Timothy G. Anderson

On the Pre-Migration Social and Economic Experience of Nineteenth-Century German Immigrants

Introduction

Overseas migration and immigration are central tenets of American history, a constant theme running throughout the chronicle of the country. Of the literally hundreds of ethnic and immigrant groups that have contributed to the making of today's plural society, Germans have been among the most influential, both in terms of raw numbers of immigrants who arrived during the nineteenth century and in terms of cultural contributions to American life. Immigrants from the German lands accounted for at least six million of those who entered the United States between 1830 and World War II, or about one in five. The influence of such a large immigration on the ancestral makeup of the American population is clearly reflected in recent census data: just over 26 percent of those sampled in the long form in 1980 reported German ancestry, the largest of any single ancestral group.[1]

Since immigration is such a prominent part of the history of the country it is also central to the popular images and ideals that Americans have concerning their past. But it is not an overstatement to say that much of this imagery and history has been romanticized in the country's popular culture. In part, Anglo-conformity and the growth of a strong national cultural model in which immigrants are believed to have assimilated into an American democratic and individualistic ideal explain this. That is, nineteenth-century peasant immigrants, arriving destitute from a largely unfree Europe, are believed to have achieved economic success by discarding their own cultural identities in favor of democracy and individualism ("American" traits), as well as by virtue of hard work, frugality, and religious morality. Lending further credence to such myths, earlier generations of American academicians also embraced the romantic idealism inherent in this model of immigrant adaptation (or maladaptation), from Frederick Jackson Turner to the "classic" immigration historians.[2] For example, Marcus Lee Hansen's nineteenth-century peasants were pushed out of Europe not only by overpopulation and poverty, but also by the constrictions placed upon individual liberty by despotic monarchies.[3] Even in Oscar Handlin's classic study, members of an alienated, innocent, and naïve European peasantry became an "army of emigrants," pushed and pulled by forces at work beyond their control, who found collective success in the promised land by shedding their peasant past and embracing American

Figure 1

The Prussian Provinces, 1844

Province Westphalia, 1820

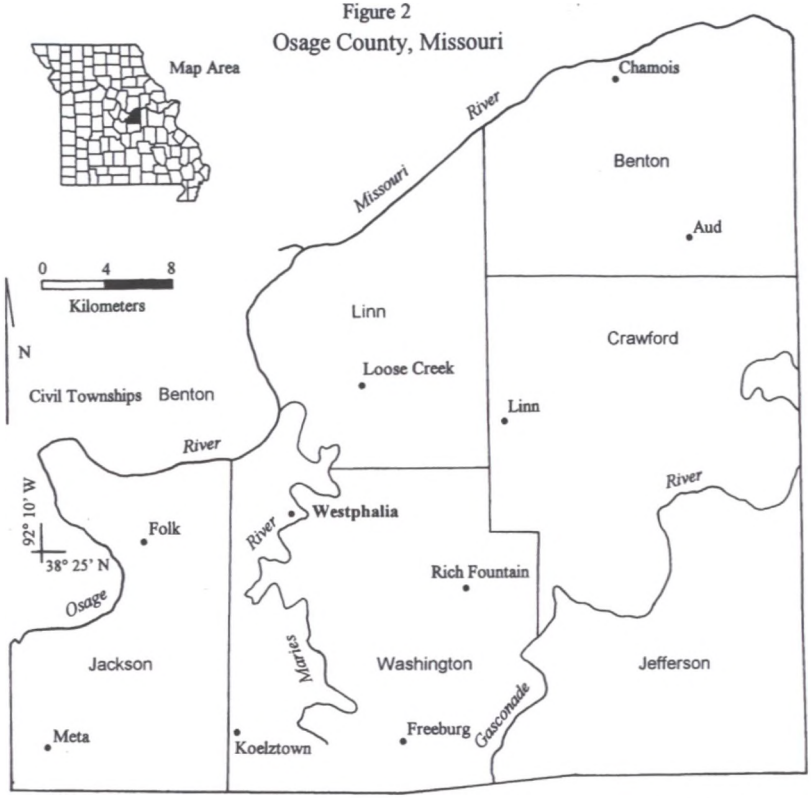
democratic ideals.[4]

At issue is not that this history is an altogether false history, but rather that it is a history that has been homogenized, sanitized, and idealized to fit national myths and beliefs. Resultantly, the extent of the economic success of nineteenth-century immigrants, as well as the forces at work in that success, have been idealized and sanitized as well. In this powerful version of events, immigrant success came only with acceptance of, and complete assimilation into, an American ideal. So too, nineteenth-century European immigrants have more often than not been homogenized into one ideal type—the destitute and largely naïve peasant—with little attention paid to country or region of origin. This history, seen largely from only an American point of view and failing to take space and place into account, is a cloudy history, and it has cloaked a complete understanding of such an important part of our past.

To be sure, much of this cloudiness results from the failure of early studies to take into account the place-specific social and economic milieu from which the immigrants came, or to even bother to find out from where immigrants originated in specific countries and locales. However, historian Frank Thistlethwaite's urgent plea in 1960 to lift the "salt-water curtain" separating immigrant communities in the United States from their source regions in Europe encouraged social scientists to reexamine nineteenth-century trans-Atlantic migrations from the perspective of new research agendas.[5] In response to this challenge, several detailed and comprehensive studies have appeared that follow immigrants from place of birth in Europe to place of death in the United States, focusing on the pre-migration experience of specific immigrant cohorts and in the process doing much to help lift the curtain shrouding the total trans-Atlantic migration experience.[6]

Given the fact that such a research agenda relies heavily on individual-level data from specific source communities it is hardly surprising that such studies are few in numbers. Depending on the country of origin, such data are often difficult to locate or are not extant. Which is to say nothing of the difficulty in tracing persons back to small source villages. When these data can be located, however, the results can be fruitful and enlightening. If we know from where the immigrants came and from what kind of an economic atmosphere they came, and if we know where they went and can analyze how they progressed economically, then we can gain a fuller understanding of the complete process from start to finish and arrive at more unbiased conclusions as to why they left and how they fared in the United States. Within this context, this study employs individual-level socioeconomic data contained in Prussian tax rolls and local parish records to reconstruct the pre-migration experience in northwestern Germany of a sizeable group of immigrants who settled in Osage County, Missouri, in the mid- nineteenth century. Based on the analysis of these data, the study argues that rural German peasant society was not one dimensional in nature, as often portrayed by earlier immigration historians, but rather far more intricate and multi-faceted in terms of socioeconomic class and land ownership. Those who emigrated to the United States in the nineteenth century tended to come from specific socioeconomic niches within this class-based society and in doing so took a proactive rather than a reactive role in their own economic betterment. Further, the study

Figure 2
Osage County, Missouri



Source: *Standard Atlas of Osage County, Missouri* (Chicago: George A. Ogle & Co., 1913)

posits that the relative success of this group on the Missouri agricultural frontier can in part be explained by its pre-migration experience in northwestern Germany, which in effect pre-adapted the group for a fully market-driven socioeconomic experience in Missouri.[7]

Pre-Migration Socioeconomic Patterns

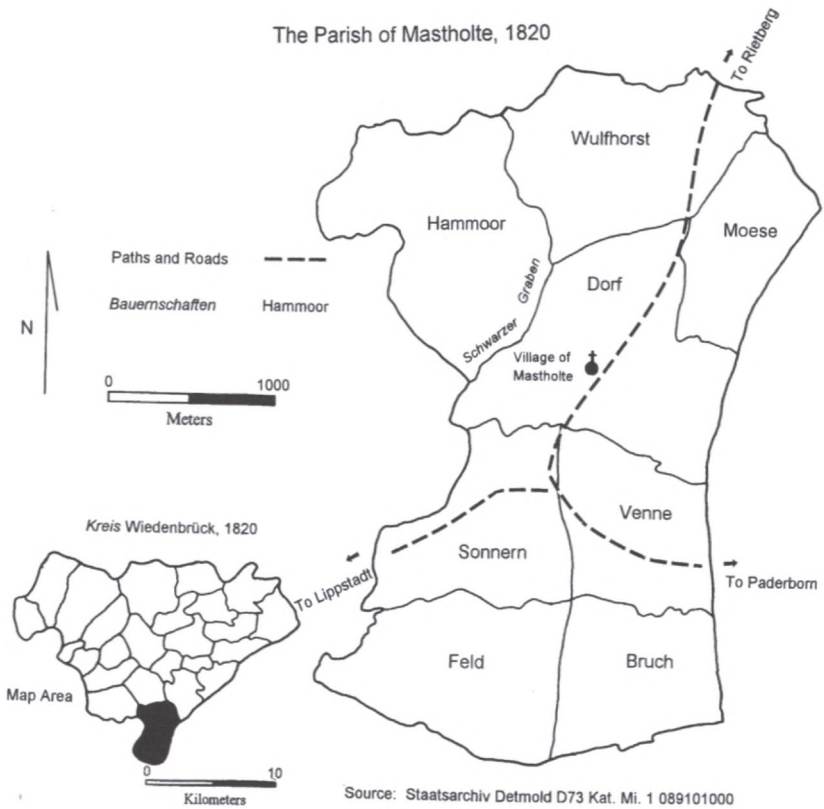
Unlike the Scandinavian countries, where detailed parish registers survive, migration records for the German lands are incomplete and geographically scattered at best, missing or nonexistent at worst. The Prussian government, however, kept rather complete records of emigration, consisting of lists provided to the district governments by the *Landrat* (County Magistrate) of the various counties. The emigrant lists for the Westphalian districts of Münster and Minden (although not nearly as complete) have been transcribed and published and include legal as well as clandestine emigration.[8] Rather complete lists from the lower Rhineland have been transcribed and published as well.[9] These lists record places of origin, occupations, names, and sometimes ages of those in the emigrant party, as well as emigration date and occasionally the geographic destination of the emigrants, although more often than not this simply appears as *Amerika* or *Nordamerika*.

While such data are quite valuable in identifying emigrant source villages and dates of migration, they reveal little in terms of the socioeconomic status of individual migrants. And although the emigration lists give the occupation of the migrant heads of household, occupations are more often than not identified by simple generic terms, such as "farmer" or "tailor," terms that fail to accurately describe or take into account the broad range of social and economic classes that typified nineteenth-century German society. Given the fact that early modern European societies were stratified into rather rigid class categories and distinctions, this information is vital if one is to gain a full understanding of such societies or the forces driving phenomena such as migration.

Records that detail social structure in rural German villages are few and far between; those that survive are often found in smaller archives rather than at federal or district-level repositories. One such set of records that survive in scattered archives is the Prussian *Klassen-Steuer-Liste* (literally "Class-Tax-Lists"). Essentially the annual rolls of government tax assessors, these lists detail a wealth of information for each household in each tax administrative unit (*Steuergemeinde*): head of household, number of persons in each household, income, debt, tax class, land ownership, livestock ownership, and property and head tax payments. Given such detailed information, the analysis of these lists yields a rather accurate account of the socioeconomic structure of individual villages, especially since the assessors assigned a socioeconomic class to each household based on tax payment. Since tax payment was a function of income, one's tax and economic class correlated well with land ownership.

Between 1841 and 1880 nearly 300 families migrated from the small Prussian parish of Mastholte in the eastern part of the province of Westphalia (figure 1)—many of them as part of a chain migration that spanned two generations—to three

Figure 3


The Parish of Mastholte, 1820
To Rietberg
Wulfhorst
Hammoor
Moese
Dorf
Graben
Schwarzer
Village of Mastholte
Paths and Roads
Bauernschaften
Hammoor
N
0
1000
Meters
Venne
Sonnern
To Lippstadt
To Paderborn
Feld
Bruch
Kreis Wiedenbrück, 1820
Map Area
0
10
Kilometers
Source: Staatsarchiv Detmold D73 Kat. Mi. 1 089101000

small immigrant communities in Osage County, Missouri: Westphalia, Loose Creek, and Rich Fountain (figure 2). The parish united the two *Gemeinden* (towns in the New England sense of the word) of Mastholte and Moese in *Kreis* (County) Wiedenbrück, ten kilometers south of the town of Rietberg in the Minden administrative district. In 1843 the parish had a population of 2,180.[10] Each *Gemeinde* corresponded to a tax administrative unit (*Steuergemeinde*), with each of those units broken down further into *Bauernschaften*, groups of farms with common historical roots, such as shared communal fields (figures 3 and 4).

Fortunately the *Klassen-Steuer-Liste* for Mastholte and Moese survive in the city archives at Rietberg and are nearly complete for much of the nineteenth century. The data contained in these lists from five sample years just before and during the onset of the migration to Osage County were analyzed in order to reconstruct the pre-migration socioeconomic environment in these two sending communities.[11] When combined with the data from official emigration lists a much clearer picture of the socioeconomic status of individual emigrants emerges.

The tax roll data, combined with vital statistics information gleaned from parish registers, reveal a rather rigid proto-industrial community structure, typical of similar small villages in northwestern Germany in the early nineteenth century (table 1).[12] The parish was numerically dominated by cottagers (*Kötter*) and share-croppers (*Heuerlinge*) well into the nineteenth century. Cottagers and sharecroppers typically owned neither house nor land, but rather rented a small cottage or out-building and a small plot of land from a landed peasant. Sharecroppers were also often obliged to work from time to time on their landlord's farm, sometimes without cash remuneration (the so-called *Heuerling* system).[13] Such stipulations were often spelled out in written contracts.[14] Subsistence came from any wage earned on the farm and, as in much of eastern Westphalia, was necessarily supplemented with the sale of domestically-produced linen thread at regional city or state-controlled markets (*Leggen*) as well as with seasonal migratory labor, often in Holland (such migratory laborers were known as *Hollandgänger*).

In the *Gemeinde* of Moese 33 percent of the households held over 97 percent of the arable in 1847 (figure 5). Of the 1,175 hectares of arable, the eleven large peasant farmers (*Vollmeier*), just 4 percent of the total number of households, held 498 hectares, about 42 percent. Likewise, medium-large farmers (*Halbmeier*) accounted for only 3 percent of all households, but they held just under 20 percent of the arable between them. Small and medium peasant farmers (*Eintäger* and *Zweitäger*, respectively) comprised roughly 15 percent of all households, but although the *Eintäger* held almost 19 percent of the arable this was split between thirty-five farmers (13 percent of the population) such that the mean holding was only 6.6 hectares.[15] As a group the thirty-three cottager households in Moese comprised about 12 percent of all households and held about 7 percent of the arable, although technically they cannot be considered as landed since they usually did not own their holdings outright. The majority of the cottagers are also listed as day-laborers (*Tagelöhner*) in the tax rolls, supplementing small agricultural incomes with day work on larger peasant farms in addition to cash income earned from spinning.

Figure 4

Bauernschaft Hammoor, Parish of Mastholte, 1837

Source: Staatsarchiv Detmold. D73 Kat. Mi. 1. 089101021

the households, the remaining majority, almost 64 percent, was comprised of those with no land holdings at all. Numerically, this proportion of the population was dominated by sharecroppers, day laborers, or those who took part in both activities (about 30 percent of all households). Maids (*Mägde*) and male farmhands (*Knechte*) encompassed the rest of the landless population. In most cases these individuals were the sons and daughters of sharecroppers or cottagers who had not married or were not heirs to the family farm. Most were young and single and worked as wage laborers on the farms of landed peasants.

The socioeconomic patterns found in Mastholte are best explained by the widespread development and occurrence of sharecropping as a characteristic form of labor control in proto-industrial regions, a system in which landed peasants and the propertyless were bound together economically. The landed peasant needed the cheap (or even free) labor of the sharecropper on the farm, as well as the income generated from the rental of cottages and small tracts of land. Conversely, the propertyless *Heuerlinge* needed a cottage in which to live and a piece of land on which to grow flax (the raw material for linen) and subsistence crops. Sharecropping (the *Heuerling* system in northwestern Germany during this period) met the needs of both.[16]

The *Heuerling* system and the linen industry allowed a large propertyless class of peasants to subsist by providing a dwelling to live in and a piece of land to rent. Spinning, especially, was turned to as a source of income since it required little initial capital outlay and because a well developed market for such products had become established in northwest Germany as well as abroad. All that one needed to enter into business and start a family was a spinning wheel and a place to undertake the activity (the peasant cottage). As such, propertyless peasants could enter into the cottage linen industry on their own, selling homemade linen thread at regional markets (the so-called *Kaufsystem*). Since children were seen as an economic asset in such an economy family size steadily increased over time. In Moese in 1847 the mean cottager household size was 5.9, the mean sharecropper household 4.5. Because the *Heuerling* system could support a relatively large propertyless class and because the *Kaufsystem* allowed individual participation in the linen industry, there were few disincentives to curtail marriage and reproduction. Over time this tended to produce a relatively large and densely settled population of peasants whose subsistence came not wholly from agricultural activities, but rather from agriculture combined with cottage industry.[17] Birth, death, and marriage records kept by parish priests at Mastholte reveal this trend (figure 6). The birth rate in the parish remained high, between thirty and forty-seven per thousand, and well above the death rates during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. As a result the population increased from 1,441 in 1802 to 2,181 in 1843, interrupted only then during the mid-1840s and 1850s by emigration to the United States.[18]

Emigration Push Factors

As long as a reliable market existed for domestically produced linen products and as long as the technology used in their production remained fairly static and inexpensive the *Heuerling* system, combined with cottage industry, could support and

Table 1. Socioeconomic Statistics, *Gemeinde* Moese, Parish of Mastholte, 1847

Class/Occupation	N[1]	Family Size[2]	Land Ownership[3]	%[4]
Landed				
Small Peasant	35	5.1	6.6	12.8
Cottager	20	3.1	3.1	7.3
Cottager/Day-Laborer	13	5.9	1.4	4.8
Large Peasant	11	6.2	45.3	4.0
Medium-Large Peasant	8	6.1	28.2	2.9
Medium Peasant	6	6.2	21.2	2.2
New Farmer & Day-Laborer	5	4.6	1.0	1.8
Landed Share-Cropper	1	2.0	5.0	0.4
Subtotal	99			36.2
Landless				
Share-Cropper/Day-Laborer	51	4.5	0.0	18.7
Day-Laborer	28	4.1	0.0	10.3
Spinner	26	2.7	0.0	9.5
Pensioner	9	2.6	0.0	3.3
Pensioner/Day-Laborer	5	4.2	0.0	1.8
Merchant	1	3.0	0.3	0.4
Teacher	1	1.0	0.0	0.4
Priest	1	1.0	0.0	0.4
Subtotal	122			44.7
Servants				
Female Maid	31	1.0	0.0	11.4
Male Farmhand	21	1.0	0.0	7.7
Subtotal	52			19.1
Total	273 (Total Population = 1,075)			100.0

[1]Number of Households in Category
[2]Mean Household Size in Category
[3]Mean Size of Holding in Class/Occupation Category, in Hectares
[4]Percentage of All Households

Source: Stadtarchiv Rietberg, Best. 1083

absorb a growing propertyless population. Beginning in the 1830s, however, two profound changes in the textile industry rapidly upset the balance between subsistence and poverty that the *Heuerling* system and the *Kaufsystem* provided. First, cotton from the American South replaced linen from the Continent and Ireland as the fabric of choice in the global textile market. Second, mechanized production of textile products in a centralized factory setting in Great Britain undercut hand production organized through a decentralized rural industry in Germany.[19]

Hardest hit by such developments were those propertyless peasants most dependent upon the cash income from the sale of home-produced linen products, but the transition also produced a general downturn in the economy that affected the lower strata of the population in general. The price of linen yarn began to fall in the 1820s, intensified in 1830s, and reached a low point in 1848 during a disastrous harvest year that saw the prices for most grains bottom out.[20] During this low point in 1848 linen exports from northwest Germany came to a virtual standstill.[21] Whereas over 84,000 linen spinners were counted in Prussia in 1849, just over 14,500 were enumerated only twelve years later in 1861; the Minden district alone registered a decline in the number of spinners from 19,279 to 5,059 over the same period.[22]

In effect unemployed, the propertyless class of cottagers and sharecroppers in rural proto-industrial communities tended to respond to this crisis, which presented the very real possibility of poverty, in different ways. Some turned to a greater reliance on day labor and extra-regional migratory work, often in the herring industry in Holland. Some turned to migrate to emerging industrial districts in Germany, as Rothert found in a study of the background of workers at two mining firms in Bochum.[23] Still others chose to migrate to rural areas in the United States where it can argued they believed that they would not be under direct capitalist control. Such was the choice for some 300 families from the parish of Mastholte who left for rural Missouri in the 1840s and 1850s.

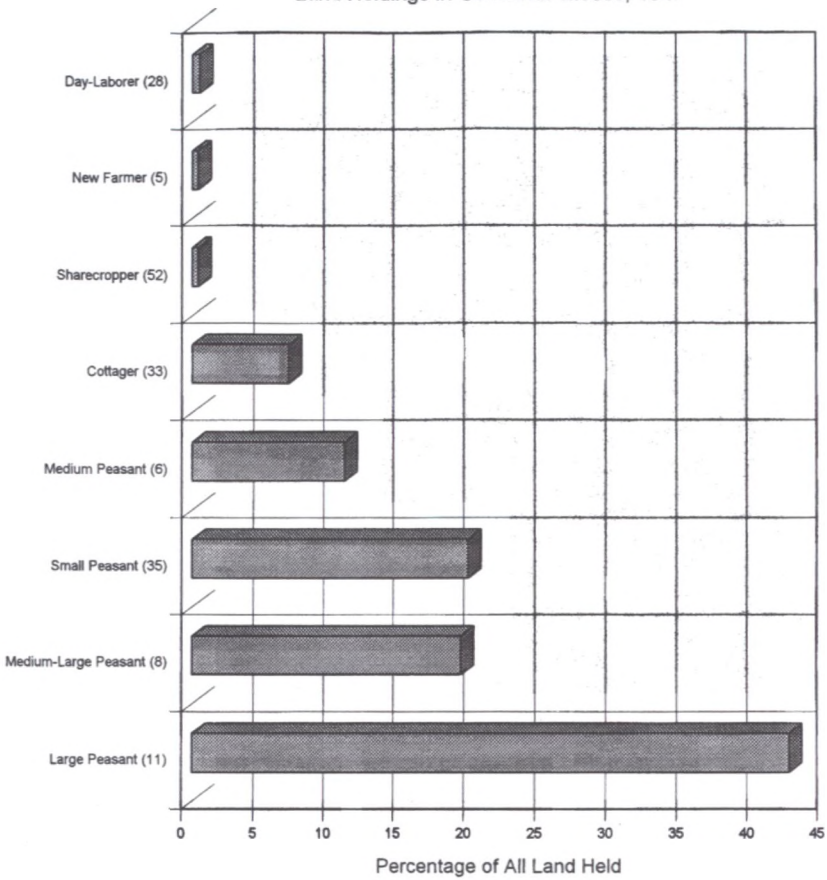
An examination of the socioeconomic background of those that emigrated from Mastholte, facilitated by information culled from tax rolls and official emigration lists, reveals that the propensity to emigrate varied according to socioeconomic standing (table 2). Seven of every ten emigrant heads of household from the parish were propertyless or were cottagers who rented very small tracts of land, that part of the population most dependent upon supplementary income from domestic industry. Numerically, cottagers, followed by day-laborers, farmhands, maids, and sharecroppers, dominated the emigrant cohort. The data also show that a clear majority of the emigrants were young and single. Even the average cottager emigrant household was comprised of only two people—young married couples with no children. Maids were, on the average, twenty-three at the time of emigration, day-laborers and farmhands twenty-six, and cottagers about thirty.

Conclusions—Emigrants and Preadaptations in Northwest Germany

While "classic" immigration studies portray European peasant societies as uniform (especially in terms of socioeconomic class) and peasant immigrants as reactive

Figure 5

Land Holdings in Gemeinde Moese, 1847

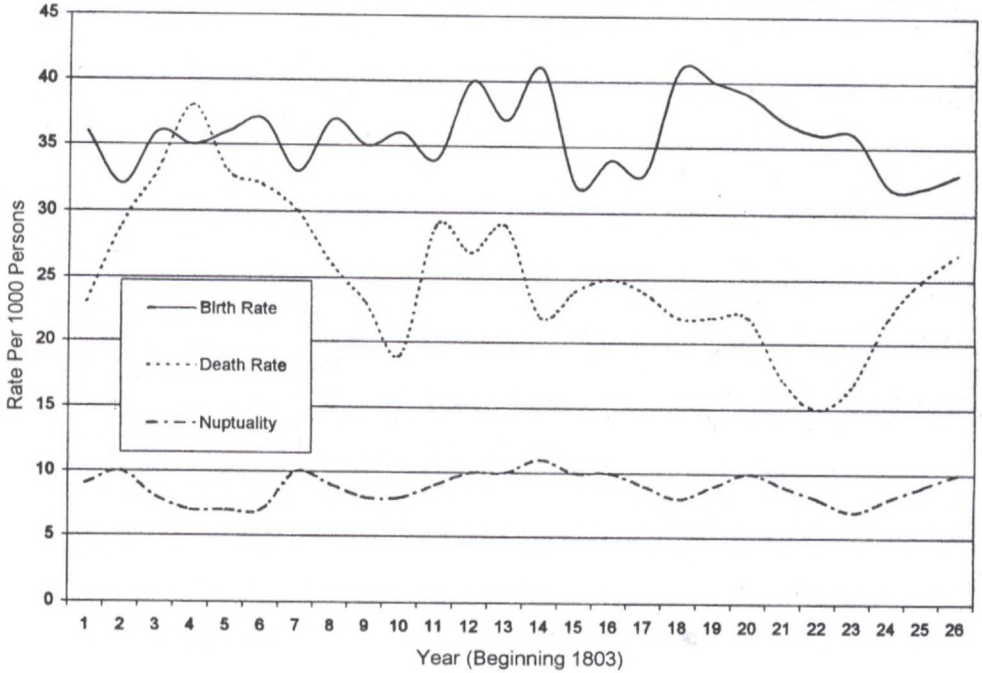


Source: Stadtarchiv Rietberg, Best. 1083

automatons without any other choice but flight from an undemocratic Europe, this and other studies have shown that this depiction is a simplification of historical reality. Three main points have been outlined here, each of which questions such classical and popular assumptions. First, it is clear that German peasant society in the early nineteenth century was itself highly stratified into landed and landless elements. Landed peasants generally did well as successful agrarian capitalists within the *Heuerling* system as landlords to sharecroppers, and migration overseas or elsewhere was generally not necessitated during the crisis years of the 1830s and 1840s.[24] Second, it is clear from the data presented in this survey that this migration was highly selective, that is the poorest of the poor did not, on the average, choose the option of overseas migration. While sharecroppers accounted for a large share of the population of the parish of Mastholte, they are underrepresented in the emigrant population. These persons most likely remained at home, turning to a greater reliance on day labor or seasonal work, or moved to emerging industrial districts where wage labor was still available. The poorest stratum of the population could not, in all likelihood, afford the cost of the trans-Atlantic passage, especially if one had a large family, which most did. Cottagers, on the other hand, either held or rented large enough parcels to reap some agricultural income. Even so, cottagers with large families did not migrate from Mastholte. While the average cottager family in the parish numbered almost seven persons, virtually all of the cottagers that emigrated overseas during the study period had no children. Maids, farmhands, and day-laborers, as wage earners who usually lived with their employers and thus paid little or no rent, had the opportunity to save for the cost of travel. Moreover, as friends and other family members became established in growing immigrant communities in Osage County, Missouri, the economic and social costs of overseas migration were significantly lessened. Third, it is evident that conscious choices were made by members of the peasantry in the parish when faced with crisis in the 1830s and 1840s, but that overseas migration was a choice made by relatively few. At least in the case of these German immigrants those few were clearly not as downtrodden or naïve as portrayed in popular perception and imagery. The *Kaufsystem* was a system in which domestic producers were relatively free from direct capitalist control. That is, peasant cottage industry producers in this system exercised control over how much and when they could produce and at which markets to sell their products. To take a job in a factory or mine would result in a loss of such independence. For those cottagers and others who could garner enough capital through minimal agricultural activities or day labor for the overseas passage, a conscious choice not to become proletarianized appears to have been made by going to a place where they believed they would not be under direct capitalist control, in this case the Missouri agricultural frontier.

Finally, based on the results of this analysis I argue that the emigrant cohort that migrated to Missouri carried with them traits that in effect preadapted them for economic success in the United States, although this was largely serendipitous. The concept of preadaptation refers to sets of traits held by a group of people that give that group a competitive advantage, in the ecological sense, in their interaction with a new environment.[25] While Jordan and Kaups's study of Fenno-Scandian preadaptive

Figure 6
Vital Statistics, Parish of Mastholte, 1802-1829 (Three-Year Moving Averages)



Sources: St. Jakobus Catholic Parish, Mastholte, Germany, Births, Death, and Marriage Registers

Table 2. Emigrant Cohort Characteristics, Parish of Mastholte, 1800-1900

Class/Occupation	N[1]	%	Family Size[2]	Age[3]
Medium Peasant	2	0.7	1.0	28.5
Medium-Large Peasant	2	0.7	8.5	n.a.
Pensioner	3	1.0	2.5	58.5
Large Peasant	10	3.4	7.0	49.8
Small Peasant	11	3.7	6.0	45.6
Sharecropper	13	4.4	3.4	39.4
Female Maid	25	8.4	1.0	22.9
Male Farmhand	34	11.5	1.0	26.0
Day Laborer	46	15.5	1.0	25.8
Other[4]	64	21.5	n.a.	n.a.
Cottager	87	29.3	2.0	30.3
Total	297	100.0		

[1]Number of heads of household
[2]Mean size of emigrant families in class/occupation category
[3]Mean age at emigration of head of household
[4]Persons listed in emigration lists but not found in tax roll data

Sources: Stadtarchiv Rietberg Best. 1050, Best. 1057, Best. 1064, Best. 1083, Best. 1090; Friedrich Müller, "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert – Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Minden, II. Teil, 1816-1900," *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschungen* 38-39 (1980-1981), 3-711; Friedrich Müller, "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert – Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Minden, II. Teil, Heimliche Auswanderung 1814-1900," *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschungen* 47-48 (1989-1990), 7-762.

traits introduced into the lower Delaware Valley and later adopted by Scots-Irish pioneers focuses largely on ecologically preadaptive trait complexes, a more recent study by Karl Raitz suggests that Irish immigrants in the Kentucky Bluegrass and the Nashville Basin brought with them culturally preadaptive trait complexes (such as experience with masonry and an extensive kinship system) that served them well in the Border South.[26] I suggest a similar characterization of certain traits possessed by the German immigrants in this study. The immigrants brought with them generations of collective experience with, and active involvement in, a commercial agro-industrial system. These individuals were leaving an area where their economic function in the world economy had been marginalized by technical and structural change, and going to an area where it had not. In other words, one can surmise that they were relatively well informed about how the world economy worked since they had, through protoindustry, long been participants in it. As active participants in the *Kaufsystem* in Germany, the immigrants had ample experience with markets, consumer demand, and price fluctuations. Such experience would serve them well in Missouri, as they had to adopt a different agricultural system in order to respond to a different agricultural market. On both sides of the Atlantic, however, the immigrants were operating within a similar capitalist market structure. It was this economic experience that was of most value in succeeding in the new milieu in the United States.

The immigrants in this study brought with them a rich European background and a collective experience punctuated by active involvement in a commercial agro-industrial economy. In Missouri they were, in a sense, entrepreneurs who used their experiences gained in the Old World to succeed in the New World by quickly responding to a different agricultural market, a different set of environmental parameters, and a new socioeconomic milieu. So too, I argue that those "selected" out of the peasant population of Mastholte for migration made clear choices not to become proletarianized. As such, a tenacious individualism appears to have been part of this set of preadaptive traits. I believe there are strong implications suggested here. We may need to take another look at the experience of rural nineteenth-century Europeans in the Middle West by following them back to specific source regions and analyzing their pre-migration experience. Jordan and Kaups suggest that many of the folk material culture traits observed in North America can be traced back to Europe with the Finns. The results of this and other studies suggest that since much of the American Middle West was settled by northwest Europeans in the nineteenth century, we may be able to trace the economic response of Europeans to that region back to their proto-industrial experience in northwest Europe.

Ohio University
Athens, Ohio

Notes

[1] James P. Allen and Eugene J. Turner, *We the People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 50.

[2] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report for*

the Year 1893, American Historical Association (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1894), 199-227.

[3] Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration*, 1607-1860 (New York: Harper and Row, 1940).

[4] Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951).

[5] Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Rapports du XIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Stockholm, 1960, V: Histoirie Contemporaine* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1960).

[6] For example, see Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Yda Saueressig-Schreuder, "Dutch-Catholic Emigration in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Noord Brabant, 1847-1871," *Journal of Historical Geography* 11 (1985): 48-69; Walter D. Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Anne Kelly Knowles, "Immigrant Trajectories Through the Rural Industrial Transition in Wales and the United States, 1795-1850," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers 85* (1995): 246-66; Axel Lubinski, *Entlassen aus dem Untertanenverband: Die Amerikaauswanderung aus Mecklenburg-Strelitz im 19. Jahrhundert* (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1997); Anne Aengenvoort, *Migration-Siedlungsbildung Akkulturation: Die Auswanderung Nordwestdeutscher nach Ohio, 1830-1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999). For a recent overview of the historiography of the subject see Jon Gjerde, "New Growth on Old Vines—The State of the Field: The Social History of Immigration to and Ethnicity in the United States," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18 (1999): 40-65.

[7] These findings are detailed in Timothy G. Anderson, "Immigrants in the World-System: Domestic Industry and Industrialization in Northwest Germany and the Migration to Osage County, Missouri, 1835-1900" (Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University, 1994).

[8] Friedrich Müller, "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert—Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Münster, I. Teil, 1803-1850," *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschungen* 22-24 (1964-66): 7-484; "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert—Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Minden, II. Teil, 1816-1900," *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschungen* 38-39 (1980-81): 3-711; "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert—Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Minden, II. Teil, Heimliche Auswanderung 1814-1900," *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschungen* 47-48 (1989-90): 7-762.

[9] Wilhelm Toups, "Auswanderer aus der früheren Bürgermeisterei Lank," *Almanach für den Kreis Neuss* (1982): 111-36; "Auswanderer des Kreises Neuss im 19. Jahrhundert," *Almanach für den Kreis Neuss* (1984): 105-48; "Auswanderer des Kreises Neuss im 19. Jahrhundert," *Almanach für den Kreis Neuss* (1985): 104-51. For an exhaustive study of emigration (including detailed emigrant lists) from the Westphalian parish of Ostbevern during the nineteenth century see Werner Schubert, *Auswanderung aus Ostbevern* (9 Vols.) (Privately Published).

[10] Stephanie Reekers and Johanna Schulz, *Die Bevölkerung in den Gemeinden Westfalens, 1818-1950* (Dortmund, 1952).

[11] Stadtarchiv Rietberg, Best. 1050, Klassen-Steuer-Liste, Gemeinde Mastholte, 1840; Best. 1057, Klassen-Steuer-Liste, Gemeinde Mastholte, 1850; Best. 1064, Klassen-Steuer-Liste, Gemeinde Mastholte, 1857; Best. 1083, Klassen-Steuer-Liste, Gemeinde Moese, 1847; Best. 1090, Klassen-Steuer-Liste, Gemeinde Moese, 1857.

[12] The classic study on proto-industrialization is Franklin F. Mendels, "Proto Industrialization: The First Phase of the Industrialization Process," *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972): 241-61. For a thorough overview of proto-industry and proto-industrialization in Europe see Sheilagh C. Ogilve and Markus Cerman, eds., *European Proto-Industrialization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), especially chapters one through three, which summarize theories and historiography of the subject.

[13] Jürgen Schlumbohm, "From Peasant Society to Class Society: Some Aspects of Family and Class in a Northwest German Protoindustrial Parish, 17th-19th Centuries," *Journal of Family History* 17 (1992): 183-99. In the literature on the subject the term *Heuerling* is most often employed to describe what is known as a cottager in English, that is a landless or land poor peasant. In the small area analyzed here, however, Prussian tax rolls clearly differentiate between *Kötter*, landed peasants who usually held less than three or four hectares, and *Heuerlinge*, landless peasants who more often than not worked either as sharecroppers or day laborers on a landed peasant's farm.

[14] Josef Mooser, *Ländliche Klassengesellschaft, 1770-1848: Bauern und Unterschichten, Landwirtschaft und*

Gewerbe im östlichen Westfalen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 489.

[15] The terms *Vollmeier*, *Zweitäger*, etc., are descriptive class terms of medieval origin that referred to the number of days labor-rent per month. Although up to 90 percent of the German peasantry west of the Elbe had been freed of manorial dues very early, these terms continued to be employed by Prussian officials for tax assessment purposes as descriptive and legal categories. Such terms are confusing and difficult to translate into English but they are nevertheless illustrative of the intense stratification and differentiation in German peasant societies, even within the cottager and sharecropping classes.

[16] For detailed studies of proto-industry and sharecropping systems in other areas of Westphalia see: Mooser, *Ländliche Klassengesellschaft*; idem, "Property and Wood Theft: Agrarian Capitalism and Social Conflict in Rural Society, 1800-1850," in *Peasants and Landlords in Modern Germany*, ed. Robert G. Moeller (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1986), 52-80; Jürgen Schlumbohm, *Lebensläufe, Familien, Höfe: die Bauern und Heuerleute des Osnabrückischen Kirchspiels Belm in proto-industrieller Zeit, 1650-1860* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).

[17] Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, and Jürgen Schlumbohm, *Industrialization Before Industrialization: Rural Industry in the Genesis of Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); idem, "Proto-Industrialization Revisited: Demography, Social Structure and Modern Domestic Industry," *Continuity and Change* 8 (1993): 217-52.

[18] St. Jakob Parish Records, Mastholte, Germany. Births, Deaths, Marriages, 1802-29.

[19] Anderson, "Immigrants in the World-System."

[20] Mooser, *Ländliche Klassengesellschaft*, 480.

[21] Gerhard Adelmann, "Strukturelle Krisen im ländlichen Textilgewerbe Nordwestdeutschlands zu Beginn der Industrialisierung," in *Wirtschaftspolitik und Arbeitsmarkt*, ed. Hermann Kellenbenz (München, 1974), 110-28.

[22] Carl Biller, *Der Rückgang der Handleinwandindustrie des Münsterlandes* (Leipzig: Abteilung aus dem Staatswissenschaftlichen Seminar zu Münster, Heft 2, 1906), 143.

[23] Liebetraut Rothert, "Zur Herkunft westfälischer Bergleute auf Bochumer Schachtanlagen 19. Jahrhundert," *Westfälische Forschungen* 31 (1981): 73-117.

[24] Mooser, "Property and Wood Theft."

[25] Milton Newton, "Cultural Preadaptation and the Upland South," *Geoscience and Man* 5 (1974): 143-54.

[26] Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Karl Raitz, "Rock Fences and Preadaptation," *Geographical Review* 85 (1995): 50-62.