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SYMPOSIUM: INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION:
GERMANY, EUROPE, AND THE UNITED STATES

International Migration:
Germany in the Eighteenth Century

HANS FENSKE

IN the eighteenth century Germany as a unified, sovereign state was only a vague idea. The Holy Roman Empire provided only a loose framework for more or less independent small states. In an area of 660,000 square kilometers there lived twenty-seven million inhabitants, divided among 310 territories, 50 imperial free cities, and 1,500 imperial knightshoods. Large German provinces such as East Prussia, West Prussia, and Schleswig were situated outside the imperial boundaries. The emperor had no real power. Since 1648 the territories had possessed sovereignty, and looked upon each other as foreign countries. Even a move to a neighboring village lying on the other side of the frontier was considered as emigration.

In view of this situation the terms given in the title of this paper become problematic, and have to be defined. To render comparison with later phases of migration history easier, Germany will be understood as that area which in 1871 formed the renewed German Empire, including Alsace and Lorraine. If reference is made to the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, this will be said explicitly or with the abbreviation "Reich." All migratory movements of individuals which crossed the boundaries of Germany will be regarded as international migrations, with one important exception: interterritorial migrations belonging to

These papers are revised versions of those presented at the annual joint meeting of the Conference Group for Central European History and the American Historical Association in San Francisco, California, on December 30, 1978, presided over by the Chairman of the Conference Group, Professor Otto Pflanze, Indiana University. Professor Mack Walker, Johns Hopkins University, commented on the papers presented then.

the state-directed Prussian colonization movement must be included. Usually in eighteenth-century Germany interterritorial migrations led to neighboring territories, for example to the next imperial free city. The immigrants to Prussia were recruited from distant territories. Inasmuch as this was long-distance migration, it was the same as migration to Hungary or America. It made no difference whether a peasant from southwest Germany or Mecklenburg went with his family and all his belongings to one of the Prussian provinces, to Hungary, to Russia, or to America. He gave up his homeland irrevocably in order to find a better future elsewhere.

Finally, on account of natural caesuras, we will define our epoch as the period from 1683 to 1812. The year 1683 is marked by two remarkable dates in the history of German migrations. On August 20 nine Germans under the leadership of Franz Daniel Pastorius arrived at Philadelphia and inaugurated a continual influx of Germans to North America. Some weeks later the triumph of German and Polish troops over the Turks near Vienna on September 12 created the conditions for an extensive German emigration to southeast Europe. Four generations later the renewal of the Napoleonic Wars in 1812 made international migrations in Central Europe impossible. Only after 1815 did they start again.¹

Every caesura contains a bit of arbitrariness. In the case of the two dates of German migration history in 1683, we run the risk of narrowing our point of view. In the seventeenth century Germany was much more a land of immigration than a region of emigration, and this situation lasted to the first decade of the eighteenth century. Between 1620 and 1650 the population of Germany had fallen from sixteen to ten million.² In detail the losses were very different. There were regions with a growth of population, whereas the main fighting zones, such as Württemberg, suffered losses of 60 to 70 percent; some areas lost still more, such as the Palatinate, where we must estimate a loss of 80 to 85 percent.

1. For the migrations during the eighteenth century, with special regard to southwest and west Germany, see Lowell Colton Bennion, "Flight from the Reich: A Geographic Exposition of Southwest German Emigration 1683-1815" (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1971); for the emigration in the nineteenth century, Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); for the German emigration from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, Hans Fenske, "Die deutsche Auswanderung," *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 76 (1978): 183-220.

2. For the influence of the Thirty Years' War on Germany see Günther Franz, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg und das deutsche Volk: Untersuchungen zur Bevölkerungs- und Agrargeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1961).

When the war ended, these devastated areas had a strong attraction for people in less involved regions. As a result, large internal migrations occurred, the exact size of which unfortunately cannot be determined. A high mobility developed, the consequence of which was a long-term readiness for migration. Owing to these extensive internal migrations, the ravaged territories were soon repopulated. Because of a high birth-rate the population of Germany increased rapidly, especially during the first decades after 1648. But it took a century before the level of 1620 was reached again. Even that would not have been possible if Germany had not had a strong influx from outside its frontiers.

The immigrants were highly welcome to the German sovereigns. In consequence of the great losses of inhabitants before 1648, mercantilism in Germany emphasized population policy. In view of the prosperity of the Netherlands, which he visited in 1660, the leading political scientist Johann Joachim Becher fixed as his aim a populous and well-nourished commonwealth and proclaimed in his political essays that the "societas civilis" depended on the number and well-being of individuals. The governments did everything in their power to increase the density of their populations. Frederick William I told his successor that if a country "guht Peupliret ist, das ist der rechte reichthum eines Landes." Some decades later we still find in Krünitz's economic encyclopedia the maxim that the real strength of a state results from the number of its inhabitants; he thought that with proper government overpopulation was impossible.³ The consequence of these conceptions was that people had to stay in their countries. Emigration was considered to be detrimental, immigration to be useful.

In the second half of the seventeenth century Germany may have had hundreds of thousands of immigrants.⁴ In part they came, like the Aus-

3. For Becher's ideas see Herbert Hassinger, *Johann Joachim Becher 1635-1682: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Merkantilismus* (Vienna, 1951), pp. 66ff.; for the political testament of Frederick William I, 1722, see *Die politischen Testamente der Hohenzollern*, vol. 1, ed. Georg Küntzel and Martin Hass (Leipzig, 1911), p. 89; Johann Georg Krünitz, *Oeconomische Encyclopädie oder allgemeines System der Land-, Haus- und Staatswirtschaft*, 4 (Berlin, 1774): 359-76 (s.v. "Bevölkerung"); similarly, J. H. G. von Justi, *Staatswirtschaft* (Vienna, 1755), §§133ff., said that a country could not have too many inhabitants, if commerce and industry were flourishing. Cf. generally Erich Frohneberg, *Bevölkerungslehre und Bevölkerungspolitik des Merkantilismus* (Gelnhausen, 1930).

4. Exact figures cannot be given. The Austrian and Bohemian exiles formed the biggest group. In the literature their numbers are estimated at 40,000 and 150,000, respectively; cf. Franz, *Dreissigjähriger Krieg*, pp. 72f. The immigration from Switzerland may have reached about 50,000. For total emigration from the Swiss confederacy, authors estimate

trian and Bohemian exiles, from the Holy Roman Empire, in part, like the Huguenots, the Waldenses, or the Swiss, from beyond the Reich boundaries. They came either for religious reasons, as the many Protestant refugees from France or the Habsburg countries did, or in the hope that they would find a better economic situation; the latter applies especially to the influx from strongly overpopulated Switzerland. The Protestant fugitives from Western Europe found an asylum in the Calvinistic German territories and in Brandenburg. The refugees from Austria and Bohemia went to the neighboring Protestant countries, especially Saxony. In the eighteenth century this influx continued, with less intensity. It reached further high points in 1732, when the bulk of the Salzburg Lutherans came to Prussia,⁵ and during the reign of Frederick the Great, who found a good many of his colonists outside of the German frontiers. During the eighteenth century colonizing measures of the

50,000 during the seventeenth century; cf. for example W. Bickel, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte der Schweiz seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Zurich, 1947), p. 99. Hermann Friedrich Macco, "Über die Einwanderung nach Deutschland, insbesondere in die Pfalz (1650–1800)," *Jahrbuch für auslandsdeutsche Sippenkunde* (Stuttgart, 1936), p. 125, mentions lists with about 30,000 names which he had collected. The influx of Huguenots, including Walloons and Waldenses, is numbered at 43,000, half of whom came to Brandenburg; cf. Wilhelm Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen* (Hildesheim, 1960), pp. 16f. But the number may have been higher. After 1685 between 200,000 and 500,000 Huguenots left France; cf. Warren C. Scoville, *The Persecution of Huguenots and French Economic Development 1680–1720* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), pp. 118ff. (200,000), and K. Galling in the encyclopedia *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed., vol. 3 (1959), cols. 470–74 (500,000). The number of countries open to them was small: the Reformed cantons of Switzerland, the Reformed territories of Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, especially Scotland, and the British colonies in North America. Helmut Erbe, *Die Hugenotten in Deutschland* (Essen, 1937), pp. 21–23, thinks that 500,000 Huguenots left France, and that 25,000 of them went to Switzerland, 100,000 to the Netherlands, 80,000 to Great Britain, 15,000 to North America, and 30,000 to Germany. He does not explain where the other 250,000 went. Exact figures for small groups of immigrating Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Italians, and Swedes cannot be given. For the Bohemian immigration to Saxony see Karlheinz Blaschke, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte von Sachsen bis zur industriellen Revolution* (Weimar, 1967), p. 113 (80,000); in general see Eduard Winter, *Die tschechische und slowakische Emigration in Deutschland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1955). For the immigration of Italians see Johannes Augel, *Italienische Einwanderung und Wirtschaftstätigkeit in rheinischen Städten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn, 1971).

5. Cf. in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Salzburger," vol. 5 (1961), cols. 1348f., and s.v. "Schaitberger," col. 1382; s.v. "Deferegger und Dürnbergger," vol. 2 (1958), cols. 398f.; Josef Karl Mayr, "Die Emigration der Salzburger Protestanten von 1731/32," *Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine*, vol. 77 (1929), cols. 98–107; and Otto Kerschhofer, *Die Salzburger Emigration nach Preussisch-Litauen: Ereignisse, Einflüsse und Auswirkungen der Vertreibung von 1731/32* (Ph.D. diss., Vienna, 1972).

Prussian kings attracted at least 70,000 immigrants to Germany.⁶ These newcomers provided an important contribution to the development of Germany. For example, the Great Elector made use of the highly specialized craftsmen among the Huguenots and the agricultural specialists from Switzerland in the interest of his country, just as he made use of the knowledge of the Dutchmen he brought to Brandenburg. The influx from Bohemia stimulated the economic development of Saxony in many ways; the early and strong industrialization of this region is unthinkable without the contribution from Bohemian Germans and Czechs.

Although immigration remained strong during the eighteenth century, Germany was no longer markedly a country of immigration. On the contrary, it became the starting point of large emigrations. Between 1709 and 1712 there was a nearly explosive transition from proportionally small emigration to a broad outflow. During these four years perhaps 50,000 persons left their homelands on the Upper and Middle Rhine, in the river basins of the Neckar, the Main, and the Upper Danube, to look for a better future in North America or in Hungary. This outburst of German mass emigration quickly became the greatest catastrophe in the history of German migration. Of the thousands of emigrants who wanted to come to America via Great Britain, only some even reached England. Many of these died in the central camp of Blackheath near Greenwich; others stayed in England; thousands were taken to Ireland; and the Catholics were sent back to Germany.⁷ A high percentage of the tens of thousands who went to Hun-

6. Among these were about 15,000 Salzburgers; about 1,000 Lithuanians; at least 26,000 former inhabitants of Poland, especially Germans from Poland; at least 22,000 Austrians, especially Czechs and Germans from Bohemia; and at least 2,000 other Europeans. The number of Salzburgers comes from Bruno Schumacher, *Geschichte Ost- und Westpreussens*, 4th ed. (Würzburg, 1959), p. 206; the number of immigrants to Prussia from countries outside Germany may be estimated from the information in Max Beheim-Schwarzbach, *Hohenzollernsche Colonisationen: Ein Beitrag zu der Geschichte des preussischen Staates und der Colonisation des östlichen Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 544ff. Friedrich Stahl, "Die Einwanderung in ostpreussische Städte 1740-1806," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 1 (1952): 544-53, shows that out of 3,354 immigrants to the towns of East Prussia 944 (28.1%) came from countries beyond the German frontiers.

7. Cf. Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Philadelphia, 1937). Of the numerous emigrants who had gathered at Rotterdam a little more than 13,000 were brought to England. Between 1709 and March 1711 3,775 Catholics were sent back to the continent. While 250 families remained in England, between August and October 1709 a little more than 3,000 persons were taken to the Irish county Limerick; only 1,000 stayed there for good, however. Between December 1709 and April 1710

gary came back as beggars, others did not survive the hardships of the long trip; many are said to have been hanged without pity by the Hungarian population near Ofen, in order to get rid of the helpless beggars.⁸

The mass exodus of these years can be explained by unfavorable weather, leading to bad crops and in consequence rapidly increasing misery in large parts of the population. But that would be only half an explanation. Countrymen with a low level of knowledge who are scarcely able to look beyond their native region do not leave their homeland spontaneously just because the winter has been extremely hard. Alternative possibilities have to be pointed out to them. A lively propaganda saw to this.⁹ What was to be seen two hundred years later in the beginnings of the "New Immigration" to the United States can also be studied in the German emigration of the eighteenth century: it was stimulated by a well-organized propaganda system. The outflow of individuals to foreign countries did not start on its own, but was incited by those who had an interest in German emigration and who advertised it in Germany.

2,814 persons were transported to New York; 446 of them died during the voyage and after the arrival in New York; 650 came to Carolina; 500 settlers in the Bahamas in 1717 may also have belonged to this stream of emigrants. Further emigrants came to England at their own expense. The death rate among all the emigrants who came to England reached at least 20%. How many left their home and did not survive the journey to Rotterdam or the stay there cannot be estimated.

8. In June 1712 Count Alexander Károlyi wrote to his wife from Pressburg, where he was attending the Hungarian diet: "Mehr als 14,000 strömen nach Ungarn herunter." Some time later he mentioned as many as 80,000, of whom he recruited 1,500, at 50 Kreuzer per person, for his possessions in Sathmar. Cf. Stefan Wieser, "Wir zogen aus Schwaben nach Osten," in Stefan Schmied, ed., *Heimatbuch der Sathmarer Schwaben* (Wangen, 1952), pp. 5–9, esp. p. 5. See also Gottlob Holder, "Schicksale schwäbischer Ungarnfahrer im Jahre 1712," *Deutsch-Ungarische Heimatblätter* 2 (1930): 136–43. Holder mentions that observers at Ulm estimated the volume of the emigration to Hungary at 50,000. The migrants to Hungary were following an announcement by the emperor, given to the Catholic estates of the Swabian Circle, concerning the possibilities for settlement in Hungary. See also W. Schmidlin, "Schwäbische Auswanderer auf der Donau 1712," *Ulmische Blätter* 3 (1927): 76f., 84f., 92f.

9. The wave of migrants to America from 1709 on could have been caused by the pamphlet of Josua Kocherthal, *Ausführlich und umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschaft Carolina*, 4th ed. (1709); cf. Heinz Schuchmann, "Der 1708 nach Amerika ausgewanderte Pfarrer Josua Kocherthal hiess ursprünglich Josua Harsch," *Mitteilungen zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer*, 1967, pp. 121–28; Hermann Ehmer, "Die Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland nach Nordamerika," in *USA und Baden-Württemberg in ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen* (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 41–49, esp. p. 41; Otto F. Raum, "Die Hintergründe der Pfälzer Auswanderung im Jahre 1709," *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung* 3 (1939): 551–67, esp. 560f. For the propaganda for Hungary see G. Holder, cited in n. 8.

Sometimes this propaganda took the form of advertising by leaflets and pamphlets or persuasion by agents; sometimes the impulse to emigrate came from relatives and friends who had already left, either through letters or during visits to the homeland.¹⁰ The “push,” the motives leading people to leave home, had much less influence on the emigrants than the “pull” attracting them to the new homeland. For the most part the emigrants did not flee an unbearable situation, but followed the promises of the propaganda. Propagandists from uninhabited regions turned to densely populated ones in the hope of winning colonists, and succeeded in drawing a great number from Germany. Those interested in attracting settlers were the governments and the great landowners of Hungary, Colonial America, Russia, and Prussia; in the last, emigration, internal migration, and immigration intersected. At some times France (for her colonies) and occasionally Spain, Poland, and Denmark were also interested. The formerly Turkish parts of Hungary offered themselves after the reconquest as an extensive, largely uninhabited wilderness awaiting cultivation.¹¹ Similarly uninhabited were the virgin landscape of North America and the southern parts of Russia which the Russians had won back from the Turks after 1739.

From the time of the first Austrian invitation to settlers, in 1689, and the simultaneous advertising by Hungarian landowners, one action of propaganda followed another. Soon the German sovereigns whose ter-

10. The importance of the propaganda for the beginning of the emigration is underscored in my essay cited above, n. 1; Bennion comes to the same conclusion. Friedrich Lotz, “Die frühtheresianische Kolonisation des Banates (1740–1762),” in *Gedenkschrift für Harold Steinacker* (Munich, 1966), pp. 146–81, writes (p. 153) that the activity of the agents “war geradezu ausschlaggebend. Ohne ihre Werbetätigkeit wäre die ganze Südostkolonisation einfach unmöglich gewesen.”

11. See for example A. R. Várkonyi, “Repopulation and the System of Cultivation in Hungary after the Expulsion of the Turks,” *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 16 (Budapest, 1970): 151–70. For the Bačka see Friedrich Lotz, “Die ersten deutschen Kolonisten der Batschka,” *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 3 (1960): 169–76. Rumanian authors emphasize that the Banat was not at all a sparsely populated region; cf. Aurel Tinta, *Colonizarile Habsburgice in Banat 1716–1740* (Timișoara, 1972), quoted by Felix Lackner, “Rumänische und deutsche Siedlungsbewegungen im Banat, ihre Beziehungen und gegenseitige Bedingtheit,” *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 17/18 (1974–75): 74–84, and by Gerhard Seewann, “Zur Familiengeschichte der Grafen Mercy und Mercy-Argenteau,” *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 19/20 (1976–77): 53–59, esp. p. 57. Lackner, p. 79, estimates the population of the Pashalic of Temeswar (Timișoara) just before the Habsburg conquest at 57,000 families; 85,000 persons, as a minimum, are usually given as the population of the Banat in 1717. Tinta and, following him, Lackner surely overestimate the extent of cultivation of the region at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The non-Rumanian literature usually follows Francesco Grisellini, *Versuch einer politischen und natürlichen Geschichte des Temeswarer Banats*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1780).

ritories were especially affected by this propaganda tried to stop the outflow by banning it, but none of these interdiction had any real effect.¹² The dominant role of propaganda for the beginning of emigration explains why the German emigration had special starting points, particularly the areas of *Realteilung*—real-partition, a special form of hereditary right giving each inheritor an equal portion—in west and southwest Germany. Living conditions were not more difficult here than anywhere else; on the contrary they were rather better, although for the mass of the population the situation was bad everywhere.¹³ There was more individual liberty and less suppression in the west and southwest, although the governments here too were often very vexatious. Climatic catastrophes, bad harvests, and periods of high prices were no more frequent than in other parts of Germany; the extent of poverty made all regions of the Reich potential sources for emigration. Finally, these regions suffered no more from wars than other parts of the empire; for example, the greatest war of the eighteenth century after the War of the Spanish Succession, the Seven Years' War, was fought in north, east, and central Germany. But because of the real-partition the population of southwest and west Germany was denser than that of central Germany, the northern and eastern plains, or Bavaria.¹⁴ Conse-

12. The first Habsburg *Impopulationspatent* (Aug. 8, 1689) has been printed by Anton Tafferner, *Quellenbuch zur donau-schwäbischen Geschichte* (Munich, 1974), pp. 53–55. In the same collection there are some edicts forbidding emigration. For the historical development of German emigration law see Harald Wilhelm Tetzlaff, "Das deutsche Auswanderungswesen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Übervölkerung Deutschlands in staats- und völkerrechtlicher Sicht" (juridical diss., Göttingen, 1953), pp. 67ff.; Heinrich Neu, "Die rheinische Auswanderung nach Amerika bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 144/45 (1946–47): 103–40; Hermann von Ham, "Die Stellung des Staates und der Regierungsbehörden im Rheinland zum Auswanderungsproblem im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung* 6 (1942): 261–309, esp. 270ff.; Eva Schünzel, "Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Nordamerika im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert" (Ph.D. diss., Würzburg, 1959), pp. 203ff.

13. See Friedrich Wilhelm Henning, *Dienste und Abgaben der Bauern im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1969), esp. pp. 99f. Volker Henn, "Zur Lage der rheinischen Landwirtschaft im 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 21 (1973): 173–88.

14. Erich Keyser, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1941), p. 363, gives for Prussia in 1700 16.4 inhabitants per square kilometer, and for Hanover 24.4; for Württemberg, however, 40.6. According to Gustav Schmoller, *Die preussische Kolonisation des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1886), in 1680–1700 East Prussia had 13.4 inhabitants per square kilometer, the Neumark 11.3, Pomerania 9.4, and the Kurmark 13.8; on the other hand Saxony had 45.2, Hanover 30.6, Württemberg 50.9, Schleswig-Holstein 27.5.

quently, population policy was not so important here, and the princes were more willing to let their subjects leave. They often saw the emigration of the poor with pleasure, while the landowners of the east, the *Gutsherrn*, tried to hinder all removals of their peasants.¹⁵ As a result of these conditions the governments and landowners of most of the countries of immigration concentrated their propaganda almost exclusively on southwest and west Germany; only Prussia created a more widely spread network to recruit its settlers. Moreover, the multiplicity of territories in this area invited emigration propaganda. Because the borders were everywhere so near, the authorities were seldom able to hinder the activities of the agents or the secret departure of emigrants. As for the imperial free cities, from which the agents pursued their business, they had no interest in stopping these activities, because they profited by them. Finally, Austria had some possessions in southwest Germany, and so was able to maintain propaganda bases on its own territory, for example the Herrschaft Falkenstein on the Donnersberg in the Palatinate.

The concentration of the propaganda on southwest and west Germany does not mean that the other provinces were exempted from the outflow. Remarkable numbers of intercontinental migrants stemmed from the northern plains. That is shown by the fact that between 1752 and 1754 nine ships from Hamburg with about 1,500 passengers arrived at Philadelphia, bringing nearly 10 percent of the newcomers. From 1785, in fact, 40 percent of all ships with German arrivals came from Hamburg, and 15 percent came from other German ports.¹⁶ North

15. See the titles mentioned above, n. 12. A typical edict is that of Birkenfeld in 1774. There we read: "Es soll nicht erlaubt sein, auszuwandern, es sei denn, dass die Person als unverbesserlicher Müssiggänger oder übler Wirtschaftler befunden werde." Quoted by Robert Mörsdorff, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Birkenfelder Land* (Bonn, 1939), p. 8. (This interdiction was published in spite of a population which had increased by 384% between 1669 and 1772.) In Fürstenberg, on May 14, 1770, we find: "Betreffend . . . die Verheiratete und mit Kindern überladene gar arme Familien, welche sich zu ernähren gänzlich ausser Stande sind und dem Publico nur zur Last fallen" emigration shall be allowed. Quoted by Otto Hienerwadel, "Der Anteil der Baar am Schwabenzug nach Ungarn," *Deutsch-Ungarische Heimatblätter* 3 (1931): 285. Among the German princes only Frederick Charles of Baden, under the influence of physiocratic ideas, refused to forbid emigration. See Wolfgang Windelband, *Die Verwaltung der Markgrafschaft Baden zur Zeit Karl Friedrichs* (Leipzig, 1917), p. 109.

16. See the lists of R. B. Strasburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers: A Publication of the Original List of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727-1808*, ed. W. J. Hinke (Norristown, Pa., 1934).

Germans are also to be found among the settlers going to Hungary.¹⁷ Northerners also played an important role in the migrations initiated by Prussia. For example, while four-fifths of the immigrants to Silesia came from Poland and Bohemia, the others stemmed from north Germany. In the Kurmark about two-thirds of the settlers came from several territories of north Germany, especially from Saxony and Mecklenburg.¹⁸ Frederick the Great's colonization measures may be understood as the specific north German contribution to the emigration; without the activity of the Prussian agents the propaganda of other states would have had more results in north Germany. Finally, the inhabitants of the northern provinces provided a good deal of the influx to Poland.¹⁹

17. It can be concluded from Franz Wilhelm and Josef Kallbrunner, eds., *Quellen zur deutschen Siedlungsgeschichte in Südosteuropa . . . : Mit einer statistischen Tabelle und einer Karte* (Munich, 1936), that at least 116,000 persons were settled in Hungary, Transylvania, and Galicia between 1748 and 1786 and in 1802–3, reckoning the average family size at 4.35. The lists are reasonably complete only from 1763. The origin of 94,553 persons can be determined; of these, 85.2% came from Germany, 14.8% from other European countries. The origins of the Germans was as follows:

North Germany (Prussia, Hanover, Saxony, Westphalia, Cologne)	5.0%
Central Germany (Fulda, Thuringia)	0.7%
Middle Rhine (Hesse, Nassau, Hanau, Trier, Mainz)	21.0%
Upper Rhine (Palatinate, Zweibrücken, Baden, Vorderösterreich)	22.2%
Lorraine	22.0%
Alsace	4.9%
Swabia, Württemberg	6.8%
Franconia	3.4%
Bavaria	2.4%
The "Reich" (small territories of southwest Germany)	11.6%
	<hr/> 100.0%

Of these 80,519 Germans, 4,535 came from north and central Germany. This distribution resulted from the fact that Vienna only wanted Catholics (only Joseph II accepted Protestants too); since north Germany was predominantly Protestant, it was not interesting as an area for recruiting state settlers.

18. The specifics about the origins of the settlers are given by Beheim-Schwarzbach, *op. cit.*

19. During the seventeenth century there was a wave of migrants from Silesia to Poland comprehending about 30,000 individuals. This was the greatest stream of German emigrants during this century; see Walter Kuhn, *Geschichte der deutschen Ostsiedlung in der Neuzeit*, 2 (Cologne and Graz, 1955): 172. This immigration decreased in the eighteenth century but still continued. Clothmakers and craftsmen in particular came to Poland; see Albert Breyer, *Die Tuchmachereinwanderung in den ostmitteleuropäischen Raum vom 1550–1830* (Leipzig, 1941). There was also a small agrarian immigration. For the Polish interest in attracting German settlers to compensate for the losses caused by the Swedish wars see August Müller, *Die preussische Kolonisation in Nordpolen und Litauen (1795–1807)* (Berlin,

As a year-by-year evaluation of manumissions from bondage in southwest Germany²⁰ or of the shipping registers of Philadelphia shows, there was no interruption of the outflow from Germany, but the stream had remarkable fluctuations in its magnitude. These fluctuations were connected primarily with the varying demands of those who had an interest in German immigrants; secondarily, they depended on the special conditions of the points of departure. During wars and when there were enough settlers, the activity of the agents stopped. A bad harvest produced an increasing readiness to follow the slogans of the propaganda. High points of the emigration to America were reached in 1709, 1732, 1737–39, 1748–54, and 1764. The emigration to Hungary reached peaks in 1690, 1712, 1722–24, 1765–66, 1769–70, and 1784–86. The colonization in Galicia took place between 1782 and 1785 and in 1802 and 1803, the emigration to Russia in 1763 and 1764 and after 1789, and the migrations to Poland in the first years of the nineteenth century. The Prussian colonizations filled the decade between the peace of Dresden (1745) and the Seven Years' War, as well as the twenty-five years of "Old Fritz" beginning with 1763.

1928), pp. 28f., and Albert Breyer, "Deutsche Gaue in Mittelpolen," *Deutsche Monatshefte in Polen* 1 (1934–35): 393–434. For the Prussian colonization in the provinces New East Prussia and South Prussia see the book of August Müller. By 1806 this activity had brought to the two provinces 15,845 immigrants. Except for the state colonization, all these movements were a part of the *Stammesvorlandsiedlung*—that is to say, the settlers came from neighboring territories—and even among the state settlers in South Prussia and New East Prussia immigrants from the neighboring Prussian provinces played an important role. For the term *Stammesvorlandsiedlung* see Egon Lendl, "Die neuzeitliche deutsche Ostsiedlung: Ein Aufriss," *Deutsche Monatshefte in Polen* 3 (1936–37): 1–7. A summary is given by Walter Kuhn, "Das Deutschtum in Polen," *Osteuropa-Handbuch*, vol. 2: *Polen*, ed. Werner Markert (Cologne and Graz, 1959), pp. 138–64.

20. The individuals dismissed from bondage had to pay a special tax, the *Manumissionsgebühr*. Then they received a special passport, the *Manumissionsschein*, which allowed them to go to another country, but not to stay in their homeland. All persons dismissed were registered by the authorities. These registers can be evaluated by modern historians such as Werner Hacker, who has given a systematic evaluation of the southwest German archives in his books *Auswanderungen aus dem früheren Hochstift Speyer nach Südosteuropa und Übersee im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Kaiserslautern, 1969), *Auswanderer vom Oberen Neckar nach Südosteuropa im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1970), *Auswanderung aus dem Raum der späteren Hoherzollernschen Lande nach Südosteuropa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1969), *Auswanderungen aus dem nördlichen Bodenseeraum im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, archivalisch dokumentiert* (Singen, 1975), *Auswanderungen aus dem südöstlichen Schwarzwald zwischen Hochrhein, Baar und Kinzig, insbesondere nach Südosteuropa* (Munich, 1975), and *Auswanderung aus Oberschwaben im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, archivalisch dokumentiert* (Stuttgart, 1977). His lists include about 25,000 names; cf. also the survey in his essay "Die Auswanderung nach Südosteuropa im 18. Jahrhundert," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 14 (1971): 122–43.

Quantifying all these migrations is very difficult. It is hard to judge the size even of the state colonizations—and only the settlements undertaken by the governments should be called colonizations—in spite of intense research. The different estimates for Prussia clearly demonstrate these problems.²¹ It should above all be emphasized that the state colonization did not by any means include all emigrants. That becomes evident when one compares the lists of transportation preserved in Austrian archives with the lists of manumissions which have been drawn up during the last decade with the help of the archives of southwest Germany. This comparison demonstrates that only one in four German immigrants to Hungary came as a result of the efforts of the government and was settled with public financial aid. Most of the Germans going to Hungary followed the invitation of private landowners or of relatives already in Hungary, or went to royal free cities, often on their own initiative.²²

21. At the beginning of the scholarly discussion of these problems Beheim-Schwarzbach estimated the number at about 200,000 rural and 110,000 urban colonists. Gustav Schmoller, *op. cit.*, gave numbers a bit smaller. Udo Froese, *Das Kolonisationswerk Friedrichs des Grossen: Wesen und Vermächtnis* (Heidelberg, 1938), pp. 52ff., stated that the number of settlements was greater than estimated by Beheim-Schwarzbach; instead of the 900 settlements named by the latter, he could identify 1,340. He still thought the total number of settlers given by Beheim-Schwarzbach was correct, although adding up the number of settlers in the diverse colonies would produce other results (Froese himself gave no summation). On this point Walter Kuhn accepted only a figure of 90,000 to 100,000 rural colonists in the regions east of the Elbe: "Das österreichische Siedlungswerk des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 6 (1963): 1–26, esp. 17f.; *idem*, "Die preussische Kolonisation unter Friedrich dem Grossen," in *Deutsche Ostsiedlung in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Cologne and Vienna, 1971), pp. 182–96, esp. p. 193. However, Walter Hubatsch, after having reviewed the literature, thought there were at least 250,000 rural settlers in all the Prussian provinces: *Friedrich der Grosse und die preussische Verwaltung* (Cologne, 1973), pp. 99ff., esp. p. 108. Including the urban settlers we thus must calculate about 350,000 colonists; at least 50,000 of them came from other European countries, while the mass came from German territories outside Prussia. This figure, which includes the persons, excluded by Kuhn, settled by private landowners and corporations, seems to have the greatest plausibility. Thus, in the period we are covering, public and private settlements from the Great Elector to Frederick William III brought approximately 430,000 individuals to Prussia; 100,000 of them came from outside the German frontiers. Prussia, which had about 2.5 million inhabitants at the beginning of the reign of Frederick the Great and—in spite of the very bloody Seven Years' War—about 4.8 million at the end of this era, was a land of immigration to a very high degree.

22. This conclusion must be drawn from the fact that most of the persons whom Hacker lists as manumitted by their authorities do not appear in the lists of transportation given by Wilhelm and Kallbrunner. Ludwig Schneider, *Das Kolonisationswerk Josefs II. in Galizien* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 30, argues that in Galicia, where the colonization took place only on Habsburg domains, only a third of the settlers are listed by Wilhelm and Kallbrunner.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of producing accurate figures, a valuation shall be attempted. First we must note that the continental migrations were far greater than the intercontinental ones. In the eighteenth century America was only a secondary aim of German emigration, holding a distant second place behind Hungary. Even the number Prussia attracted from other German territories was greater than that which went to America. It seems that the emigration to America has until now been greatly overestimated. I propose to estimate the number not at 200,000 as is generally held²³ but at 125,000, including the figures for Canada, Louisiana, and Guyana. (Other destinations overseas, such as the possessions of the Netherlands, attracted few immigrants.)²⁴

As for Hungary, between 1689 and 1747 it attracted perhaps 100,000 immigrants from Germany.²⁵ Between 1748 and 1786 at least 60,000

23. See for example Wilhelm Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (Jena, 1912), p. 13; Bennion, op. cit., p. 166. The older figures are very insufficient. For example, Franz Löhner, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1855), writes (p. 76) that in 1759 22,000 persons from Württemberg, Baden, and the Palatinate came to Philadelphia; for 1757 6,000 Württembergers are mentioned; cf. Georg Smolka, "Deutsche Auswanderung: Ein Überblick," in Hermann von Freeden and Georg Smolka, eds., *Auswanderer* (Leipzig, 1937), pp. 9ff., esp. pp. 15f. The lists given by Strasburger show that the great wave of immigrants ended in 1754. In 1756 only 110 passengers registered at Philadelphia, and for the years 1757–60 no figures are available. It is known that 68 *Amter* in Württemberg had an outflow of 4,049 persons before 1749. An exodus of 6,000 persons during one year would have left traces in the documents, but nothing is known about it. See Max Miller, "Ursachen und Ziele der schwäbischen Auswanderung," *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte* 42 (1936): 184–218, esp. 187.

24. According to the evaluation of 1931, the share of Germans and their descendants among the white population of the United States in 1790 was 8.7%, 277,000 persons. We must take into account the well-known fertility of the German immigrants; see, for example, Gottlieb Mittelberger's *Reise nach Pennsylvania im Jahre 1750* (Stuttgart, 1756): when we enter a house we will usually find it "voller Kinder, und in der Stadt Philadelphia wimmelt's voll derselben" (p. 97). The number of immigrants, therefore, must have been much lower. Finally, about 51% of all people of German origin lived in Pennsylvania, but more than half arrived there; many went to other colonies. Unfortunately we have useful data for Philadelphia only for the years 1727–75. The influx for the years up to 1726 and from 1776 to 1785 in Philadelphia, and the arrivals at other ports, must be estimated. Leaving out the Swiss, an estimate of 115,000 seems to be acceptable. Canada received about 6,000 Germans, Louisiana about 2,000 from 1717 to 1720, and Guyana about 1,000 from 1763 to 1765. The colonies of the Netherlands may also have attracted about 1,000. See Heinz Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1931); Heinz Kloss, ed., *De Goede Hoop* (Weimar, 1937), esp. p. 184; Anton Schwägerl, *Das Auslandsdeutschtum im niederländischen Kolonialbereich unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der geographischen und sozialen Verhältnisse* (Weimar, 1937).

25. Until now nobody has tried to estimate the immigration to Hungary. Anton Taferner, *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung der Neuzeit und die Donauschwaben im pannonischen Becken*

colonists recruited by the government and at least 180,000 private settlers followed them. The next two decades saw the influx of several thousand. Altogether, in the epoch we are discussing Hungary received at least 350,000 German immigrants.²⁶ This number seems to be extremely high, but there are good reasons for such a valuation. First, the data preserved in the archives represent only a minimum; the lists are not complete. Second, so far, historical research has not paid enough attention to the fact that in the eighteenth century Hungary can be said to have devoured men. The Hungarian marsh-fever wiped out thousands of immigrants. Many farms had to be peopled twice, others many times. A good many emigrants returned.²⁷ The high proportion of German family names among the Hungarian population also indicates a strong immigration. Without the great readiness of the Hungarian Germans to assimilate during the first half of the nineteenth century, and without the assimilation enforced by the state after 1867, the num-

(Freilassing, 1956), p. 6, estimates without giving his reasons that during the period of settlement from 1686 to 1829 about 150,000 German immigrants came to Hungary. There can be no doubt that this number is too small. For the settlements during the reign of Charles IV (1711–40) alone Kuhn, *Siedlungswerk*, p. 5, estimates 60,000 newcomers from Germany. He gives no figures for the reigns of Leopold I (who ruled till 1705) and his son Joseph I (1705–11), but the number of immigrants during the 1690s should not be underestimated. We have to assume high figures for 1712. Counting the immigrants in the first years of the reign of Maria Theresa as well, the figure of 100,000 seems realistic.

26. For the lowest estimate of the number of settlers on state land, see above, n. 17. The estimate of the private immigrants is based on a relation of three private immigrants to one settler recruited by the government. For the reign of Francis II, Kuhn, *Siedlungswerk*, p. 13, estimates as a maximum 5,000 of the latter.

27. For the first years of the colonization we must assume an average death rate of 15% per annum. In 1733 alone 20% of the inhabitants of Werschetz, Weisskirchen, and Neu-Palanka died of marsh-fever. Five years after their arrival in Billed (1766), half of 1,000 settlers were dead. In Niczkydorf, in 1785 alone, 40% of the inhabitants died. See Anton Valentin, *Die Banater Schwaben: Kurzgefasste Geschichte einer südostdeutschen Volksgruppe* (Munich, 1959), pp. 62ff. An official report dealing only with parts of the Banat tells us that in 1730 2,531 householders (10% of the total) and 673 married sons of householders died; 546 householders fled: Josef Kallbrunner, "Vor 200 Jahren," *Deutsch-Ungarische Heimatblätter* 4 (1932): 59f. The officials openly took into account the death and the flight of settlers. In 1786, when the crowd of immigrants could not be housed—the housing of 1,325 families which had already arrived had to be postponed until 1787, and that of 108 families even until 1788—the official report said: "Da sicher zu vermuten ist, dass von diesen 108 Familien noch viele aussterben oder entweichen, so lässt sich dieser Antrag nicht eher als bis Ende des Jahres 1787 bestimmen." Quoted by Johann Heinrich Schwicker, *Die Deutschen in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen* (Vienna, 1881), p. 344. Between 1712 and 1716 Count Károlyi settled 1,400 Germans on his estates; 200 of them (14.3%) died, and 950 (67.9%) left; see Stefan Schmied, op. cit.

ber of Germans in Hungary, the so-called *ungarländisches Deutschtum*, surely would have been much greater.²⁸

From 1763 Russia received about 27,000 Germans and settled them in the Volga districts. During the 1780s and 1790s about 10,000 Germans came to the region near the Black Sea, including many Mennonites who left their settlements near the Vistula because Prussia restricted the possibilities of buying land. About 50,000 Germans emigrated to Poland, perhaps 5,000 to Spain. The organized migration to other countries was of little significance.²⁹

Thus, intercontinental and continental migrations during the eighteenth century involved more than a half million individuals. There was also an interterritorial migration of perhaps 300,000 into Prussia. Finally, we must add the considerable, and till now seldom investigated, individual emigration, especially to cities. For example, during the

28. Johann Weidlein, *Deutsche Kulturleistungen in Ungarn seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 8, writes that in 1930 every fourth Hungarian (within the boundaries of the Treaty of Trianon) had a German surname. Especially in the towns, the Germans soon assimilated themselves to the Hungarians. Those who wanted to improve their social position had to attend Latin or Hungarian schools. For the problems of assimilation see Ludwig von Gogalák, "Zum Problem der Assimilation in Ungarn in der Zeit von 1790–1918," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 9 (1966): 1–44. About 1830 the urban Germans were still dominant; see, e.g., Johann von Szaplowica, *Gemälde von Ungarn*, 1 (Pest, 1829): 177, writing about Ofen and Pest: "Das Volk spricht meistens deutsch, und jeder Fremde wird sich wundern, in der grössten Stadt des Reiches, in Handel und Wandel, in Kaffee- und Wirtshäusern, im Theater und an allen öffentlichen Unterhaltungsortern, so wie in dem grössten Teile der Bürgerhäuser die deutsche Sprache zu hören." Quoted by Gabriel Adriány, "Der deutsche Beitrag zur Kultur Ungarns im 19. Jahrhundert," in Friedhelm Berthold Kaiser and Bernhard Stasiewski, eds., *Deutsche im europäischen Osten: Verständnis und Missverständnis* (Cologne and Vienna, 1976), pp. 93–109, esp. pp. 94f. Adriány estimates for 1840 that of 11,200,000 inhabitants of the kingdom 1,200,000 (10.7%) were Germans. If we take into consideration the losses through assimilation, the number of Germans descended from the medieval immigrants to the parts of Hungary which had never been Turkish, and the high death rate among the immigrants, we must estimate that an influx of between 300,000 and 500,000 Germans would have been necessary to create the German minority of 1,200,000 to 1,400,000. See also Stefan Szabó, *Ungarisches Volk* (Budapest, 1944), pp. 131ff.

29. See Karl Stump, *Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland nach Russland in den Jahren 1763 bis 1862* (Tübingen, 1972), and idem, "Das Deutschtum in Russland bzw. der Sowjetunion," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 14 (1971): 155–72. For the literature concerning Poland see above, n. 21, and Walter Kuhn, *Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln in Galizien* (Münster, 1930). For Spain, see Josef Weiss, *Die deutsche Kolonie in der Sierra Morena* (Cologne, 1907). For Denmark see Hermann Fauth, "'Pfälzer' in Jütland," *Pfälzisches Museum* 46 (1929): 155–61.

eighteenth century the city of Riga alone had an immigration from Germany of about 1,100 persons.³⁰

Emigration looking toward a permanent stay in the new homeland is only one side of international migration—certainly the most important one. But as early as in the seventeenth century there were also seasonal migrations. Most important was the so-called *Hollandgängerei*, which in the second half of the eighteenth century annually brought up to 100,000 individuals to the Netherlands, as turf-diggers or harvesters, for some weeks between the beginning of April and the end of September.³¹ Dutch shipping too, especially whaling, was very attractive to the inhabitants of the German coastal regions. But Germany was not only the starting point for seasonal migrations; it was also the destination of such migrations. Switzerland provided southern Germany with many migratory workers for diverse occupations. For example, in the agrarian economy the so-called *Schwabenkinder*, cheap laborers scarcely at the age of earning their own living, played a remarkable role.³²

A complete history of the migrations involving eighteenth-century Germany cannot yet be written. True, research on German emigration has been very intensive for a long time, but often it has only taken isolated matters into consideration. The approach to early migration history has too often been motivated by an interest in genealogy or local history. Only in the last decade have the archives been systematically examined in order to retrieve sufficient data. This systematic work will have to continue for some time. Furthermore, scholarly interest in the migrations from and to north Germany must be intensified, and individual migration to great cities outside of Germany should be given more consideration. Finally, more attention should be paid to the quantitative aspects of the history of migrations. An increasing interest in these problems surely will promote further research into the history of migration, but it will probably be many years before a comprehensive study of the early migrations can be completed.

30. See Gerhard Massing, "Riga und die Ostwanderung des deutschen Handwerkers: Studien zur deutschen Handwerkerwanderung im 18. Jahrhundert," *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung* 3 (1939): 334–49; 93% of the craftsmen mentioned here stemmed from north and central Germany.

31. Hans Slemeyer, "Die Hollandgängerei im Lichte der Frerener Kirchenregister," *Jahrbuch des Emsländischen Heimatvereins* 16 (1969): 174–81, esp. 175; Johannes Tack, *Die Entstehung des Hollandganges in Hannover und Oldenburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Arbeiterwanderung* (Ph.D. diss., Leipzig, 1901).

32. See Leo Schelbert, *Einführung in die schweizerische Auswanderungsgeschichte der Neuzeit* (Zurich, 1976), pp. 200ff.