

IMIS-BEITRÄGE

Heft 14/2000

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

Institut für Migrationsforschung
und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS)
Universität Osnabrück
D – 49069 Osnabrück
Tel.: (+49) 0541/969-4384
Fax: (+49) 0541/969-4380
e-mail: imis@uni-osnabrueck.de
internet: <http://www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de>

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

THEMENHEFT

Europa als Wanderungsziel
Ansiedlung und Integration von Deutschen
im 19. Jahrhundert

Herausgegeben von
Peter Marschalck

Vorwort

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

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

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

Der Vorstand: Klaus J. Bade
 Michael Bommes
 Hans-Joachim Wenzel

Inhalt

Peter Marschalck

Einführung 7

Trude Maurer

Between German and Russian Cultures:
Germans in the Cities of the Tsarist Empire 13

Panikos Panayi

The Settlement of Germans in Britain during the Nineteenth Century 25

Marlou Schrover

German Communities in Nineteenth-Century Utrecht:
Factors Influencing the Settlement Process 45

Gesa Snell

Deutsche Immigranten in Kopenhagen im 19. Jahrhundert 75

Greta Devos and Hilde Greefs

The German Presence in Antwerp in the Nineteenth Century 105

Die Autoren 129

Marlou Schrover

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

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

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

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

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

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

Research Approaches

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 6 James Harvey Jackson, *Migration in Duisburg, 1867–1890. Occupational and Familial Contexts*, in: *Journal of Urban History*, 8. 1982, no. 3, pp. 235–270.
- 7 B.P. Mullan, *The Impact of Social Networks on the Occupational Status of Migrants*, in: *International Migrations*, 27. 1989, no. 1, pp. 69–86.
- 8 Model, *The Effects of Ethnicity*; Edna Bonacich/John Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity. Small Business in the Japanese-American Community*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1980; Jan Rath, *Minorisering: de sociale constructie van etnische minderheden*, Utrecht 1991.
- 9 Roger Waldinger, *Still the Promised City? African-Americans and New Immigrants in Postindustrial New York*, Cambridge, Mass./London 1996, pp. 21–25, 302–304.
- 10 Masao Suzuki, *Success Story? Japanese Immigrant Economic Achievement and Return Migration 1920–1930*, in: *Journal of Economic History*, 55. 1995, no. 4, pp. 889–901.

more there is a link between the migrants and the region of their origin¹¹, which will be stronger if the region of origin is a restricted, geographically demarcated area. It may continue to exist if the second and third generation of migrants keeps alive the illusion of future return to the country of origin.¹² As long as the illusion of return exists, the values of the region of origin, and ties with the own group will be considered more important than that of the host society.¹³

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

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

According to Waldinger the formation of niches is the logical outcome of migration¹⁶: Newcomers have a restricted number of contacts, and mostly with people from the same regional background. The exchange of informa-

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

12 Willems/Cottaar, *Het beeld van Nederland*.

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

14 Marlou Schrover, *Omlopers in Keulse potten en pottentrienen uit het Westerwald*, in: Marjolein 't Hart/Jan Lucassen/Henk Schmal (red.), *Nieuwe Nederlanders. Vestiging van migranten door de eeuwen heen*, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 101–120; Ku-Sup Chin/In-Jin Yoon/David Smith, *Immigrant Small Business and International Economic Linkage: a Case of the Korean Wig Business in Los Angeles, 1968–1977*, in: *International Migration Review*, 30. 1996, no. 2, pp. 485–510.

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

16 Waldinger, *Still the Promised City?*

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

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

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

Utrecht: Immigrant History and Sources

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

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

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

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

Utrecht

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

Utrecht is located in the centre of the Netherlands. From 1856, it had a railway connection with Prussia. In 1849, Utrecht had a population of 50,000. It increased to almost three times that amount by 1920. Until 1880, expansion was mainly due to natural growth; after 1880, immigration was more important.¹⁹ In the first half of the nineteenth century, almost all people lived within the city moat. By 1890, more than half of the population lived outside it. Houses were built on land that had previously been used for horticulture. In the course of the nineteenth century, the employment opportunities in industry, trade and commerce increased, whereas work in the domestic sector became less important. The number of people working in agriculture was halved between 1849 and 1930. Although it is true that Utrecht industrialised late, possibly later than the rest of the Netherlands²⁰, its lateness must not be exaggerated. Utrecht did not industrialise late; it was rather never much of an industrial town. Utrecht, because of its central position, became an important centre for trade and commerce.

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

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

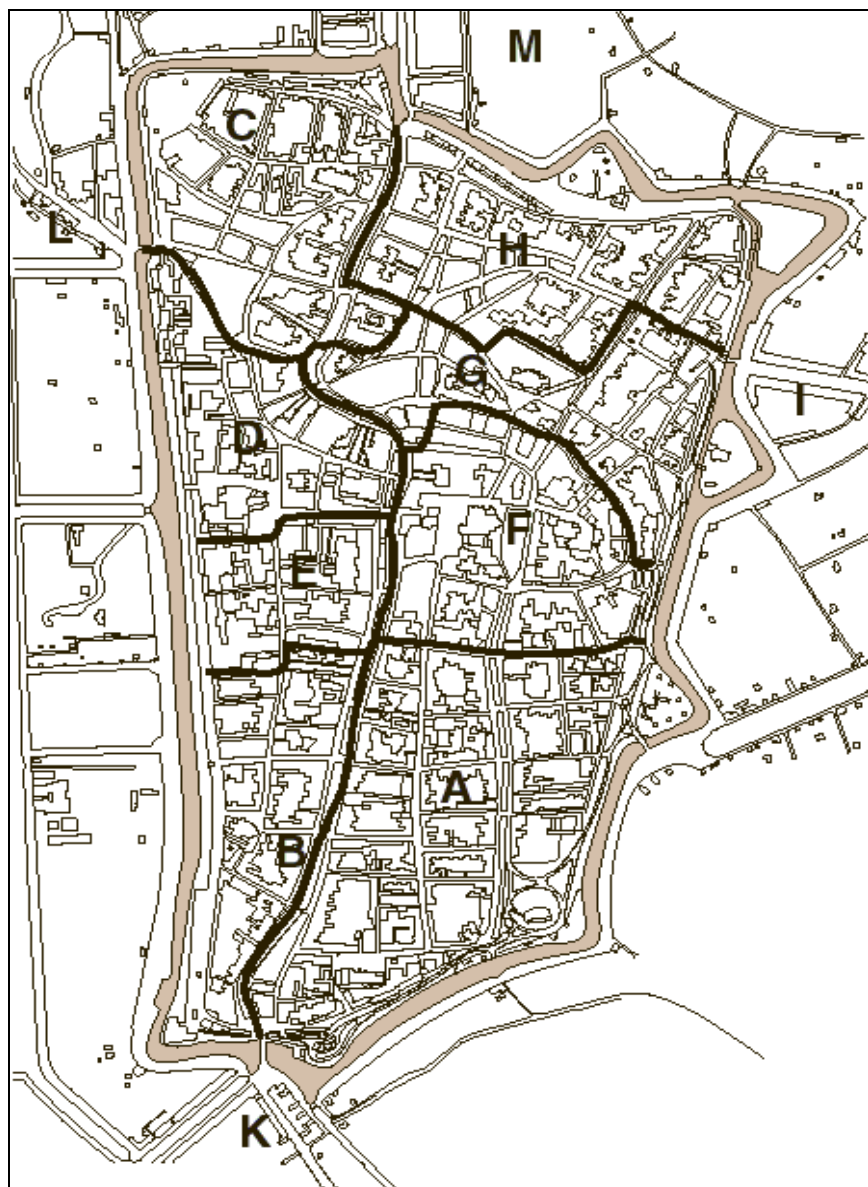
19 Piet D. 't Hart, *Utrecht en de cholera 1832–1910*, Utrecht 1990, pp. 297f.

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

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

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

Utrecht in 1850 (by Municipal Districts)



Source: Municipal Archive Utrecht.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source: Municipal Archive Utrecht, IV 1172–1173.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 59f.

²⁹ 't Hart, Utrecht en de cholera, p. 67.

Officially there were about 500 German residents in Utrecht in 1849.³⁰ This figure rose to just over 600 in 1879. The figure does not describe the German community in an analogous manner to contemporary definitions of migrant communities, because it does not include migrants' children. Furthermore, it does not include the temporary migrants. In 1849, there were 1,700 such temporary migrants residing in the town. Temporary migrants were all those who did not have their residence registered with the civil administration. This included people who resided in town for a couple of weeks, but also ones who stayed for years on end. Students, domestic servants and travelling traders and artisans, who assumed they came only on a temporary basis, often did not change their residence officially. It is not known how many of the 1,700 temporary residents were German.

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

Analysis of Integration: Religion and Profession of Immigrants

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

30 Volkstelling 1849.

31 Rommes, Oost, west, Utrecht best?

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

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

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

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

33 See Trude Maurer's contribution to this volume.

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

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

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

In district M, and later also in L, we find Germans working on the railway. Railway construction begun in 1843. The main station was built on the west side of the town, and as a result German specialists lived in that part of the city, as did the British engineers. Whereas British-born wives, children, and servants accompanied the British engineers, this seems to have been much less the case with German migrants, who were mostly skilled workers and engine drivers. German railway men often married Dutch women. Railway workers, the number of which increased sharply between 1860 and 1880, did not come only from one region in Germany. They moved frequently both inside and outside Utrecht as well as with their families to Germany and back. As a result of these frequent moves there could be children with Dutch and German nationality within one family. Engine drivers and others involved in railway building and rail transport formed a mobile group. In 1869, the decrease in the Utrecht population was, for instance, explained in the city's annual report³⁶ by the transfer of a large group of railway workers to

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

36 Gemeenteverslag Utrecht 1869.

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

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

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

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

37 MA Utrecht Vestigingsregister.

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

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

Rather separate from the textile traders from Oldenburg and Tecklenburg was a group of traders from Oberkirchen, Westfeld, Nordenau, and Ober-Sorpe; villages in the mountainous part of the German Sauerland region.⁴⁰ These traders were mostly men, and family ties often related them to each other. They concentrated in district D, but there were also some people from the same region in other parts of the town. They are described as traders, without a specification of the object of their trade. They may have traded in wooden products, as the region they came from was known for this⁴¹, however they may also have traded in iron products or knitted goods. In the first part of the nineteenth century, the villages from which they originated specialised in the production of ironware. In the second half of the century they switched to the production of knitted goods such as stockings and underwear. In this period, the region produced 720,000 pairs of stockings per year. This domestic industry involved some 300 people working on advanced knitting frames. Towards the end of the nineteenth century this industry collapsed due to competition from factories outside the region.⁴² The Utrecht traders may have dealt in iron goods, knitted ware and wooden products at the same time. This would explain the lack of a specification in their job description. In Utrecht the traders married outside their own group which was not large and moreover consisted mainly of men.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

44 Ibid, p. 142, 157.

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

46 Rommes, *Oost, west, Utrecht best?*.

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

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

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

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

Case Studies: Stoneware Traders and Filemakers

Stoneware Traders

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

59 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

60 Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, w 241-345.

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

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

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

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

63 Schrover, *Groepsvorming onder Duitse aardewerkhandelaren*.

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

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

Filemakers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Files were made in the Remscheid region at least from the fifteenth century onwards. All ironwork was severely guild regulated. Filemakers had their own guild. Even when the guilds were abolished, filemaking remained organised in a guild like manner. It stayed within only a few families, and went from father to son. In 1853, the filing cots in the Remscheid region were mostly owned by the Picard family; an important family in filemaking. Some authors have deduced from the French sounding name Picard, derived from Picardy in France, that the origin of filemaking must be found in Huguenot migration around 1685.⁶⁸ Others have, however, found no immigration of Huguenots to the Remscheid region in this period. Moreover, the name Picard predates the era of Huguenot migration.⁶⁹ There was a family by the name of Picard living in Utrecht in the middle of the nineteenth century. This family must have come to Utrecht, from Herdecke in the Remscheid region, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, because children were born to this family in Utrecht at that time. Although the family lived in district M, where most of the filemakers lived, Picard's son was not a filemaker, but a typesetter.

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

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

67 Höher, *Heimat und Fremde*.

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

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

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 20–25.

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

Migrants coming to Utrecht from the Remscheid region at the beginning of the nineteenth century found a community of others that came before them from the same region. The filemakers differed in this respect from the stoneware traders who did not settle in Utrecht before the nineteenth century. At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, specialised metal workers from the Remscheid region came to Utrecht, mainly to make gun barrels and work in weapon assembly. These specialised metal workers seem to have disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century. From the registers of the Lutheran church it becomes clear that hands and journeymen metal workers from the same region continued to come to Utrecht until the end of the eighteenth century. They, however, apparently did not set themselves up in business. The cause for this may have been the high barrier to entry set up by the guilds and the unfavourable development of the trade after 1740.⁷¹ Like in the case of the stoneware traders, abolition of the guilds will have opened up new possibilities for members of this group. The fact that now they could not only work as hands and journeyman, but also as independent craftsmen will have influenced the permanency of their stay, creating a much more stable community.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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