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Schrover, Marlou; Lottum, Jelle. van

Citation

Schrover, M., & Lottum, J. van. (2007). Spatial concentrations and communities of immigrants in the Netherlands, 1800-1900. *Continuity And Change*, 22(2), 215-252. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/13895>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Spatial concentrations and communities of immigrants in the Netherlands, 1800–1900

MARLOU SCHROVER* AND JELLE VAN LOTTUM†

ABSTRACT. Spatial concentrations of immigrants are commonly regarded as a measure for integration of migrants into the host society. The underlying assumption is that concentrations can be equated with communities. By looking at concentrations in Utrecht both over a long period of time (a century) and at the level of individual immigrants we show that the concentrations remained in the same locality but showed a high turnover amongst their inhabitants, and thus little time for any form of coherent group to develop. Concentrations can therefore not be equated with communities, and integration cannot be measured by looking at concentrations alone.

I. INTRODUCTION

In this article we investigate the relationship between space and community. We question the existence of a simple relationship between spatial proximity and community by looking at the immigrants who came to the Dutch town of Utrecht in the nineteenth century. The question we want to answer is how spatial concentration related to the formation of ethnic communities. The assumption that the extent of concentration amongst immigrants can be used as a measure for integration goes back to the 1920s when the Chicago School, including sociologists Robert Park and Ernest Burgess, first used spatial distance as a measure for social distance. Assimilation was judged by looking at the dispersion of immigrants over neighbourhoods.¹ Many recent authors continue to see spatial assimilation as an especially salient dimension of the assimilation

* History Department, Leiden University.

† International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

process.² The reasoning is also reversed: if dispersion means assimilation, then concentration should be an indication of ethnic-community formation and thus of the construction of ethnicity.³ An added assumption was that the greater the concurrence of the locality of their homes with immigrants' interests, the stronger the community must be.⁴ In the perspective of what in post-modern geography is called the 'spatial turn', space was seen as a social and cultural construction. Spaces created possibilities for social interaction, and as a result access to space was related to community formation.⁵ The anthropologist Arjun Appadurai has connected the spatial turn approach to the concept of the 'ethnoscape', which he – rather vaguely – defined as the landscape of group identity.⁶ He uses the term 'ethnoscape' to describe how groups – for instance groups of immigrants – develop ties to a certain locality, and the ways in which they maintain and imagine these ties. By putting up monuments, community halls, shops, restaurants or churches, groups can enforce these ties and claim (access to) space.

As this brief overview shows, the relationship between space and community has been rephrased in recent decades, but the underlying assumption has remained the same: spatial concentration continues to be used as a measure of integration and community formation. Community is often conceptualized in terms of bounded space, thereby denying that communities may exist outside spatial boundaries.⁷ Communities, however, can exist without spatial concentration. Robert Zecker has argued that the tendency to focus on spatially bounded communities results from the fact that historians tend to look at large immigrant groups, and pay less attention to small immigrant groups and the question of their community formation.⁸ Smaller groups may not have the critical mass to dominate a neighbourhood, and its members may not even live within a single neighbourhood, while still forming a community. Zecker contrasts the associational community (formed by associations such as churches, clubs and societies that can span a whole city) with the locally based community. Nancy L. Green has pointed out that research has focused on easily recognizable spatially concentrated groups. When research is concentrated on one such group there is the risk of finding a spatially concentrated community simply because one looks for it.⁹

A distinction can be made between ethnic 'communities' and ethnic 'enclaves'. Communities are commonly associated with tastes and preferences, whereas immigrant enclaves are linked to economic necessity or opportunity. A 'ghetto' is distinguished from a community or enclave because it refers to groups that have been excluded regardless of their personal preferences or resources.¹⁰ All three appearances of ethnic grouping involve spatial proximity.

Several factors influence concentrations amongst immigrants. In general, poverty enforces concentrations, because it reduces choice.¹¹ Spatial concentration is also influenced by the concentration of immigrants in economic niches.¹² Richard Alba and Victor Nee found that immigrants with low human capital tend to concentrate in secluded communities, whereas immigrants with high human capital do not.¹³ These findings were supported by the work of Gustavo S. Mesch, who found that a higher socio-economic status and language fluency (in the language of the receiving society) increased the tendency of immigrants towards spatial dispersion.¹⁴ Colin G. Pooley has shown that cultural homogeneity – for instance a shared religion and language – increased the tendency to concentrate.¹⁵ People from a rural background had a stronger tendency to concentrate than ones from an urban background.¹⁶ Previous experience of urban life decreased the likelihood of concentration.¹⁷ Restrictions and choice can influence concentrations; people may be barred from certain neighbourhoods or be forced to live in specific districts.¹⁸ Gender and life-cycle factors also influence concentrations.¹⁹ It may be clear from this enumeration that the concentration of immigrants is influenced by a large variety of factors. This observation, however, does not tell us why or under what conditions concentrations can be equated with communities.

There are three problems with equating concentrations with communities. In the first place, concentrations cannot be equated with communities because support and sentiment may exist with little reference to locality. Immigrants may very well live in the same neighbourhood without forming a community, and they may form a community without living in the same neighbourhood.²⁰ Furthermore, studies that do equate spatial concentration with community commonly only consider mono-ethnic spaces. In order to see whether community and spatial concentration indeed do intertwine, we need to look at both multi- and mono-ethnic spaces within the same context. Do people from different backgrounds who live in a multi-ethnic space have as much in common with each other as people from the same background who live in a mono-ethnic space?

The second problem with equating spatial concentrations with communities has to do with the economic position of immigrants. If immigrant communities are class-homogeneous, spatial concentrations may be mistaken for a measure of ethnicity, when in fact they are a manifestation of class.²¹ The concentration of immigrants in the Upper East Side of New York City in 1904, for example, is best explained by the fact that these immigrants were poor, and not by a common place of origin.²² In relation to this issue of class versus ethnicity one should also consider an observation that Thomas Jesse Jones made in 1904 when he studied

tenement housing in New York City. He found that the perception of physical distance differed according to class. For the lower strata small distances were sometimes perceived as a real barrier, while for the well-to-do classes they were not seen as such.²³ Consequently immigrant groups who belonged to the lower classes were involved in more neighbourhood-based organizations, while those belonging to the upper classes had more organizations that spanned various neighbourhoods. Furthermore there is also a connection between mobility and class. Working-class immigrants have been found to move more frequently and over shorter distances. Professional people move less frequently because they own their homes and the cost of moving between owner-occupied properties discourages moves in which the benefits are only marginal, but when they do move, they usually move further.²⁴ In order to study whether and how community and spatial concentrations intertwine we need to look at immigrants who belong to the same class but who do not share a common geographical origin.

Economic position intertwines with gender, since the labour market is strongly segregated by gender. As a result women from a certain geographical background may live dispersed across the city because of the economic sectors they work in, while men from the same background may live concentrated together. Regrettably, little attention so far has been paid to how gender relates to community formation and spatial concentration. Daphne Spain argues that Marx's dual-city metaphor – spatial segregation of the upper and lower classes – may also apply to women and men.²⁵ It may be clear that some spaces were inaccessible to women at least at some times of the day, but it is not clear how this affected ethnic-community formation.

The third problem has to do with continuity. A neighbourhood can only develop into a community if there is continuity in residency for at least some of the immigrants. Immigrants from the same geographical background may inhabit certain neighbourhoods for long periods of time, but if the residency of each occupant is short, the chances that a community will develop are slight.

To evaluate the three problems mentioned above we take a three-fold approach to concentration: we look at both mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic spaces; we look at various types of concentration; and we do so over a whole century. We use migration to the Dutch town of Utrecht in the nineteenth century as a case study. Migration to Utrecht can be regarded as typical of migration to the Netherlands as a whole. Utrecht is located in the centre of the Netherlands. It was a regional administrative and trading centre, and a university town. In the second half of the nineteenth century Utrecht became the heart of the national and international railway

network. As a middle-class and commercial city, Utrecht attracted immigrants involved in trade and commerce, and also domestic servants. It differs from Amsterdam and Rotterdam in that it did not have a harbour and thus had no sailors and dock workers, and fewer prostitutes, clerks at international trading houses and waiters in large hotels.²⁶ In 1829, 3 per cent of the population of Utrecht were immigrants.²⁷ The values for 1849, 1859 and 1879 were 2.8, 2.3 and 2.4 per cent respectively. The percentages for the Netherlands as a whole were about the same. Percentages for Rotterdam and Amsterdam were higher (4.6 per cent in Rotterdam and 5.6 per cent in Amsterdam in 1849).²⁸ The sex ratio within the immigrant population of Utrecht was more or less balanced, as it was in most other Dutch towns. Only in Amsterdam and Rotterdam did men outnumber women among immigrants.

This article is a follow-up to an earlier article that looked at concentrations amongst German immigrants in Utrecht in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁹ In this article we take a broader approach since we have also included the first half of the nineteenth century by adding unpublished census material – from before the compiling of population registers – to our database. This enables us to look at communities over a whole century. Furthermore, in contrast to the previous article, here we consider not only German immigrants, but the entire immigrant population of Utrecht. This makes it possible to contrast mono-ethnic with multi-ethnic space.

II. THE SOURCE MATERIAL

Since our source material has already been described at some length,³⁰ the description here can be brief. We made a reconstruction of the immigrant population using census data and population registers. These data were combined with information from church registrations and membership lists of clubs and societies.³¹ We also made use of tax registers to assess the income of individual immigrants.³² From 1829 onwards, national censuses were held every ten years.³³ In 1850, population registers were introduced as a continuous local registration of all people, recording all life events (births, marriages, and deaths) and all moves within a certain town or village.³⁴ Although the 1829 and 1839 censuses were not yet officially held with the aim of continuous registration of people, they can be regarded as proto-population registers in many respects. The 1829 and 1839 censuses and the population registers are similarly structured and both list names, address, date and place of birth, province or country of birth, religion, marital status and occupation. In population records we further find date of death, as well as previous and new addresses. In theory

censuses were static. They only described the population in the census year and do not trace people as they moved from one address to the next, as population registers do. In practice some registration was continued after the census year, although this was often not complete. Record-linking between one census year and the next is feasible, and has been done for this research. From 1850 onwards we have a dynamic registration in the population registers.

Registration in the population registers was necessary for eligibility for poor relief and it was also required for all sorts of business transactions. Furthermore, immigrants who were registered paid half the tax of those who were not. In the first half of the nineteenth century, some immigrants would have lived in Utrecht without being counted in the censuses. After the introduction of the population registers in 1850, few people escaped registration.

For our research, all the data from the censuses and the population registers for each individual immigrant who came to Utrecht in the nineteenth century were transferred into a database. All people who were born outside the Dutch borders of 1850 were considered to be immigrants. The database contains about 8,000 records, with about 50 fields each. It includes data on the moves of immigrants within Utrecht, from one address to another. The numbers and percentages given in this article relate to people born outside the Netherlands. The database itself, however, also includes data on the people with whom the immigrants shared a house (spouses, children and others). Immigrants were traced in the registers – as they moved from one address to another – as long as they stayed in Utrecht. They were identified again when they returned to Utrecht after months or years of absence. We recorded the places from which they came or to where they moved when they left Utrecht. With a few exceptions the immigrants were not traced in their new abodes outside Utrecht.

In reality the number of immigrants was higher than the data from the censuses and population registers indicated. It was found that the registration of the birthplaces of the immigrants in the census and population registers was not always correct. German and Belgian places with names similar to Dutch places might be registered as Dutch in the population registers and censuses. An immigrant born in the German village of Cappeln was, for instance, incorrectly registered in the population registers as having been born in the Dutch village of Cappelle. Similar mistakes regarding the places of birth were made in other Dutch towns. Mistakes were frequent and came to light when entries in the population registers were compared with data from birth, marriage and death certificates. People did not have to present proof of their place of birth for registration in the census or population registers, but for the registration of marriages,

and sometimes also for births or deaths, written statements from the parish or municipality of birth were required. On the basis of these comparisons it became clear that the German and Belgian immigrant population was 30 per cent larger than the population registers and censuses would indicate.

It was also not always possible to locate an immigrant's place of birth. There are, for instance, twelve places in Germany that are called Neuenkirchen. In some cases additional information could be obtained from other sources (such as marriage registers), but not in all. In addition there were some cases in which the population registers only provided a region of birth, for instance 'Prussia', and not a place. Overall 75 per cent of the places of birth of the immigrants could be located.

III. MIGRATION TO UTRECHT

Utrecht was (and still is) the fourth largest town in the Netherlands.³⁵ In 1849 it had a population of 50,000. In the nineteenth century, the proportion of immigrants was between 2 and 3 per cent. In real numbers this meant that at any time there were between 1,300 and 1,600 immigrants living in Utrecht. Utrecht had a long tradition of immigration, mostly from German regions.³⁶ Before 1800 there had been even more migration to Utrecht, and to the Netherlands as a whole. In the seventeenth century 8 per cent of the population of the Netherlands were foreign-born. In the nineteenth century the proportion reached an all-time low of less than 3 per cent. After 1900 it rose again and in 1975 it was back at 8 per cent (see Figure 1 and Table 1).

In 1829, 60 per cent of the immigrants in Utrecht were German.³⁷ This percentage was the same for most other Dutch towns. The percentage of Germans fell to just under 45 per cent in 1879. In absolute numbers this meant that there were 767 German immigrants living in Utrecht in 1829 and 629 in 1879. The German immigrant population in Utrecht was highly mobile, as was true for all immigrant groups in Utrecht. Not only did people usually not stay for long at one address but there was a high turnover in the migrant population as such. This lack of continuity in the German migrant population is displayed in Figure 2. In 1829 there were 767 Germans in Utrecht. In the ten years that followed, 415 migrants left and 200 died, so that of the original German population of 1829 only 152 still lived in Utrecht ten years later. The loss of 615 people through migration and death was replaced by only 419 newcomers (resulting in a population of 124 fewer persons than in 1829). We find such a high turnover rate throughout the entire nineteenth century and for all immigrant groups.

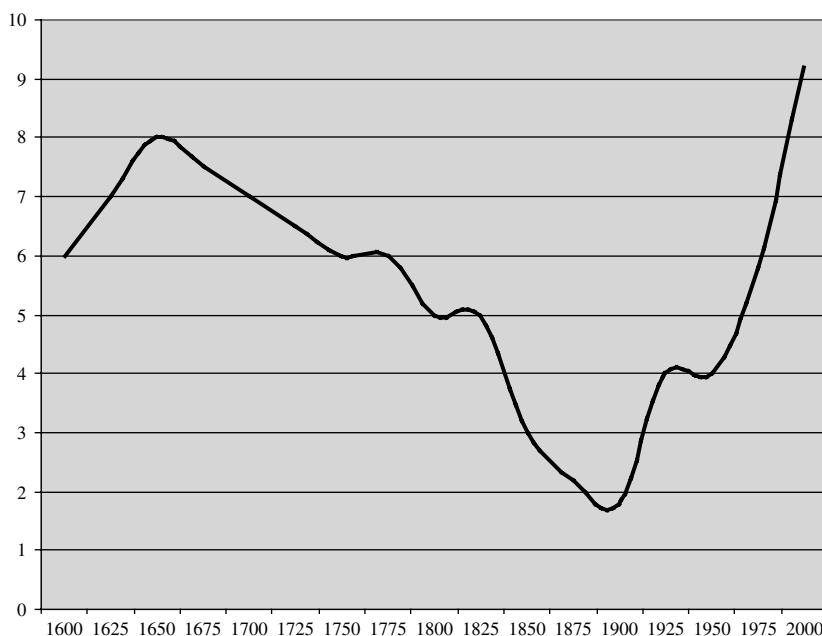


FIGURE 1. Percentages of foreign-born people living in the Netherlands, 1600–2000. (Sources: Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, article in Piet Emmer, Klaus Bade and Jochen Oltmer, *Encyclopaedia of migration and integration in Europe since the early modern period* (forthcoming, 2008); Jelle van Lottum, 'Nieuwkomers in Nederland in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 29 (2003), 256–80, 258.)

Migrants came to Utrecht from all parts of Germany, but two regions stood out (see Figure 3). The largest group consisted of traders in stoneware from the Westerwald in the duchy of Nassau (about 35 per cent of the total number of German immigrants). The Westerwalders were the only ones who sold the so-called stoneware: mostly jars and pitchers. Similar groups of Westerwalders existed in other Dutch towns, but these were smaller than the one in Utrecht. Most of the Westerwalder traders were poor.³⁸ Upon their first arrival in Utrecht at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Westerwalders seem to have landed in a part of the town that was called 'district K' (see Figure 4). By the middle of the nineteenth century their numbers ran into the hundreds. Migration from the Westerwald increased when the demand for stoneware expanded at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The number of immigrants from the Westerwald was largest in the middle of that century. After 1870 it declined sharply, not only because of a decreased demand for stoneware but also because there were more employment opportunities near the

TABLE I
*Percentages of immigrants from various countries living in
 Utrecht in 1829 and 1879*

<i>Country of origin</i>	<i>1829</i>	<i>1879</i>
Germany	60	45
Belgium	20	11
Dutch colonies	4	30
France, England and Switzerland	3	6
Berbice, Essequibo and Demerary (each):	<1	<1
Other countries ^a (each):	<1	<1
Immigrants within the population (%)	3.0	2.4
Numbers of immigrants	1,266	1,639
Population of Utrecht	42,203	68,280

^a Austria, Denmark, Greece, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Russia, Scotland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, the United States and Venezuela.

Sources: Census and population registers: The Utrecht Archive, Bevolkingsregister der gemeente volgens de volkstelling van 1829, SA IV inv. nr. 548; Bevolkingsregister der gemeente volgens de volkstelling van 1839 SA IV inv. Nr. 468; Bevolkingsregister van de wijken A – M over de jaren 1850–1890 SA V; Bevolkingsregister van de 1e en 2e afdeling (wijken A t/m H) en van de wijken I – M over de jaren 1890–1899; Bevolkingsregister van de wijken 1 t/m 6 over de jaren 1900–1912; Registers van vertrek over de jaren 1854–1923 en registers van vestiging over de jaren 1854–1923.

Westerwald in the time of Germany's industrialization. For a whole century, the Westerwalders lived inside their Utrecht neighbourhood, in district K. At the end of the nineteenth century the group dissolved and the Westerwalders dispersed. Some went back to the Westerwald, but most stayed in the Netherlands. The Westerwalders stopped working in the stoneware trade, and no new immigrants came from the Westerwald.

The second-largest group was the shopkeepers and their assistants from the region around the river Ems in Oldenburger Münsterland (about 20 per cent of the total number of Germans). Many of the immigrants from Münsterland set up large department stores and were very successful in their enterprises. Similar large German shops were located in the city centres of all Dutch towns. The owners of these large German shops were rich, while their assistants earned nothing, receiving only room and board. Traders from Münsterland had been coming to the Netherlands before the nineteenth century.³⁹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century they started to set up shops there. These firms began by selling cloth and ready-made accessories and later added ready-to-wear clothing. In the second half of the nineteenth century the number of immigrant shop assistants

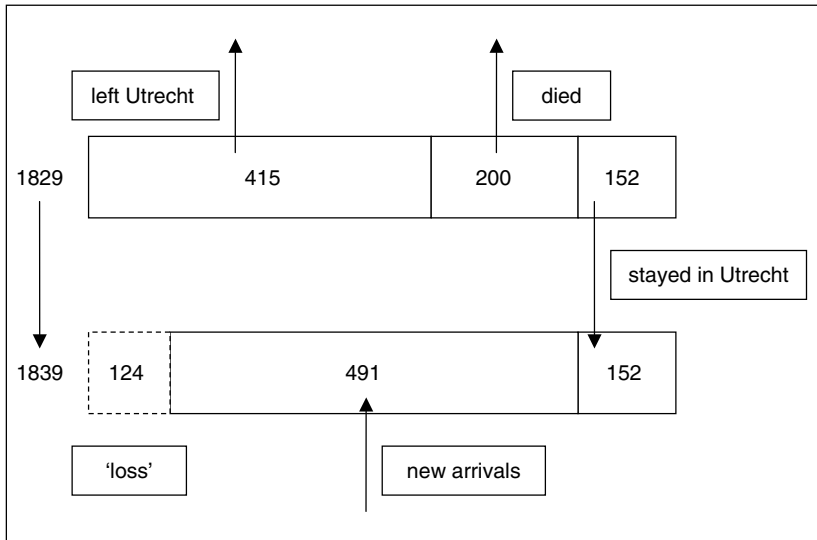


FIGURE 2. Turnover of the German population in Utrecht between 1829 and 1839. (Source: Jelle van Lottum, 'Nieuwkomers in Nederland in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 29 (2003), 256–80, 269.)

increased markedly. As we have seen, the general turnover of the migrant population was high, but among shop assistants it was even higher, especially amongst the male assistants.

There were five smaller groups of German immigrants (5 per cent each): domestic servants from around the German town of Cleves; stucco-workers from a specific part of the duchy of Oldenburg; file-makers from the Ruhr area; as well as administrators of the railways and students, who came from many different parts of Germany. The immigration of stucco-workers increased with the building boom of the second half of the nineteenth century as did to some extent that of file-makers, due to a growth in demand in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the same time, there was also an increase in the numbers of domestic servants and of students.

Belgians formed the second-largest group amongst the immigrants in Utrecht. They made up 20 per cent of the immigrant population in 1829, but only 11 per cent in 1879. In the first half of the nineteenth century, many families left Belgium when it was separated from the Netherlands after the Belgian uprising of 1830. Belgium had been part of the Netherlands for fifteen years and half of the Belgian population spoke Dutch. About half of the Belgian immigrants were the wives and children



FIGURE 3. Map showing some of the regions of origin of immigrants in Utrecht: Germans from the Oldenburger Münsterland, Clevesland and the Westerwald and Belgians from the Jeker valley.

of Dutch-born men and thus they held Dutch nationality. In the case of this Belgian migration the difference between internal and external migration blurs. Among the Belgian migrants the straw-hat-makers from the Jeker valley stood out (about 10 per cent of the total number of Belgians). Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague attracted 80 to 100 straw-hat-makers every year, but the group in Utrecht was smaller. The migration of Belgian straw-hat-makers started before the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ During the nineteenth century they migrated seasonally to France, Germany,

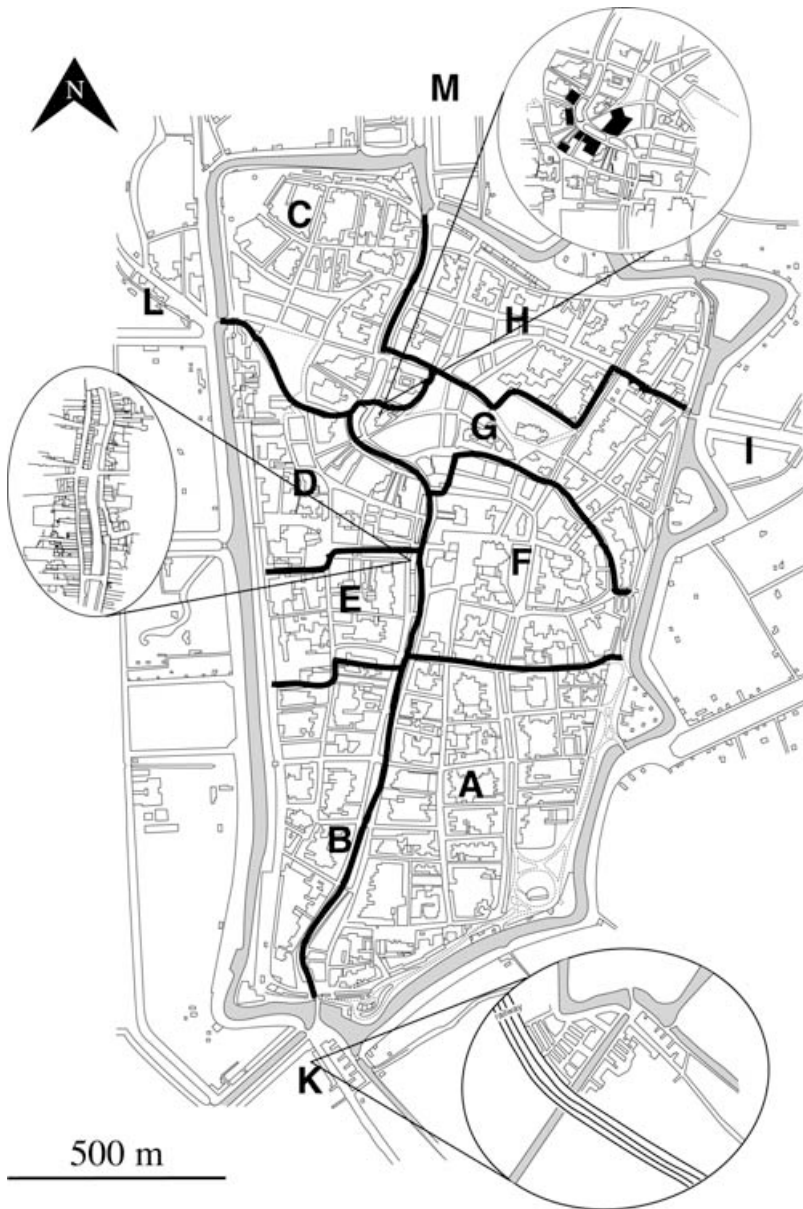


FIGURE 4. Map of the districts of Utrecht with, as insets, parts of districts G and D in which the shopkeepers from Oldenburger Münsterland had their shops and part of district K where traders from the Westerwald lived; the two streets Choorstraat and Lijnmarkt formed a multi-ethnic space in parts of districts B, E and D.

other parts of Belgium and the Netherlands. Their increased migration was – as in the other cases mentioned above – the result of a strong growth in demand.

The percentage of immigrants born in the Dutch colonies in the East and West Indies increased from 4 per cent in 1829 to just under 30 per cent in 1879. Most of the migrants from the colonies had Dutch nationality since they had a Dutch father and a native mother. The male immigrants from the colonies were administrators or military men. There was a handful of immigrants from the colonies who were described in the population registers as natives and who came as servants or pupils of Dutch families. The growth in the number of immigrants from the colonies reflects the increased settlement of Dutch-born people in the colonies some time earlier, as well as improvements in transport, most importantly the introduction of steamships and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

Migrants from France, England and Switzerland formed smaller groups (3 to 6 per cent of the total number of immigrants). Among the immigrants from England were engineers working for the railway who were accompanied by their British-born wives, children and servants. Among the immigrants from Switzerland were governesses and professional soldiers. Among the French immigrants umbrella-makers from the Auvergne formed the largest group. Their migration started at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Umbrellas, or rather parasols, were of course known in Ancient Egypt, but it was only in the nineteenth century that umbrellas became immensely popular objects of fashion. Before the nineteenth century there had been some migration from the Auvergne, but not of umbrella-makers. Migration from the Auvergne increased during the nineteenth century as umbrellas and parasols became fashionable.⁴¹

A small percentage of immigrants (1 per cent or less) came from Berbice, Essequibo and Demerary in South America. These were former Dutch colonies which were officially ceded to England in 1814 and later became part of British Guyana. Furthermore, there were immigrants (also 1 per cent or less) from – in alphabetical order – Austria, Denmark, Greece, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Russia, Scotland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, the United States and Venezuela. The immigrants from South Africa, Hungary and Venezuela were theology students. The Italians were chimney sweeps and traders in plaster figurines. The presence of Italian chimney sweeps in Utrecht can be traced back to the sixteenth century, their numbers increased in the seventeenth century, and the Italians managed to dominate this sector until the Second World War. The Austrians were mainly traders in gloves from the Tyrol. Furthermore, about a quarter of

the prostitutes in Utrecht were foreign-born, mostly from German regions but some from France or Belgium.

On the whole it can be said that the migration of Westerwalders, shopkeepers and their assistants, file-makers, stucco-workers, railway personnel, governesses, straw-hat-makers and umbrella makers, and the migration from the colonies constituted for the most part a new phenomenon in the nineteenth century. Domestic servants, professional soldiers, students, prostitutes and chimney sweeps had also migrated to Utrecht in earlier centuries. Some earlier migrations, such as that of German brewers and sugar-refiners, also came to an end at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In the nineteenth century migration changed as a result of the disturbances of the Napoleonic period, the end of guild restrictions and better trade and transport possibilities. The absolute number of immigrants rose in the nineteenth century but the percentage fell, because the population of Utrecht as a whole grew more rapidly than migration from abroad. The growth of the town was mainly due to the arrival of internal immigrants, mostly from the neighbouring countryside.

IV. VACANT SPACE, VACANT HOUSES

Neighbourhoods in Utrecht were not homogenous, as remains true for most neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Within each neighbourhood there were large houses of wealthy owners facing the main canals, while just around the corner from these houses, in the alleys that cut through the interior of the blocks, were the rows of housing for workers and the poor. Wealthy town-house owners and alley-dwellers lived in the same block, but in different types of houses.

Utrecht was divided into twelve districts: districts A to H, which lay within the city walls, and districts I, K, L and M outside the walls by the four original town-gates.⁴² In the first half of the nineteenth century the town was restrained in its growth by its walls. Before 1850, newcomers had to find a place to live within the walled town. Building outside the walls, which were the city's defence works, was discouraged, although some houses had already been built just outside the gates before 1850. The largest number of houses outside the wall was found in district K, where the Westerwalders lived. In previous eras, houses had been built in all the vacant spaces within the walls, so that by the beginning of the nineteenth century possibilities for growth had become very restricted and competition for space was severe. In the middle of the nineteenth century the town walls were demolished, although the moat that had ringed the walls remained a visible and real barrier which was only bridged at four (later

five) places. Outside this moat new suburbs were built (districts I, K, L and M). The population of Utrecht increased from 42,000 in 1829 to 68,000 in 1879.⁴³ In the inner city the population remained more or less stable. Outside the former walls the population grew from 11,000 in 1850 to 50,000 forty years later. In the inner city the number of houses remained stable at about 6,000⁴⁴ while in the suburbs the number of houses grew from 2,000 in 1850 to over 9,000 in 1890. This means that by the end of the nineteenth century many more people lived outside the former walls than within them.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century there was severe competition for space, but in the second half the building of the suburbs created space to accommodate newcomers. Most inhabitants of the new suburbs, however, were not foreign-born. In the second half of the century, the suburbs mainly housed internal immigrants (born within the Netherlands). Although immigrants definitely did not form the majority of the suburban population, several did find a place to live there, so that within the inner city both the number and the percentage of immigrants fell after the suburbs were built. Tracing individual immigrants has shown that there was little or no movement of immigrants from the inner city to the new suburbs. New arrivals found a place to live in the suburbs, but frequently moved to the old city after a short period. This was especially true for district L, which had a high turnover with many immigrants moving from there to the inner city: 50 per cent of the immigrants who had settled in district L upon arrival moved within a year. For the largest part of the nineteenth century district L was a district with few economic opportunities. Most trade and industry were located in other districts.

V. TYPES OF CONCENTRATION AND CLAIMING SPACE

In the nineteenth century, when most people walked to work, concentrations of businesses and industries frequently meant concentrations of the people working in them. Ethnic niching – the concentration of immigrants from a certain region of origin in a specific profession – is often mirrored by spatial concentrations.⁴⁵ The economic geography of Utrecht enforced certain economic concentrations. The river Vecht flows through Utrecht from south to north. Within the town it is called the Oude Gracht (the Old Canal). The Oude Gracht was the artery of the town. It was bridged in fifteen places and nobody had to walk more than a few minutes before being able to cross it. Goods were brought into the town in massive supplies via this canal. The major and fashionable shops were located in the city centre, mainly along the Oude Gracht. Water-polluting industries, such as that of the file-makers, were located on the north side of the town,

outside the city centre, where the river left the town. Industries that needed relatively fresh water, such as breweries, and traders who depended on transport to or from the German hinterland, such as the Westerwalders, were to be found on the south side of the town.

There were concentrations amongst the immigrants in Utrecht, but not all immigrants tended to concentrate. Immigrants were scattered throughout Utrecht.⁴⁶ Utrecht – like many other European towns – had a complex economy and men and women from the same group of immigrants worked in different sectors of the economy.

Foreign students and domestic servants lived in all parts of town. The same was true for governesses, although they only lived in the houses of the rich. In the case of domestic servants and governesses, the nature of their employment enforced dispersion, rather than concentration. Foreign professional soldiers lived in army barracks, but also in private houses scattered across town. Foreign prostitutes lived in brothels all over town.

From a gender perspective it is interesting that, in general, concentrations of trades and industries, and the concentrations of people involved in them, led more to the concentration of men than of women. The work of domestic servants – the most important profession for (immigrant) women in the nineteenth century – led to dispersion rather than concentration. Furthermore, it was common for domestic servants to move frequently (mostly yearly) from one family to the next, giving their residency little permanency.⁴⁷ Immigrant women who did not work as live-in servants and who were unmarried had a stronger tendency to live with married siblings than did unmarried immigrant men. Unmarried men (more often than women) were concentrated in boarding houses or lived together in groups that consisted of brothers and cousins.⁴⁸

Three-quarters of the immigrants did live within an ethnic concentration. In most cases these were micro-concentrations in which a small group of migrants dominated a small area.⁴⁹ In Utrecht four types of concentration can be identified. The first three types of spatial concentration, which we will discuss in more detail below, were the result of immigrants being housed by their employer. We distinguish these between immigrants housed by their employer in his own house or next to it; immigrants housed by their employer, not in or next to his house but in private houses across town; and immigrants accommodated in boarding houses. The fourth type consists of immigrants who lived within a concentration but who were not housed by their employer.

The Belgian straw-hat-makers, the French umbrella makers, the Italian chimney sweeps and the German file-makers fit into the first type of concentration since they were housed by their employers, in their own houses

or next to them. Since the employers tended to cluster together, this resulted in concentrations amongst their workers.

The employers usually stayed in one location while their workers moved about, mostly between Dutch towns. The Italian chimney sweep Rocco Simonis, for example, housed 17 chimney sweeps from Italy and neighbouring Switzerland in his own house, and about the same number in the house next to his. He lived in the same house from the time he moved to Utrecht in 1839 until his death in 1884. The chimney sweeps (boys and men) who worked for him usually only stayed for a few months or years, and frequently came from or moved to other Dutch towns.

A similar continuity is found in the case of Guillaume and Christine Bidos, from Paris, who in the 1830s housed dress-makers and seamstresses – all women – from France and Belgium in their own house. When the Bidos went out of business, a similar enterprise employing French and Belgian women was continued in the same house.

In the ‘spatial turn’ and ‘ethnoscape’ perspectives on urban morphology shops are seen as physical expressions of community, which by their presence state the claims of a group on a space. As Zecker has pointed out, groups can dominate a distinct section of a town by marking an area as theirs through ethnic businesses even if other groups share the streets.⁵⁰ In their study of the settlement process of immigrants in Paris in the 1930s, Judith Rainhorn and Claire Zalc observed that not all immigrant shops and enterprises were equally visible either as shops as such or as shops of immigrants.⁵¹ Shops that relied on inciting customers into buying their products – such as those selling fashionable goods – were located on the wider central streets while more specialized enterprises, which did not depend on impulse-buying were less visibly located in small side streets. In their study of Japanese-American landmarks Gail Dubrow and Donna Graves argued that migrants may chose strategic invisibility to overcome negative stereotyping within the receiving society.⁵²

Immigrants in Utrecht did make claims on space through their shops and enterprises. Two examples of the ethnic labelling of space via shops can be given: a ‘French’ hairdresser and a ‘Swiss’ baker. This labelling was striking because it lasted almost a whole century, and because the labelling continued to be French or Swiss when the owners were no longer from France or Switzerland. Although these two examples can be seen as ethnic labelling of a business, they also resulted in an ethnic labelling of space. The Frenchness of the hairdresser was stressed in frequent newspaper advertisements. Frenchness, being stereotypically associated with up-market hairdressers, was important since the centrally located fashionable hairdresser would have profited from it. During the whole nineteenth century ‘French’ barbers and their assistants lived and worked

at the same location. The 'Frenchness' of the salon meant that there was a continuous flow of French-speaking immigrants to this location over a period of a hundred years. However, these immigrants did not come from the same part of France, and some did not even come from France at all, but from the French-speaking part of Belgium. One French hairdresser was replaced by another French hairdresser, or by another immigrant posing as such.

The same story can be told for the so-called Swiss bakery. A Swiss baker and two Swiss assistants set up the bakery in the city centre at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Later in the century, the posh Swiss bakery was still to be found at the same location, but the bakers were now no longer only Swiss but also German. The Swiss image, however, was carefully cultivated and emphasized in newspaper advertisements.

One of the French umbrella-makers who had a shop on the Oude Gracht similarly emphasized the Frenchness of his enterprise by chiselling '*Fabrication Francais*' on the stone frieze of his storefront. He and the other French umbrella-makers also frequently referred to the Frenchness of their enterprise in advertisements.⁵³ However, unlike the French hairdresser and the Swiss baker, the French umbrella-makers did continue to come from the same region of France throughout the century.

In the case of the stucco-workers we find an example of the second type of concentration; immigrants who were housed by their employers in private houses, but not in or next to their own house. The stucco-workers moved seasonally since stucco-work could not be undertaken in the winter. Most stucco-workers came in the spring and returned to their native Germany in the autumn. The stucco-work could only be done at the very end of a building phase. As a result, the demand for stucco-workers showed sudden peaks, and groups of as many as forty workers travelled between the major Dutch towns in response to changes in demand. Their employers usually stayed in one place. If the stucco-master had housed his workers in his own house, it would have been empty for a large part of the year. Instead the workers found lodging with landladies who gave board to single temporary immigrants – all men, but not only stucco-workers. In this case a continuity is found with these landladies. When a landlady went out of business she was succeeded by another woman working in the same house, who like her predecessor provided board to single seasonal-immigrant men. As a result there were houses where immigrants were boarded throughout the nineteenth century. There are earlier examples of this form of concentration as well. German brewers and sugar-refiners, who were relatively numerous before the nineteenth century, lived with five or six men to a house. These 'German' houses had a very long history, stretching back over centuries. When both industries

collapsed during the first half of the nineteenth century, these 'German' houses disappeared.

Within this type of concentration there were also concentrations that were the result of the activities of just one employer, rather than a group of employers. The felt-hat-maker Mouritz Brenner, for instance, moved his factory from Cologne to Utrecht in 1878. He brought his family and 38 hat-makers with him from Cologne, some of whom were also accompanied by their wives and children. Most of the hat-makers were born in Cologne, but some were born in other parts of Germany, or in Switzerland, Hungary, Norway or Italy. All these workers lived near the factory, while Brenner and his family lived in a more posh part of town. The group of felt-hat-makers was, however, short-lived. Within three years Brenner went bankrupt, the factory closed, and the group fell apart.

The case of the shopkeepers and their assistants from Oldenburger Münsterland is an example of immigrants who fall into the third type of concentration. They were housed by their employers in boarding houses next to or above the shops, while the shopkeepers themselves lived elsewhere. Since all the shops of the immigrants from Münsterland were located on the central part of the Oude Gracht, the existence of the boarding houses led to a considerable concentration of shop assistants along this canal. The majority of the assistants were from Münsterland, but there were also Belgian, French, English and Dutch assistants. The first and the largest boarding house – that of the German immigrant Sinkel – could accommodate 70 assistants at a time. Others had a capacity of 10 to 12. The boarding houses worked to the advantage of the shopkeepers since they provided free board in exchange for free labour. The male assistants usually stayed for a short period, frequently moving elsewhere for some time and then returning to Utrecht. The assistants went to work in similar large German-owned shops in other Dutch towns, but some also went to London, Paris, New York and Chicago. This tour was designed to train the assistants for a future career as a shop-owner or manager. For the male shop assistants this migration usually lasted until they set up a shop of their own in their early thirties. The women assistants moved around less frequently and they did not set up shops for themselves.

The new and large shops of the shopkeepers from Münsterland on the Oude Gracht dominated the bend and the central part of this street. Almost all shops on this bend were German. The German shops, however, only formed a small percentage of the total number of shops in Utrecht.⁵⁴ Overall Utrecht had more than a thousand shops, but most of these were run by their owners, without assistants, whereas the German

shops had 10 to 70 assistants. Only twenty per cent of all the shops were assessed as providing their owners any taxable income. In contrast, the capital of one of the medium-sized German shops was 3 million guilders, when the average wage of a labourer was 96 cents per day. Although the German shops thus only constituted a small percentage of the total number of shops, they did dominate the market. With their large and well-lit windows they made the Oude Gracht into an attraction for shoppers from far around Utrecht. Shoppers came to the Oude Gracht to see and be seen, and to shop for leisure. The enterprises of the German shopkeepers from Münsterland were thus highly visible, but their owners did not stress their Germanness, rather the opposite. That their owners and most of the assistants were German was, however, common knowledge. Frequent references to this were made by contemporaries, always in a negative sense.⁵⁵ Since in the nineteenth century Germanness was commonly associated with poverty,⁵⁶ and later in the century with expansion and the threat of annexation, little profit could be expected from such an association.⁵⁷ The shopkeepers aimed at a strategic visibility: high visibility for their shops, but preferably not as German shops.

Within the fourth type of concentration we find the immigrants who lived in a concentrated area, but who were not housed by their employers. This applies to the Westerwalders as well as to several similar, smaller groups of traders. The Westerwalders lived in a few streets where they formed 80 per cent of the population. There were no Westerwalders living in Utrecht outside this neighbourhood. The population of Westerwalders in district K was separated from the rest of the town by real and visible boundaries: canals and major roads and, after the middle of the nineteenth century, also a railway track. This bounded space contained storehouses in which the Westerwalders kept their trade goods, and was located near the water along which goods were transported from the Westerwald. Furthermore, the neighbourhood was originally situated just outside the city gates, and goods stored here were exempted from city tax. The Westerwalders concentrated in a part of district K that consisted of small and dilapidated houses, often located in secluded backyards. Since the houses in which the Westerwalders lived were small, and the families had many children, the possibilities for taking in kin or people from the same region were restricted. People from the same region and relatives might be next-door neighbours, but they did not live under the same roof. When the group of Westerwalders grew in size, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the number of streets they dominated increased, and contemporaries labelled the neighbourhood a German colony.⁵⁸ In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Westerwalders in Utrecht had both outgrown and outlived the original

incentives that had brought these immigrants to Utrecht. Even if the Westerwalder traders are assumed to have sold their goods not only in Utrecht but also outside it, this trade would not have been able to support the hundreds of Westerwalders living in Utrecht. It was no longer the economic possibilities, but the existence of the Westerwalder group itself that brought new immigrants to Utrecht.⁵⁹ The Westerwalder traders did not set up shops, but sold their goods in a street market on a bridge across the Oude Gracht and at other markets in towns and villages around Utrecht. Their trade thus took place outside the neighbourhood in which they lived. They did not advertise in the newspapers and there are no indications that they emphasized their Germanness in any way.

To summarize, the most important observation that can be made is that there was a strong continuity in locality. In three of the four types of concentration described above, the building, the house, the landlady or the employer – or a succession of landladies or employers operating on the same spot – provided continuity. There was also some continuity in the ethnic labelling of spaces and businesses, but this labelling was strongly connected with the advantages that could be gained by making ethnic claims on a space. Claiming Frenchness was profitable, claiming Germanness was not. In three of the four cases it was the employer who enforced concentration by housing the employees. This continuity in locality lasted throughout the nineteenth century. Immigrants had easy access to these spaces, but this does not mean that they formed a community.

VI. THE ASSOCIATIONAL COMMUNITY VERSUS THE LOCALLY BASED COMMUNITY

As has been pointed out in the Introduction, in order to decide how spatial concentrations relate to community, we also have to look at associational communities.⁶⁰ The German migrants were the most active in setting up organizations. They were the largest group of migrants, but they were also a very heterogeneous group. The German immigrants stood out in Dutch society because they dressed differently and spoke a variety of German dialects.⁶¹ The *Plattdeutsch* that was spoken near the German–Dutch border was very different from the dialects that were spoken elsewhere in other German regions.⁶² But even if an immigrant spoke *Plattdeutsch*, the Utrecht population found it difficult to communicate; they could neither understand the German immigrants nor make themselves understood. German immigrants were mocked and ridiculed throughout the nineteenth century in popular theatre plays,

jokes and (children's) songs in which Germans were stereotyped as stupid and poor.

The organizations that were set up by German immigrants were relatively open ones, easily accessible by non-Germans. It is striking that none of the Westerwalders joined any of the formal German organizations. There was a multitude of organizations with little coherence. Unlike in Amsterdam, the German immigrant population in Utrecht did not have its own German theatre or newspaper. Language differences within the German group also made it difficult to run a school. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Utrecht had a small private German school with 30 pupils, but by 1850 this school had disappeared. Some of the wealthier German immigrants employed private instructors or sent their children to German-language boarding schools (some of which were in Belgium rather than in Germany), but neither was done on a large scale. It was not only the different dialects that made it difficult to run a school. The rich and the poor, as a rule, did not send their children to the same school. The same was true for Catholics and Protestants. Even in the Dutch city of Rotterdam, which had a larger and more homogeneous German-immigrant population, attempts to set up a school did not succeed until the end of the nineteenth century.⁶³

There was not only no linguistic unity but also no religious unity among the German immigrants. A little under half of the German immigrants in Utrecht were Catholic, and about the same percentage were Protestant and 2 per cent were Jewish. About half of the Protestants were Lutheran and the other half Calvinist. German Jews joined Dutch Jewish organizations in Utrecht and German non-Jewish (and non-religious) organizations. In Utrecht, there was no Catholic parish that can be labelled German. From Confession records – Confession before Easter was obligatory for Catholics – it is clear that the Westerwalders and Münsterlanders belonged to different parishes and attended different churches.⁶⁴ As has been pointed out above, the Westerwalders and Münsterlanders came from different German regions, spoke different dialects and belonged to different social classes.

The number of Lutheran immigrants to Utrecht had been high in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but started to decline at the end of the eighteenth.⁶⁵ The members of the Lutheran church in the Netherlands in earlier centuries were almost all immigrants and most were German-born. Among the Lutheran migrants, men far outnumbered women. The result was a high intermarriage rate with non-Lutheran women. Many children and grandchildren of Lutheran immigrants left the Lutheran church and joined the Dutch Calvinist church. After the turbulent period of 1780 to 1787, when the Prussian army invaded the

Netherlands, the Lutheran church distanced itself from the German invaders and from its German heritage.⁶⁶ It broke with its status as an immigrant church and became a Dutch minority church. Most of the new German Lutheran immigrants who came to the Netherlands in the nineteenth century decided not to join the Lutheran church because the sermons and psalms were no longer in German. Instead, these newcomers – mostly stucco-workers – occasionally organized their own German-language services.

French-language Protestants could gather in Utrecht in the so-called Walloon church, which had been founded in the sixteenth century by refugees from the Southern Netherlands (now mostly Belgium) and whose numbers swelled after 1680 due to the arrival of French Huguenots. The Walloon church continued to exist in later centuries because French culture and language were highly regarded by the Dutch elite. By the nineteenth century this church had lost the characteristics of an immigrant church, but remained French speaking and elitist. The French-speaking Protestants of the nineteenth century thus had a church they could attend, but the majority of the French speaking migrants (from Belgium and France) were Catholic, and they did not have their own parish.

The largest of the non-religious organizations in Utrecht were the so-called *Liedertafeln*. These German-style singing societies could be found in many German immigrant populations.⁶⁷ The *Liedertafeln*, which were first set up in the Netherlands in 1827, were led by Germans, used German study material and only sang German songs. Their membership, however, was not exclusively German. In the second half of the nineteenth century there were three *Liedertafeln* in Utrecht, but only two had a significant number of members: 770 and 550 respectively. The membership records of these *Liedertafeln* show that there were more non-German than German singers (20 per cent were German). Belgian and Polish immigrants joined the singing societies as well as Dutch singers. The membership lists show that the singing societies were accessible to German immigrant men from various religious and regional backgrounds.⁶⁸ There were Lutheran, Catholic, Calvinist and Jewish members from almost all rungs of society. Lower-class German Catholics – most noticeably the Westerwalders – were absent. The membership of Jewish singers is surprising since Jews were commonly banned from Gentile social clubs in the nineteenth century.

Turnvereinen or gymnastic clubs are considered to have been characteristic for German immigrant groups in many countries.⁶⁹ A German immigrant in Utrecht – Carl Euler – set up two gymnastic clubs, with 150 and 153 members respectively, but unlike in other countries these clubs

did not attract Germans only. Most of the members were students, and only one member was a German student.⁷⁰

Apart from these formal organizations, there were also informal gatherings. A German scientist, Theodor Engelmann, and his wife, the German pianist Emma Vick Brandes,⁷¹ for instance, for twenty years regularly organized concerts in their house, which were attended by some 200 people per event. German composers – including Johannes Brahms – musicians and scientists attended these gatherings, which were a meeting place for all those who shared an admiration for German culture, language, and science. The participants were by no means all German, however. There were also three other prominent German immigrants who organized similar gatherings in Utrecht.

German immigrants could also meet in pubs and similar places. Several had an inn, hotel or pub in Utrecht. These German establishments served German beer, which was different from Dutch beer at the time. Whether German immigrants favoured these establishments is, however, not clear. They could also eat German-style bread in Utrecht, although there was only one baker who catered to their needs and he was not German.

The choice of a spouse is commonly seen as an indicator of group formation.⁷² Of the German migrants 40 per cent married a German partner. Those who married a non-German partner were unlikely to choose somebody who had been born in Utrecht (just 2 per cent did so). More often their partner had been born elsewhere in the Netherlands (37 per cent) or came from France, the Dutch colonies, Belgium, Italy, Denmark or Austria (21 per cent). Within the German immigrant population there were large differences between the different groups. Of the Westerwalders, 85 per cent married another Westerwalder. The Westerwalders were also the group with the most balanced sex ratio. Of the Belgian migrants, 60 per cent were women, and most of them were married to Dutch men. All the straw-hat-makers were men and most of their wives remained in the Jeker valley. The same holds for the French umbrella-makers, whose wives stayed in the Auvergne. The English railway personnel migrated with their families. All the Italian chimney sweeps were men, most of whom married Dutch women. German domestic servants and Swiss governesses often did not marry, and if they did it was at a late age and usually to a Dutch man.

VII. A MULTI-ETHNIC SPACE

As we pointed out in the Introduction, mono-ethnic space has to be compared with multi-ethnic space in order to decide how spatial

concentrations relate to community. A distinctly multi-ethnic space was to be found along the Choorstraat and its continuation the Lijnmarkt (see Figure 5). These two streets belong to the oldest part of the town; their origin can be dated back to Roman times. The streets can be classified socially as middle- to upper-middle class, although not all of the inhabitants were from these classes, because employers on these streets also housed their workers. The Choorstraat and the Lijnmarkt were (and still are) centrally located shopping streets. Most buildings had a shop front and traders and artisans located on these streets were at the same time shopkeepers.

The two short streets – measuring together just over two hundred metres in length – formed a ‘micro’ multi-ethnic society. On these streets were 97 houses. The people living here adhered to various religions, came from different regions and worked in a wide range of professions. As elsewhere, Germans were the most numerous among the immigrants. Among the German immigrants were traders from Oldenburg, army officers, engineers and others working for the railway, music masters, tailors, labourers, domestic servants and numerous students of theology. There was a University lecturer, a publican, an instrument-maker, a watch-maker, a brush-maker, a carpenter, a shopkeeper selling beds, a weaver of stockings, a doctor, a pen-maker, a cook, a physicist, a wool-worker and a barber. The rich German textile factory owner Amelung lived on one of these streets, as did Rahr who sold sheet music and pianos. Furthermore the wealthy Belgian straw-hat-makers Corbesier, Frenay, Renier and Mouillard lived on one or other of the two short streets, each with their own shop and assistants. There were also Belgians who worked as publicans, a tailor, a tax collector, shop assistants and railway workers. There was the shop of the French umbrella-maker Lestrade from the Auvergne, which housed umbrella-makers’ assistants. There was also a French barber, and there were French tailors, a goldsmith and a trader in hats. There was a tinker from Norway, a student from Venezuela and an Irish tax collector. One of the houses gave lodging to single men from the Dutch East and West Indies, England, France and Luxembourg. Most of these men were civil servants and students. Students from these and other countries also lived in other houses on the two streets. There was a shop of an Italian figurine manufacturer and there were Italian plaster casters from Tuscany, making plaster decorations for walls and ceilings. There was a Swiss barometer shop and a Swiss tailor, and there were traders and railway workers from the Dutch West Indies. In terms of multi-ethnic space there was no other street in Utrecht that was similar to these two streets; on these two streets alone lived people of twelve different nationalities (see Table 2).

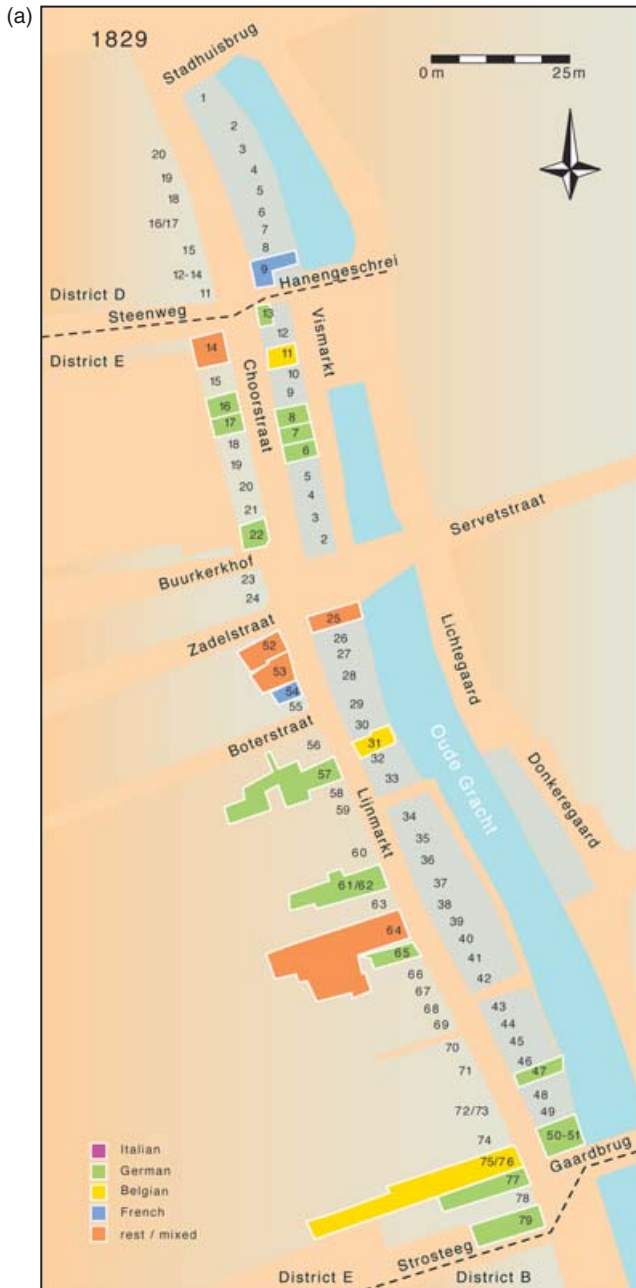


FIGURE 5 (to be continued; for legend see p. 245).

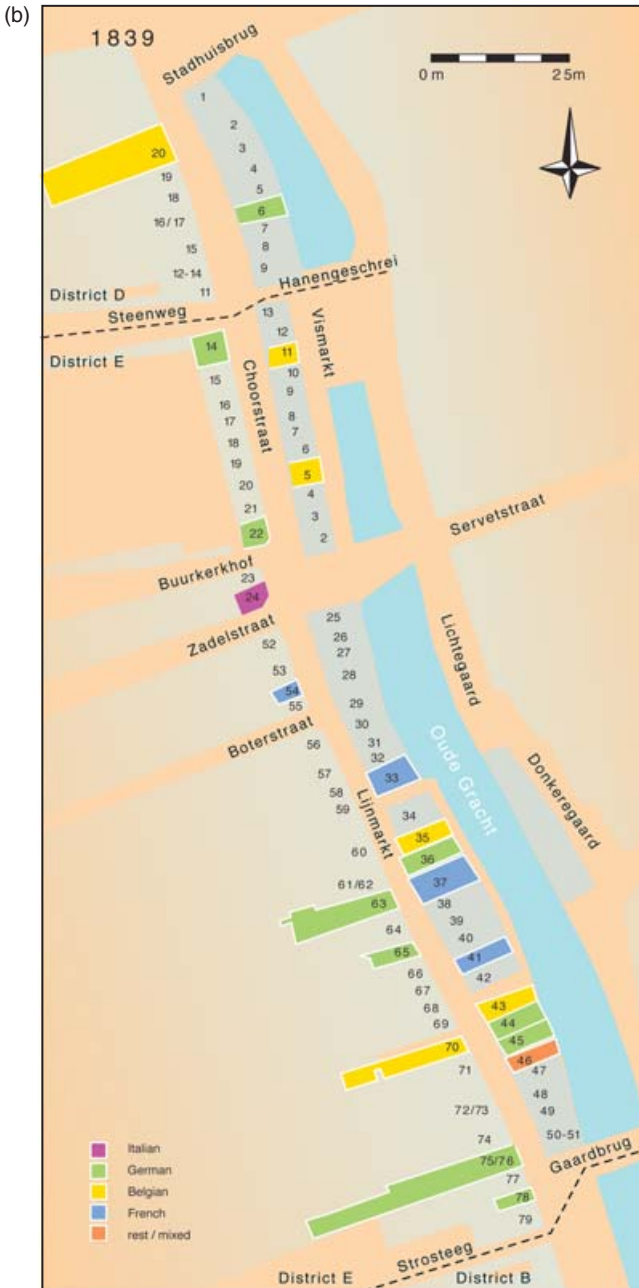


FIGURE 5 (cont.).

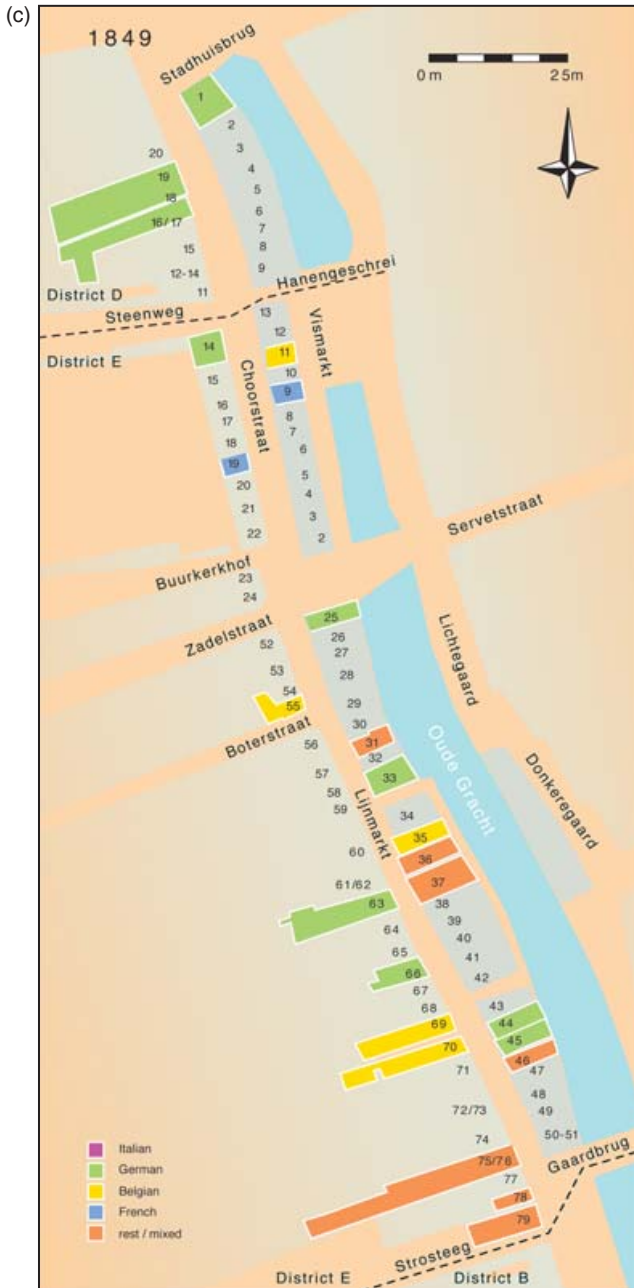


FIGURE 5 (cont.).

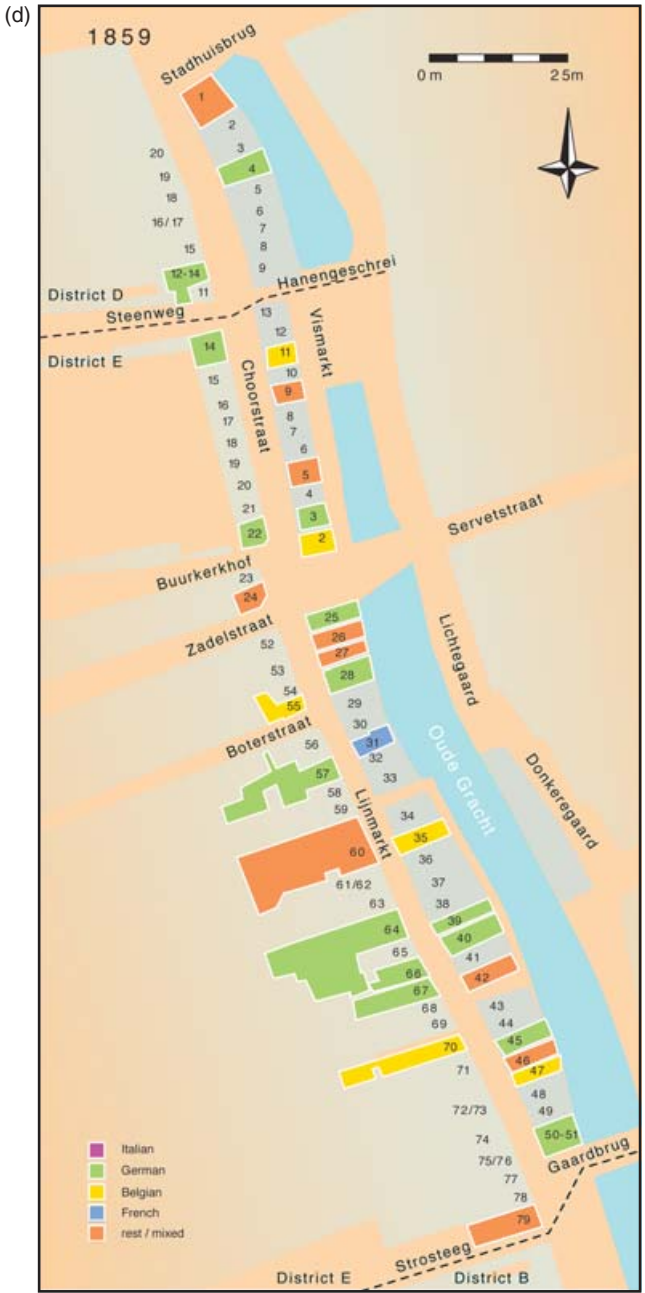


FIGURE 5 (cont.).

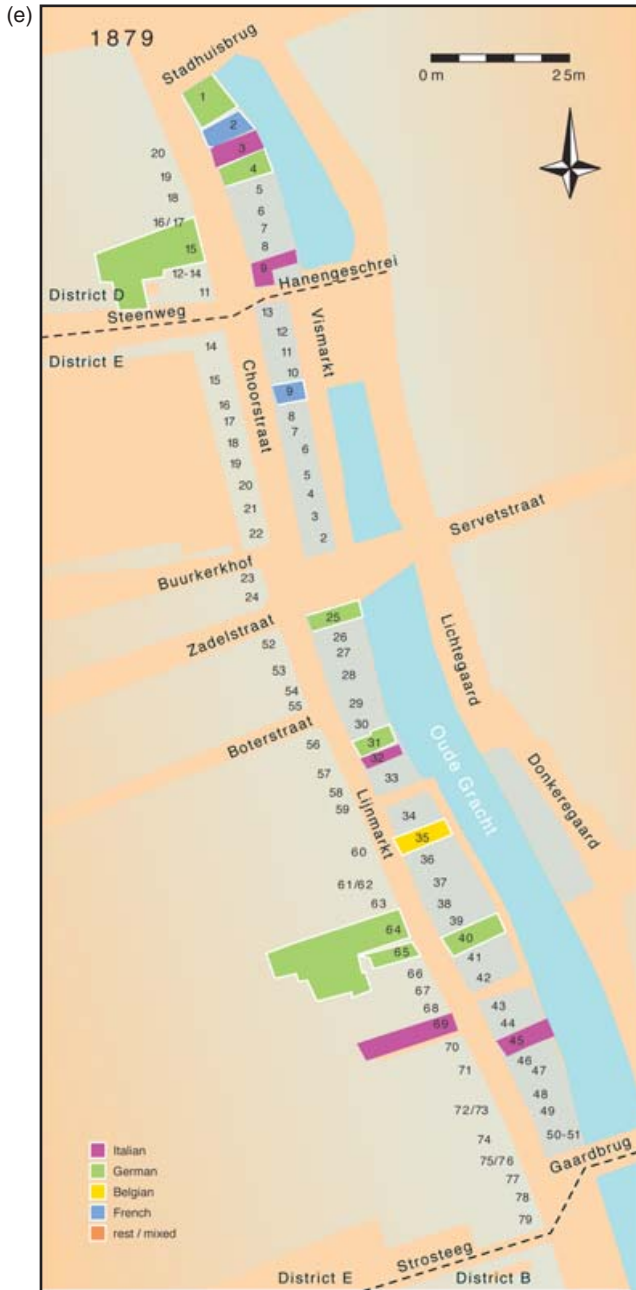


FIGURE 5 (cont.).

TABLE 2
Immigrants living in the Choorstraat and the Lijnmarkt in Utrecht from different countries per census year, 1829–1879 (N)

<i>Country of origin</i>	1829	1839	1849	1859	1879
German regions	24	12	23	25	16
Belgium	8	7	9	11	1
France	4	3	8	7	17
Italy		3	6	2	
East Indies			1	5	6
England				1	
West Indies			1	7	
Luxembourg				1	
Switzerland	3		2	1	
Norway	1				
Venezuela	1				
Ireland	1				
Total	42	25	50	60	40
Number of nationalities	7	4	7	9	4
Number of houses with migrants ^a	22	21	25	34	16

^a Total number of houses = 97.

Sources: Database constructed by the authors from archival materials listed in Table 1.

Despite the large number of nationalities, immigrants did not form a majority in these streets, however. The number of immigrants was highest in 1859. In that year there were immigrants living in one third of the houses, whereas in other years it was a quarter or less. The percentage of immigrants was much higher on these streets than elsewhere in the inner city (where it was 3 per cent on average).

FIGURE 5. The multi-ethnic space of the Choorstraat and Lijnmarkt: (a) in 1829; (b) in 1839; (c) in 1849; (d) in 1859; and (e) in 1879. These streets formed a multi-ethnic space. Colouring in these maps indicates the largest group within a house: if several French umbrella-makers and one German domestic lived in a house it is identified as French; if the occupancy was mixed, with no group predominating, the house is labelled as mixed; premises not coloured (grey) are those of the host population. (*Sources:* The Utrecht Archive, 'Bevolkingsregister der gemeente volgens de volkstelling van 1829, SA IV inv. nr. 548; Bevolkingsregister der gemeente volgens de volkstelling van 1839 SA IV inv. nr. 468; Bevolkingsregister van de wijken A – M over de jaren 1850–1890 SA V. Bevolkingsregister van de 1e en 2e afdeling (wijken A t/m H) en van de wijken I – M over de jaren 1890–1899; Bevolkingsregister van de wijken 1 t/m 6 over de jaren 1900–1912; Registers van vertrek over de jaren 1854–1923 en registers van vestiging over de jaren 1854–1923'.)

In 1839 there was a dip in the number of immigrants living in these streets as a result of a general economic downturn. Thereafter the number of immigrants, their diversity in terms of country of birth, and the number of houses with immigrants all increased until 1859. This increase is surprising if it is compared to the general trend. The number of immigrants in Utrecht, and in the Netherlands as a whole, decreased continuously through the nineteenth century. The number of immigrants on these streets rather surprisingly continued to increase long after the onset of an overall trend of decline. The street remained attractive for immigrants when the country and the town were already increasingly less so. After 1859 very few new immigrants came but those who lived on these streets stayed. After 1859 the immigrant population aged and slowly died out. By 1879, the percentages had decreased (though the data for 1869 are not complete).⁷³ Only the number of French umbrella-makers remained relatively high.

The inhabitants of the two streets did have contacts with each other and met on various occasions, as the records of several organizations show. Music store owner Rahr, for instance, was a member of the local trade committee along with the German textile trader Thueré and a German lieutenant called Carp. Rahr and Thueré also sang together in a *Liedertafel*, as did the Belgian straw-hat-maker Frenay, the German textile factory owner Amelung and the German trader Veltman. Amelung was a witness at the birth of Thueré's daughter. Rahr sang in a second *Liedertafel* with the Belgian straw-hat-makers Corbersier and Frenay, and the German music master Patzer and the German teacher Hisgen. The Belgian straw-hat-maker Corbersier employed German assistants. The French umbrella-maker Lestrade had a German domestic servant. Guisti, the trader in plaster figurines from Lucca in Tuscany, had as a best man at his wedding the barometer trader and shopkeeper Fochetti from Brione in Switzerland.

The Choorstraat and the Lijnmarkt were not dominated by any of the types of concentration described above. The various groups did not form islands within the streets, as is shown in Figure 5a–e. They moved between houses, which were inhabited sequentially by different groups of immigrants and sometimes also by mixed groups of immigrants. Immigrants did not move to these streets from a mono-ethnic neighbourhood. Immigrants living on these streets moved to the newly built suburbs or elsewhere in town. The multi-ethnic community showed more stability – measured in terms of the number of years people lived there – than the other forms of concentration described above, with the exception of the Westerwalders. Residents within the multi-ethnic space of the Choorstraat and the Lijnmarkt differed in their behaviour from

those who lived in the mono-ethnic space. In the multi-ethnic space we have found that a community persisted.

VIII. CONCLUSION

Since the days of the Chicago School, spatial concentration of immigrants has been linked to community formation. Recent research, using the 'spatial turn' approach and the concept of the 'ethnoscape' continues to use spatial concentration as a measure for integration and community formation. But can spatial concentrations be equated with communities? In this article, different types of concentrations have been identified in Utrecht in the nineteenth century. Most of these concentrations were micro-concentrations. The visibility of these concentrations, and hence the ethnic labelling of space, depended on the profit that could be gained from ethnic labelling: claiming Frenchness was profitable, while claiming Germanness was not. The economic geography of the town largely determined where these concentrations were located. For instance, the concentration of fashionable and large shops in the city centre, mostly on the Oude Gracht, combined with central housing by the employers, led to concentrations of immigrants. Since most of the large shops were German, the concentration of Germans was largest, but we find in the same neighbourhood similar concentrations of immigrants with a different geographical backgrounds. The types of concentration represent pockets of immigrants with a strong attachment to a particular locality. However, given the high turnover of inhabitants, there was little continuity in occupancy, and hence little coherence and no community. The group of Westerwalders formed an exception. Concentrations evolved depending on what can be called the 'spatial opportunity structure', analogous to the older concepts of 'political opportunity structure'⁷⁴ and 'economic opportunity structure'.⁷⁵ The same 'vacancy chain' mechanism that is observed in the case of the economic opportunity structure applies to the spatial opportunity structure; new arrivals found spatial niches left vacant or vacated by others. The concentrations of immigrants described above – with the exception of that of the Westerwalders – evolved from necessity and opportunity, rather than from preference.

Our study of immigrant organizations has shown that most organizations were relatively open and united both migrants and non-migrants. Organizations were not linked to spatial concentrations. Our example of a multi-ethnic space shows that, although the people did not share a common geographical origin, they did form a community that exhibited both coherence, and strong continuity. Most importantly, this study of concentrations that persisted over a long period of time has revealed that

what may seem to be communities on an aggregated level – continuity in locality – have proven not to be communities at the level of the individual migrants – no continuity in occupancy. Spatial concentrations can thus not be equated with communities and communities did exist outside spatial concentrations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research was funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).

ENDNOTES

- 1 See M. M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American life: the role of race, religion, and national origins* (New York, 1964).
- 2 See Scott J. South, Kyle Crowder and Erick Chavez, 'Migration and special assimilation among U.S. Latinos: classical versus segmented trajectories', *Demography* **42**, no. 3 (2005), 497–521.
- 3 See Sean-Shong Hwang, 'Ethnic enclosure or ethnic competition: ethnic identification among Hispanics in Texas', *Sociological Quarterly* **32**, no. 3 (1991), 469–76.
- 4 See Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee 1836–1860: accommodation and community in a frontier City* (Cambridge MA, 1976).
- 5 E. Soja, *Postmodern geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory* (London, 1989); J. H. Furnée, 'Bourgeois strategies of distinction: leisure and the transformation of urban space: The Hague 1850–1890', in S. Gunn and R. J. Morris eds., *Identities in space: contested terrains in the western city since 1850* (Aldershot, 2001), 3, 6; S. Gunn, 'The spatial turn: changing histories of space and place', *ibid.*; Paul van der Laar, 'Stadshistorici en het genderperspectief; een inleiding op het thema vrouwen en de stad', *Sekse en de city: vrouwen en de stad in de negentiende eeuw. Jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis* **22** (2002), 11–27.
- 6 Arjun Appadurai, 'Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy', *Public Culture* **2** (1990), 1–23.
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