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German Merchants, German Artisans, and Texas during the 1830s and 1840s

In *Birds of Passage* Michael Piore writes:

To tap the rural population, a much more extensive institutional structure is required, a structure that consists of intermediaries that can help the potential migrant obtain the necessary documents, advance the requisite funds, and arrange transportation. Before this institutional structure is established somebody must have acquired a sufficient understanding of the labor market in the industrial country to make the institutional structure viable. . . . It is the initial middle class migrants who perform this function.¹

Piore is describing migration from less to more industrialized areas, primarily during the twentieth century, but his thesis can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to migration from Germany to America during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Some migrants came from towns, not simply villages and the countryside. Until the Civil War, migrants did not go from a preindustrial society to an industrial society, but rather from one preindustrial society to another preindustrial society, or from one industrializing society to another. Some of the migrants became farmers in the New World, where they often attempted to perpetuate or reconstitute a rural world they could not maintain in Germany.² Other migrants entered the rural or urban labor market in America. The institutional structures that guided migrants from one continent to another became elaborate on both sides of the Atlantic. These structures included the shipping lines, railroads, and immigration commissions familiar to us from the literature on nineteenth-century immigration.

Examining aspects of these structures in a situation in which they were being developed for the first time, this article explores the role of merchants and artisans in migration to Texas. The literature on Germans in Texas has been preoccupied with the migration of peasants or

agriculturalists and the role of the so-called *Adelsverein* (*Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas*) in getting them there during the 1840s.³ Artisans and merchants have been neglected. Is it possible that much German migration to Texas during the nineteenth century consisted of artisans, and that much of this migration was steered, even during the 1840s, not by the *Adelsverein*, but by other Germans, among whom merchants played a strategic role? The evidence available for the present article permits a positive answer to the first question, but only a tentative answer to the second.

Ship passenger lists are too often seen simply as a genealogical pastime. Nineteenth-century passenger lists of Germans departing from German ports routinely noted the occupations of males aged eighteen and over, even though United States law did not require this information.⁴ A perusal of passenger lists for North American ports from the 1820s to 1850 reveals large numbers of German artisans. As is to be expected in view of the number of merchants in Germany, merchants appear much less prominently on the passenger lists, which record agricultural or artisanal occupations for most Germans. We can distinguish two major groups among these merchants: first, those on business journeys; second, men trained as merchants, often from merchant families, but without firms of their own. They were going to America in the hope of becoming merchants, perhaps with the expectation of engaging in transatlantic commerce.⁵

There was good reason for business trips to the New World. Transactions with the Americas were attractive and growing. The American Revolution had opened up the possibility of extensive direct commerce between the Americas and Germany. After the Napoleonic Wars this potential, aided by anti-colonial revolutions in Latin America, gradually became a reality. By 1830 one third of Mexico's export-import business was in German hands.⁶

Many lesser merchants and many apprentices in Germany had difficulty finding employment in a still largely agrarian society. Freedom of trade, meaning freedom to enter any occupation, was not fully established in most of Germany until 1869. Guild and other restrictions on access to occupations remained. To become a merchant in a town a man had to be a citizen of that town, but even most of its residents were not citizens. Citizenship usually presupposed ownership of a house in town. Also, the prospective merchant had to pay a fee to become a burgher entitled to conduct trade. Efforts to weaken these restrictions met vigorous opposition, led in many areas by men who saw their livelihoods jeopardized by competition,⁷ as well as by those wishing to avoid social conflict.⁸

A specific example will serve to illustrate the obstacles to opening a business in Germany. There was a family of merchants named Giesecke, some of whom settled on the Lower Brazos River in Texas.⁹ In Germany the family was neither rich nor poor, but compared with most Germans of the era the Gieseckes were well off. They lived in Bockenem, a small town in the Hildesheim district in the southern part of the Kingdom of Hannover. Giesecke was a merchant with interests in several branches

of trade, including textiles. He had four children, three sons and a daughter. His wife came from a better situated patrician family in Elze, a small town not far away. Her ancestors included merchants, a court apothecary, and Lutheran pastors. She had several sisters; her only brother died at twenty-one. A married, but childless sister lived in Elze. Family property without a direct male heir was clustered there. After Frau Giesecke's father died in 1820 her husband paid a sum of money to become a citizen of Elze. Herr Giesecke must have assumed that he or his sons would share in the property of his wife's family in her birthplace. His oldest son was then eleven, the youngest five. As the sons became older, they were apprenticed in Bockenem, Elze, Bremen, or elsewhere—at least one of them in textiles. They had family contacts in merchant circles in Bremen through relatives, including a brother of the childless uncle by marriage.

In 1831 Herr Giesecke died in Bockenem. His widow applied to the municipal authorities in Elze for permission to open a textile business there. She intended to move back to her birthplace. The shop was to be located in an old family dwelling in Elze near her sister and brother-in-law. Although the town fathers in Elze wanted to grant Frau Giesecke's request, they had to obtain the sanction of royal officials in the district office in Hildesheim. These officials wanted to deny her application on the grounds that there was no room for another textile business in a town with a population of 1800. The town fathers replied that the livelihoods of other merchants would not be hurt: There was no textile merchant at the end of town where Frau Giesecke's family lived, and the other people who had applied for textile concessions had withdrawn their requests. Furthermore, added the town fathers, the widow Giesecke had only modest properties, consisting mainly of fourteen acres of gardens, meadows, and tilled fields; her son, who had learned the textile business, would take over the shop.

After months of backing and filling, the district authorities in Hildesheim finally granted Frau Giesecke's request. Among the considerations weighed were: the need to prevent an oversupply of merchants and destructive competition among them; the desirability of sustaining a family of local repute; the maintenance of the business in this family. The Gieseckes were fortunate, but only one of the three sons had been taken care of.

Becoming a merchant in a large city like Bremen was very expensive. In the 1820s citizenship with the right to conduct business in Bremen cost four hundred *Reichsthaler*. That was about twice the amount required to support a craftsman's family in a small town for an entire year.¹⁰ There were other direct and indirect costs of taking over an existing business or founding a new one: acquiring a house and business premises; establishing a household; obtaining stock. During the 1820s such expenditures often appeared wildly speculative, for corrosive pessimism about the future of Bremen's commerce lingered.

In a small town like Elze, or even a somewhat larger one, citizenship and commercial rights could be had for a much more modest sum, but there were still the other basic costs of establishing a business.

Confronting such obstacles, many German merchants went abroad. In 1844-45 nine German firms had branches in New Orleans, and sixty-two in New York.¹¹ Most of the people working in these offices were employees, not partners. Some of the employees, as well as other would-be merchants and some partners, eventually established firms in America, where freedom of trade facilitated the opening of new firms. Some successful merchants, and many who failed, stayed in America. Germany exported part of its surplus of merchants.

The decline of the German linen industry was one of the forces propelling merchants and others abroad.¹² Among the merchants who went to America were many who successfully extracted their capital from this decaying industry and utilized it to reestablish themselves in America. Once again, the objective was not so much to become rich as to gain a degree of security that no longer seemed attainable in Germany. The less developed conditions of Texas offered this possibility. The merchants who went there probably had proportionally less capital and fewer other resources than those who went to older population centers.¹³ Inadequate capital was a general problem plaguing immigrant merchants in frontier communities.¹⁴

All three Giesecke brothers spent some time in Texas. The middle brother probably arrived first, already before the Texas War of Independence of 1836. He and the youngest brother, who arrived in the late 1830s, were partners in a general store and engaged in export-import business with Germany, but they fought bitterly. Their partnership soon dissolved. The youngest retained the store, the middle brother became a small planter. The oldest brother visited Texas at least once, staying perhaps two years in the early 1840s. Although he returned to Germany, he continued to have business dealings involving Texas.

From 1840 to 1846 some ten thousand Germans streamed into Galveston. Many came under the auspices of the organized colonizing efforts of the *Adelsverein* and departed for the interior. A goodly number remained in the Gulf region and in the rapidly developing port of Galveston. Many of these Germans in Texas were artisans.

Germany had an even larger surplus of artisans than merchants. Artisans were displaced by the growth of industrialization, the mechanization of production, the decay of the guild system, and a relative decline in the number of masters. German tailors, bakers, cabinet-makers, carpenters, butchers, wheelwrights, millers, turners, shoemakers, saddlers, and members of many other crafts traveled throughout Europe in search of employment.¹⁵ Paris was the mecca of German artisans in the 1830s and 1840s, but while its numerous small shops engaged many of the eighty thousand or more Germans there, other artisans went overseas.¹⁶ As has been well established, artisans constituted a disproportionate segment of German emigrants in the 1840s and 1850s. For example, although artisans made up only about 6 percent of the population of Hesse-Darmstadt in 1846, they provided nearly 40 percent of the emigrants.¹⁷ Guidebooks for German emigrants touted the opportunities for artisans in America. A large proportion of the craftsmen in American cities such as Boston, New York, Buffalo, Pough-

keepsie, Jersey City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, South Bend, and St. Louis were Germans by the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ Van Ravenswaay's thorough treatment of German crafts and architecture in Missouri documents the presence of numerous German artisans there at midcentury.¹⁹

We lack a similar general work for Texas, but many a guidebook pointed artisans toward Texas.²⁰ Attempting to justify the subtitle of his book on Texas, "Primarily for Peasants and Craftsmen," Ottomar von Behr claimed that he had come into contact in America "almost solely with peasants and craftsmen."²¹ Traugott Bromme singled out Texas as a desirable place for members of two "estates," farmers (*Landwirte*) and craftsmen, to settle.²² Perhaps attracted by descriptions of Texas and the shortage of craftsmen near the frontier, and encouraged by merchants like the Gieseckes, many German artisans arrived in Texas during the 1840s. There some of them escaped, for the time being, the mechanization and industrialization that threatened them in Germany.

At one point in 1845 Charles Giesecke in Texas beseeches his brother in Germany: "Send me a distillery hand, but no depraved students!"²³ Charles is alluding to a young man sent earlier from Germany. Hoping to expand a small distillery he has established, Charles wants a cooper and a distiller. "Send me two capable chaps. . . . I'll give them a wage they'll be satisfied with."²⁴ Although the Republic of Texas levied substantial import duties on spirits, there were no distilleries of any size in Texas.²⁵ But the annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845-46 brought plans like those of Charles Giesecke to naught. The Texas market was opened up to the products of the smoking, steam-powered, whiskey-making behemoths of the Mississippi Valley. Texas was no enduring haven from the consequences of industrialization.

There are other indications of the Gieseckes' guiding craftsmen to Texas. The brothers in Texas engaged a German who made cigars for the Galveston market. He was still making cigars in 1844 when Hermann Seele, the son of a master baker in Hildesheim, arrived shortly before his twenty-first birthday. Hildesheim was the administrative and commercial center of the district from which the Gieseckes came. Young Seele was thus a *Landsmann* of the Gieseckes in the narrower sense, but he had little to recommend himself to them. He had the misfortune to have been highly educated and have served as the tutor to an aristocratic family in Germany, rather than as an apprentice to a craftsman. Knowing of the Gieseckes before leaving Hildesheim, or hearing about them enroute to or in Galveston, he set out Easter week for Brazoria in the Lower Brazos River area. He found an evening of music, song, and good fellowship, but to his chagrin no employment.²⁶ Seele soon went to the *Adelsverein* settlement in New Braunfels, where he opened the first school. There was a suitable occupation for him in this new German town, and he became a prominent member of the community.

Advertisements and emigration agents as well as travel guides directed the flow of emigrants. Fritz Giesecke, the brother who returned permanently to Germany, advertised his services as early as 1846 as an "emigrant agent" in a Hildesheim area newspaper. He ran one of

several emigrant services in small towns in the district. In the city of Hildesheim alone there were some dozen private emigrant agencies.²⁷ In July 1846 Fritz Giesecke's advertisement boasted of "three-masted ships with copper-clad hulls." He listed departure dates for the coming three months from Bremen bound for New York, Baltimore, New Orleans, and Galveston.²⁸

An advertisement by an ignorant or unscrupulous agent in this same newspaper asserted that fifteen to twenty dollars per day could be earned in America.²⁹ The shortage of craftsmen and laborers in America tended to drive up wages, but not to such dizzying heights.

The store operated by Edward Giesecke in Brazoria did not flourish after the dissolution of the partnership, but the brothers' links to German artisans continued. According to the census of 1850 a German ropemaker, probably from the Hildesheim district, lived in the house of Edward Giesecke. Many a small German merchant may have acted as an unofficial emigration agent.

Brazoria County, where the Gieseckes lived, was an overwhelmingly rural area with large plantations. The Gieseckes' store was in the county seat—one of the few towns in the county. Most of Brazoria County's 4,841 inhabitants in 1850 were slaves. Only 1,329 whites lived in the entire county. There were few Germans—only forty-five males over age eighteen, to which we might add two German Swiss. A mere 7 percent of the white population were Germans, or the spouses and children of Germans. The overwhelming majority of the German men were craftsmen—thirty-six in all. In addition, four of the Germans listed without an occupation were probably craftsmen too. The leading occupation was carpentry (seventeen men) followed by barrel making. There were seven coopers, and a scattering of other craftsmen: a bricklayer, two wheelwrights, two tailors, two butchers, a shoemaker, the ropemaker, and three gardeners.³⁰ Here in Brazoria County we have a striking instance of the disproportionate occupational distribution of German immigrants. German agriculturalists were discouraged by the predominance of slave plantations. German professionals were discouraged by the relatively small German population and its dispersal. Artisans and other Germans who became artisans in America were attracted to Brazoria County.

The situation in Galveston was somewhat different. According to the census of 1850 Galveston County had a free population of 3,500, of which almost half, 48 percent, were foreign born. Fourteen percent of the foreign born were artisans, and over half the artisans were Germans. As late as 1860, 45 percent of Galveston's artisans had been born in Germany.³¹ As might be expected in a port town, the German population was much more diverse than in Brazoria County. Although many craftsmen resided in Galveston, there were also many Germans at the extremes of the social structure: on the one hand, laborers; on the other, merchants and a few professionals. Five physicians and eleven merchants were among the non-artisan Germans in 1850. Less than half (43 percent) of the German men aged eighteen and over were artisans. The distribution of artisan occupations was also different from Brazoria

County. For example, although carpenters (32) were by far the most common German artisans in Galveston, there were many cabinet-makers (12). There were also many shoemakers (22), but few coopers (only 2). The luxury trades in Galveston were well represented by Germans: two goldsmiths, a silversmith, a watchmaker, a confectioner, an upholsterer, and a piano maker. Other artisans were engaged in other occupations not represented in largely rural Brazoria County: four printers, a bookbinder, ten painters, three bricklayers, and a brick-mason.³²

We lack good records for the debarkation of artisans in Texas during the Republic, but an indication of their proportions among German immigrants to Texas can be found in figures for the arrival of artisans in Galveston from Europe in 1846–50.³³ In 1846 8 percent of the Germans arriving in Galveston from foreign ports were artisans. A peak of 19 percent was reached in 1849, and the proportion remained high in 1850 with 16 percent.³⁴ Other statistics help us to comprehend the dimensions of this flow of artisans and their overrepresentation among German immigrants: it has been estimated that in the late 1840s the population of Germany consisted of a low of 4 percent artisans in one area, and a high of 8 percent in another.³⁵ The proportion of artisans among immigrants to Galveston far exceeded these values.

Although many artisans went to Galveston, there is a distinct possibility that over a period of several decades even higher proportions of artisans went to more developed areas such as New York, Baltimore, and Charleston. In the older cities there may have been more opportunities for them. Understandably the existing studies are concerned with the proportion of Germans in various occupations among the entire population, not among arriving immigrants or arriving immigrant Germans.³⁶ It is unlikely, however, that many parts of the United States had a higher proportion of German artisans than Brazoria County in the 1840s and 1850s, and perhaps some other rural areas of the South during the nineteenth century.

Practitioners of certain trades were drawn to specific areas of America at certain times. Passengers from the Hildesheim area arriving at Baltimore and New Orleans from 1834 to 1840 were predominantly artisans, although many agricultural laborers and rural serving women also came.³⁷ During the 1840s Texas attracted a broad spectrum of artisan occupations. These include all of the crafts mentioned above, as well as weavers, masons, basketmakers, brewers, and numerous others. However, a preliminary study of Galveston's immigrants finds that the city received disproportionate numbers of artisans in certain occupations. For example, although in 1850 a mere 0.25 percent of the passengers from foreign ports entering the United States came through Galveston, 7 percent of the butchers, 8 percent of the bakers, and 12.5 percent of the millers landed in Galveston.³⁸ Guidebooks and merchants may have drawn some types of artisans to Texas in large numbers, at least for a few years. Studies of United States ports exploiting the rich resources of the passenger lists are necessary to arrive at firmer conclusions.

Surviving government records for the early stages of emigration from the Hildesheim district to America mention only 240 people emigrating in 1834. Eleven years later the number had increased sixfold to 1,437—and this may be simply for the first half of 1845.³⁹ In 1834 few people emigrated officially, and the number who left surreptitiously was probably not much larger. Of course, the names of merchants or would-be merchants such as Charles Giesecke, who probably left Germany in the early 1830s, are unlikely to appear in emigration records; many merchants departed on business, not as emigrants. Unfortunately we do not have occupations listed for emigrants in the surviving official records for the Hildesheim district. We have only the numbers for each locality beginning in 1834. However, a published account describes six males, all young, who left that same year for America from one town and its environs in the Hildesheim district. As is characteristic of the early stages of emigration from an area, most of the men were petty bourgeois of the sort described by Piore as "initial middle class migrants." Only one was an artisan, a journeyman cabinetmaker. The others were shop assistants and educated candidates, or potential candidates, for public positions: a student of theology, a candidate for a position in the school system, two shop or merchant helpers, and a man who had been a clerk in an apothecary.⁴⁰

Much more work is needed on the occupations of nineteenth-century migrants and the mechanisms by which they selected their destinations. It is reasonable to assume that the older big cities attracted many impoverished artisans, as well as some wealthier ones, while new cities like Galveston near the frontier attracted artisans both with and without capital, but we need more evidence.⁴¹ The existing studies of immigrant occupations concentrate, with few exceptions, on the period after 1850, and list occupations in America, not Germany.⁴² Studies are needed that bring together data from German censuses, passenger lists, and American censuses.

Although Southern plantation districts generally attracted few Germans, a rapidly developing and well-publicized area such as the coastal region of East Texas drew more Germans. Yet such an area did not attract a cross section of German immigrants. As we have seen, the overwhelming majority of the Germans settling in Brazoria County in the 1840s were, or became, artisans.

We need to know much more about the role of emigration agents in Germany and their relationship to German businessmen in America during the antebellum period.⁴³ The evidence assembled by this article does no more than suggest the plausibility of the hypothesis that German merchants on both sides of the Atlantic played a major role in emigration to Texas. Demonstrating their role adequately will require further research.

What about the question of retaining as well as recruiting artisans? Did merchants expect to hold artisan immigrants in a labor-scarce market, as later entrepreneurs such as beer brewers attempted to avoid conflict with their employees, by emphasizing their common ethnicity?⁴⁴ Did merchants think they would be able to retain artisans

because of shared German cultural or regional loyalties? We know that the recruitment of artisans was not confined to Germans. Many British artisans, perhaps even a larger proportion than that of German artisans, came to nineteenth-century America. But much more work will be required before we can make well-grounded comparisons with Germans. We know more about the recruitment of British artisans entering American industry than the recruitment of British artisans in handicraft occupations in America.⁴⁵

There are also questions about changes in the motivations of German merchants. Did they begin in the New World looking for security, but become more demanding? Do attempts to recruit labor indicate a shift whereby merchants emphasized profit over security? Did merchants become much more risk oriented? Did they enter unfamiliar businesses, as Charles Giesecke did, becoming a distiller on the side, because they now sought great profits?

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Appendix

German-Born Artisans in Brazoria County and Galveston, 1850⁴⁶

Brazoria County

17 carpenters⁴⁷

7 coopers

3 gardeners

2 wheelwrights

2 tailors

2 butchers

1 ropemaker

1 bricklayer

1 shoemaker

36 total (Does not include four Germans in households headed by artisans and likely to be artisans.)

Galveston (Galveston County excluding Dickinson's Bayou)

32 carpenters

1 ship carpenter

22 shoemakers

12 cabinetmakers

10 painters

8 tailors

8 bakers

1 baker and grocer (master baker?)

7 butchers

5 gunsmiths

5 mechanics

4 wheelwrights

1 wheeler

4 cigar makers
 4 saddlers
 4 printers
 3 brickmasons
 1 bricklayer
 3 blacksmiths
 2 coopers
 2 sailmakers
 2 barbers
 2 tanners
 2 tinners
 2 iron moulders
 2 goldsmiths
 2 gardeners
 1 wagon maker
 1 wool dyer
 1 upholsterer
 1 silversmith
 1 confectioner
 1 watchmaker
 1 bookbinder
 1 piano maker
 159 total⁴⁸

Notes

¹ Michael Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies* (Cambridge, 1980), 138. This article is a revised version of a paper presented to the Eleventh Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies at the University of Kansas, 23-25 April 1987.

² See esp. Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt: Eine Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1982).

³ See esp. the excellent study by Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin, 1966).

⁴ The passenger lists in the National Archives are conveniently available on microfilm. Some are cited below.

⁵ We lack a general study of the worldwide migration of German merchants in the nineteenth century.

⁶ Walter Struve, *Die Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Auswanderung, Handel und gesellschaftlichem Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim, 1983), 35.

⁷ See, e.g., Jörg Jeschke, *Gewerberecht und Handwerkswirtschaft des Königreichs Hannover im Übergang 1815-1866: Eine Quellenstudie* (Göttingen, 1977), 35-36; Reinhard Oberschelp, *Niedersachsen 1760-1820: Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kultur im Land Hannover und Nachbargebieten*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1982), 1:152-53.

⁸ See, e.g., Gustav von Gülich, *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand des Ackerbaus, des Handels und der Gewerbe im Königreiche Hannover* (Hannover, 1827), 81. Gülich proposed measures to limit the number of people in the *Kaufmannsstand*. Linde argues that the industrialization of the Kingdom of Hannover was retarded by conservative opposition to reform and guilds opposed to freedom of occupation (Hans Linde, "Das Königreich Hannover an der Schwelle des Industriezeitalters," *Neues Archiv für Niedersachsen*, Heft 26 [1951] 413-43).

⁹ See W. Struve, *Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische*, passim. This book supplies documentation for the Gieseckes and other matters discussed in the present article.

¹⁰ Diedrich Saalfeld, "Handwerkereinkommen in Deutschland vom ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts" in Wilhelm Abel, ed., *Handwerksgeschichte in neuer Sicht* (Göttingen, 1970), 74.

¹¹ W. Struve, *Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische*, 35–36.

¹² *Ibid.*, 20–21. A recent study of the Düsseldorf area suggests that emigration rates were highest from towns and villages with early forms of industrialization (Steve Hochstadt, "Migration in Preindustrial Germany," *Central European History* 16 [1983]: 195–224). For recent discussions of the German textile industry, including the concept of protoindustrialization see Hans Mottek et al., *Wirtschaftsgeschichte Deutschlands*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1959–75), 2: 107; Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, and Jürgen Schlumbohm, *Industrialisierung vor der Industrialisierung: Gewerbliche Warenproduktion auf dem Lande in der Formationsperiode des Kapitalismus* (Göttingen, 1977). See also two incisive critiques of the last work: Hans Linde, "Proto-Industrialisierung: Zur Justierung eines neuen Leitbegriffs der sozialgeschichtlichen Forschung," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 6 (1980): 103–24; D. C. Coleman, "Proto-Industrialization: A Concept Too Many," *Economic History Review*, 2d series, 26 (1983): 425–48.

¹³ A partial exception to this generalization is the Kauffman family in Galveston. Arriving in Texas during the late 1830s the Kauffmans probably brought more capital than the Gieseckes. The Kauffman family later became one of the great merchant families of Galveston, but for the first two decades in Texas their resources were circumscribed. In 1850 Julius Kauffman owned real estate valued at \$4,500. He and other German merchants in Texas still operated on a modest scale compared to the wealthy American firms of Robert Mills and McKinney & Williams (see Kauffman and Runge Records, Rosenberg Library, Galveston; W. Struve, *Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische*, 54, 66–67, 88, 92n, 97–100, 102, 124n, 126–27).

¹⁴ See Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1835–1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, MA, 1976), 117.

¹⁵ In a provocative article Klaus Bade has recently argued that the *Wanderzwang*, the requirement that journeymen seek work in another place than that where they were trained, was introduced in the eighteenth century as a means of relieving pressure on overcrowded occupations and ensuring adequate work (*Nahrung*) for local artisans (Klaus J. Bade, "Altes Handwerk, Wanderzwang und 'gute Polizey': Gesellenwanderung zwischen Zunftökonomie und Gewerbereform," *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 69 [1982]: 1–37).

¹⁶ Carl Wittke, *The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1950), 19.

¹⁷ Bruce C. Levine, "In the Heat of Two Revolutions: The Forging of German-American Radicalism" in Dirk Hoerder, ed., "Struggle a Hard Battle": *Essays on Working-Class Immigrants* (DeKalb, IL, 1986), 21. On the general issue of artisan emigration and its motivation see Dirk Hoerder, "An Introduction to Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies, 1815–1914" in Dirk Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes during the Period of Industrialization* (Westport, CT, 1985), 6.

¹⁸ Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863* (New York, 1949), 214–17; Theodore Hershberg et al., "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," *Historical Methods Newsletter* 7 (1974): 197, 214; Dean R. Esslinger, *Immigrants and the City: Ethnicity and Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century Midwestern Community* (Port Washington, NY, 1975), 84; Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 67, 69, 73, 95–113; Bruce Laurie, Theodore Hershberg, and George Alter, "Immigrants and Industry: The Philadelphia Experience, 1850–1880" in Theodore Hershberg, ed., *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family, and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981), 109; Agnes Bretting, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800–1860* (Wiesbaden, 1981), 192–94; Hartmut Keil, "German Workers in Nineteenth-Century America: Working-Class Culture and Everyday Life in an Urban Industrial Setting" in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1985), 1: 191; Bruce C. Levine, "Free Soil, Free Labor, and Freimänner: German Chicago in the Civil War Era," in Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850–1910: A Comparative Perspective* (DeKalb, IL,

1983), 164. Conzen (73) provides a table that conveniently brings together the results of several studies of cities. Bretting's statistics are derived from Ernst.

¹⁹ Charles van Ravenswaay, *The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri: A Survey of a Vanishing Culture* (Columbia, MO, 1977), esp. 301-9.

²⁰ A study of the New Braunfels area observes that the second largest occupational group among young immigrant Germans consisted of artisans and craftsmen. The largest occupational group was wagoners and laborers (Lauren A. Kattner, "Growing Up and Town Development: Social and Cultural Adaptation in a German-American Town" [M.A. thesis, University of Texas at Dallas, 1987], 17).

²¹ Ottomar von Behr, *Guter Rath für Auswanderer nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Texas: Vorzüglich für Landleute und Handwerker nach eigener Erfahrung geschrieben* (Leipzig, 1847), iii.

²² Traugott Bromme, *Neuestes vollständigstes Hand- und Reisebuch für Auswanderer aus allen Klassen und jedem Stande nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Bayreuth, 1846), 303.

²³ Quoted in W. Struve, *Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische*, 144.

²⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, 136.

²⁵ A German artisan who sought distillery work was disappointed by Texas in 1840. He complained that most spirits in Texas were produced in the United States (Friedrich Höhne, *Wahn und Überzeugung: Reise des Kupferschmiede-Meisters Friedrich Höhne in Weimar über Bremen nach Nordamerika und Texas in den Jahren 1839, 1840 und 1841* [Weimar, 1844], 195). Höhne's engagingly written book belongs to the large body of anti-emigration literature, more particularly to the literature warning artisans not to fall prey to the wiles of emigration propaganda. Everywhere Höhne ventures in America he is robbed, cheated, or otherwise victimized. "Mein Metier als Kupferschmied hatte hier [in Texas] noch nicht gewurzelt, eben so wenig war in einer Brennerei Beschäftigung zu finden" (*ibid.*).

²⁶ Hermann Seele, *Die Zypresse und Gesammelte Schriften: Eine Legende aus der Zeit der ersten deutschen Ansiedlungen in West-Texas* (New Braunfels, TX, 1936), 47.

²⁷ H. Knösel, "Vor Hundert Jahren ausgewandert," *Alfelder Zeitung* (Alfeld), 11 Jan. 1965.

²⁸ *Hildesheimer Zeitung*, 31 July 1846.

²⁹ Knösel, "Vor Hundert Jahren ausgewandert."

³⁰ The above figures are derived from V. K. Carpenter, ed., *The State of Texas: Federal Population Schedules: Seventh Census of the United States*, 4 vols. (Huntsville, AR, 1969), 1: 209-27. See also appendix to this article.

³¹ Adam Struve, "Economic Mobility among Foreign-Born Artisans in the Antebellum Lower South: The Case of Galveston, Texas," (Unpublished TMs, 1986), table 1. As noted below, I am also indebted to my son Adam for other material on immigrant artisans in Texas.

³² Carpenter, *The State of Texas*, 2: 757-807. My statistics do not include rural Dickinson's Bayou, which, although part of Galveston County, was enumerated separately. In the remainder of the county, which includes some rural areas, there were 366 German-born men aged eighteen and over. Of these, 207 were non-artisans or had no occupation listed; 159 were artisans. See also appendix to this article.

³³ Unfortunately two important reference works with lists of German immigrants do not specify occupations: Chester William Geue and Ethel Hander Geue, *A New Land Beckoned: German Immigration to Texas, 1844-1847* (Waco, TX, 1966); Ethel Hander Geue, *New Homes in a New Land: German Immigration to Texas, 1846-1861* (Waco, TX, 1970).

³⁴ Adam Struve, "Artisans among Galveston-Bound Immigrants, 1846-1850" (Unpubl. TMs, 1985). This essay exploits recently published passenger lists: Galveston County Genealogical Society, *Ships Passenger Lists: Port of Galveston, Texas, 1846-1871* (Easley, SC, 1984).

³⁵ Hermann Aubin and Wolfgang Zorn, eds., *Handbuch der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1971-76), 2:324, cited in A. Struve, "Artisans among Galveston-Bound Immigrants."

³⁶ See, e.g., Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City*, 78, 85, 95, 164, 214; Hersherberg, "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities," 174-216; Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 95-113; Keil, "German Workers in Nineteenth-Century America," 191.

³⁷ National Archives. Microcopy 255: Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Baltimore, 1820–1891. Microcopy 259: Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, 1820–1902. Microcopy 272: Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans: Quarterly Abstract, 1820–1875.

³⁸ A. Struve, "Artisans among Galveston-Bound Immigrants." The statistics for the United States were calculated from William J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States* (New York, 1856).

³⁹ Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv. Hannover. Hann. 80 Hildesheim I E Nr. 212, Bd. 2.

⁴⁰ Johann Georg Friedrich Renner, *Aus der Geschichte der Stadt Osterode am Harz* (Osterode am Harz, 1777), 74. The first edition appeared in 1833. The six men were "ein Kandidat der Theologie, ein Schulamtskandidat, zwei Kaufmannsdiener, ein Apothekergehilfe, ein Tischlergeselle."

⁴¹ Seeking to generalize, Conzen suggests that "before 1860 the specialized markets of eastern port cities attracted skilled and commercially oriented Germans, while competition from Irish laborers sent unskilled German job hunters to the newer midwestern cities." Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Germans" in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA, 1980), 414.

⁴² See the works cited in note 18 above. Ernst's *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863* is an exception, but his earliest occupational statistics by nationality are for 1855. The U.S. passenger lists record occupations that emigrants had entered in Germany. The American studies indicate occupations in the United States. For example, Hutchinson finds that the German-born formed a large proportion of the men in "specialized and skilled trades" in the United States in 1870, but we cannot assume that most or even many of these men had been artisans in Germany. A man in a "specialized" or "skilled" trade in America may not have been an artisan in Germany. E. P. Hutchinson, *Immigrants and Their Children, 1850–1950* (New York, 1956), 90.

⁴³ We desperately need a study of emigration agents. Such research might be conducted effectively at the regional level. Agnes Bretting is at work on a general study tentatively entitled "Die Auswanderungsagenturen in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Ihre Funktion im Gesamtauswanderungsprozeß" to be published by Steiner (Wiesbaden) in its series "Von Deutschland nach Amerika" edited by Günter Moltmann. Although containing only scanty material, the following provide useful suggestions or approaches in the interim: M. L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States*, paperback ed. (New York, 1961), 194, 198, 244, 290; Rolf Engelsing, *Bremen als Auswandererhafen 1683–1880* (Bremen, 1961), 45–48; Hans Fenske, "Die deutsche Auswanderung in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Öffentliche Meinung und amtliche Politik," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 25 (1973): 228; Franz Josef Pitsch, *Die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen Bremens zu den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Bremen, 1974), 193. Unfortunately, the indexed references to artisans in an important new guide to Bremen's archives are not promising: Peter Marschalck, ed., *Inventar der Quellen zur Geschichte der Wanderungen, besonders der Auswanderung, in Bremer Archiven*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Nr. 53 (Bremen: Selbstverlag des Staatsarchivs der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, 1986).

⁴⁴ See, e.g., Hermann Schlüter, *Brau-Industrie und Brauarbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (Cincinnati, 1910).

⁴⁵ See esp. Charlotte Erickson, "Tramping Artisans: Immigrants in Industry," pt. 2 of *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (London, 1972).

⁴⁶ Source: Carpenter, *The State of Texas* 1: 209–27; 2: 757–807. Only men aged eighteen and over are included.

⁴⁷ Includes two German Swiss.

⁴⁸ Includes a few German Swiss. Does not include men with no occupation listed but living in artisan households.

