionszugehörigkeit vor. Vier Fünftel von ihnen gehörten christlichen Konfessionen an, knapp 20% waren Juden. Anders als unter den Einwanderern aus Schweden, Norwegen oder den Herzogtümern war der Anteil von Zuwanderern jüdischen Glaubens unter den Deutschen besonders hoch. Die Einwanderung von deutschen Juden hatte eine lange Tradition; sie führte zumeist über Altona, das zum dänischen Gesamtstaat gehörte.[46] Seit dem 18. Jahrhundert war jedoch auch die Einwanderung von Juden zurückgegangen, und der Anteil der deutschen Juden an der jüdischen Gemeinde in Kopenhagen betrug noch 4,4%.[47]

Die deutsche reformierte Gemeinde bestand zum Zeitpunkt der Volkszählung aus 300 Personen.[48] Von den deutschen Einwanderern, die die Frage nach der Konfession beantwortet hatten, bezeichneten sich indes nur 20 als reformiert. Dafür dürften vor allem Unzulänglichkeiten in der Datenerhebung verantwortlich gewesen sein, worauf insbesondere auch der doppelt so hohe Anteil von Katholiken hindeutet. Ein Teil der Gemeinde wird jedoch auch aus Nachkommen von deutschen Immigranten bestanden haben.

In Kopenhagen gab es kein ›deutsches Viertel‹, die deutschen Einwanderer wohnten verteilt über das ganze Stadtgebiet. Die Kirchengemeinden, an die auch Schulen und andere Einrichtungen angeschlossen waren, fungierten daher nicht nur als religiöse, sondern auch als kulturelle und soziale Zentren für die Einwanderer. Die überwiegende Zahl der deutschen Immigranten zählte zu den Lutheranern, die auch schon vor dem 19. Jahrhundert in großer Zahl zugewandert waren. In Kopenhagen bestanden zwei deutsche protestantische Kirchengemeinden, die St. Petri-Gemeinde und die Friedrichs-Gemeinde.[49] Die älteste und größte deutsche Gemeinde ist die der St. Petri-Kirche, die in der Reformationszeit gegründet wurde und bis heute besteht. Sie genoß vor allem im 18. Jahrhundert ein hohes Ansehen, so daß

46 Michael Hartvig, Jøderne i Danmark i tiden 1600–1800, Kopenhagen 1951, S. 122.

47 Im 18. Jahrhundert war die Gemeinde sehr stark gewachsen (Merete N. Christensen, Jøderne i København 1801–1901. En statistisk undersøgelse med særligt henblik på belysning af det jødiske befolkningselements assimilation, unveröff. Magisterarbeit, Univ. Kopenhagen 1976, S. 38f.), dann wirkte sich jedoch die nachlassende Immigration und die zunehmende Zahl der Taufen aus (Benjamin Balslev, De danske jøders historie, Kopenhagen 1932, S. 84). Eine Registrierung der Mitglieder der jüdischen Gemeinde im Jahre 1843 ergab, daß 2.501 Personen zur Gemeinde gehörten. Von diesen waren 209 im Ausland geboren (Christensen, Jøderne i København 1801–1901, S. 57).

48 Tabelværk, Ældre Række, 1846, S. XV.

49 Zu den Einrichtungen der Infrastruktur s. Snell, Deutsche Immigranten in Kopenhagen 1800–1870.

Tabelle 11: Religionszugehörigkeit der deutschen Immigranten

Religionszugehörigkeit	Anzahl	%
Lutheraner	392	68,6
Juden	110	19,3
Katholiken	40	7,0
Reformierte	20	3,5
Sonstige[a]	9	1,6
Gesamt	571	100,0

Quelle: Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen, Folketælling København 1845 (Mikrofilm / Mikrofiche); a) darunter 8 (1,4%) Christen ohne Nennung der Konfession.

sich ihr viele Angehörige der deutschen Oberschicht anschlossen.[50] Die Gottesdienste wurden aber auch von Dänen besucht, da die Pastoren als besonders gute Prediger galten. Die Friedrichs-Kirche wurde im 18. Jahrhundert in Christianshavn, einem Vorort Kopenhagens gebaut, nachdem sich dort viele deutsche Einwanderer niedergelassen hatten. Die Gemeinde genoß ähnliche Privilegien wie die St. Petri-Gemeinde, und zu ihren Mitgliedern gehörte anfangs ebenfalls eine Reihe von Angehörigen der Oberschicht. Allerdings ging die Zahl der Gemeindemitglieder schon bald zurück, und die finanziellen Verhältnisse der Gemeinde verschlechterten sich. Im Jahre 1886 wurde die Gemeinde geschlossen, nachdem die Zahl ihrer Mitglieder auf 46 zurückgegangen war.

Auch die reformierte Kirche wurde im 18. Jahrhundert gebaut, sie wird bis heute von einer französischen und einer deutschen Gemeinde genutzt. Die deutschen Katholiken verfügten nicht über eine eigene Kirche, sondern gehörten zur Gemeinde an der österreichischen Botschaft. Bis 1852 wurde der Gottesdienst dort in deutscher Sprache abgehalten.[51] Auch in der jüdischen Gemeinde spielte die deutsche Sprache im 19. Jahrhundert eine wichtige Rolle, doch predigte der Rabbiner seit 1848 in dänischer Sprache.[52]

50 In den Privilegien der St. Petri-Gemeinde von 1678 wurde festgelegt, daß sie stets einen der vornehmsten Minister als Patron bekommen sollte. Diese Regelung belegt das hohe Prestige, das die Gemeinde genoß. Die Privilegien vermerkten außerdem, daß die Gemeinde außer dem Kirchenstuhl für den König und den königlichen Patron vier weitere Stühle für Minister und Beamte des Hofes bereitstellen mußte; Johannes Dose / Niels Hasselmann, St. Petri 1575–1975. 400 Jahre deutsche evangelisch-lutherische St. Petri Gemeinde zu Kopenhagen, Kopenhagen 1975, S. 12.

51 Johs. Hansen, Skt. Ansgars Kirke i hundrede Aar. Fra kejserligt kongeligt østerrigsk Gesandtskabskapel til danske Katholikkers Domkirke, Kopenhagen 1942, S. 69.

52 Balslev, De danske jøders historie, S. 55.

Alle deutschen Gemeinden hatten Schulen eingerichtet, an denen auch Kinder von Nicht-Mitgliedern unterrichtet wurden. Besonders umfangreich war das Schulangebot der St. Petri-Gemeinde, sie verfügte im 19. Jahrhundert über eine Armenschule für Jungen und eine für Mädchen sowie über Schulen, die Schulgeld erhoben. 1819 wurden sogar eine Jungenrealschule und eine Mädchenrealschule eingerichtet, wobei letztere aufgrund rückläufiger Schülerzahlen nach einiger Zeit eingestellt wurde. Auch die Friedrichs-Gemeinde und die reformierte Gemeinde verfügten über eine Armenschule und eine Schule, deren Unterricht bezahlt werden mußte. Alle deutschen Gemeinden besaßen außerdem verschiedene Einrichtungen, in denen Gemeindemitglieder untergebracht wurden, die auf Unterstützung angewiesen waren.

Die deutsche Infrastruktur bestand jedoch nicht nur aus Kirchengemeinden und ihren Einrichtungen, sondern auch aus einer Reihe von Vereinen, die entweder wohltätige Zwecke verfolgten, der Freizeitgestaltung dienten oder einen Zusammenschluß von Angehörigen einer Berufsgruppe darstellten. Zu den großen Vereinen gehörte der ›Arbeiterverein Concordia‹, der im Jahre 1853 gegründet wurde. Es handelte sich zunächst um einen Arbeiterbildungsverein, der seinen Mitgliedern Unterricht anbot und eine Bibliothek zur Verfügung stellte. Bald wurde jedoch die Freizeitgestaltung wichtiger, und die Bildungsziele rückten in den Hintergrund. Der Verein ›Concordia‹ bestand bis 1933, als er sich mit dem Gesangverein ›Gemütlichkeit‹ zusammenschloß.

Zusammenfassung

Die Einwanderung nach Kopenhagen im 19. Jahrhundert zeugt von der heterogenen Gestalt des dänischen Gesamtstaates und der Funktion der Hauptstadt als Zentrum des Reiches, das neben dem Hof und der Verwaltung auch die Garnison und die Universität beherbergte. Die Einwanderer aus den Kolonien, den Beiländern und den Herzogtümern hielten sich zumeist nur zeitweilig in Kopenhagen auf, um eine Ausbildung zu absolvieren oder den Militärdienst abzuleisten. Auch nach dem Verlust großer Teile des Gesamtstaates spielte die Einwanderung aus diesen Gebieten eine wichtige Rolle, indem etwa die Bewohner Schleswigs noch lange nach Ende des Krieges von 1864 für Dänemark optieren konnten.

Die Anziehungskraft der Handelsstadt Kopenhagen, in der sich auch die handwerkliche und später die industrielle Produktion Dänemarks konzentrierte, reichte vor allem in die skandinavischen Nachbarländer Norwegen (das bis 1814 zu Dänemark gehört hatte) und Schweden sowie über die südliche Grenze Dänemarks in die deutschen Staaten. Blieb die Immigration aus Norwegen relativ konstant, stieg die Zuwanderung vor allem aus Südschweden in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts im Zusammenhang mit

der zunehmenden Verarmung dieses Landstrichs sprunghaft an. Die geringen kulturellen und sprachlichen Unterschiede ließ die Integration dieser Einwanderer – zumindest aus dänischer Sicht – so problemlos verlaufen, daß die Immigration der Schweden auch als »vergessene Einwanderung« bezeichnet wird.[53]

Dies traf im wesentlichen auch auf die deutschen Einwanderer zu, deren Zahl im Vergleich zum 18. Jahrhundert stark zurückgegangen war. Doch konnten sie die Geschwindigkeit und den Umfang der Integration stärker selbst bestimmen. Die lange Geschichte der Einwanderung über die südliche Grenze hatte eine Vielzahl unterschiedlicher Einrichtungen entstehen lassen, die von den deutschen Immigranten genutzt werden konnten. Sie hatten damit die Möglichkeit, sich in einem selbst zu bestimmenden Umfang aus der Majorität zurückzuziehen. Ein solches Verhalten wurde nicht sanktioniert, gehörten doch mit den Herzogtümern auch Gebiete mit einer deutschsprachigen und von deutscher Kultur geprägten Bevölkerung zum Gesamtstaat. Auch nachdem die Einwanderung von Deutschen nicht mehr direkt gefördert wurde und gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in intellektuellen Kreisen Kritik an dem als zu groß empfundenen Einfluß der Angehörigen der deutschen Oberschicht geäußert worden war[54], wurde die dänisch-deutsche Struktur des Gesamtstaates in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts nicht ernsthaft in Frage gestellt.

Daher wurde auch die Integration der deutschen Einwanderer nicht erschwert. So ergab die Analyse der Sozialdaten der Volkszählung von 1845, daß Deutsche sich überall in Kopenhagen niedergelassen hatten und kein ›deutsches‹ Viertel entstanden war. Im Unterschied zum 18. Jahrhundert war es jetzt zwar nur noch für wenige Immigranten möglich, in der Verwaltung, im Heer oder an der Universität zu arbeiten. Doch im Bereich des Handwerks fand eine staatliche Lenkung nicht statt, und Deutsche waren in den unterschiedlichsten Berufen tätig. Die überwiegende Zahl der männlichen Migranten ging eine Verbindung mit einer Dänin ein, eine Entscheidung, die auch von den dänischen Behörden als deutliches Indiz für ihren Integrationswillen gewertet wurde.[55]

Die fragile Konstruktion des dänischen Gesamtstaates geriet jedoch mit dem zunehmenden Gewicht der nationalen Bewegungen unter Druck. Die Konflikte entzündeten sich vor allem an der Frage der Zugehörigkeit der Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg zu Dänemark. Die Konkurrenz der Nationalbewegungen löste erst 1848 und, nachdem der Konflikt

53 Willerslev, Den glemte indvandring.

54 Feldbæk / Winge, Tyskerfejden 1789–1790.

55 Diese Frage spielte bei der Entscheidung von Einbürgerungsanträgen eine Rolle. Die Ehe mit einer Dänin wurde in der Begutachtung der Anträge, wie aus den Bemerkungen der Bearbeiter hervorgeht, positiv bewertet.

nicht hatte bereinigt werden können, schließlich 1864 einen Krieg um die Herzogtümer aus, der zuletzt in eine vollständige Niederlage Dänemarks und den Verlust dieser Territorien mündete. Das Ziel der dänischen Nationalbewegung, einen Nationalstaat ohne deutsche Bevölkerungsteile zu schaffen, war nun zwar erreicht, doch nur zu dem Preis, daß die Grenzen dieses Staates nicht alle Dänen umschlossen, sondern eine dänische Minderheit auf preußischem Territorium verblieben war.

In diesem Zusammenhang löste die Tatsache, daß sich weiterhin deutsche Einwanderer in Dänemark aufhielten, die nicht nur in Kopenhagen eine Reihe von eigenen Einrichtungen unterhielten, eine öffentliche Debatte um die Notwendigkeit einer vollständigen Anpassung dieser Immigranten aus. Die deutschen Einwanderer, die noch vor Ausbruch des Krieges in einer deutschsprachigen Stellungnahme in einer dänischen Zeitung ihrer patriotischen Anhänglichkeit an einen Staat Ausdruck gegeben hatten, der Schutz und die Möglichkeit bot, sich eine sichere Existenz aufzubauen, waren nun einem starken Integrationsdruck ausgesetzt.[56]

Die Immigranten reagierten auf unterschiedliche Weise auf diesen Druck. Einige entschlossen sich zu einer forcierten Anpassung; scheiterte diese, konnten die psychischen Belastungen die Entwicklung einer Depression und den Rückzug aus der Aufnahmegesellschaft auslösen.[57] Anderen gelang es, ihre deutsche in eine dänische Identität zu integrieren, ohne daß es zu Spannungen mit der Außenwelt kam.[58]

Der massive Integrationsdruck führte auch zu Konflikten in den deutschen Gemeinden, die sich nun die Frage stellen mußten, ob sie als deutsche Institutionen bestehen bleiben oder sich dem Druck derjenigen Gemeindemitglieder beugen wollten, die eine weitgehende Eingliederung in die dänische Aufnahmegesellschaft forderten. In diesem Zusammenhang spielte die im Gottesdienst eingesetzte Sprache stets eine besondere Rolle. In der Gemeinde der St. Petri-Kirche standen sich Befürworter und Kritiker einer stärkeren Anpassung besonders unversöhnlich gegenüber. Der Konflikt wurde über Stellungnahmen in Zeitungen und Flugschriften auch nach außen getragen. Es kam zu einer Reihe von Prozessen, schließlich wurden die dänischen Behörden um eine Entscheidung in der Frage gebeten, ob die dänische Sprache in der Gemeinde eingeführt werden dürfe. Diese erklärten, daß die deutschen Gemeinden ihre Privilegien als *deutsche* Gemeinden erhalten hätten und somit ihre Existenzberechtigung verlören, gäben sie die deutsche Kirchensprache auf. Es waren somit paradoxerweise die dänischen Behörden, die die Position der ›deutschen‹ Gruppe innerhalb der Gemeinde stütz-

56 Snell, Deutsche Immigranten in Kopenhagen 1800–1870, S. 205–313.

57 Ebd., S. 246–254.

58 Ebd., S. 240–245.

ten.[59] Diese setzten sich zuletzt durch, nachdem die Spannungen die Gemeinde beinahe hätten zerbrechen lassen.

Dies hing jedoch nicht nur mit der Entscheidung der dänischen Behörden zugunsten einer deutschen Ausrichtung der Gemeinden zusammen. Der Verlust der Herzogtümer hatte dazu geführt, daß die deutschen Einwanderer in Dänemark ihren Sonderstatus verloren hatten. Hatten deutsche Kultur und Sprache vorher hohes Prestige genossen und die Zugehörigkeit zu einer deutschen Gemeinde soziale Chancen eröffnet, war dies nun nicht länger der Fall. Das Deutsche Reich übte jetzt mit seiner dynamischen wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung und seiner erfolgreichen Außenpolitik eine zunehmende Anziehungskraft auf die Einwanderer aus. Die Entwicklung einer nationalen deutschen Identität vieler deutscher Immigranten in Kopenhagen löste in den 1890er Jahren neue Konflikte mit der dänischen Aufnahmegesellschaft aus, denn wieder schien eine bedrohliche Verbindung zwischen den Einwanderern und dem übermächtigen Nachbarn zu entstehen.

59 In den Gemeinden, zu denen viele deutsche bzw. deutschsprachige Immigranten gehörten und die daher auch die deutsche Sprache im Gottesdienst verwandten, aber nicht über solche Privilegien verfügten, wurde dagegen die dänische Sprache bereits 1848 oder spätestens nach dem zweiten Krieg eingeführt; ebd., S. 181, 185f.

Greta Devos and Hilde Greefs

The German Presence in Antwerp in the Nineteenth Century

The German presence in Belgium as a whole and in individual places in particular in the nineteenth century is rather difficult to reconstruct. Although no continuous series of data is available, an interesting picture is revealed by the censuses held at different times throughout the century. Germans formed the third largest group of foreigners in Belgium. In 1866 there were 66 French, 70 Dutch and 43 Germans to every 10,000 inhabitants, in 1880 93 French, 75 Dutch and 62 Germans, and in 1890 the numbers had increased to 107 French, 78 Dutch and 63 Germans.[1] In the province of Antwerp – with a large German community within the city of Antwerp and small communities in the suburbs as well as in the city of Malines – the Germans were the second largest group after the Dutch.

The city of Antwerp experienced several changes in the course of the century. Due to the reopening of the river Scheldt to international maritime transport, the city underwent an economic recovery. As a result, the population increased enormously. In around 1800, the port city numbered 55,000 inhabitants at the most. Although there were some signs of an upsurge during the first decade of the nineteenth century (a rise of the population to about 60,000 in 1812), real expansion did not begin before 1820. By 1860 Antwerp had nearly 112,000 inhabitants, twice as many as 40 years earlier.[2] In 1890 population had doubled again; by now there were some 224,000 inhabitants.[3]

In-migration both from Belgium and from abroad was one of the most important factors in demographic expansion. The proportion of immigrants in the population of Antwerp rose from 27 per cent in 1796 to about 32 per cent

1 Gustave Rahlenbeck, Der praktische Rechtsbeistand für Deutsche in Belgien, Brussels / Antwerp 1912, p. XIII.

2 Catharina Lis, Social Change and the Labouring Poor. Antwerp, 1770–1860, New Haven / London 1986, pp. 40f.

3 Jaap Kruithof, De demografische ontwikkeling in de XIXde eeuw, in: Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van Antwerpen in de XIXde eeuw. Instellingen – Economie – Kultuur (Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis), Antwerp 1964, pp. 508–543, here p. 520.

Table 1: Inhabitants in the Province of Antwerp Born Abroad

	Germany	Netherlands	France	Great Britain
1846	1,656	9,932	1,247	605
1856	992	9,881	962	577
1866	1,407	10,039	903	525
1880	3,576	14,263	2,010	780
1890	5,173	17,265	2,841	1,157
1900	7,480	20,745	3,882	1,541
1910	8,660	26,930	4,832	1,618
1920	1,716	19,852	5,514	4,696

Source: Annuaire statistique de la Belgique, Brussels 1870–1923.

in 1830.[4] Between 1841 and 1850 in-migration was responsible for approximately 58 per cent of total population growth. Over the next two decades the share of in-migration increased to 71 per cent and 72 per cent respectively.[5]

The harbour did not only attract people from neighbouring regions but also from abroad. In 1846 as much as 9.4 per cent of the population were foreign born. This proportion fell to 5.6 per cent in 1866, but went up again to 10 per cent in 1890.[6] In 1890 more than 22 per cent of all foreigners in Belgium were German, and – due to the increasing immigration from non-neighbouring countries on the eve of the First World War, a trend which persisted after 1918 – this proportion slightly decreased to 20 per cent in 1910. In the course of the nineteenth century quite a number of German immigrants and their children adopted Belgian citizenship. Nevertheless, the native population still regarded them – and especially the top people – as Germans. In addition, names which sounded German were far more striking than the names of French or Dutch immigrants. As a consequence some people could hardly believe that there were far more Dutch than German immigrants in Antwerp at that time.[7]

4 Jos De Belder, Elementen voor sociale identificatie van de Antwerpse bevolking op het einde van de 18de eeuw. Een kwantitatieve studie (unpublished PhD thesis), Ghent 1974, vol. 1, p. 55; Jules Hannes, Bijdrage tot de ontwikkeling van de kwantitatief-kritische methode in de sociale geschiedsschrijving (unpublished PhD thesis), Ghent 1969, p. 67.

5 Kruithof, De demografische ontwikkeling in de XIXde eeuw, pp. 539–541.

6 Ibid., p. 520.

7 Greta Devos, Inwijking en Integratie van Duitse kooplieden te Antwerpen in de 19de eeuw, in: Hugo Soly / Alfons Thijs (eds.), Minorities in Western European Cities, Sixteenth-Twentieth Centuries, Brussels 1995, pp. 135–156, here p. 137.

This paper focuses on why Germans chose Antwerp for their economic activities. We shall highlight more particularly the German merchants and entrepreneurs who settled in Antwerp. Therefore stress is laid on German merchants and entrepreneurs and especially on the first-generation migrants who came to Antwerp at the beginning of the nineteenth century and who became part of the business élite within the city. The analysis starts with the question as to the extent to which they contributed to the acquisition of the international position which the port of Antwerp held in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, this group of entrepreneurs is only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the entire population of German immigrants. The port also attracted quite a number of other professions, whether or not these were following the German business people. In addition to this analysis on the basis of census material, the composition of the German colony in Antwerp between 1860 and 1870 is also examined by means of two samples from the archives of the immigration police. Thereafter, the attention is turned to the organisation of the German colony and to the social life of German immigrants.

Migration of German Entrepreneurs to Antwerp

The role of foreign entrepreneurs in the economic development of countries and cities is considered to be important because they usually assist the material and intellectual progress of a country by e.g. introducing new technical processes or by transferring ideas and customs from their native countries. Moreover, their contacts and relations in their home countries also strengthen the commercial bonds between regions. Migrating from one labour market to another one in search of the best place to locate their activities, they can be regarded as rational agents or risk-takers, and their move itself can be considered as a form of entrepreneurship.[8] To some extent they have to break with the traditions of their home country and cannot immediately conform to the customs of their new home-place. According to the German economist Werner Sombart, this mental condition prepares them to be open to change and, as such, to play an important role in their new environment.[9] Moreover, there is the obstruction of traditionalism for merchant practice which gives them an advantage over local business people.

8 Lynn Hollen-Lees, Migrants as Entrepreneurs: Irish Emigration, 1820–1900, in: Paul Klep / Eddy Van Cauwenberghe (eds.), Entrepreneurship and the Transformation of the Economy, 10th–20th Centuries. Essays in Honour of Herman Van Der Wee, Louvain 1994, pp. 335–344, here pp. 335f.

9 Werner Sombart, Der moderne Kapitalismus, vol. I/2, München / Leipzig 1921, pp. 884–894.

Chlepner observed that there were two groups of foreign entrepreneurs who were of utmost importance to the economic development of Belgium in the nineteenth century. Firstly, there were the English technicians who settled in the industrialising regions, such as Verviers and Liège. Secondly, there were the German bankers and merchants who stimulated the commercial and financial revival of Antwerp and Brussels.[10] Studies into the German presence in Brussels around 1846 reveal that a number of German migrants belonged to the commercial and financial élite of the city.[11] Quite a number of studies have already focused on the presence and the impact of German business people in Antwerp from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards and especially on the importance of German merchants and entrepreneurs as a group.[12] In addition, the careers of families and specific companies as well as the influence of German entrepreneurs on particular sectors have been examined.[13] However, a systematic analysis of their settling policy and their business strategies is not yet available.

An analysis of the entrepreneurial élite in Antwerp at the beginning of the nineteenth century gives an indication of the importance of the German business people. 27 per cent of a sample of about 250 entrepreneurs came from outside Belgium. 38 per cent of the foreign migrants came from Germany, 22 per cent from the Netherlands, 16 per cent from Great Britain, and 11 per cent from France. Another 13 per cent came from other places.[14] Several immigrants succeeded in belonging to the commercial élite of the city. When the Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1802, five out of fifteen

10 B.S. Chlepner, L'étranger dans l'histoire économique de la Belgique, in: Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie, 9. 1931, pp. 695–734, here p. 717.

11 Francis Sartorius, Activités politiques, économiques et sociales des Allemands à Bruxelles 1842–1850. Première approche, in: Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis, 5. 1974, pp. 167–180, here pp. 174–178; idem, Les Allemands en Belgique, in: Anne Morelli (ed.), Histoire des étrangers et de l'immigration en Belgique, Brussels 1992, pp. 173–194, here pp. 182f.

12 Greta Devos, Die Deutschen und die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg, in: Gustaaf Asaert (ed.), Antwerpen und Deutschland. Eine historische Darstellung beider Beziehungen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart, Antwerp 1990, pp. 49–73; idem, Inwijking en integratie van Duitse kooplieden, pp. 135–171.

13 Idem, Die Firma Königs-Günther & Co.: Ein Beitrag zum Häute- und Wollhandel deutscher Kaufleute in Antwerpen im 19./20. Jahrhundert, in: Wilfried Feldenkirchen (ed.), Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Unternehmen. Festschrift für Hans Pohl zum 60. Geburtstag, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 862–875.

14 Hilde Greefs, Foreign Entrepreneurs in Early Nineteenth-Century Antwerp, in: Clé Lesger/Leo Noordegraaf (eds.), Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times. Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market (Hollandse Historische reeks, vol. 24), The Hague 1995, pp. 101–117, here p. 103.

merchants were immigrants and three of these were German.[15] Since the Chamber was responsible for many economic issues, they thus were able to influence the economic policy pursued.[16]

The question arises whether these German immigrants came to Antwerp without any specific commercial background or whether their immigration was part of a business strategy. Unfortunately, no specific serial sources are available for the period before 1846 which might shed some light on the origin or on the settling policy of foreigners. However, population registers can be utilised.[17] From 1799 onwards, these registers show a continuous picture of the different places of residence of the citizens, as well as of the composition of their households. The registers give information on the population per quarter, per street, and per house in the street. Of all inhabitants the following data were entered into the register: name and surname, occupation, age, date of arrival or departure, place (both inland and abroad) or the address in the city where they came from and where they were going to. However, these registers were kept only systematically from 1846 onwards.[18] Hence in a lot of cases the date of departure of the merchants studied is missing. In these cases, secondary sources had to be taken into account in order to fill this information gap.

During the Austrian Regime, a limited number of mercantile houses and merchants – mostly Dutch – settled in Antwerp. Only a few Westphalian firms specialising in the iron trade followed their example. The annexation by France and especially the reopening of the river Scheldt in 1796 to all maritime transport changed the situation dramatically.[19] Since then German mer-

15 Guillaume Beetemé, Antwerpen, moederstad van handel en kunst, Antwerp 1892, part II, pp. 11f. German merchants are also well represented in the ›Liste des négociants notables‹, which was made up at a regular basis in order to elect the members of the Commercial Court. In the list from 1817, two of the ten foreign merchants entered are German. Their number continues to grow. In the list from 1819, five of the fourteen foreigners are German, in 1822 six of the fourteen. Municipal Archives Antwerp, Modern Archive, no. 1043.

16 See also Chantal Vancoppenolle, De Kamers van Koophandel in België (1830 tot heden). Van officiële adviesorganen tot autonome dienstverlenende werkgeversorganisaties, in: NEHA-Jaarboek voor economische, bedrijfs- en techniekgeschiedenis, 59. 1996, pp. 77–94.

17 Most immigration data are taken from the population registers; if not, it will be mentioned explicitly. Municipal Archives Antwerp, Population registers, 1799–1815, 1815–1829, 1829–1846, 1846–1856, 1856–1866 and 1866–1880.

18 Nico Randeraad, Negentiende-eeuwse bevolkingsregisters als statistische bron en als middel tot sociale beheersing, in: Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis, 21. 1995, pp. 319–342, here p. 320; Jean Stengers, L'immigration de 1830 à 1914: données chiffrées, in: Morelli (ed.), Histoire des étrangers, pp. 91–104, here p. 91f.

19 The fall of the town of Antwerp to Parma in 1585 and the blockade of the Scheldt by the Dutch put an end to the city's ›golden‹ sixteenth century. The port town was closed for

chants started to trickle in. Some of these first-generation migrants came directly to Antwerp. They came from commercial centres or ports like Frankfurt-on-Main (like the brothers Lemmé) and Hamburg (like David Parish and Wilhelm Steelz). Quite a lot of them came from the Rhineland, from regions directly under French occupation or influence.

The city-to-city flow was far more important, since many German merchants came via towns other than their birth places to Antwerp (›stepwise migration‹).[20] In many cases, they had already been trained or had already picked up a lot of practical experience. As a result, they came to Antwerp as skilled entrepreneurs. The brothers Kreglinger, for example, came from Karlsruhe, a place with nearly 7,000 inhabitants in 1800. Emmanuel Christian had already lived in Amsterdam, where he received his training in the bank ›Goll & Cy.‹, while his brother Georg Friederich was an apprentice with the bankers Bethmann in Frankfurt-on-Main before arriving in Antwerp in 1797.[21] Another example is Johan Mathias Gogel from Frankfurt-on-Main, who was trained in his uncle's firm there and came to Antwerp via Gothenburg, Stockholm and Stralsund.[22] It is no surprise that this ›urban background‹ of many migrants proved to be of great importance to their careers in Antwerp afterwards. Gogel for example set up a business in Antwerp in 1817 with the Swedish merchant Lüning, whom he had met in Gothenburg (›Lüning, Gogel & Cy.‹). During the first years they even shared a house in Antwerp.

The presence of family members, relatives and friends in Antwerp certainly facilitated migration (›chain migration‹). Ferdinand Fahdt, for example, born in Württemberg, came alone to Antwerp in 1814. His business partner Ferdinand Hüttenschmidt (›Hüttenschmidt & Fahdt‹), from the same region of origin, followed him one year later. Jan Martin Grisar, who had

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all international shipping traffic since 1585. Officially the French Decree of 16 November 1792 declared the port of Antwerp open. In the very same year a squadron of the French navy entered the harbour. Due to the unstable political situation the merchant navy had to wait till 7 March 1796 when the Swedish merchant ship, the ›Toscane‹, entered the harbour, albeit under French escort.

20 This ›city-to-city migration‹ is typical for commercial centers, see Lynn Hollen Lees / Paul M. Hohenberg, Population Flows in European Metropolitan Regions (1600–1850), in: Erik Aerst / Peter Clark (ed.), Metropolitan Cities and Their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe (Proceedings. Tenth International Economic History Congress, Session B-6, Leuven, August 1990), Leuven 1990, pp. 39–47.

21 Greta Devos, Kreglinger, famille, in: Ginette Kurgan-Van Hentenrijk (ed.), Dictionnaire des patrons en Belgique. Les hommes, les entreprises, les réseaux, Brussels 1996, pp. 399f.; see also Roland Baetens, Het Ontstaan en de Groei van een Familiale Onderneming (1797–1932), in: idem (ed.), Spiegels van Mercurius, Plouvier & Kreglinger. Tweehonderd Jaar Handel en Maritiem Transport te Antwerpen, Deurne 1998, pp. 17–73.

22 R. Jung, Die Frankfurter Familie Gogel, 1576–1918, Frankfurt-on-Main 1920, p. 37.

moved in from Nievern in 1802, was followed by his brother Charles in 1805. The latter worked together with the shipbroker Anton Giese from Münster, who had probably come to Antwerp at the end of the eighteenth century, and who was followed by his distant cousins Diederich Wilhelm Nottebohm (who came from somewhere around Bielefeld in 1805) and Johan Abraham (who settled in Antwerp in 1811).[23] This settlement pattern is also applicable to their households. A lot of young merchants came alone to the city or were accompanied by their business partners, very often a brother. Their spouses followed some years later and were often accompanied by relatives and domestics. For first-generation immigrants, marriage to a native was rather exceptional. In most cases, their spouses came from the same region of birth. Some stayed single or brought in their spouses from other places abroad.[24]

Two types of immigrants can be distinguished[25]: On the one hand, there were young men who became apprentices in Antwerp in order to acquire the necessary skills before starting up their own business. A case in point are the Nottebohm brothers, who were trained by the famous Grégoire Agie (from Lorient). On the other hand, there were experienced business people who settled in Antwerp. Some of them had been trained in their places of birth. They came to Antwerp to open subsidiaries of companies at home, like the Lemmé brothers from Frankfurt-on-Main. Others had already acquired a lot of practical experience with other firms or banks in different commercial centres or ports like London, Amsterdam or Rotterdam. Migration of German merchants to Antwerp was neither push migration, nor forced migration nor ›migration de la misère‹.[26] In general the migrants were strongly rooted in the business community, had been trained in Antwerp or somewhere else and probably had a modest start capital at their disposal or were at least supported by their families.[27] They already belonged to the upper middle class or, being agents or commission merchants, they were able to climb up the social ladder rather quickly in Antwerp.[28]

23 Diederich Wilhelm Nottebohm was married to Maria Anna Primavesi from Münster, a niece of Anton Giese; for the family Grisar: Georges Gerard, La famille Grisar d'Anvers, in: Recueil de l'office généalogique et héraldique de la Belgique, 12. 1964, pp. 67–102.

24 Greefs, Foreign Entrepreneurs, p. 110.

25 Cf. also Devos, Inwijking en integratie, pp. 138ff.

26 François Bédarida, L'insertion des migrants dans la société urbaine: remarques introductives, in: Etienne François (ed.), Immigration et société urbaine en Europe occidentale 16e–20e siècle (Travaux et mémoires de la mission historique française en Allemagne 1985, vol. 1), Paris 1985, pp. 49–52.

27 Cf. Heinrich Königs who arrived in Antwerp in 1841 at the age of 24; Devos, Die Firma Königs-Günther & Co., p. 866.

28 The same pattern can be seen with e.g. German merchants, bankers and industrialists who settled in Britain; cf. Panikos Panayi's contribution in this volume.

Although Brussels was undoubtedly the political and financial centre of the country[29], Antwerp, being a centre of commerce and services, did hold some winning cards. The reopening of the river Scheldt (1796) was an important factor. It restored the city's safe and easy access to the sea. The position of Antwerp in Western Europe and with respect to the other Western European ports should not be underestimated. Under the French regime (1794–1814) there was an intensification of the commercial relations with Northern German ports, French ports like Bordeaux and Nantes, as well as with Spain, Portugal, the Mediterranean, the Baltic and the French colonial areas. Under the Dutch regime (1815–1830) Antwerp specialised in trade with South America (later also with Central America), the West Indies (which were lost as a market when Belgium became independent in 1830), Southern Europe and in transit traffic to the Rhine region. The port slowly developed from a centre for the import of colonial products to a port of transshipment for Western European products which were exported all over the world.[30] Several German trading companies dealt in colonial products (like coffee, tea, and sugar), or specialised in other products: ›Lüning, Gogel & Cy.‹ specialised in trading metal and wood, Jan Georg Rücker in products from the north, and David Parish from Hamburg traded in products from the American market via the firm ›Parish, Agie & Cy.‹.[31] The Germans in Antwerp were also interested in other trade-related sectors, such as the maritime sector (Anton Giese and Charles Grisar) or maritime insurance (Abraham Ellerman from Hanover). At the very beginning, however, foreign business people were not really interested in the growing number of activities in the processing industry, which went hand in hand with the expansion of the port activities.[32]

29 Raymond van Uytven, Brabantse en Antwerpse centrale plaatsen (14de – 19de eeuw), in: Het stedelijk netwerk in België in historisch perspectief (1350–1850). Een statistische en dynamische benadering (Gemeentekrediet, Historische uitgaven, no. 86), Brussels 1992, pp. 29–79.

30 For a more detailed overview of the economic development cf. Karel Veraghtert, From Inland Port to International Port, 1790–1914, in: Fernand Suykens (ed.), Antwerp a Port for All Seasons, Antwerp 1986, pp. 274–422; Lis, Social Change, pp. 17–38.

31 Augustin Thijs, Antwerpsche kooplieden en nijveraars uit de verleden eeuw, Antwerp 1930, pp. 12, 23, 30.

32 During the first half of the nineteenth century, Antwerp was a port city without any industrial impact. Only some port-linked industries flourished as port traffic expanded, like sugar refineries, salt works, tobacco firms and rope makers, but these industries were small-scaled and not modernised. In contrast to the industrial modernisation in Ghent, the Antwerp textile industry declined rapidly in the early nineteenth century due to the commercial orientation of the Antwerp business elite since the reopening of the river Scheldt; see Lis, Social Change, pp. 6–26.

Lower wages and taxes, less complex sales regulations and less strict labour regulations for transshipment were among the port's advantages. In contrast with Amsterdam and Rotterdam, where the staple market regulated all trade, German merchants enjoyed the benefits of free trade in the port of Antwerp.[33] What is more, several German merchants also escaped from old-fashioned trading techniques, a heavily taxed trade and obsolete economic legislation in their home regions.[34] Antwerp was also a preferable import hub for the southern provinces. The industrial development of other parts of the country, such as the regions of Hainault (coal, iron and glass industries), of Ghent (textiles) and of Verviers-Liège (coal, wool and metal industries) had a stimulating effect on the port's traffic. The import of raw cotton, wool and hides came to be routed through Antwerp.[35] Many German merchants focused on the hide and wool trade at a very early stage, all the more as Antwerp developed into one of the most important hide markets in Europe and because a large amount of imported hides were exported to the ›Zollverein‹ through Antwerp.[36] The German Gustav Mallinckrodt, for instance, entered into a contract with the import house ›J.L. Lemmé & Cy.‹ in Antwerp in order to better respond to the market fluctuations in South America and to be able to buy hides in Antwerp, even though he had direct commercial contacts in the Rio de la Plata area.[37]

Furthermore, the harbour was well located for transit trade to Germany (especially to the Rhineland, parts of Westphalia, Luxembourg and Alsace-Lorraine), the northern part of France and Switzerland. This was due to the excellent road system and, afterwards, to the direct railroad Antwerp-Cologne which was opened in 1843. »Was Hamburg, Bremen und andere

33 Karel Jeuninckx, De verhouding van de haven van Antwerpen tegenover deze van Amsterdam en Rotterdam tijdens het Verenigd Koninkrijk, in: Marine Academie van België. Mededelingen, 11. 1958/59, pp. 48–157; for a more detailed overview cf. Greta Devos, The Antwerp ›Nations‹ during the Period 1814–1940, in: Gustaaf Asaert (ed.), The ›Nations‹ in the Port of Antwerp. Six Centuries of Activity in City and Port, Tielt 1993, pp. 141–255.

34 K. Bruin, Een herenwereld ontleed. Amsterdamse oude en nieuwe Elites in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw, Amsterdam 1980, p. 49.

35 Pierre Lebrun (ed.), Essai sur la révolution industrielle en Belgique, 1770–1847 (Histoire quantitative et développement de la Belgique, vol. 2/1), Brussels 1979.

36 For an overview cf. Devos, Die Firma Königs-Günther & Co., pp. 862–866. Hides were also an important transit product to the Zollverein. In the 1840s and 1850s about 50 per cent of all hides in Antwerp were transported to that region; Helmut Sydow, Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Belgien und dem Zollverein 1830–1885 (Dissertationen zur neueren Geschichte, Bd. 4), Cologne 1979, p. 308.

37 Christoph Franke, Wirtschaft und Politik als Herausforderung. Die liberalen Unternehmer (von) Malinckrodt im 19. Jahrhundert (Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte, Beiheft 88), Stuttgart 1995, p. 54.

deutsche Städte an Westindischen Waaren aus Bordeaux holten, werden sie in Zukunft in Antwerpen haben können […]. Die Aussichten des Gewinnes werden manchen dahin locken […]. Antwerpen wird in Ansehung des Zukkers für die Maas- und Rheinländer und Oberdeutschland das werden, was Hamburg für Niedersachsen und Obersachsen ist«.[38] Not surprisingly, the merchants of Bordeaux, harbouring a sizeable colony of merchants from Germany at the end of the eighteenth century, as well as those of Nantes, Rouen, Marseille and those of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Hamburg, feared Antwerp's competition.[39]

However, there were also a number of factors which had a restraining influence. The political instability (which lasted until about 1839) caused a lot of unrest. Another source of uncertainty was the lack of international relations due to an age-long abstinence from overseas trade, as well as a lack of necessary commercial surroundings and harbour facilities, factors which might also have been stimuli for foreign merchants. Foreign capital certainly gave them room for speculation.[40] It also gave them the opportunity to use their experience and play an important role in the economic revival and restoration of overseas relations. The commercial characteristics of the immigrants' businesses were also responsible for the instability of their residence. Most of them stayed in Antwerp and became, in the second generation, related to other merchants of the Antwerp business elite. But, during periods of economic crisis and political uncertainty, like the Continental Blockade (1808–1814) and Belgian Independence (1830), some of these first-generation immigrants left for other major centres of economic activity or tried to spread the risks and set up subsidiaries abroad, like in Rotterdam, Amsterdam or London. It is striking that in most cases they did not return to their place of birth. They settled wherever the best opportunities were to be found.[41]

German merchants who belonged to the business élite were flexible and shrewd. They moved from one international city to another, in search of the best place. As such they built up cross-border bonds of friendship and relations, which certainly stimulated their commercial activities. Kinship and friendship ties played a key role for these first-generation migrants in Antwerp. They led to the rise of networks of relations – based on place of birth, training, or on business contacts, friendships and family ties. By being mem-

38 Antwerpen was es war, ist und werden kann, vorzüglich in statistisch- und kaufmannischer Hinsicht, Hamburg 1803, pp. 143f.

39 Charles D'Herbouville, Statistique du département des Deux-Nèthes, Paris 1802, p. 74; Richard Ehrenberg, Hamburg und Antwerpen seit dreihundert Jahren, Hamburg 1889, pp. 19f.

40 Robert J. Lemoine, Les étrangers et la formation du capitalisme en Belgique, in: Revue de l'Institut économique et sociale, 20. 1932, p. 310.

41 Greefs, Foreign Entrepreneurs, pp. 107f.

bers of these networks they were able to limit the insecurity that is part of all business activities, by, for example, passing on essential information or even providing financial support in difficult times.[42] In order to trace back those networks it is necessary to look at the co-operative activities at the level of the firm, the core of all business activities. German merchants seldom worked together with Antwerp merchants.[43] In general they co-operated with family members or relatives, like the brothers Kreglinger, or Lemmé, Nottebohm or Plitt. Even in-laws were involved. Carl Friederich Scheibler from Monschau was related to Emmanuel Christian Kreglinger (in Antwerp since 1797) through his spouse. The couple arrived in Antwerp in 1805. In 1821, when Georg Friederich Kreglinger died, Scheibler became head of the firm ›G. & C. Kreglinger‹ together with Joseph Kreglinger, a nephew of Georg Friederich.[44] On the other hand, they did prefer to work together with other immigrants; sometimes with fellow countrymen, like Joannes Wich and Conrad Pfeffel (›Pfeffel, Wich & Cy.‹) from Bavaria or Ferdinand Fahdt and Huttenschmidt (›Huttenschmidt & Fahdt‹) from Württemberg.

For David Parish, for instance, there was no place left in Hamburg, because four of his brothers were already trading there. He moved to Antwerp, after he received his share of 50,000 marks when his father retired from business in 1797. He founded a business in Antwerp together with Grégoire Agie from Lorient, who worked in the firm first as an associated manager (›Parish & Cy.‹), and later on as a real partner (›Parish, Agie & Cy.‹). Later on the Insinger brothers from Amsterdam also became involved in the firm. The activities of David Parish abroad – his co-operation with ›Hope & Cy.‹ in Amsterdam, ›Baring Brothers & Cy.‹ in London and ›Fries & Cy.‹ in Vienna – eventually made him leave Antwerp for Paris, Philadelphia and Vienna.[45]

Families were also of considerable help in reducing the frictions of distance in international trading. Most German merchants in Antwerp came from business families, and they kept strong family ties with their regions of origin. David Parish from Hamburg, for example, had three merchant brothers in Hamburg and one brother who worked in Hamburg, Vienna and Philadelphia respectively. Johan Mathias Gogel from Frankfurt-on-Main and

42 A nice overview can be found in the following anthology: Jonathan Brown / Mary B. Rose (eds.), Entrepreneurship, Networks and Modern Business, Manchester / New York 1993.

43 By the way, this is typical of most foreign merchants in Antwerp. For an overview: Hilde Greefs, Zwaartepunten in het onderzoek naar ondernemerschap te Antwerpen in de negentiende eeuw, in: Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis, 76. 1998, pp. 419–442.

44 Municipal Archives Antwerp, Modern Archives, no. 1037 / 1, map 3.

45 Ibid.; Richard Ehrenberg, Das Haus Parish in Hamburg (Große Vermögen. Ihre Entstehung und ihre Bedeutung, Bd. 2), Jena 1925.

Joannes Plitt from Freiburg kept contact with their merchant brothers in Frankfurt-on-Main.[46] Quite often family members migrated to different countries and different commercial centres. Networks of firms arose which kept in cross-border contact with each other: Emmanuel Christian and Georg Friederich Kreglinger had a brother who was working in Paris and another one in Karlsruhe. Diedrich Wilhelm Nottebohm stayed in Antwerp, his brother Johan Abraham set up a subsidiary in Rotterdam after the Belgian Revolution, while Carl Ludwig Nottebohm was a merchant in Hamburg. For these businessmen, international ties certainly represented an important advantage over the Antwerp merchants: They were certain to be working with loyal and trustworthy partners.[47] Children of German immigrant merchants also often stayed abroad for longer or shorter periods. When Joseph Mathias Kreglinger died (in 1856), his son Jean Albert was in Buenos Aires, and his son-in-law Julius Schlüter was working as a merchant in Hamburg. At the very same moment the sons and sons-in-law of Georg Friederich Kreglinger were working in Antwerp, Batavia, London and Cologne.[48] The children of these first-generation migrants were preferably married off to successful foreign business people. In this way the network of relations was strengthened and broadened. This, however, does not mean that German merchants were a closed community in Antwerp. Just like successful Antwerp merchants, they lived in the fashionable districts, like the richer third district. They met each other in a business context, as board members of limited companies. And they also met socially club members in their leisure time.

The German Colony in Antwerp

The socio-economic composition of the German colony in Belgium in the second half of the nineteenth century has already been analysed in the 1930s. The ›Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslanddeutschtums‹[49], for instance, stresses the fact that the German colonies in Brussels, Liège and Antwerp

46 The correspondence between family members would probably illustrate the importance of those relations, cf. Luuc Kooijmans, Vriendschap en de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw, Amsterdam 1997. Researchers can seldom access these letters. Therefore we used notarial records which are a lot more formal.

47 There are sufficient studies which emphasise the advantages of family ties in commercial activities, e.g. Jürgen Kocka, Familie, Unternehmer und Kapitalismus. An Beispielen aus der frühen deutschen Industrialisierung, in: Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte, 24. 1979, pp. 99–135; Geoffrey Jones / Mary B. Rose (eds.), Family Capitalism, London 1993.

48 State Archives Antwerp, Notarial Records, N 9772, notary K.M. Sevestre, no. 22 (8 March 1856) and following.

49 Franz Petri, Belgien, in: Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslanddeutschtums, vol. 1, Breslau 1933, pp. 362–368.

were composed in different ways. The largest German colony had settled in Brussels. Its social composition was very varied due, at first, i.e. shortly after 1830, to the presence of German civil servants and of university professors who had come to the capital following in the footsteps of Leopold I. Afterwards the presence of migrants working in trade or industry prevailed. A lot of people were working mainly in the tertiary sector, especially in the banking and insurance branches. At the same time the lower classes also increased more rapidly, because Brussels was considered to be the first step on the way to Paris. As there were plenty of German servants, there was a surplus of women in the colony. On the eve of the First World War, the number of immigrants without earnings grew, so that the government tried to limit immigration. In Liège German workers were strongly represented in the heavy industries. Next to this working class there was a well-developed middle class of handicraftsmen present as well as some entrepreneurs, mainly industrialists in the metal and weapon industry. Antwerp had the second largest German colony. Here it was obvious that most immigrants were attracted by the wholesale trade and the maritime sector. The immigration of handicraft specialists was not completely unimportant. There was also a striking number of German personnel working in the hotel and catering industry.

In order to obtain a more accurate analysis of the social stratification of German immigrants to Belgium and especially to Antwerp, this picture of 1933 has to be confronted with figures that do not only provide certainty, but also shed some light on social stratification, immigration tendencies and immigration patterns: data collected in the archives of the immigration police.[50] For Antwerp the documents are kept at the Municipal Archives. They cover the period 1848–1914. Included are name, address, place and year of birth of the candidate-immigrant; name, age, place of birth of father and mother, occupation of the candidate-immigrant, sometimes his employer, his resources, seldom his salaries and wages, his latest residence abroad, the date of arrival in Belgium, his residence in other Belgian places, the date of arrival in Antwerp, the official documents submitted with place and date of issue, the date of the authorisation to be registered by the chief of police and by the mayor. These documents contain rich and valuable information, especially considering the completeness of the files of German immigrants. An exception has only to be made for prostitutes, tramps and people without resources. The files of Italian, French and sometimes even Dutch immigrants are less complete and as such less reliable. 400 German immigrants from a total of 2,250 immigrants in Antwerp in two different years, 1860 and 1870[51], were selected

50 Cf. Sophie De Schaepdrijver, Elites for the Capital. Foreign Migration to Mid-nineteenth-century Brussels, Amsterdam 1990, p. 17.

51 Municipal Archives Antwerp, Modern Archives, Immigration Police, no. 44338-44340 and 44363-44366.

for the analysis. 1860 was an ordinary year without any striking events in a still provincial town which happened to be an expanding international port at that time. The year 1870 is of course a remarkable year; the literature mentions the extraordinary traffic in the port situated in a neutral state between two neighbouring countries at war, France and Germany. The successful development of the Antwerp port in 1870 would greatly enhance its international renown.

In 1860 about 20 per cent of all immigrants were German. There were twice as many men as women, 67 per cent and 33 per cent respectively. Most immigrants were fairly young. The group of persons in their twenties was undoubtedly the largest for both sexes. They were immediately followed by the very young, i.e. the group of minors. It is obvious that the number of female immigrants was more limited here. As can be expected, the group over forty was not that numerous. A few persons of private resources preferred to settle and spend their twilight years in Antwerp.

Figure 1: German Immigrants in Antwerp: Age Groups

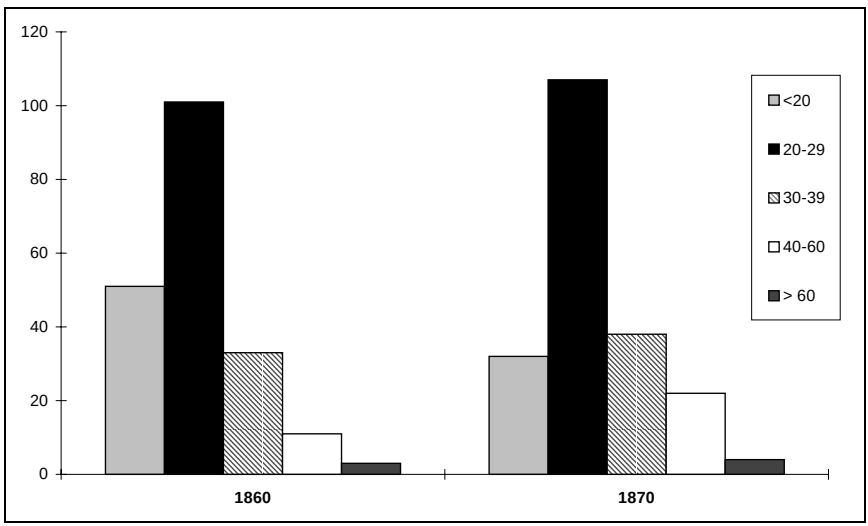


Figure 2: German Female Immigrants in Antwerp: Age Groups

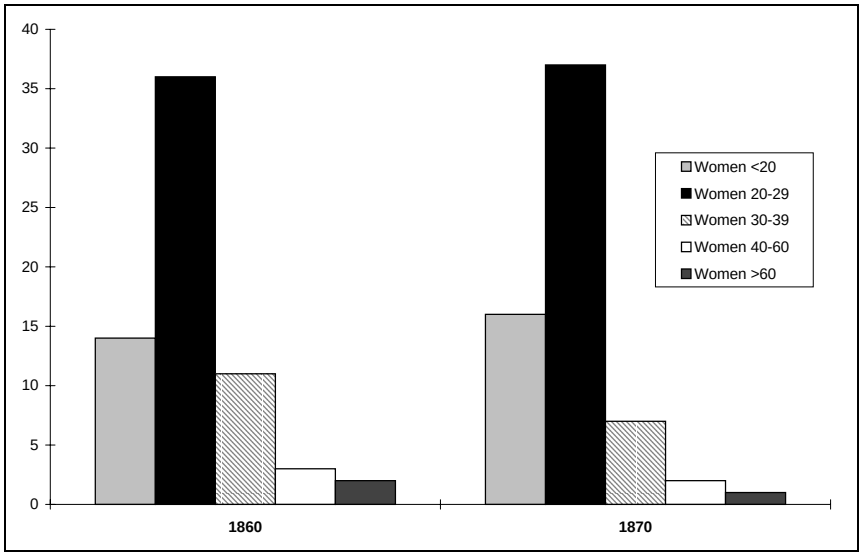
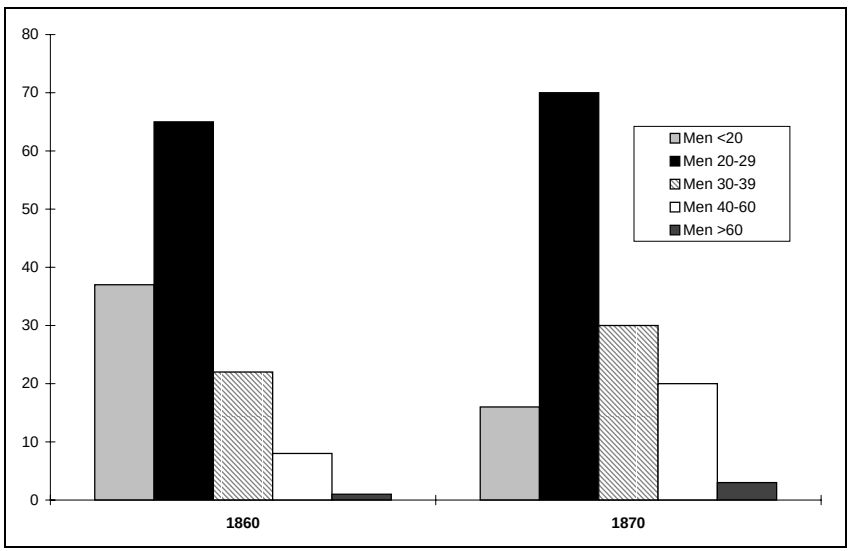


Figure 3: German Male Immigrants in Antwerp: Age Groups



During the second half of the nineteenth century, German immigrants to Antwerp came from all German regions. However, more than 50 per cent had been born in the neighbouring Prussian provinces of the Rhineland and Westphalia or in the Bavarian Palatinate. Nearly the same share came from Bavaria (just about 10 per cent) as had come from the Palatinate (more than 12 per cent). Many immigrants, presumably mostly domestic servants, came from small towns or villages. In general, immigration from maritime places like Bremen, Hamburg, Danzig, Stettin, Königsberg and Memel was rather negligible. However, since most entrepreneurs originated from big cities, these port cities were native towns of specific groups like merchants, shipbrokers, and crew members.

If places of birth are compared with the last places of residence in Germany before the final move to Belgium, some, although not a complete, insight in the step-wise immigration can be found. Incomplete, because it is not clear whether the fact that people emigrated from their birthplaces to other places in Germany is directly linked to the intended emigration or whether this is due to the family situation or the lack of jobs in the native region. In 1860 no less than 43 per cent of the German immigrants had already moved from their birthplace to another place in Germany before they left for Antwerp. Ten years later their mobility had risen to 55 per cent, i.e. an increase of 12 points. Cities like Aachen and Cologne were some sort of bridgeheads onto the West. However, several German immigrants to Antwerp came from other European countries: 12 per cent in 1860 and 27 per cent in 1870, 14 per cent of which fled from France. The third group of immigrants are those who had already been entered in the population registers elsewhere in Belgium before they had come to Antwerp. Both in 1860 and 1870 the proportion of these immigrants amounts to 21 per cent.

In figure 4 and 5, information is given on gender-specific professional differentiation of immigrants to Antwerp. About 59 to 66 per cent of the women were domestics, mostly maids. German merchants obviously preferred German domestics. They sometimes migrated together with the merchant's family. Important Belgian merchants followed their example – probably by snobbery. Nannies or governesses, although mentioned in the registers, are scarce. This could have to do with the fact that there was a German school in Antwerp since the 1840s or that French-speaking nannies took over the job. One must not forget that the German merchants sided with the French-speaking élite in this Flemish city. The number of female jobs was rather limited.

Figure 4: German Female Immigrants in Antwerp: Professions

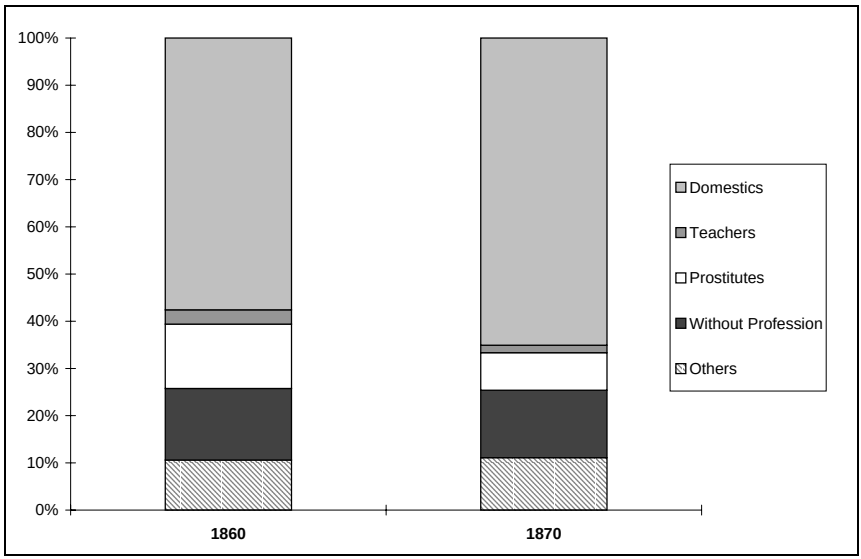
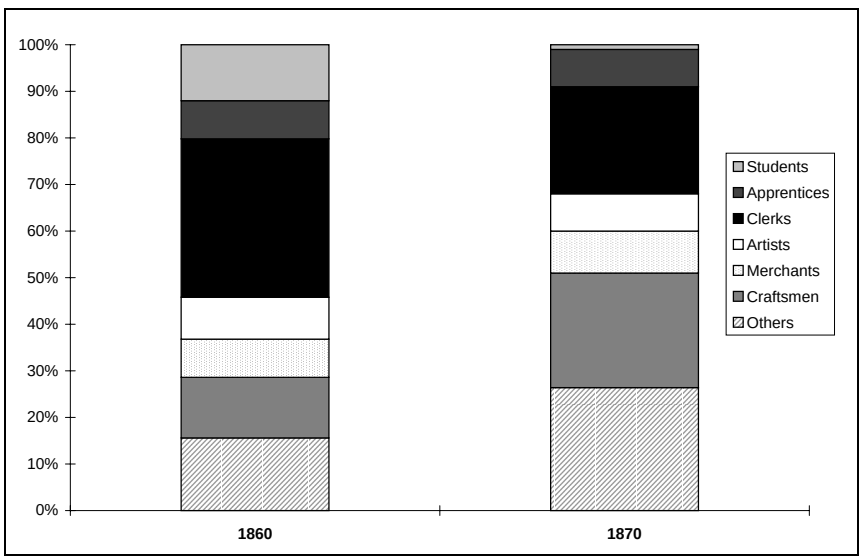


Figure 5: German Male Immigrants in Antwerp: Professions



With respect to men the situation is different. The mean age of immigrants is low and a result of the presence of many students or apprentices. Students of the Higher Institute of Commerce or more artistically gifted youngsters who studied at the local Academy of Arts are well represented in the files of 1860. Also present in the files are waiters, in Antwerp perhaps to tap ›Pilsener‹ which was to replace the popular beer from Louvain, and assistants for local, most probably German, shopkeepers. However, the largest group consists of the so-called ›commis-négociants‹. These are trainees mostly in their early twenties, who came to Antwerp to ›learn business‹. Sometimes they are called ›voluntary‹ trainees. It is also mentioned in the literature that these youngsters did not earn any money.[52] They were supported by their parents or – if their parents had died – lived from their own resources, probably their inheritance. In some cases they were financially helped by relatives or people from their hometown or village. These cheap employees were heavily criticised by the local Antwerp population. They competed with local young men, and if they were industrious and lucky and could marry one of the employer's daughters, they were ›safe‹ for the rest of their live. In addition, the support of family members, relatives or friends was important in this period.[53] Young men moved in with fellow townsmen or fellow villagers, relatives or friends who had settled in the city earlier. It was only later in the century that the German colony set up its own mutual help societies.

Merchants immigrated at an average age of thirty and – of course – in small numbers, five in 1860 and ten in 1870. They were either trained people who moved their business to another port or trained agents who provided the Rhineland or Westphalian industries with base materials through Antwerp. Their contribution to the Antwerp economy was extremely important, as they often belonged to well-known families of merchants or industrialists in their homeland who were able to gather large fortunes in due time. German immigrants took up a large share of all people engaged in the maritime or trade business, i.e. 43.5 per cent in 1860 and 33 per cent in 1870. Craftsmen as well as artists frequently visited the town for a longer period. Several musicians came in wintertime to entertain the Antwerp bourgeoisie in the ›cafés chantants‹ and at the theatres.

By 1870 the picture had changed. The proportion of Germans coming to Antwerp had decreased from 20 per cent in 1860 to 16 per cent of all immigrants. More street musicians and other poor people had come; however, as most of them had to leave Belgium again, they were taken to a border point which they could sometimes choose themselves. In 1860 most of them chose

52 Devos, Inwijking en integratie, p. 150.

53 Devos, Die Firma Königs-Günther & Co., p. 867.

the French border, whereas in 1870 they preferred the Dutch and the German borders. The group of people without economic or financial resources coming to Antwerp may also have included disappointed and consequently returning emigrants arriving from the United States via British ports such as Liverpool. They probably stayed in Antwerp only for a couple of days before they left again.[54] Because of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870/71 the number of very young people migrating to Antwerp had decreased in 1870. It became difficult or at least less attractive to study abroad. However, the number of people aged 30 and over increased, since German citizens living in France and often married to French women came to Antwerp to escape the war. Between September and December 1870, 32 per cent of all German immigrants were refugees who arrived with their families from Paris or Le Havre, some of them remaining in the city for six months.

Although information on the exact location within the city where people settled was collected by the immigration police, these data have to be handled with prudence, since, for instance, domestic servants usually lived in more residential quarters within the houses of their employers. Nevertheless, a remarkable pattern can be made out. Since 1796 the city area had been divided into five districts, four of which lay inside, the fifth section outside the Spanish fortress. Both in 1860 and 1870, the richer third district was the most popular, followed by the first district, the harbour area. The fourth district, where mostly workers lived, obviously attracted fewer German immigrants. The importance of the second district lay somewhere in between. In the 1860s the city ramparts were demolished in order to expand the area of settlement. Here rich merchants and entrepreneurs settled together with their personnel amidst the greenery, i.e. in the neighbourhood of the present Stadspark (town park), which was designed by the German landscape architect E. Keilig. German immigrants, however, obviously could afford to live *intra muros*, probably with relatives or fellow countrymen.

What the data from the immigration police do not reveal is information on the fact whether a person who immigrated stayed in the city only for a few months or for years. It appears from some files that a single person was registered several times in a certain period. Wives and children of immigrants were not registered separately when they accompanied their husbands and fathers. A separate registration only occurred if they came over and joined their husbands a few years later. However, neither in 1860 nor in 1870 was family immigration from Germany numerous. Many German immigrants married once they were settled or brought their wives and children over in a later phase. This contrasts for example with Dutch immigrants who

54 Jean Stengers, Emigration et immigration en Belgique au XIXe et au XXe siècles (Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer. Classe des Sciences Morales et Politiques XLVI–5), Brussels 1978, pp. 45f.

frequently settled with their whole family. The quality of the files does not improve over the years. Data are less complete in 1870, especially those with respect to the parents of the immigrants. Moreover, mixed marriages between different nationalities which seem to be more frequent in 1870 are another source of uncertainty within those files.

Organisation and Social Life of German Immigrants

After the French Revolution the bourgeoisie became more important while the importance of the clerical group and the nobility decreased. As a result many artistic, scientific and charitable initiatives were fostered by circles of merchants and business people. That was the case in Antwerp, too, and of course, rich German immigrants also contributed. Once they had settled, most of them became club members or set up their own initiatives. The rules and the membership lists of these early societies reveal that cultural interest or the need for company are really pretexts to make and maintain contacts or to participate in particular circles. Thus many business people, even from abroad, met there. Leisure and business went hand in hand in these clubs.[55] German merchants had been members of the readers' society ›Cercle littéraire d'Anvers‹, which was founded in 1802 and which was renowned for its membership of business people. In a report of 1821 the society even admitted frankly that people ›traitaient de grandes affaires de commerce‹ there. This also holds for the ›Société du Cercle‹ which included, in addition to reading, »l'amusement, l'intérêt du commerce et l'avantage des communications« (rules of 1823).

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, a number of literary societies had been founded which were more specifically focused on the German language. In 1804, Charles Diercxsens and Louis Vrancken, two locals, founded the ›Société littéraire allemande‹ with 35 members, some of which were German. Four honorary members from Cronenburg, Fiume, Altona and Lille completed their number. They met twice a week, and German was the only language spoken. The members of the society were kindly invited to furnish the library with their German books. In 1812 the shipbroker Anton Giese from Münster started a similar initiative when he founded the ›Société littéraire française et allemande‹ (which continued under the name ›Société allemande‹). In this society, people were requested to speak German at the daily meetings. The literary aspect was limited to reading the newspapers. Recreation and simple party games after a hard day's work were main activities. The society also mentioned explicitly that ›strangers‹ who spent some

55 Hilde Greefs, Ondernemers en genootschappen. Een onderzoek naar het gezelschapsleven te Antwerpen tussen 1796 en 1830, in: Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis, 75. 1992, pp. 3–36.

time in Antwerp could be introduced as members for a month. The members of this society were almost exclusively German.[56]

Music societies like the prestigious ›Société de l'Harmonie‹ also attracted affluent Germans. Anton Giese helped with the foundation of the ›Société Philharmonique‹ in 1807. Like most music societies, it organised concerts as well as ›redoutes‹ and ›bals masqués‹.[57] In 1813 the board of the ›Société Philharmonique‹ was also the driving force behind the foundation of the ›Société Olympique‹, which quite a lot of German merchants joined. According to a document of 7 September 1821, the vernacular name for this society was ›Société allemande‹ as most of its members were well-known German merchants! The board consisted of ten members, six of whom were famous German brokers and merchants.[58] In addition to symphonic music, choral singing was an attractive issue for those societies. In 1858 the ›Deutsche Liedertafel‹ was founded which is considered to be one of the oldest German societies of this genre and which joined together with several Flemish choral societies. As in Germany where ›Gesangvereine‹ were seed-beds of nationalism – in particular with regard to German unification – these societies in Belgium also preserved patriotic feelings. They were all products of Romanticism.[59] More and more societies provided leisure activities for less affluent members of the German colony. Towards the end of the century more than 50 German societies existed in Antwerp.

People did not only want to keep up with literature and music, they also wanted to do something about their physical condition and their health. During the last quarter of the century the first sports clubs were set up. The ›Deutsche Turnverein‹ probably was one of the most successful. There were also clubs for horse-riding, cycling, yachting, fencing, and swimming. Though not all initiatives were exclusively German ones, mostly prominent Germans were on the board. The major societies like the ›Deutsche Turnverein‹ (720 members in 1913), the ›Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft‹ (90 members), the ›Kaufmännischer Verein von 1858‹ supporting young apprentices (575 members) and the ›Deutsche Liedertafel‹ (400 members) were amalgamated in the ›Central-Ausschuss der deutschen Vereine‹. Within the colony this super-structure organised parties and feasts like the Bismarck-Kommerse, the birthday of the Emperor, and festivities on special occasions

56 Municipal Archives Antwerp, Modern Archives, fund 382/3, no. 1.

57 Hedwige Baeck-Schilders, Het muziekleven en de stadsbibliotheek: aspekten van een veelzijdig Antwerps mecenaat, in: De Nottebohmzaal. Boek en mecenaat (Publicaties van de Stadsbibliotheek en het Archief en Museum van het Vlaamse cultuurleven, vol. 34–36), Antwerp 1993, p. 161.

58 Municipal Archives Antwerp, Modern Archives, fund 382/8, no. 16.

59 Hermann von der Dunk, Der Deutsche Vormärz und Belgien 1830/48, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 317.

like the promotional visits of the Rhineland mayors to the port of Antwerp in 1897 and 1907, the visit of the training ship ›Stein‹ in 1898, and the 75th anniversary of Belgian Independence in 1905.

Those who appeared interested in the arts both in private and in public belonged to the upper class of immigrants. They organised concerts at their homes, for which they often invited celebrated musicians. Among their guests were Franz Liszt, Charles Gounod, Jules Massenet, Camille Saint-Saëns and others. These people also provided financial help for painters and sculptors. Many young artists enjoyed their support and recognition. Private collections as well as public monuments – including the Brabo fountain on the Grote Markt in Antwerp – and the architecture of houses in the city and in the country are still witnesses to their appreciation of art and their desire to embellish ›their‹ city.

Mutual aid was another point of interest of the German colony. Life could be very tough for immigrants. This was not different for German immigrants whether trained or not or whether they had come to settle in Antwerp. Poor or impoverished immigrants could receive support from the Protestant congregation, where German merchants acted as benefactors. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, mutual help became better organised. The society ›Hand in Hand‹ was some sort of health service, ›Germania‹ provided cheap housing for German newcomers and functioned like some kind of employment office. Female immigrants could turn for help to the ›Deutsche Frauen- und Jungfrauenverein‹. German seamen who had signed off could turn to the German sailors' home where they were helped by the ›Verein für Deutsche Seeleute‹.

The upper class of the German colony in Antwerp transferred funds and legacies not only to poor German immigrants but also to other poor people in the city. The Lemmé foundation took care of poor elderly people, the Günther foundation looked after less well-off newly-married couples, the Grisar and Osterrieth institutes cared for deserted boys and girls. They also made contributions to medicine and nursing. The Nottebohm family gave Antwerp a dermatological hospital in 1901, and the Bunge Institute that provided training for doctors and surgeons and that was later transformed into the university hospital was founded in the second half of the 1920s.

With respect to religion three denominations can be distinguished.[60] These were Catholics, Protestants and Jews. Catholics, who had come from the Rhineland and from Bavaria, may have been the least conspicuous group. At the turn of the century, they celebrated their masses in German at the Jesuit church. Although they had already become close to the Dutch Protes-

60 Unfortunately neither Belgian statistics nor the files of the immigration police give any information on the immigrants' religion.

tant congregation, the German Protestants split into the evangelical ›Reformationskirche‹ and the evangelical, more orthodox ›Christuskirche‹ in the early 1880s. German Jews who settled in Antwerp from 1880 onwards due to the revival of the diamond industry attended services in the main synagogue in the south of the city.

Before the First World War, the ›Deutsche Schule‹ was undoubtedly the ›jewel in the crown‹.[61] It originated in 1842 in the small Protestant deaconesses' school for the poor. In 1873 the school was named the ›Allgemeine Deutsche Schule‹. It had a very good reputation and educated children from well-off families – both Antwerp and immigrant. On the eve of the First World War there were 811 pupils, both boys and girls, and 41 teachers. About half of the pupils were German subjects. The school was bilingual, German and French. It did not teach Dutch, and in this respect it did not differ from other secondary schools in Antwerp. German culture, however, did receive much attention. In 1913 the school acquired the same status as schools in Germany.

Culture was also one of the topics in the German press that was extremely active in Antwerp. However, nearly all daily or weekly magazines did not appear for more than five years. One exception was the daily ›Antwerpener Zeitung‹ which was published from April 1887 to April 1893. Altogether seventeen different newspapers were published between 1884 and 1914, some of which were addressed to Germans in Belgium in general with only six concentrating on Germans in Antwerp.[62] This may have been due to the French and even the Dutch press in Antwerp. Heinrich Albrecht von Bary, who was one of the leading figures in the German colony around the end of the century, even offered financial support for founding the Dutch-speaking Antwerp newspaper ›Het Laatste Nieuws‹. In doing this, he merely acted upon his liberal political ideas. Moreover, the local gossip papers often published information on the worldly life of the richer German immigrants; and the weekly ›Le Courrier d'Anvers‹ regularly informed its readers about parties, receptions, balls, trips, health cures etc. of the Antwerp elite, of which the rich Germans were undoubtedly part.

Conclusion

At the end of the eighteenth century, after the reopening of the river Scheldt, German merchants began to immigrate to Antwerp. Some came directly to Antwerp in order to acquire necessary skills, others had already been trained

61 Esther Huhn, Die Allgemeine Deutsche Schule: Beitrag zur Geschichte der Auslanddeutschen in Antwerpen (unpublished dissertation), Antwerp 1973, pp. 135f.

62 Hendrik De Borger, Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Antwerpse pers. Repertorium 1794–1914, Leuven 1968.

in other commercial centers, like Frankfurt-on-Main or Amsterdam, or they came to Antwerp to open local subsidiaries. Networks of firms arose which kept in cross-border contact with each other. Family members, relatives and friends as well as apprentices and domestics followed those immigrants. Right from the beginning social life of the German business élite was well developed. They began as members of local Antwerp clubs such as literary circles and music societies, but from mid-nineteenth century on they also started to set up their own German society life.

Up to now, the immigration of a German entrepreneurial élite to Antwerp has been of foremost interest for Belgian business historians, whereas lower-class immigrants were more or less neglected. Serial sources, however, helped to fill this gap. It was especially the material of the immigration police that was of particular use for this analysis and that gave an overview of the composition of the German colony as a whole as shown in the examples of 1860 and 1870. The files of the immigration police complete the information given in population registers, lists of the ›honourable merchants‹, notarial acts, patent books, and others. Thus valuable details were found on the economic activities in favour of their own business as well as of the city's political and economic bodies. Immigration strategies have been outlined, and it has been shown how immigrants established themselves. Different ways – stepwise or chain migration – and different modes of migrating to Antwerp – setting up a business of one's own or entering a firm in order to learn the business – were important details: On the one hand, those immigrants that came via certain other economically important cities were already experienced entrepreneurs on arrival. On the other hand, family members and relatives already settled in Antwerp facilitated the process of integration. Many immigrants were rooted in the business community and could rely on financial support from their family or from relatives. However, most Germans were young when they came to Antwerp, and not all belonged to the economic upper class: In 1870 the number of street musicians and poor people had increased rapidly as against 1860. The social life of the German colony in Antwerp was characterised by merchants' and entrepreneurs' activities in and donations for literary and music societies. They were also involved in sports clubs and mutual aid organisations and even a hospital was funded by Germans. For the German upper class Antwerp was ›their‹ city.

The analysis of immigration to a ›commercial metropolis‹, as Antwerp liked to call itself, as well as to other port cities in Europe contributes to the study of the development of northern and western European economies, especially in the trade and maritime sectors. For the city of Antwerp itself, the topic is still of current interest especially in view of the present political set-up.

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