

Notes and Documents

German Migrants in Colonial Pennsylvania: Resources, Opportunities, and Experience

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IN recent years, historians have begun to reexamine the importance of the process of transatlantic migration for the social experience of colonial Americans. By linking particular groups of settlers to their European background and by tracing the transfer of norms and values to the New World, they have broadened our understanding of the influences that shaped the lives of immigrants.¹ At the same time, they have enhanced our knowledge of the roles specific ethnic groups played in the evolution of American society.² In 1987, A. G. Roeber united these concerns for a reassessment of colonial Americans' European origins and for greater attention to the ethnic diversity of British North America when he pointed to scholarly neglect of the German element and developed a research agenda to "mak[e] this silent population speak."³ Roeber called for efforts to unearth the social and cultural roots of these immigrants by relating German archival material to their experiences in America.

This article addresses part of the research agenda put forward by Roeber. It analyzes social and economic experiences of German settlers and demonstrates the interplay of resources they brought from the Old World and opportunities available in the New by following a particular

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¹ Examples include Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York, 1985), and *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1986); David Grayson Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1981); David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987); and Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1991).

² Of particular importance are Ned S. Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765* (Princeton, N. J., 1985), and Randall Balmer, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies* (New York, 1989).

³ A. G. Roeber, "In German Ways? Problems and Potentials of Eighteenth-Century German Social and Emigration History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XLIV (1987), 774.

group of migrants across the Atlantic. Between 1732 and 1754, several hundred people left the principality of Baden-Durlach in southwestern Germany to seek their fortunes in America; most of them went to the Pennsylvania backcountry. The article examines their socioeconomic position in Europe and their economic careers in Pennsylvania.

Situated on the right bank of the upper Rhine River, the territory of Baden-Durlach contained hardly more than 40,000 people at the beginning of the eighteenth century. By mid-century, as the margravate recovered from heavy damages wrought by seventeenth-century wars, the number may have increased to about 85,000.⁴ The lower part of the margravate, from which came virtually all of Baden's eighteenth-century emigrants to America, contained about 30,000 people living in the towns of Karlsruhe (the seat of government), Durlach, and Pforzheim and in about fifty villages. The administration of the state was organized in a hierarchical manner, and the village communities had only a very limited degree of self-government. The lower margravate was divided into four *Ämter* or districts; in each district an *Amtmann*, a government bureaucrat, handled most legal and financial matters and served as intermediary between the villagers and the central government agencies, the *Hofrat* and the *Rentkammer*, the former being the judicial and interior department, the latter the treasury department.⁵

The officials of the *Rentkammer* in Karlsruhe were dismayed when four families of the village of Graben proposed to migrate to Pennsylvania in 1732: they found it strange that those families intended to go to a foreign country where thousands were reported to have fallen into misery and ruin.⁶ The three Graben families that actually emigrated formed the vanguard of an exodus of hundreds of Badenens to the New World in the following decades. Since the great majority were still in a nominal state of serfdom to their prince, they had to secure permission to leave; the records of their releases from serfdom, or "manumissions," as they were called, are preserved in the files of Baden-Durlach's central government.⁷

⁴ Bernd Wunder, "Der schwäbische Kreis," in Kurt G. A. Jeserich et al., eds., *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Band 1: *Vom Späten mittelalter bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches* (Stuttgart, Ger., 1983), 629-631; Helen P. Liebel, *Enlightened Bureaucracy Versus Enlightened Despotism in Baden, 1750-1792* (Philadelphia, 1965), 4-6; Clemens Zimmermann, *Reformen in der bäuerlichen Gesellschaft: Studien zum aufgeklärten Absolutismus in der Markgrafschaft, Baden, 1750-1790* (Ostfildern, Ger., 1983), chap. 1.

⁵ A good summary of Baden-Durlach's governmental structure is contained in Werner Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden und dem Breisgau* (Stuttgart/Aalen, Ger., 1980), 102-104.

⁶ Badisches Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 61/1238 RK 1547, hereafter cited as GLA.

⁷ In contrast to serfdom in the East-Elbian region of central Europe, serfdom in southwestern German states such as Baden-Durlach during the 18th century was relatively benign. The dues the prince received from his serfs were small, and although the condition of serfdom theoretically implied the serf's inability to move away from his place of residence without his master's consent, the subjects of

Extracted from the government documents and published by genealogist Werner Hacker, the manumission records provide valuable information about the size and composition of Baden-Durlach migration to Pennsylvania and the resources emigrants took with them.⁸ The records must be used with caution, however. In many instances, they do not tell the destination of the applicant, and although Hacker could identify in Philadelphia's ship lists a number of names from the Baden-Durlach records,⁹ in other cases he could only guess at the places where migrants intended to go. The present study includes only those manumissions where North America definitely can be established as the destination.¹⁰ The biggest problem with the manumission records is incompleteness: urban inhabitants of Baden-Durlach, being free from serfdom, did not need a release in order to emigrate, and rural Badeners who needed permission may have left without obtaining the prince's consent. Despite these shortcomings, the records seem to cover the great majority of eighteenth-century migrants to North America, because cases of "illegal" migration often came to the attention of the government and because the population of the margravate was overwhelmingly rural.¹¹

Migration from Baden-Durlach shows basic similarities to the general pattern of German migration to Pennsylvania outlined by Marianne Wok-

Baden-Durlach at least were nearly always granted that permission. See Theodor Ludwig, *Der badische Bauer im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Straßburg, 1896), 37; also Werner Troßbach, "'Südwestdeutsche Leibeigenschaft' in der Frühen Neuzeit: Eine Bagatelle?" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, VII (1981), 69-96; Kurt Andermann, "Leibeigenschaft im Pfälzischen Oberrheingebiet im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, XVII (1990), 281-303. The legal and actual differences of serfdom in the eastern and western parts of central Europe are treated in Heide Wunder, *Die bäuerliche Gemeinde in Deutschland* (Göttingen, Ger., 1986), chaps. 4, 5.

⁸ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*. See also Aaron Fogleman, "Progress and Possibilities in Migration Studies: The Contributions of Werner Hacker to the Study of Early German Migration to Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History*, LVI (1989), 318-329.

⁹ These lists have been published in Ralph Beaver Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers. A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1808*, ed. William J. Hinke, 3 vols. (Norristown, Pa., 1934). For a discussion of the lists see Marianne Wokeck, "The Flow and Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727-1775," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, CV (1981), 249-278.

¹⁰ In addition, Hacker included several cases in which an emigrant's name is spelled in different ways in different entries. The emigrant Jacob Bertsch, for example, appears under the surnames "Bartsch" and "Bentsch" in Hacker's work (see Nos. 316, 569); another emigrant is variously spelled "Neess" (No. 7274) and "Neff" (No. 7290), and a third appears as "Reminger" (No. 7842) and "Romiger" (No. 7846). I have tried to eliminate such variations.

¹¹ The three urban centers of Baden-Durlach—Karlsruhe, Durlach, and Pforzheim—contained 10-15% of the population at most; see Hermann Jacob, *Einwohnerbuch der Markgrafschaft Baden-Durlach im Jahre 1709* (Schopfheim, Ger., 1935). Emigration from Durlach also suggests that urban migration to North America was not very large. See Otto Konrad Roller, *Die Einwohnerschaft der Stadt Durlach im 18. Jahrhundert . . .* (Karlsruhe, Ger., 1907), 55-59.

eck: it rose during the 1730s and 1740s, peaked around the middle of the century, and declined afterward. The peak years of migration from Baden—1737–1738, 1744, 1749–1754—coincide with the peak years of general German migration to America.¹² Most migrants from Baden-Durlach left in those few years. The first wave, of about sixty-five families, including more than 300 individuals, left during 1737, and some 170 followed in 1738.¹³ A second crest came in 1744, when about 150 people left. The largest surge took place around mid-century: close to 800 persons—more than half of all eighteenth-century emigrants from the region—migrated between 1749 and 1754, the peak years being 1751 and 1752 (with 230 and 190 emigrants respectively). After 1754, migration fell precipitously; only sixty persons left Baden-Durlach for America between 1763 and 1775. Overall, about 460 families plus single adults—at least 1,500 individuals—went from Baden-Durlach to America during the period under examination.

Among the resources these migrants took with them, two were especially significant: number of family members and financial means. Children were an asset because they could be employed in carving out a new life in the colonies or bound out to help pay the family's passage costs or supplement its income.¹⁴ The amount of property a migrant owned at the time of transplantation has to be measured against the general economic situation in America, especially the level of wages and the price and availability of land.

Data for known migrants from twenty Baden villages, 1732–1754, describe a demographic profile of a sample of 255 emigrants (55 percent of those from the lower margravate).¹⁵ As Table I shows, almost two-

¹² Wokeck, "Flow and Composition," 258–273, and "A Tide of Alien Tongues: The Flow and Ebb of German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1683–1775" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1983).

¹³ These and the following figures are calculated on the basis of data presented in Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, and Roller, *Einwohnerschaft der Stadt Durlach*, 55–59. The heavy emigration of 1737 evidently caused some concern in the Baden government; the *Hofrat* obtained a number of emigrant letters from the magistrate of Basle, which it used to compose a decree strongly warning all subjects about the hazards of migrating to America. The letters are in GLA 74/9847; the decree is in GLA 74/84.

¹⁴ That the practice of binding out children was common among German immigrants to Pennsylvania is emphasized in the growing body of literature on the redemptioner trade. While older works usually condemn the practice because it tore families apart, Farley Grubb demonstrates its economic rationality in "Redemptioner Immigration to Pennsylvania: Evidence on Contract Choice and Profitability," *Journal of Economic History*, XLVI (1986), 407–418. The importance of children's labor in the family economy is pointed out in, among others, James A. Henretta, *The Evolution of American Society, 1700–1815* (Lexington, Mass., 1973), 18, and Reinhard Sieder, *Sozialgeschichte der Familie* (Frankfurt, Ger., 1987), 17.

¹⁵ The villages for which the reconstitution was undertaken were selected primarily because of the relative completeness of parish records and the comparatively large numbers of migrants from these places. The villages are Bauschlott, Berghausen, Blankenloch, Brötzingen, Büchig, Dietlingen, Eggenstein, Ellmendingen, Eutingen, Göbrichen, Graben, Grötzingen, Knielingen, Niefern, Rußheim,

TABLE I
MIGRANTS FROM BADEN-DURLACH TO AMERICA BY NUMBER OF FAMILY
MEMBERS LEAVING TOGETHER

Size	1732-1739	1740-1745	1749-1754	1732-1754	% of sample
1	7	17	37	61	23.9
2	9	8	12	29	11.4
3	12	3	16	31	12.2
4	14	2	22	38	14.9
5	9	3	18	30	11.8
6	11	4	10	25	9.8
7	6	1	10	17	6.7
8	1	—	4	5	1.9
9	3	2	7	12	4.7
10	2	2	1	5	1.9
11	1	—	—	1	0.4
12	—	—	12	1	0.4
Total	75	42	138	255	100.0

thirds moved as families of at least three persons; nearly one in four cases involved a single man or woman, and nearly one in eight a couple without children or a single parent and child. Only in the early 1740s was the percentage of single emigrants appreciably higher: 40 percent of the applicants for manumission in 1744 were unmarried persons. Families with one to four children account for almost one-half of all migrants. The average size of families was almost the same for each of the three periods: in the 1730s it was 4.9 persons; in the early 1740s, 4.7; and around mid-century, 4.8.

In what stage of their life cycle did these families emigrate? The answer can be approached by calculating the interval between the establishment of a family through marriage and the year of migration. Excluding cases of remarriage, the length of marital union can be calculated for 153 couples. Thirty-seven of these couples, or slightly under one-fourth, had been married less than five years, and another forty-two (27.5 percent) between five and ten years. Almost half the families were ten or more years old at the time of their departure and can therefore be considered mature; one out of five had been established twenty or more years before leaving.

A number of families could thus count on the human capital of agricultural skills acquired through years of experience, as well as on the labor of grown or adolescent children. Unlike migration from another southern German territory, Würzburg, in the eighteenth century, the movement

Söllingen, Spöck, Staffort, Stein, and Welsch-Neureut. For information on individual parish registers see Hermann Franz, *Die Kirchenbücher in Baden*, 3d ed. (Karlsruhe, Ger., 1957).

was not primarily a movement of young people.¹⁶ Furthermore, families as well as single migrants were often connected with each other by kinship. One-half the single men and virtually all the single women traveled as part of a family (usually that of a married brother or sister), and migrants from some villages formed extensive kinship networks. For example, the families of Hans Matthäus Pfeil, Andreas Kammerer, Georg Schütz, Simon Schittel, and Peter Rausch, who left Graben together in 1737, were all interrelated through marriage.¹⁷

When villagers applied for permission to emigrate, the *Amtmann* evaluated their property and, after deducting outstanding debts, charged a fee (*Abzug*) for taking the property out of the country. This fee, which originated in the *Gerichtsherrschaft*—the prince's authority over his subjects in legal matters—amounted to 10 percent of the net value of an emigrant's property.¹⁸ In most cases, the amount of the *Abzug* appears in the manumission records, and although the authorities did not always charge exactly 10 percent,¹⁹ fees nevertheless can be used as indicators of economic standing. Persons owning less than fifty florins' worth of property were often called "poor" or "indigent" in the government records, and persons with 200 florins or more were considered substantial property owners.²⁰ Data for 290 emigrants (see Table II) suggest that only about one in five owned substantial property, whereas more than one in three were poor. On the whole, Badeners migrating during 1749–1754 appear to have been poorer than the emigrants of the 1730s.²¹

Valuations from additional property records help determine what a property of 50, 100, or 200 florins amounted to. Most emigrants were villagers; most villagers were farmers; some worked as artisans and part-time farmers, the most common artisanal occupations being weaver,

¹⁶ See Robert Selig, *Räutige Schafe und geizige Hirten: Studien zur Auswanderung aus dem Hochstift Würzburg im 18. Jahrhundert und ihre Ursachen* (Würzburg, Ger., 1988), 165.

¹⁷ The importance of family and extended kinship ties to 18th-century emigrants has been noted by students of other territories. See especially Wolfgang von Hippel, *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland: Studien zur württembergischen Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Ger., 1984), 46–47, and Hans Ulrich Pfister, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Kronauer Amt, 1648–1750: ihr Ausmass, ihre Strukturen, und ihre Bedingungen* (Zürich, Switz., 1987), 150, 164–67, 290–95.

¹⁸ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, 112; Ludwig, *Der badische Bauer im 18. Jahrhundert*, 28.

¹⁹ In some instances, if an emigrant's property was valued at less than 50 florins, the authorities charged a "minimum fee" of 5 florins.

²⁰ The *Amtmänner* were expected to make a special effort to dissuade these comparatively wealthy persons from emigrating. Ludwig, *Der badische Bauer im 18. Jahrhundert*, 90.

²¹ Some students of 18th-century migration surmise that the Germans participating in the mass movement across the Atlantic, 1749–1754, were generally poorer than their predecessors. See, e.g., Eva Schünzel, "Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Nordamerika im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert" (D. Phil., Universität Würzburg, 1959), 158.

TABLE II
 ASSESSED PROPERTY VALUES OF BADEN-DURLACH MIGRANTS TO AMERICA

Florins	No. of Immigrants			Total	%
	1732-1739	1740-1745	1749-1754		
0- 50	30	17	55	102	35.2
51-100	17	12	23	52	17.9
101-200	29	10	32	71	24.5
201-500	16	6	29	51	17.6
500-	4	2	8	14	4.8
Total	96	47	147	290	100.0

shoemaker, tailor, cooper, carpenter, and smith.²² Property records reveal that the primary possession of villagers was land and that a property worth, say, 100 florins—which fewer than half of the emigrants could claim—did not amount to more than a few acres. Some examples will illustrate this point.

The property of Matthäus Hübscher, who left the village of Söllingen in 1751, was valued at 127 florins; he therefore belonged to the large group of migrants who were considered neither indigent nor wealthy.²³ According to Söllingen's *Schatzungsbuch*—a record of landholdings for the purpose of taxation—one *Morgen* (0.82 acres) of average-quality farmland was valued at sixteen florins, at eight florins if inferior. Hübscher owned about two acres of farmland and slightly over one acre of vineyard—mostly land of low quality.²⁴ Most of his neighbors lived in similar circumstances. A 1778 enumeration of landholdings for the village of Rußheim shows that not one of the 206 landowners listed had more than four acres of farmland; in Knielingen, only forty out of more than 350 villagers recorded in the same year had more than four acres, and none owned more than eight.²⁵

By comparison, Michael Mössner, who left Baden for Pennsylvania in 1738, was a substantial landholder. He sold his house, approximately ten

²² By the 18th century, combined farming and craft production was a common feature in the household economy of southwestern Germany. See von Hippel, *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland*, 50, and David W. Sabeau, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge, 1990), 49, 62, 156, 159, 319.

²³ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, No. 4111. Of 13 emigrants who left Söllingen between 1750 and 1752, 9 owned 100-160 florins and were thus in financial circumstances similar to Matthäus Hübscher. Two had more than 200 florins, while 3 were virtually propertyless.

²⁴ The Söllingen *Schatzungsbuch*, which was begun in 1700, is in the community archives of Pfinztal, B 23-25.

²⁵ GLA 148/198. In the Breisgau area of southern Baden, 80-90% of landholders held less than 5 Hektar (11 acres) in 1770. Albrecht Strobel, *Agrarverfassung im Übergang: Studien zur Agrargeschichte des badischen Breisgaus vom Beginn des 16. bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg, Ger., 1972), 127.

acres of farmland, tenancy rights to the eighth part of a *Meierhof* (a farm belonging to the margrave), one and one-half acres of meadow, and one acre of vineyard for the considerable sum of 728 florins. The net value of Mössner's property given in the manumission records, however, was only 100 florins. Most of the money from his sale must have gone to pay debts.²⁶ Indeed, the records indicate that emigrants were commonly in debt. The property of Andreas Kesinger, a migrant of 1737, was valued at 222 florins, but only seventy florins remained after creditors were paid.²⁷ Repeatedly, the authorities noted that an applicant for manumission had more debts owing than his property was worth.²⁸

Besides the small size of holdings and indebtedness, a third normal feature of the migrants' economic situation was the fractured and scattered nature of landholding. The ten acres Mössner sold in 1738 did not consist of a single tract but of no fewer than thirty-four parcels, most smaller than a quarter acre and dispersed all over the village district. By the middle of the eighteenth century, such divided landholdings had become very common in southwestern Germany and virtually universal in Baden.²⁹ Taken together, small, scattered holdings and high indebtedness made most of the emigrants marginal property holders who often had to ply a trade as well as farm in order to make a living.

First among the causes of marginalization was the practice of partible inheritance—dividing estates equally among heirs—prevalent in Baden as well as in many other territories of southwestern Germany.³⁰ In addition, Baden-Durlach's population more than doubled during the first half of the eighteenth century,³¹ increasing competition for resources within as well

²⁶ GLA 61/14014, fol. 19 (Oberamt Pforzheim, Kontraktenprotokolle, 1738); Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, No. 6907.

²⁷ GLA 229/74084.

²⁸ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, Nos. 599, 7552, 8821. For a good discussion of the debt problem affecting the rural population of the Upper Rhine area see Alfred G. Straub, *Das badische Oberland im 18. Jahrhundert: die Transformation einer bäuerlichen Gesellschaft vor der Industrialisierung*, Historische Studien, CCCCXXIX (Husum, Ger., 1977), 45–49. See also Sabeen, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, 47.

²⁹ Strobel, *Agrarverfassung im Übergang*, 99–100.

³⁰ For suggestive treatments of the effects of partible inheritance on rural society in early modern Germany see *ibid.*, 96–101, Lutz K. Berkner, "Inheritance, Land Tenure, and Peasant Family Structure: A German Regional Comparison," in Jack Goody et al., eds., *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200–1800* (Cambridge, 1976), 71–95, and esp. Sabeen, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*. Studies that view the practice of estate partition as a primary cause for emigration from southwest Germany in the 18th century include von Hippel, *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland*, 59, and Selig, *Räutige Schafe und geizige Hirten*, 165. See also Roeber, "The Origins and Transfer of German-American Concepts of Inheritance," *Perspectives in American History*, New Ser., III (1986), 117.

³¹ The lower margravate population probably was about 15,000 in 1709 and 37,000 by 1764. Lists of adult male inhabitants of Baden-Durlach were drawn up at the accession of margrave Karl Wilhelm in 1709. From these, Jacob estimates the population of the lower margravate in that year at 12,200, in *Einwohnerbuch der*

as between villages and preventing heirs from consolidating their landholdings. By mid-century, land and firewood were becoming scarce, and communities attempted to keep immigrants out by raising the property qualifications required of each newcomer. In 1749, for example, two widows in the village of Rußheim, Margaretha Elser and Barbara Schmid, wished to remarry; each had selected a poor man from neighboring communities. When their plans met with opposition from their fellow villagers, who were not willing to admit any more outsiders into their community, the women made what the local pastor called a "desperate resolution" and migrated with their spouses to Pennsylvania.³²

The long-term consequences of partible inheritance and population growth were intensified by short-term fluctuations of the agricultural economy. Repeated bad harvests could be disastrous for marginal landholders. The village of Blankenloch, from which migration was especially heavy around mid-century, was hit by devastating hailstorms in 1746 and 1749.³³ The renewal of warfare in 1733 after two decades of peace imposed additional burdens. The wars of the Polish Succession (1733–1738) and the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) forced Badeners to pay high wartime contributions and suffer the excesses of French and imperial armies marching through their territory.³⁴ The terminations of these wars coincided with the two largest waves of migration to America during the eighteenth century.

Finally, in times of peace as well as war, Badeners were subjected to heavy taxation and close state supervision. On the basis of various feudal rights, the margrave was entitled to about 30 percent of a peasant's annual income.³⁵ These obligations occasionally became topics of debate between subjects and authorities. Villagers particularly resented government attempts to regulate their use of resources. Measures to limit the consump-

Markgrafschaft Baden-Durlach, 9. The 1764 figure, based on the much more reliable census of that year, is from GLA 74/9045. A recent statistical analysis for Baden-Durlach demonstrates a "remarkably strong correlation between an indicator of population pressure and an indicator of emigration intensity"; Georg Fertig, "Migration from the German-Speaking Parts of Central Europe, 1600–1800: Estimates and Explanations," Freie Universität Berlin, John F. Kennedy-Institut für Nordamerikastudien, Working Paper No. 38/1991, 17.

³² GLA 61/839 HR 330, 768; Kirchenbuch Rußheim, marriages, 1749. For additional cases of village communities trying to exclude outsiders see GLA 61/813 HR 471; 61/821 HR 133; 61/827 HR 1006; 61/840 HR 909, 1378; 229/13332. See also Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, 148, for the same phenomenon.

³³ GLA 229/9412.

³⁴ This discussion of the effects of war is based on GLA 171/1653, 180/216, 171/1674, 148/262, 136/1036.

³⁵ Zimmermann, *Reformen in der bäuerlichen Gesellschaft*, 24. The legal basis of feudal obligations in Baden is discussed in Ludwig, *Der badische Bauer im 18. Jahrhundert*, chap. 1.

tion of wood from the forests, for example, led to protests and lengthy conflicts.³⁶

Facing this array of problems, many Badeners were ready to leave. To men such as Balthasar Süß of Graben and Friedrich Wullenweber of Liedolsheim, who claimed in 1736 to have been "so hard hit by the last war, that they could hardly feed themselves anymore in villages already thus densely populated,"³⁷ migration to Pennsylvania appeared the only alternative to abject poverty.³⁸

We turn now to the circumstances of migrants in Pennsylvania in order to assess the influence of their European background on their economic performance and social status in America.

Of the 460 migrants from Baden-Durlach to the American colonies, about three quarters appear in the Philadelphia ship lists. Of these, 115 have been definitely located through church records, tax lists, or other local sources in Pennsylvania.³⁹ Pennsylvania seems to have absorbed at least 75 percent of Badeners who have been identified in American sources. There is no evidence that many left the colony for Maryland, Virginia, or the Carolinas: census lists, church books, and probate records reveal only isolated instances of Badeners going to these colonies either

³⁶ Debate over the use of wood from Baden-Durlach's largest forest, the Hardtwald, began in 1722 and continued intermittently for over 3 decades; GLA 148/119-120, 132, 134.

³⁷ "Durch letzteren Krieg dergestalt mitgenommen worden, daß sie sich kaum mehr an ohnedem mit Innwohnern reich besetzten Orthen nähren könnten"; GLA 61/1255 RK 756.

³⁸ The reasons given by Badeners for emigrating to America confirm Hermann Wellenreuther's observation that "the image of America the immigrants brought to Pennsylvania was determined by the negative economic and social conditions in the Old World," in "Image and Counterimage, Tradition and Expectation: The German Immigrants in English Colonial Society in Pennsylvania, 1700-1765," in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1985), I, 88. Since there is very little direct information about the recruitment of emigrants in 18th-century Baden-Durlach, no attempt is made here to evaluate the contested question of the relative importance of "push" and "pull" factors in the emigration process. The data on the economic situation of the migrants presented here, however, do suggest that a comfortable existence in the New World must have been a very appealing prospect.

³⁹ The frequency of certain names and the high mortality of new immigrants make tracing difficult. See note 11 above and Billy G. Smith, "Death and Life in a Colonial Immigrant City: A Demographic Analysis of Philadelphia," *J. Econ. Hist.*, XXXVII (1977), 863-889. Some migrants never arrived; these included a shipload taken by Spanish warships in 1744 and returned to Europe. See Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, Nos. 4712, 4715, 7272, 9269, 9273, 9267-9277, as well as the German-American newspaper *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber*, Feb. 16, 1745, on the capture of the ship *Argyle*. This event helps account for the fact that fewer than 10% of migrants of the early 1740s have been found in Pennsylvania or elsewhere, in contrast to the much larger proportion—about two-thirds—of the 1730s migrants, who are known to have settled in Lancaster and Philadelphia (Berks after 1752) counties.

directly or after an initial stay in Pennsylvania.⁴⁰ German settlements in Maine and Nova Scotia received somewhat larger contingents from Baden-Durlach: several dozen people settled there around mid-century.⁴¹ Most migrants settled in Pennsylvania in the rural areas of northern Lancaster and southern Berks counties: smaller numbers—particularly after 1749—moved to Northampton County or remained in the urban centers of Philadelphia and Lancaster. Surprisingly few went to counties west of the Susquehanna River.⁴² The following discussion concentrates on immigrants who settled in the southeastern part of Pennsylvania. It employs as primary sources the tax lists for 1758 and 1771 from Lancaster County, where more than half of Baden-Durlach immigrants settled.⁴³

⁴⁰ Only 4 immigrants from Baden-Durlach, for example, can be shown to have moved to western Maryland: Matthäus Eck from Au, Johann Michael Rauh from Dürrn, Georg Haushalter from Rufheim, and Georg Stober from Staffort. See Frederick S. Weiser, trans. and ed., *Records of Marriages and Burials in the Monocacy Church in Frederick County, Maryland, and in the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in the City of Frederick, Maryland, 1743-1811* (Washington, D. C., 1972), 109-110, 115-116; Maryland Census 1778, Elizabeth Hundred, Frederick County, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis. Three Badenens can be located in South Carolina: Hans Georg Rippeler from Karlsruhe in Charleston, and Abraham Dupuis and Jacques Herlan, two Huguenots from Friedrichsthal, in Orangeburg County. See Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, No. 8035, and A. S. Salley, Jr., *History of Orangeburg County, South Carolina . . .* (Orangeburg, S. C., 1898), 143-144, 165, 173, 185-186, 203-205.

⁴¹ According to Winthrop P. Bell, 21 single migrants and migrant families from Baden-Durlach (55 persons altogether) came to Nova Scotia between 1750 and 1753. Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, Can., 1961), 97, 306-307. For detailed information on some of the families from Baden-Durlach settling in Maine see Jasper J. Stahl, *History of Old Broad Bay and Waldoboro*, 2 vols. (Portland, Me., 1956), esp. chap. 14, and Josef Roggenbauer, "Über die schweren Anfänge einer deutschen Siedlung in Neu-England aus der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, XIX (1969), 297-302.

⁴² Immigrants who show up in the records of York or Cumberland counties usually moved there after an initial stay in one of the counties east of the Susquehanna. Thus Johannes Haffner and Conrad Renninger, who migrated from Graben in 1750 and first appear in the records of Lancaster County, later bought land in Cumberland County. See William H. Egle, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d Ser. (Harrisburg, Pa., 1894-1899), XVII, 141, 418, XX, 397, 545, XXIV, 687. For a detailed exposition of the settlement patterns of immigrants from Baden-Durlach see Mark Häberlein, *Vom Oberrhein zum Susquehanna: Studien zur badischen Auswanderung nach Pennsylvania im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Ger., forthcoming), chap. 6.

⁴³ The 1758 lists are in the Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster (LCHS), and on microfilm at the Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg. The 1771 lists are in Egle, ed., *Pa. Archives*, 3d Ser., XVII, 1-165. The 18th-century tax lists for rural Pennsylvania usually distinguish 3 categories of taxpayers: householders (owners and tenants), "inmates" (persons occupying a dwelling they did not own), and "freemen" (single men living under somebody else's roof). For a discussion of these categories see Lucy Simler, "Tenancy in Colonial Pennsylvania: The Case of Chester County," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XLIII (1986), 546-548. Because virtually all the Baden immigrants defined as "freemen" in the tax lists could be

TABLE III
 LANDHOLDINGS OF BADEN-DURLACH MIGRANTS IN
 LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

<i>Acres Held</i>	<i>No. of Immigrants on 1758 Tax List (%)</i>	<i>No. of Immigrants on 1771 Tax List (%)</i>
0	13 (27.6)	11 (20.0)
1- 49	3 (6.4)	4 (7.3)
50- 99	8 (17.0)	6 (10.9)
100-199	20 (42.6)	28 (50.9)
200-	3 (6.4)	6 (10.9)
Total	47 (100.0)	55 (100.0)

Forty-seven taxpayers in the 1758 lists and fifty-eight in the 1771 lists can be identified as Baden-Durlach immigrants. Twenty-four appear in both lists; nine others who show up in the 1758 lists had died by 1771 and are replaced by sons; thirteen sons of immigrants are only in the 1771 lists. Thirteen persons present in 1758 seem to have moved out of the county by the later date; twenty-one new ones appear in 1771. Except for three Badeners who resided in the town of Lancaster by 1771, all were living in the rural northern and northwestern townships of the county. As Table III shows, slightly more than a quarter of these settlers had no land in 1758, and almost one-half owned more than 100 acres, mostly between 100 and 200.⁴⁴ By 1771, the proportion of landless taxpayers among the Badeners in Lancaster County had declined: only one in five lacked land, while more than 60 percent now possessed at least 100 acres. Clearly, with the passing of time immigrants tended to move up the economic ladder.⁴⁵ It is also noteworthy that eight of the thirteen immigrants who show up in the 1758 lists and disappear by 1771 had been landless, and only two had owned more than fifty acres, whereas virtually all immigrants owning substantial farms of 100 acres or more in 1758 were still in the county thirteen years

identified as sons of householders or inmates, the following discussion concentrates on persons appearing in the first two categories of taxpayers.

⁴⁴ As James T. Lemon has shown, Lancaster County farms commonly ranged from 80 to 200 acres during that period. In 1758, 2,462 farms in the county had an average acreage of 135.5; very few holdings exceeded 500 acres. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1972), 88-91, 180. See also Arthur C. Lord, "The Pre-Revolutionary Agriculture of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, LXXIX (1975), 23-42.

⁴⁵ The relationship between age and landholding has frequently been emphasized in studies of colonial society. See Elizabeth Augusta Kessel, "Germans on the Maryland Frontier: A Social History of Frederick County, Maryland, 1730-1800" (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 1981), 125-126, 138-140, Simler, "Tenancy in Colonial Pennsylvania," 556-569, and Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1988), 187-188.

TABLE IV
 LANDHOLDINGS OF BADEN-DURLACH MIGRANTS IN LANCASTER COUNTY,
 PENNSYLVANIA, IN RELATION TO TIME OF ARRIVAL AND
 FINANCIAL RESOURCES¹

Year	Acres Held	No. of Immigrants 1733-1739	No. of Immigrants 1749-1754	Average Amount of Property Assessed in Baden-Durlach ²
1758	0	—	13	60 fl (7)
	1-99	4	7	155 fl (14)
	over 100	17	4	336 fl (8)
1771	0	3	8	95 fl (4)
	1-99	5	4	134 fl (6)
	over 100	19	12	250 fl (20)

¹Two Badenens who arrived in 1744 are excluded from the table.

²The number of cases for which this information is available is given in brackets.

later, indicating a close connection between landholding and persistence.⁴⁶ On the other hand, eight of the Badenens who appear only on the second list resided in the northwestern section of the county, a fact that may point not only to continued migration of Badenens into that area between 1758 and 1771 but also to a more complete registration of taxpayers in that region, which was still very much in a frontier state in 1758.

As Table IV illustrates, one important determinant of the immigrants' success in acquiring land was the time of arrival in Pennsylvania. All Badenens who came in the 1730s and have been identified in the 1758 tax lists were landholders, with four out of five possessing 100 or more acres. Conversely, the migrants of 1749-1754 were still mostly landless in 1758. In 1771, the gap between the two cohorts of migrants had narrowed but is still visible. While one-half the mid-century immigrants had moved into the ranks of substantial landholders, one-third were still landless; and while a few of the earlier immigrants had lost ground during the 1760s, more than two-thirds held at least 100 acres in 1771. To put it differently: within two decades, a great majority of the first wave of immigrants held sizable estates, but only half those in the second wave had achieved a similar status after two decades in Pennsylvania. These figures suggest that mid-century migrants had much greater difficulty acquiring land than had their predecessors.

One reason was rising land prices. An acre in Lancaster County that commonly sold for six to fifteen shillings in the 1730s cost between twenty-five and sixty-five shillings by 1760,⁴⁷ yet the migrants of 1749-1754 were poorer than those of the 1730s.

⁴⁶Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*, 83. For a different view see George W. Franz, *Paxton: A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry* (New York, 1989), 133.

⁴⁷Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*, 67-69.

Mid-century immigrants faced two further problems. First, they were part of the largest single wave of Germans flooding into Pennsylvania during the colonial period and therefore experienced stiffer competition for land and employment than earlier migrants. Second, they arrived just before the Seven Years' War broke out in 1754. Until accord was reached with the Delawares and Shawnees in 1758, Indian raids kept settlers from the frontier and threatened older areas of settlement. Between 1755 and 1757, attacks affected such areas of predominantly German population as the Tulpehocken Valley, the region around Swatara Creek, and much of York County, causing farmers to seek refuge in the colony's eastern counties.⁴⁸

Whatever the time of migration, money was crucially important. From the manumission records we know the property valuations of twenty-nine Badeners appearing in the 1758 Lancaster tax lists and of thirty on the 1771 lists. Table IV shows a correlation between these migrants' wealth before and after migration. Badeners owning 100 acres or more in 1758 came with more than twice as much capital as migrants holding smaller acreages—and more than five times as much as landless ones. By 1771, the correlation between capital imported and acreage acquired had weakened but was still significant. In general, the more substantial landowners not only arrived earlier but were also considerably wealthier before crossing the Atlantic than their less economically successful counterparts.

Finally, the life cycle of migrant families influenced their economic prospects, with mature families that could count on the labor of children enjoying an advantage. The effects of the life cycle, in conjunction with the timing of migration and initial capital resources, can be demonstrated in a series of examples.

Few migrants from Baden-Durlach were better circumstanced than the Weidmanns, who came from the village of Graben in 1733. The large family comprised 58-year-old Matthäus and his second wife, his eldest son, Martin, aged 35, married and father of four small children, and two younger sons, Jacob Heinrich (who followed the rest of the family in 1737) and Johannes, who was 15 years old in 1733.⁴⁹ With ample capital and family labor, the Weidmanns settled in northern Lancaster; in 1734, Matthäus and Martin Weidmann each had 200 acres of land in Warwick Township patented to them.⁵⁰

Matthäus Weidmann died in 1741, leaving his land to his son Johannes. Martin Weidmann subsequently increased his holdings substantially: he

⁴⁸ The effects of the Seven Years' War on German settlers in backcountry Pennsylvania can be followed in Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696-1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia, 1945), esp. chaps. 43-50. See also Samuel Hazard, ed., *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 16 vols. (Harrisburg, Pa., 1851-1853), VI, 645-655, 703-705, and Franz, *Paxton*, esp. 43-79.

⁴⁹ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, Nos. 10612-10614; genealogical information from the church records of Graben, in the archives of the Evangelischer Oberkirchenrat, Karlsruhe.

⁵⁰ Lancaster County Land Warrants A 56-166, AA 3-44, C 234-259, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg.

took up 387 acres in Cocalico Township in 1745, 536 in 1748, and 80 more in 1758—about 1,000 altogether.⁵¹ Some of this land he later resold with handsome profits: 172 acres for £700 (Pennsylvania currency) in 1757 and 215 acres for £900 to his 30-year-old son Jacob in 1766.⁵² At the time of his death in 1768, Martin Weidmann left £855 worth of property to two sons and four daughters.⁵³ In addition to his economic success, he was an elder in the Warwick Lutheran church and was repeatedly appointed by the Lancaster Court of Quarter Sessions to committees for laying out county roads.⁵⁴ His two eldest sons, Christoph (born 1724) and Wendel (born 1726), were landholders in Cocalico Township as early as 1756; Wendel was taxed for an indentured servant in that year, and when Christoph drew up his will in 1794, he assigned sizable landholdings and two “Molata Girls” to his heirs.⁵⁵

The case of Wendel Zwecker also illustrates the advantages of an early arrival and substantial starting capital. Zwecker came from Graben in 1737 with 850 florins worth of property. He, too, became a substantial landowner in Pennsylvania; at his death in Earl Township, Lancaster County, in 1760, he left 290 acres to three children. His success was accompanied by social recognition: in 1743 he became a founding trustee of Earl Township’s Lutheran church.⁵⁶ When he established himself in Pennsylvania, however, he could not have drawn much help from family members, because three of the four children, aged 2 to 9 years, with whom he traveled in 1737, had died by 1749. Only two children born after his arrival in Lancaster County, Maria Magdalena (born 1738) and Ignatius (born 1741), survived their father.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Ibid., C 224-159/A 17-166, C 224-189/A 14-410, D 1-95/H 21-263. Egle, ed., *Pa. Archives*, 3d Ser., XXIV, 558, 561. Most of the land acquired in 1758, however, remained unpatented.

⁵² Lancaster County Deed Books E 307-9, O 49, Lancaster Court House.

⁵³ Lancaster County Will Book F-1-251, Lancaster Court House.

⁵⁴ F.J.F. Schantz, “History of the Brickerville Congregation in Lancaster County,” *Lancaster County Historical Society Historical Papers*, III (1899), 64; Lancaster County Court of Quarter Sessions Dockets, May 1757, Feb. 1763, Feb. 1765, LCHS. Evidence indicates that Martin Weidmann pursued his economic interests aggressively. In 1748, he and Michael Neess, another immigrant from Baden-Durlach, became involved in a dubious inheritance case; GLA 61/837 HR 1631. Between 1743 and 1757, Weidmann took several persons to court for unpaid debts; Lancaster County Court of Common Pleas Appearance Dockets, Nov. 1743, Feb. 1750, Feb. 1752, Aug. 1757, LCHS.

⁵⁵ Lancaster County Will Book 1-1-439.

⁵⁶ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, No. 11466; Lancaster County Tax Lists, Earl Township, 1751-1759; Lancaster County Orphan’s Court Records, Mar.-June 1763, LCHS. Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793* (Breinigsville, Pa., 1981), 312.

⁵⁷ Church records, Graben, passim.; Wendel Zwecker, will, unprobated, 1749, Lancaster Court House; Glenn P. Schwalm and Weiser, trans. and eds., *Records of Pastoral Acts at Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, New Holland, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1730-1799* (Breinigsville, Pa., 1977).

TABLE V
FAMILY OF VALENTIN STOBER (STOVER), 1737 BADEN-DURLACH MIGRANT

Name	Year of Birth	Year of Marriage	Age at Marriage
Valentin	1717	1743	25
Catharina Agatha	1720	1740	20
Hans Jacob	1722	1743	21
Eva Christina	1724	1742	18
Johann Wilhelm	1726	1746	20
Johann Martin	1729	—	—
Eva Barbara	1732	1747	15
Catharina	1733	—	—
Johann Georg	1735	1758	23

Genealogical information from *Early Lutheran Baptisms and Marriages in Southeastern Pennsylvania. The Records of Rev. Johann Caspar Stoeber from 1730 to 1779* (Baltimore, 1982), and Frederick S. Weiser, trans., *Records of Pastoral Acts at . . . the Warwick Congregation, near Brickerville, Elizabeth Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1743-1799* (Breinigsville, Pa., 1983).

By comparison, Valentin Stober (or Stover) from Staffort came to Pennsylvania in 1737, at age 45, with little money—his property was valued at only seventy-five florins—but with a large and mature family: five sons, aged 2 to 20 years, and three daughters, aged 4 to 17. He died in Lancaster County in 1741, only four years after arriving,⁵⁸ but his children prospered. As Table V shows, most of them married very young.⁵⁹ The eldest son, Valentin Jr., had 100 acres warranted in Warwick Township in 1752 and secured patents for two tracts in Cocalico Township, comprising 190 acres, in 1774. After his death in 1779, the 290 acres went to his son William.⁶⁰ Valentin's brother Johann Georg left 165 acres at the time of his death in 1785, while another brother, Hans Jacob, probably migrated to Frederick County, Maryland.⁶¹

Despite the generally unfavorable conditions facing the immigrants of

⁵⁸ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, No. 9944; church records, Staffort, passim.; Valentine Stover, Estate Inventory and Account, 1741, LCHS.

⁵⁹ The mean age at first marriage in Lancaster County in the 1741-1770 period was 26.2 years for men, 21.3 years for women. All but one of the Stober children married even younger. See Rodger C. Henderson, "Demographic Patterns and Family Structure in Eighteenth-Century Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, CXIV (1990), 365. The son Martin probably never married because he was retarded. This becomes evident from a notice his brother Valentin had inserted into *Pensylvanische Berichte*, a German-language newspaper published in Germantown, on Sept. 28, 1759.

⁶⁰ Lancaster County Land Warrants, AA 4-203/C 200-91, A 14-484; Lancaster County Tax Lists: Cocalico Township, 1763, 1770-1773, Warwick Township, 1756-1779; Lancaster County Orphan's Court Records, May-Nov. 1779, LCHS.

⁶¹ Egle, ed., *Pa. Archives*, 3d Ser., XVIII, 47, 268, 482; Lancaster County Orphan's Court Records, 1785, LCHS; Lancaster County Deed Book EE 376, GG 343; Frederick County Estate Inventories 1778, Maryland Hall of Records.

1749-1754, some were well enough equipped for economic success. Margaretha Elser, who left the village of Rußheim in 1749, had to pay 100 *Reichstaler* for her manumission, a sum that indicates a very considerable property of 1,500 florins. Besides her two sons and two daughters, ranging from 15 to 22 years of age, she was accompanied by her second husband, Heinrich Mock. The couple had married just before migrating. Soon after arriving in Lancaster County, Mock acquired 100 acres in Warwick Township, but his wife retained ultimate control over her property. When their marriage ran into trouble, Heinrich was forced by a contract to give the land to Margaretha's son Peter in 1761.⁶² Peter Elser, who was 30 years old at the time of this transaction, purchased forty additional acres in 1767 and built a sawmill on his land. In 1769 he became a trustee of the Warwick Lutheran church. At his death in 1786, he left £815 in bonds, cash, and personal goods in addition to his real estate.⁶³

Lorenz Haushalter migrated from Rußheim in 1752 with small means: he was 25 years old, had just married, and owned property worth eighty florins. He already had kin in Lancaster County; an uncle, Johann Haushalter, had gone there in 1739, and in 1740 Margaretha Haushalter, evidently also a relation, had married Johannes Weidmann, the son of the immigrant Matthäus. Haushalter used these connections to his advantage: by 1758 he held as tenant 200 acres in Cocalico Township owned by Weidmann, and by 1762 he had secured a patent for this tract, which had originally been warranted to Matthäus Weidmann.⁶⁴

While the examples of Elser and Haushalter show that sufficient financial resources or connections with a successful pioneer family could compensate for the comparative disadvantages of mid-century immigrants, many other Badeners were not as fortunate. Simon Merckle from Graben, Adam Speck from Rußheim, and Christoph Hauer from Blankenloch, for example, were entered as landless in both the 1758 and 1771 Lancaster County tax lists. Merckle worked as a laborer at Elizabeth furnace, an iron plantation in northern Lancaster County, along with a few other immigrants from Baden.⁶⁵ Michael Bossert and Hans Georg Schickele, 1751

⁶² Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, Nos. 1874, 3384; Frank E. Schnerer, "The Elser Homestead and Family History," *LCHS Historical Papers*, XVI (1912), 51-59; Lancaster County Deed Book P 533. The evidence of marital trouble comes from a notice Heinrich Mock published in the *Pensylvanische Berichte*, June 19, 1761.

⁶³ Schnerer, "Elser Homestead"; Weiser, trans., *Records of Pastoral Acts at . . . the Warwick Congregation, near Brickerville, Elizabeth Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1743-1799* (Breiningsville, Pa., 1983), 6; Egle, ed., *Pa. Archives*, 3d Ser., XVIII, 125, 213, 472, 776; Lancaster County Will Book E-1-326; Lancaster County Deed Book KK 462-466; Lancaster County Estate Inventory, 1786, LCHS. The average value of inventoried estates of German settlers in Lancaster County, 1713-1790, was £254; Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*, 15.

⁶⁴ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, Nos. 3653, 3776; Lancaster County Tax Lists, Cocalico Township, 1758-1779; Lancaster County Land Warrants, C 234-259/AA 3-44.

⁶⁵ Information derived from Elizabeth Furnace Ledger, 1762-1765, and Elizabeth Furnace Day Books, 1767, 1771-1772, Historical Society of Pennsylvania,

migrants from the village of Bauschlott to Northampton County, were described as "laborers" in that county's 1772 tax assessment.⁶⁶

Some landless immigrants appearing on the Lancaster County tax lists in the 1750s eventually became landowners by moving closer to the frontier after warfare subsided; thus Friedrich Kaiser and Dietrich Löffler from Brötzingen, who owned no land in 1758, had become landowners in Berks County ten years later.⁶⁷ Most landless taxpayers, however, apparently chose to remain in Lancaster County. Lucy Simler, who notes the growth of a landless laboring population in adjacent Chester County, interprets this increase of rural laborers as evidence of growing commercialization of the area.⁶⁸ This seems to have been the case in Lancaster County as well: in the second half of the eighteenth century, more and more commercial establishments such as mills or ironworks, the rise of Lancaster as county seat and commercial center, and the founding of secondary urban centers provided employment for landless workers.⁶⁹

Inventories of the personal property of Badeners who died in Lancaster County confirm our findings. Land, cattle, and agricultural products in storage, along with cash and bonds, composed the largest portion of the wealth of the most successful. Luxury goods are almost completely lacking. The most valuable items in Christoph Weidmann's possession in 1794, for example, were a clock (valued at £7.10s.), a bed (£6), and a walnut chest (£5); his horse and three cows were assessed at £12 and £15.10s., respectively.⁷⁰ The few inventories that have survived for landless immigrants suggest that landlessness was synonymous with poverty. A typical example is Michael Lehmann's inventory listing twenty-six items of personal property valued at only £30 in 1783.⁷¹ The simple furnishings of the households of virtually all these immigrants and the low valuations

Philadelphia. On ironworks in 18th-century rural Pennsylvania see Arthur Cecil Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century*, 2d ed. (Harrisburg, Pa., 1973), and Paul Paskoff, *Industrial Evolution: Organization, Structure, and Growth of the Pennsylvania Iron Industry, 1750-1860* (Baltimore, 1983).

⁶⁶ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, Nos. 1002, 8966; Egle, ed., *Pa. Archives*, 3d Ser., XIX, 14, 58.

⁶⁷ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, Nos. 4944, 6133; Egle, ed., *Pa. Archives*, 3d Ser., XVIII, 24, 76.

⁶⁸ Simler, "The Landless Worker: An Index of Economic and Social Change in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1750-1820," *PMHB*, CXIV (1990), 163-200. See also Paul G. E. Clemens and Simler, "Rural Labor and the Farm Household in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1750-1820," in Stephen Innes, ed., *Work and Labor in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1988), 106-143, and Mary M. Schweitzer, *Custom and Contract: Household, Government, and the Economy in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1987), chap. 2.

⁶⁹ These developments are outlined in Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*, chaps. 5, 7, Lemon, "Urbanization and the Development of Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania and Adjacent Delaware," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXIV (1967), 501-542, and Jerome H. Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730-1790* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1979).

⁷⁰ Christoph Weidman, Estate Inventory, 1794, LCHS.

⁷¹ Michael Lehmann, Estate Inventory, 1783, LCHS.

of their personal goods call to mind the comments of observers such as the German surgeon and traveler Johann David Schoepf, who noted in the 1780s that the way of life of his former countrymen in Pennsylvania was apparently little affected by their prosperity. They continued to live in humble cabins without most of the amenities commonplace in the houses of their Anglo-Saxon neighbors; they hoarded money in old stockings until they had enough to buy some land—which Schoepf perceived to be the sole object of their desires.⁷²

While almost all Baden immigrants arriving during the 1730s headed for the Pennsylvania backcountry, a number of the later comers stayed in Philadelphia, where they worked as laborers or artisans. As Gary B. Nash, Billy G. Smith, and Sharon V. Salinger have shown, Philadelphia's workers had to face declining opportunities and falling standards of living during the decades just before the Revolution, when poverty for the first time became a serious problem in Pennsylvania's capital.⁷³ With the notable exception of Ernst Ludwig Baisch from Brötzingen, who traveled back and forth between Philadelphia and Germany, selling books and other goods and settling inheritance claims,⁷⁴ the experiences of Badeners match this picture. Most of those who can be located in the 1774 and 1779 Philadelphia tax lists were assessed at low rates. Anton Hecht, for example, came to Philadelphia in 1754 from the village of Niefern near Pforzheim as a 21-year-old single man and married Sophia Schneider from the neighboring village of Eutingen in 1762. In 1779 he was paying a minimal tax in Mulberry Ward. When his son Anton began to work as a catechist for the Lutheran church in the 1780s, the Rev. Heinrich Mel-

⁷² Schoepf, *Reise durch einige der mittleren und südlichen Vereinigten Nordamerikanischen Staaten nach Ost-Florida und den Bahama Inseln unternommen in den Jahren 1783 und 1784*, 2 vols. (Erlangen, Ger., 1788), I, 150–152.

⁷³ Nash, "Poverty and Poor Relief in Pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXXIII (1976), 3–30, and "Up from the Bottom in Franklin's Philadelphia," *Past and Present*, No. 77 (Nov. 1977), 57–83; Smith, "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750–1800," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXXVIII (1981), 163–202, "The Vicissitudes of Fortune: The Careers of Laboring Men in Philadelphia, 1750–1800," in Innes, ed., *Work and Labor in Early America*, 221–251, and *The "Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750–1800* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1990); Salinger, "Artisans, Journeymen, and the Transformation of Labor in Late Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XL (1983), 62–84, and *"To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800* (Cambridge, 1987).

⁷⁴ Baisch had come to Pennsylvania's capital with his parents and 7 siblings in 1752. The family had 126 florins at the time of their migration; see Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, No. 364. For his American career see Egle, ed., *Pa. Archives*, 3d Ser., XIV, 528, 805, XV, 325, 619, XVI, 487; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, Nos. 525 (Feb. 11, 1772), 549 (July 28, 1772), 902 (Jan. 20, 1779); Robert E. Cazden, "The Provision of German Books in America during the Eighteenth Century," *Libri*, XXIII (1973), 89, 93; and Roeber, "The Origin of Whatever Is Not English among Us: The Dutch-speaking and the German-speaking Peoples of Colonial British America," in Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1991), 264.

chior Mühlenberg repeatedly commented on the poverty of the young man and his parents.⁷⁵ The lives of Hecht and other Badeners who remained in Philadelphia are further evidence that the economic prospects of German immigrants arriving after mid-century were not as good as they had been for those landing a decade or two before.

The several hundred families who left the margravate of Baden-Durlach between 1732 and 1775 had confronted adverse economic conditions at home. Population growth, inheritance practices, wars, natural disasters, high taxes, and mounting debts reduced a large proportion of the rural population to the status of marginal landholders. To these villagers, migration to America seemed to promise an opportunity to improve their material circumstances. The timing of their arrival in America, the size and maturity of immigrant families, and the newcomers' financial resources could exert a decisive influence in shaping their careers in Pennsylvania. Above all, we find that newcomers who arrived at an early date with some capital of their own got on best.

The majority of immigrants became landowners, and the most successful acquired much larger holdings than would have been possible in southwestern Germany. Whereas many of the earliest migrants, who arrived during the 1730s, took up land and became farmers in Lancaster and Berks counties, a substantial portion of the later migrants, arriving mostly between 1749 and 1754, did not own land by the end of the colonial period. Instead, they often became laborers in the urban centers or in the commercialized sections of the hinterland. Most of those who did become landowners could rely on substantial resources brought over from Europe or on kinship ties with immigrants already well established. As settlement spread westward after 1760, most landless immigrants stayed put.

Thus the interplay of immigrants' resources at the time of resettlement and changing economic opportunities in Pennsylvania shaped the immigrants' careers. Their experiences suggest that the characterization of Pennsylvania as the "best Poor Man's Country" holds especially true for settlers who had already done reasonably well before leaving their home country. They could improve their situation significantly by relocating to places like Lancaster County, whereas those who started out poor, arrived late, or lacked connections had to struggle harder and longer before achieving the comfortable status of landholders themselves, if, indeed, they ever did.

⁷⁵ Hacker, *Auswanderungen aus Baden*, No. 3793; Egle, ed., *Pa. Archives*, 3d Ser., XIV, 544, 821; Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, trans., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1942-1958), I, 670, III, 666-667, 688, 692, 695-696, 711.