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Serial Sources in Excess: *Inventuren und Teilungen* and *Pflegrechnungen* in the Württemberg Communal Archives and their Significance for Emigration Research¹

Until now, the Württemberg *Inventuren und Teilungen* and *Pflegrechnungen* have been the subject of far too little attention in the subject of emigration research.² They are sources which are to be found in archives at the lowest administrative level, namely in city municipal and communal archives, and are of major significance to any historian who wishes to understand the social and economic context of southwest German emigration to North America.³ For many communities, the records span the 17th to the 20th centuries, and as such were recorded during each critical episode in emigration to North America, including the events of 1709, 1816/17, and 1847/8, as well as the long durée of migration movements that occurred in between. It is hoped that this paper will reveal to researchers on both sides of the Atlantic the incredible value of these sources for migration research, not least the 1816/17 crisis.

In the Early Modern period Württemberg already possessed a comparatively modern administration for which it was much admired. One expression of such a modern administration is a high degree of textualization. That this was the case in Württemberg means that municipal and communal archives today contain an especially extensive wealth of written sources.⁴ This is due above all to the considerable records originating in the legal sphere of voluntary jurisdiction and non-contentious proceedings, which in Baden and other German territories emerged to a much lesser extent.

Two main groups of serial sources from the field of voluntary jurisdiction are of particular significance to the history of emigration: first, the *Inventuren und Teilungen*—personal asset registers within the purview of inheritance

law—and secondly the *Pflegrechnungen*, related to guardianships of those assets.⁵ The example of the village Ölbronn in the northwest of Württemberg, located roughly between Karlsruhe and Stuttgart, gives an example of the extent of these records. The communal archive contains in total 111 metres of shelving from the time 1569–1974. Of that, there are over 16 metres of *Inventuren und Teilungen* and nearly 10 metres of *Pflegrechnungen*, thus together roughly a quarter of the total archival holdings.

Proper administrative structures were a requirement for such an excess of records and sources. The inheritance laws of Württemberg were another underlying reason for such structures: a partible inheritance system meant that unlike in other territories where one son was named as the primary heir, property was equally divided amongst all surviving children. Because of the common practice of widows remarrying there were already families in the 18th and 19th centuries which could be called “patchwork”. Due to the fact that children from different marriages had to be treated differently upon the division of an estate, a written accounting of the respective property rights was necessary. As is well known, this partible inheritance system led above all in the 19th century to the impoverishment of large segments of the population, and this in turn became the main cause of the emigration which characterized those regions.

Both the *Inventuren und Teilungen* and the *Pflegrechnungen* are invaluable for assessing just how household and individual wealth and prospects were managed and effected by partible inheritance. They give micro-economic detail to households affected—and unaffected—by emigration. Not only that, the records were frequently home to annexed narratives and references to family conditions, and conditions at the time of a migrants’ departure. The origins of both groups of serial sources lay in the 16th century Württemberg *Landrecht*, an oft-praised legal codex which owes much to the exceptional Duke Christoph (1550–1568). Much of it was adopted more or less word-for-word by neighbouring territories such as Baden and the Electoral Palatinate. Both series of sources ended with the introduction of the *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* in 1900, and were thus succeeded by the state guardianship files and estate files.⁶

Inventuren and Teilungen

The *Inventuren und Teilungen* are defined as “descriptions of property, which have been filed respectively upon the marriage [*Beibringens-Inventur*] or death of a resident [*Teilung*]. They contain material concerning everyday culture and the lives of the most varied population groups.”⁷ There were similar sources in other German territories, but not to the extent of Württemberg.

There were few groups whose property was exempt from being inventoried in this way: the ducal family, the court, and the nobility.⁸ An *Inventur*, essentially the inventory of goods brought to a partnership, by both the male and female parties, consists in most cases of a relatively thin dossier. In exceptional cases, as with particularly wealthy persons, they may very well comprise thick volumes of over 100 pages. There are also very thick volumes in which many individual *Inventuren und Teilungen* have been collated—these are either copies of the originals or original records which were later bound.

The listing of assets in the *Inventuren und Teilungen* is not limited to valuable possessions such as real estate, vehicles, livestock, monetary assets and liabilities, or jewelry. Rather, it includes in rare precision the stuff of everyday life: furniture, clothing, linens, books, dishes and all else—from the available stores of grain and wine to the amount of onions in the kitchen. The *Inventuren und Teilungen* thus draw “an exact picture of the rich, poorer, and poorest classes.”⁹ Their systematic study, and the rich explanatory notes that often accompany their details mean that the sources can help to achieve a biography of domestic, village and family life, from the everyday to life-changing events. The following mundane material items are taken from the *Inventur* of Anna Margaretha and Jacque Berger, married in 1760 in Ölbronn. After the wooden and metal kitchen utensils, their furniture is listed under the rubric “Schreinwerck”:

- “1 *gehimmelte Bettladen*”, that is, a bed with canopy—valued at one guilder
- 1 bed without canopy—“*ohngehimmelte*”—value, 20 Kreuzer
- 1 old chest—12 Kreuzer
- 1 large chest (with pieces of metal outside)—40 Kreuzer
- 1 cupboard—8 Kreuzer
- 1 “*thänninen Tisch*”, (= firwood table)—30 Kreuzer
- 2 old chairs—10 Kreuzer (one for 4 and one for 6)
- 1 “*ohngeleinten dito*”, that is, another chair, but without armrests—2 Kreuzer
- 1 “*Bach-Molten*” (= a large tub for dough processing)—16 Kreuzer
- 1 cradle—16 Kreuzer

These *Inventuren und Teilungen* are of real analytical value to any number of historical disciplines: social history, economic, mentality, educational, church, art, family and population history. For migration historians, for whom the records remain little used, they are an unmatched source for the socio-economic analysis of migrants, and their material circumstances. Their value as a source for the history of education was indeed recognized over 100 years ago

but only in the past 50 years have they appreciably begun to be taken into account by other researchers. This comes down to the simple fact that the sheer mass of material requires an enormous amount of work.¹⁰ The *Inventuren und Teilungen* of the mid 18th and early 19th centuries are particularly exhaustive, whereas afterwards the recording of belongings became more summary.

The *Teilung* documents were made at the opposite end of the household lifecycle—with the death of the marriage partners, and divided up property for partition. There are—aside from some special forms—essentially two types of *Teilung*: the *Eventualteilungen*, compiled after the death of one of the spouses and listing the shared assets, and *Realteilungen*, after the death of the surviving spouse. In the first case, the respective inheritances were not in fact divided up and passed on to the heirs, rather the portions were merely calculated. Only with *Realteilungen* were the inheritances in fact apportioned out.¹¹

Our interest here is on the *Teilungen*, as they contain details of the heirs of the deceased including whereabouts and residence. It is here that we also find references to heirs who have emigrated, otherwise information that is not easy to come across, as well as detailed information of their personal wealth. Even parish registers—the demographic history source *par excellence*—in most cases only name persons who were present for religious ceremonies which took place locally: baptisms, weddings, and funerals. If someone moved away, or even emigrated, then he would effectively disappear from the parish registers. For this very reason there are blank gaps in many family histories. By contrast, any individual entitled to an inheritance had to be included in the *Nachlassinventare*, and even those who had emigrated illegally and thus forfeited many of their legal protections were still legal heirs.¹²

Further complimenting the rich potential of *Teilungen* records are two special categories of these documents: the so-called *freiwilligen Vermögensübergaben* and the *Vermögensuntersuchungen mit Schuldenverweisung* (asset investigations with remission of debt). In these cases neither wedding nor funeral was the occasion of the goods register, but rather the handing over to heirs their inheritance for other reasons—such as the intent to emigrate. In a state so intimately occupied with the details of its citizens, it is of little surprise that emigration was a social and economic act of great interest to the Württemberg government.

The 1514 Treaty of Tübingen between the duke and the estates guaranteed the *Recht des freien Zugs* (right of free movement) in the duchy. That meant that, in theory, subjects were free to move wherever they pleased and, in contrast to other territories such as neighbouring Baden-Durlach, were not subject to a supplementary emigration tax (in German *Abzugsgeld* or *Nachsteuer* of 10 percent of total assets, for example, in Baden-Durlach). In prac-

tice, however, the dukes of Württemberg pursued in the 18th century a more uncompromising course, a “more or less covert policy of obstructing and preventing emigration” (in the words of Wolfgang von Hippel).¹³ Officials exerted great moral pressure, amounting to an “indirect emigration ban”.¹⁴ This changed with the end of the *ancien regime*. In 1806 Duke Friedrich ascended to the kingship amidst the territorial restructuring of the Napoleonic mediatization. Rather than extending the old estate-based constitution to his new possessions, however, he did away with it entirely. The drastically enlarged kingdom was given a unitary organization and a strict, enlightened absolutist administration. Thus in 1807 king Friedrich abrogated the 1514 Treaty of Tübingen and with it the—theoretical—freedom of emigration. His son, king Wilhelm, who came to the throne in 1816, “the year without a summer”, introduced a thorough policy change, resulting in a new and particularly liberal constitution. Under Wilhelm I, who reigned until 1864, freedom of movement, and thus emigration, existed not only in theory but in practice.

Subjects wishing to emigrate were required to report their intention to royal officials and, as may be the case, settle their outstanding debts. Furthermore they were required to give up their rights as subject and citizen and swear not to serve against Württemberg for one year, in support of which they also had to provide surety.¹⁵ The *Vermögensuntersuchungen mit Schuldenverweisung* (asset investigations with remission of debt) were a part of this procedure. After the “year without a summer”, no less than 16 such legal transactions took place in the Württemberg village of Ölbronn between February and June 1817. Inside of the Ölbronn archive is the example of the family of Johann Jakob Böhringer, born 178.¹⁶ The children, who were also to emigrate, were:

- a) Daniel, 7 Jahr alt,
- b) Johann Engelhard, aet[atis] 5,
- c) Friderika Carolina, aet[atis] 3,
- d) Katrina, aet[atis] 1.

The couple wanted to emigrate to America—„Mit “allerhöchster” Erlaubnis” (= “with highest permission”). A local citizen, the farmer, Gottlieb Geigle, stood surety for them, and they sold all their properties on April 14th, 1817. In all probability, Johann Jakob and his family wanted to follow in the footsteps of his brother, Christian Ulrich Böhringer, who had already sold his properties in February 1817 in order to emigrate. Fate had other plans, however. A so-called “legend of Johann Jakob Böhringer’s emigration” has been passed on from generation to generation, until a descendent, Terry Baringer, passed it on to the author of a 1982 local history of Ölbronn.¹⁷ There it is writ-

ten that the family left their home on August 23rd, 1817, where “their path led them to Amsterdam, where—before they had gathered enough capital to pay their passage—baby Catharina died on December 17th, 1817 . . . Jacob was finally successful (after 4 months) in securing passage for himself and his family, and at last they embarked in Amsterdam on a sailing vessel bound for Philadelphia. They spent 91 days at sea. The crossing was calamitous: there were many storms, towering waves, the ship was blown off course and twice shipwrecked (from leaks). The passengers lost all of their belongings, some of them their lives—of the 444 persons who had boarded, only 200 (!) reached New Orleans, many miles from their actual destination, exhausted by their long and exhausting journey. They landed on March 4th, 1818. The Böhrringers made their way up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers in a cumbersome old keel boat to Louisville, Kentucky—at that time a small but rising riverfront city. From there they continued on . . . to Fern-Creek, a small town near Buechel, Kentucky. For a time the family lived in a stable until Jacob found secure employment and was able to arrange proper housing for his family. In Jefferson county, their new home, three more children were born.”

Johann Jakob’s brother Christian Ulrich Böhrringer, it seems, made it as planned to Philadelphia.¹⁸ Or rather, this can be assumed from the *Nachlassinventur* of his brother Johann Matthäus, who had remained in their homeland and died in 1852. It contains a letter by Christian Ulrich, written in 1830—13 years after his departure from Ölbronn—in which he mentions living in “Bieber Thaunshib Collombiana Caunty”, presumably meaning Beaver Township, Columbia County in Pennsylvania.¹⁹ The three page letter addresses various questions of assets and property and in doing so mentions the other emigrant brother, Johann Jakob, with whom Christian Ulrich had written contact. Christian Ulrich, at that time 55 years old, then goes on to tell of himself and his family: he married a second time, with a Swiss woman, and had two more children with her; his oldest son lived in Philadelphia. On the final page Christian Ulrich summarizes his experience of having left his homeland: “Ich hatte deswegen wohl gethan, daß ich ausgewandert bin; dan ich hatte besser leben in diesem Land als in Deutschland”.²⁰ He speaks proudly of his property and says contentedly: “Dan kan ich kaufen und verkaufen, wan ich kan u[nd] will, ich brauch sonst niemand nichts geben . . .”.²¹

Included in the Realteilung of an Ölbronn *Schultheiß* (mayor) who also happened to be named Johann Jakob (or just Jakob) Böhrringer (1779–1834, mayor 1813–1833) is a booklet included as an appendix, containing Böhrringer’s last will—presumably his only ever notebook. He was the second cousin of the previously mentioned emigrants Johann Jakob and Christian Ulrich Böhrringer. In the appendix, Böhrringer had made precise notes, including reports about the weather and the harvests in 1816–1818.²² Böhrringer wrote:

“1816 habe ich 8 Tage vor Johan[n]estag 1 Morgen Gersten gesäth, die Ursache wegen der späthen Sath ist diese, dass ein 6 Wochen langes Regenwetter die frühere Sath verhindert hatte. Nach diesem regnete es noch fünf Wochen, so dass das ganze Regenwetter vom 1ten Maij bis den 18ten Juli gedauert, worunder dieser Zeit kaum 8 Täge waren, darin es nicht regnete; die Heuernde dauerte bis Jacobi [= 25. Juli] und anfangs derselben ist vieles durch sehr grossen Überschwem[m]ungen theils verschläm[m]t und zum Theil weggeschwemmt worden.”²³ On the next page he continued: “Mein lieber Leser, ich habe hieneben gemeldet, dass das Regenwetter bis den 18ten Juli gedauert, aber leider wusste ich es freylich nicht, weil ich es zu bald aufgezeichnet, indem vom 1ten Maij an bis Martini [= 11. November] nur wenige Tage waren, darin es nicht regnete.”²⁴ Nevertheless the damage in Ölbronn was relatively minor. Böhringer reports on the regions further west: “In den Rheingegenden hat sich das Wasser vom Rhein auf viele Felder erstreckt, so dass die Leute, welche ernden gewolt, auf Schiffen die Halmen auf dem Waser abgeschnitte.”²⁵ In Ölbronn there was also no grape harvest for the wine vintage, and Böhringer references the high grain prices. In 1817 he continues with descriptions of major shortages of grain and potatoes. Böhringer reports that royal grain imports from “faraway lands” managed to prevent many families “having to fight against starvation”. Nevertheless, in 1817 many residents of Ölbronn decided, as we have seen, to emigrate.

It should be noted that the emigration from Ölbronn between 1800–1820 was on the whole not only economically but also religiously motivated. The Maulbronn district which contained the village was a focal point of the Separatist movement.²⁶ The Separatists arose as a radical spin-off of the Pietism that was already very strong in Württemberg. As a fundamentalist movement the separatists advocated positions which they derived directly from the bible. They rejected the official church (or state church) and baptized their children themselves. They came into further conflict with the authorities due to their refusal to comply with compulsory schooling, oaths of allegiance and military service. The largest separatist group in the Maulbronn district was in Ölbronn, roughly 60 strong in 1803 in a total population of roughly 830.²⁷

After the separatist leader Johann Georg Rapp from Iptingen emigrated to the USA in 1803, 700 followers followed him, amongst them 58 people from Ölbronn who apparently moved “to Virginia” in 1804.²⁸ Not far from Pittsburgh Rapp founded his first settlement, called Harmony, in which there was full community of goods without private property. In 1814 he left Harmony and moved on to Indiana where he founded what became “New Harmony”. In 1817 a further 116 Ölbronner emigrated to the USA.²⁹ 78 of them are named in 16 different *Vermögensuntersuchungen mit Schuldenverweisung*. By no means were they all labelled as Separatists, but the formulation of the

case of the single Regina Katharina Zeller—that she wanted “to move with the rest of the separatists to America”³⁰—allows the conclusion that at least some of them indeed were.³¹ In considering the reasons for the 1817 wave of emigration from Ölbronn, we can assume while the aftermath of the “year without a summer” was the final push to actually emigrate, it was in a sense pushing on an open door, a final straw added to the willingness to follow the relatives and friends who left in 1804 and the lack of religious freedom already experienced by many.

Amongst Johann Böhringer’s chronicle-like notes we also find the written expression of his pain over the emigration of his son, who left for America with his family in 1830. He wrote: “Den 22ten Aprill 1830 ist unser lieber Sohn Ludwig mit seinem Weib und 2 Kindern, Carolina und Friderike, nach Nordamerika ausgewandert. Diese Trennung war hart, an welcher Stunde unsere Herzen noch lange bluden werden, und nur der Gedanke jenseits wieder zusam[m]en zu kom[m]en, kan unser Leid wieder mindern.”³² This is followed by the dowry that was given to him to take along: money from the sale of goods, a double-barrelled gun, and a precise list of clothing.

Pflegrechnungen

The *Pflegrechnungen*, a vast body of which are also to be found in most municipal and communal archives in Württemberg, are also of significant potential importance to emigration research. *Pflegrechnungen* (also called *Pflegschaftsakten* or *Vormundschaftsrechnungen*) are documents related to legal guardianship. There were two main groups of people who, for various reasons, were not able to manage their assets themselves: minors who were not yet allowed to access their inheritance, and adults who were not in a position to manage their property. The latter were either persons declared incompetent, or people who were long-term or permanently absent, such as emigrants or missing persons. The latter were often soldiers, who had signed on elsewhere, or emigrants of whom no one knew anything. These *Pflegrechnungen* can be of significant help in identifying and accounting for the emigrants from a community, importantly including unofficial emigrants (although there was not, of course, a *Pflegrechnung* for every emigrant, but only concerning those who were required to leave an estate behind and/or only came into one during their absence due to an inheritance.³³

Normally, an archival *Pflegrechnungen* unit is made up of several books for each accounting period. Per period, usually spanning several years, there is a draft accounting, called a *Rapiat*, and a fair copy. The first accounting, at the beginning of the wardship, is called the *Anstandspflegrechnung*, the final at the end of the wardship is called the *Abstandspflegrechnung*. Here as an

example you see the first or the “Anstands-Pfleeg-Rechnung über Michael Schäfers, aet[atis] 28 Jahr, welche [Anno] 1752 nacher Pensylvanien gezogen ist . . . Vermögen.”³⁴

Another example is the “Rapiat of the 4th *Pflegrechnung* concerning the assets of Christian Heilmann, born July 30th, 1775 . . . currently absent in America.”³⁵ Christian had emigrated together with his family and the already mentioned Christian Ulrich Böhringer in 1817. The trusteeship began in 1824 and ended in 1846. Because no one had heard further from Heilmann, he was declared dead. This declaration was possible at what would have been the end of the 70th year of life. However, another trusteeship was established for his wife and children, also missing. This trusteeship was continued in Ölbronn until 1888.

Although the *Pflegschaftsakten* of Württemberg have been preserved in the municipal and communal archives and are thus accessible to the public, they are documents of a very personal character. Aside from the account books maintained by the trustee named by the local government or courts, many of them contain loose leaf inserts, including receipts, excerpts from inheritance records, personal notations by the trustee and correspondence. Correspondence from emigrants to their homeland are of especial significance for migration historians, social and everyday-life history, as well as genealogy.³⁶

Tickets and shopping lists of supplies for the long passage to the new home are included in some *Pflegrechnungen*.³⁷ The folklorist and archivist Angelika Bischoff-Luithlen was perhaps the first to point out the analytical value of the *Pflegrechnungen* in 1975. She wrote that “these files contain the whole variety of fates that befell emigrants. There are letters which for long years went unread: from soldiers who were stuck abroad, from emigrants, above all those in the United States. Aspects of their settling down there are brought to light, transport and travel firms make their invoices, foreign notaries, insurance firms and banks send correspondence. Some wrote of why they could no longer stand it in the [home] country, and others describe the typical Swabian homesickness and wish to return home.”³⁸ Bischoff-Luithlen closes with the sentence: “it is with trembling hands that one closes the bindings.”³⁹

In the research, *Pflegrechnungen* have been put to work much less as sources, and this began later than in the case of the *Inventuren und Teilungen*. Interestingly, it was precisely this aspect of emigration to America which was the focus of the first two works about Württemberg *Pflegrechnungen* which concern more than an individual. The topic was investigated through a mentalité history and folklore history respectively in two publications appearing in 1996.⁴⁰ Correspondence and information typically arose when a ward was in America and laid a claim to his/her assets. He usually had to send a notarized power of attorney back to his homeland, which empowered his

trustee to have the money paid out and transferred to America.⁴¹ It is from just such a case that we find a loose leaf insert in an Ölbronn *Pflegrechnung*, a notarial document from 1813 with the paper seal of the state of Pennsylvania. It belongs to the *Pflegrechnung* of Maria Elisabetha Velte, nee Holderrieth, a separatist who emigrated to join Johann Georg Rapp in Harmony and died in 1825 in Economy near Pittsburgh.⁴² Economy was the third settlement established by Rapp after returning from Indiana to Pennsylvania in 1824.

Oftentimes the guardian or trustee was a relative, and thus the records include letters to the family. We find correspondence which is above all concerned with the settling of financial matters and in which the emigrant only gives cursory mention to the rest of their life. Most of the letters, however, allow the assumption that there was otherwise also a personal correspondence. The official nature of these letters is barely noticeable. But their official relevance means they have been preserved, while the rest of the personal correspondence is long since lost. During the archiving and analysis of Ölbronn communal archive I filed 486 trusteeship cases.

In roughly two thirds of these cases wards are named who did not live in Ölbronn and whose assets were managed entirely due to their absence. 338 foreign places of residence are named, and of that 127 of them were cases in America. These can be further subdivided into the 47 where a precise location is given, and the rest in which merely America or North America is named.⁴³ Of those 47 cases there are ten, so 20 percent, where the person settled in Pennsylvania. Only five of these 127 cases of emigration to America were from the 18th century, all the rest were from the 19th, but four of those older five are concerning Pennsylvania.

While in the second half of the 18th century America occupied an equal place on the list of cited migration destinations alongside places such as West Prussia, Prussian Poland, or the Netherlands (and its overseas colonies in both Indies), in the 19th century this changed drastically. North America, either as a catch-all entry or with the naming of precise locales in the USA, dominated the field. The enormous rise in the number of migration destinations within Württemberg after 1850 is itself an indication of the population's increasing domestic mobility with the appearance of industrialization:

Foreign places of stay of Ölbronn wards, 1701-1900:

Foreign Residence	1701-50	1751-1800	1801-50	1851-1900	Total
Elsewhere Maulbronn district	2	13	21	14	50
Elsewhere Württemberg	1	10	8	26	45

Serial Sources in Excess

Baden	1	6	19	15	41
Hessen	-	1	-	-	1
Alsace	-	-	1	2	3
Holland	-	3	1	-	4
England	-	-	-	1	1
Denmark	-	-	1	-	1
West Prussia/Poland	-	5	-	-	5
Switzerland	-	1	1	1	3
Austria-Hungary	1	1	1	1	4
Caucasus/Asia Minor	-	-	2	-	2
North America (gen.)	-	5	44	31	80
North America (by location)	-	-	11	36	47
West/East India	-	3	-	-	3
Emigrated no location	-	1	1	-	2
Military Service	-	3	15	-	18
Remained in Russia*	-	-	4	-	4
Journeyman on a walk	-	4	4	-	8
Gen. 'Abroad'	-	2	1	2	5
Missing	1	5	4	1	11
TOTAL	6	63	139	130	338

*Conscripted to Napoleon's Russian Campaign, 1812.

Amongst the loose leaf inserts of the Ölbronn *Pflegrechnungen* there are two cases which contain letters from emigrants: one of them concerns Karl Nonnenmann, born in 1837 and by then a resident of Marshall, Michigan.⁴⁴ He wrote in 1866 that he worked for the railway and earned a good wage, but he also noted: “. . . ich habe bis daher noch nicht mehr Geld machen kön[n]en, denn ich mußte mir zu viel Kleider kaufen, wo ich die Kleider von daheim nicht alle benutzen kon[n]te, den[n] die Wämser und Hosentöhrleinshosen kan[n] ich hier nim[m]er brauchen, den[n] ich fürchte, die Amerikaner bekämen sonst Hörner, wen[n] sie das sehen würden an mir. . . .”⁴⁵ In the end Nonnenmann recommended that his brothers should also come to the United States to make more money. If they didn't like it there, they could always move back. Two of the four brothers did indeed take his advice to heart, and emigrated in 1880 and 1882.

The studies of Andreas Hartmann and Christine Rehe give an idea of the sort of information contained in the Württemberg *Pflegrechnungen* as concerns questions of emigration. In the archives of Hailfingen [near Rotenburg] there are 107 *Pflegschaftsakten* files, of those 43 concern emigrants

to America.⁴⁶ Because Hailfingen only became part of Württemberg in 1805 and the previous Austrian administration did not maintain *Pflegrechnungen*, all of the files are from the 19th century. Andreas Hartmann compared the emigrants to America named in the *Pflegrechnungen* with the district administration's records of declared emigrants. It turned out that 21 of the 43 emigrants had, until that point, not been identified as such. In terms of the district records' total of 133 emigrants, one sixth of them thus consist of "new" persons.⁴⁷ Christine Rehe was able to analyze 58 letters from the 19th century found during her work in the archives of Filderstadt near Stuttgart.⁴⁸

Both the *Inventuren und Teilungen* as well as the *Pflegrechnungen* are thus records of immense potential to the historian of German migration. Not only do they provide familial and material information about the conditions of migrants themselves, the extensive—even excessive—recording of these files allows the researcher to uncover a more complete picture of who emigrated, and when. Moreover, the frequent annexes to the files contain intimate information, recorded by migrating individuals or on their behalf, documenting the details and even experience of emigration itself. They await further use in the discovery of new information in German-American history.

*Kreisarchiv Enzkreis
Pforzheim, Germany*

Abgeleitet
Familiens. Nr. 117. Ölbrunn,
Konstant Meier Bescheinigung,
über
Miascel Pfeiffer, ab: 20. Jan.
Kalender p. 1752. nachher Pensylvanien
gezogen ist, Abt. 1. Den 5. Jan. 1752.
wurde in Suogrober Familie erfasst und
für sich Kalender auf 1752. fest, von
seiner Mutter per Traditionem volun-
tariam abgeleitet. Daraus
Abgeleitet,
von der Mutter abgeleitet. 1752. 1755.
1757.
Franz Meier, Suogrober.
von
5. Jan.
1755.
1757.

Pflegrechnung of Michael Schäfer („1752 nachher Pensylvanien . . .“). 1755–1757.
(Gemeindearchiv Ölbrunn-Dürrn, Bestand Gemeinde Ölbrunn, Nr. 1544)

Nr:
- 45 b.

Ölbronn,
Actum den 10. April. 1760.

Inventarium,
Darauß vorgekommene Ver-
mögens. Tradition,

Anna Margretha, frc.
Jacques Berger, hiesigen
bürgerlichen Friedmann und
Zinnthaler, welcher edelherzog
v. Sachsen in Pennsylvania, an
Hans, für ein gelassenes Recht,
an ihre 3 Kinder,
in ihre 1. 2. 3. mit Anz. Hüpf
zugeltin, dasien, anzudeut,

J. Hannß Berg, hiesigen zum
Johann und Friedr. Fischer,
U. Regina Catharina, frc.
Abraham Habermuth, hiesigen
Zinnthaler, 2. 3. hiesigen
L. frc. hiesigen Curator, frc.
Darth, d. d. hiesigen

Inventur of Anna Margretha Berger, wife of Jacques Berger („vor 7 Jahren in Pennsylvania gezogen“), 1760. (Gemeindearchiv Ölbronn-Dürrn, Bestand Gemeinde Ölbronn, Nr. 1090).

Notes

¹ Printed version of a lecture held in Philadelphia on July 17, 2017. I thank Dr. Andrew Dodd, Berlin, for the translation.

² They have, alternatively been used extensively in studies of domestic demography and socio-economic relations. See particularly Sigrid Hirbodian, Sheilagh Ogilvie, R. Johanna Regnath, eds., *Revolution des Fleisses, Revolution des Konsums? Leben und Wirtschaften in ländlichen Württemberg von 1650 bis 1800* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2015), based on an extensive study of Inventuren and Teilungen; also David Warren Sabean *Property, Production and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), which makes extensive use of the records.

³ The use of the archives of smaller municipalities is made even more difficult by the fact that there are no full time, professional archivists available to support researchers. Contacting the responsible district archive, existing in each of Baden-Württemberg's counties, is recommended.

⁴ "One may rightly claim that the positively excessive administration of everyday life in both city and country in Württemberg has meant the notable preservation of material both qualitatively and quantitatively." Andreas Peter Hartmann, *Pflege-Fälle. Pflückschaftsaktien als Quelle zur Amerikaauswanderung, dargestellt am Beispiel eines württembergischen Dorfes im 19. Jahrhundert*, MA Thesis, University of Marburg, 1996, 16.

⁵ See the presentation "Südwestdeutsche Archivalienkunde" which can be viewed online: <<https://www.leo-bw.de/themenmodul/sudwestdeutsche-archivalienkunde>> Rolf Bidlingmaier, 'Inventuren und Teilungen' in Christian Keitel und Regina Keyler, eds., *Serielle Quellen in südwestdeutschen Archiven* (Stuttgart: Württemberg Geschichts u. Altertumsverein, 2005), provides basic information on both source categories. Paul Sauer, 'Quellen zur Amerikaauswanderung in den staatlichen, kommunalen und kirchlichen Archiven des ehemaligen Landes Württemberg' in Willi Paul Adams, ed., *Die deutschsprachige Auswanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten. Berichte über Forschungsstand und Quellenbestände* (Berlin: Materialien des John F. Kennedy Instituts für Nordamerikastudien Freie Universität Berlin, no. 14, 1980), 167, names both source series in one sentence, but only in terms of the personal documents they contain.

⁶ Until 1826 both the *Inventuren und Teilungen* and also the *Pflegerechnungen* were created at the local district level in the so-called *Stadt- und Amtsschreibereien*. Only after their dissolution (1826) they were handed over to the respective affected municipalities (see Karl J. Mayer 'Quellenverluste durch Schriftgutausscheidungen bei den Oberämtern. Dargestellt am Beispiel von Calw, Neuenbürg und Nagold, 1826–1936,' *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte* 61 (2002), 325. From now on, the tasks of the voluntary jurisdiction had to be exercised by the local council or a body formed by it, the so-called *Waisengericht* (orphan court).

⁷ Bidlingmaier, 'Inventuren', 21. Author's additions.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 22, with changes in the 19th century. In the municipal archives the inventories can be searched for and found in different places: within the usually completed division of the archives into the main groups files (A), volumes (B) and invoices (R). The hard-covered inventories can be found under the volumes. But as unbound folders the inventories appear also in the subset of the files (depending on the underlying organizational structure of the filing under "913 Vormundschafts- und Nachlaßwesen" [Flattich-Aktenplan] or "084.4 Nachlaßsachen" [Boorberg-Aktenplan]).

⁹ Bidlingmaier, 'Inventuren', 25.

¹⁰ On this topic cf. Günther Schweizer, 'Schon die dritte Person nach der genealogischen Berechnung . . . Inventur- und Teilungsaktien sowie Kirchenkonventsprotokolle als Quellen einer sozialgeschichtlichen Genealogie,' *Genealogische Quellenjenseits der Kirchenbücher Stuttgart* (2005): 137-39, and Markus Küpker, Janine Maegraith und Sheilagh Ogilvie, 'Von "Beybringen" bis "Verlassthum": Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse im Umgang mit Inventuren und Teilungen' in Hirbodian Sigrid, Sheilagh Ogilvie und R. Johanna Regnath, eds., *Revolution des*

Fleißes, Revolution des Konsums? Leben und Wirtschaften im ländlichen Württemberg von 1650 bis 1800 (Ostfildern: Veröffentlichung des Alemannischen Instituts, no. 82, 2015), 40 (with a list of relevant studies).

¹¹ Bidlingmaier, 'Inventuren', 23.

¹² Martin Ehlers, 'Inventuren und Teilungen. Bürgerlicher Besitz und Alltagsgegenstände vor 1900,' *Hierzuland* 31 (2016): 60f.

¹³ Wolfgang von Hippel, *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland. Studien zur württembergischen Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1984), 95.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁶ Gemeindearchiv (GA) Ölbronn Nr. 1143 (Beilage zur Inventur- und Teilungsakte Nr. 1153). Cf. Burkhart Oertel, *Ortssippenbuch Ölbronn* (Neubiberg: Selbstverlag des Verf., 2007), nr. 174.

¹⁷ For the following see Johannes Haßbacher, *Ein Dorf an der Grenze: Chronik von Ölbronn* (Ölbronn-Durrn, Finkenstr. 4: 1982), 282.

¹⁸ He is named alongside other "willing to emigrate" persons from Ölbronn in the Württembergisches Staats- und Regierungsblatt of May 5th, 1817 see Eberhard Fritz, *Auswanderer aus dem Königreich Württemberg 1816–1820: Auswertung der Auswandererträge im "Königlich-Württembergischen Staats- und Regierungsblatt"* (Altshausen, 2002), 97.

¹⁹ GA Ölbronn Nr. 1155 (Beilage zur Inventur- und Teilungsakte Nr. 1485). Cf. Oertel, Ölbronn, Nr. 166.

²⁰ "I did well in emigrating, for I live better in this country than in Germany"

²¹ "I can buy and sell when I can and like, other (than that) I needn't give anything to anyone"

²² GA Ölbronn Nr. 1154 (Beilage zur Inventur- und Teilungsakte Nr. 1453). Cf. Oertel, Ölbronn, Nr. 172.

²³ "1816 I sowed 8 days before the Feast of St John [June 24th] one Morgen of barley. Six weeks of rainy weather prevented an earlier sowing. Afterwards it rained another five weeks such that the wet weather lasted from May 1st to July 18th. Not eight days passed during which it did not rain. The hay harvest lasted until the feast of St James [Juli 25th]. Initially much grass was partly silted up and even washed away by strong floods."

²⁴ "My dear reader, I previously wrote that the wet weather lasted until July 18th, but I wrote too soon, for even until the feast of St Martin (Nov 11th) there were few days without rain."

²⁵ "In the area around the Rhine many fields were covered by the river's waters such that at harvest the people cut the stalks from out of the water while in boats."

²⁶ For the following see Eberhard Fritz, 'Religiöse Rebellen im grenznahen Dorf. Separatisten in Ölbronn im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert' in *Der Enzkreis. Historisches und Aktuelles* 15 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2016), 79-205, passim.

²⁷ Ölbronn (including nearby Kleinvillars) had a total population of 829 in 1801 ("souls", including "416 Kommunikanten, 127 Katechumenen, 120 Infantes, 2 Katholiken, 101 Reformierte, 59 Separatisten und 4 "Miserabiles"); Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart A 1 1801 (Message from von Andreas Butz, 21.06.2017).

²⁸ Haßpacher, Ölbronn 280.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 281.

³⁰ GA Ölbronn Nr. 1142, Inventur- und Teilungsakte (IT) Nr. 1150.

³¹ Eberhard Fritz, "Separatistinnen und Separatisten in Württemberg und in angrenzenden Territorien. Ein biographisches Verzeichnis Stuttgart," *Südwestdeutsche Quellen zur Familien- und Wappenkunde* 3 (2005): 105-9 names only few. There was however a large number of sympathizers who did not openly declare for separatism. It is possible that separatists from

outside Ölbronn, whom Regine Keller joined, are meant here. Joining groups of separatists was a particularly attractive choice due to their good organizational structures.

³² “On April 22, 1830 our dear son Ludwig emigrated with his wife and two children, Carolina and Friderike, to North America. This parting was difficult. Our hearts will long bleed over this hour. And only the thought of once again coming together in the hereafter can lessen our sorrow.”

³³ Christine Rehe, *Von den Fildern nach Amerika. Alltag von Auswanderern im Spiegel ihrer Briefe. Eine mentalitätsgeschichtliche Annäherung* Filderstädter Schriftenreihe zur Heimat- und Landeskunde 11 (Filderstadt, 1996), 31. Like the *Inventuren*, the *Pflegrechnungen* can appear at different places within the archive structure of a municipal archive: As invoices, they are often in the sub-section Invoices (R); however, they may also be listed in the sub-files file under the Voluntary Jurisdiction Papers. Depending on the underlying organizational structure of the filing, here under “9135 Vormundschaft und Pflegschaften” (Flattich-Aktenplan) or “084.3 Vormundschaftssachen” (Boorberg-Aktenplan)

³⁴ GA Ölbronn Nr. 1544; cf. Oertel, Ölbronn, Nr. 1184.

³⁵ GA Ölbronn Nr. 1411; cf. Oertel, Ölbronn, Nr. 696.

³⁶ Rehe, *Fildern*, 38; See for example Walter D Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Johannes Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer eds., Susan Carter Vogel Trans., *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991. (Nursing bills are not mentioned here as a source for emigrant letters.)

³⁷ Hartmann, *Pflege-Fälle* 30.

³⁸ Angelika Bischoff-Luithlen, ‘Volkskunde und Gemeindearchiv. Arbeitsnotizen aus Archiven des Landkreises Reutlingen,’ in *Forschungen und Berichte zur Volkskunde in Baden- Württemberg 1974–1977* (Stuttgart, Müller & Gräff, 1977), 111.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Hartmann, *Pflege-Fälle* und Rehe, *Fildern*. Hartmann summarizes in detail the legal background of the *Pflegrechnung* management 31-42.

⁴¹ ehe, *Alltag*, 38f. See also the treatment of this issue by A.G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1993), 118-20.

⁴² GA Ölbronn Nr. 1621; vgl. Oertel, Ölbronn, Nr. 1488, und Fritz, *Separatisten* 109.

⁴³ Further emigrants to the US can be found under the designation “Emigrated no location” (2 cases), “Gen. Abroad” (5) and “Missing” (11).

⁴⁴ GA ÖLB Nr. 1514; vgl. Oertel, Ölbronn Nr. 1099.

⁴⁵ “I have not been able to put more money together as I have had to buy too many clothes because I can’t use the clothes from home here—the waist coats with long sleeves and the trousers with a codpiece (literally: trousers with a little trousers’ door) I simply cannot use here, for a fear that the Americans’ eyes would pop out of their heads if they saw me wearing those here.”

⁴⁶ Hartmann, *Pflege-Fälle* 4, 43.

⁴⁷ Hartmann, *Pflege-Fälle* 43.

⁴⁸ Rehe, *Fildern* 38. Rehe does give a total of 1,1719 known emigrants to America for Filderstadt for the 19th century, but not how many could be identified due to the *Pflegrechnungen*.

