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**The Business of Emigration:  
The Role of the Hamburg Senate  
Commission on Emigration, 1850-1900**

Give me your tired, your poor  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me:  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

This poignant and beloved inscription by Emma Lazarus for the Statue of Liberty has, for a century, given Americans their primary images of the great transatlantic migrations of the nineteenth century: America, the religious refuge; America, the land of opportunity. Yet in celebrating our vision of the haven and hope seen through the "Golden Door," we usually overlook the equally important role played by the European doors through which the emigrants exited on their way to America. Just as the welcome required the United States to develop policies, practices and institutions capable of receiving the influx, the ports of embarkation had to learn how to manage the exodus. The purpose of this essay is to give insight into the efforts made between 1850 and 1900 by the great German port city of Hamburg to manage the "emigrant trade."

Prior to the modern era, Hamburg owed its prominence to its participation in the northern European trading network known as the Hanseatic League. With contacts stretching from Bruges on the English Channel eastward to Russian Novgorod, and from Cracow in Poland north to London, Oslo and Stockholm, the Hanseatic League made substantial contributions to European economic development from the thirteenth century onward. The focus of this trade, however, was on the Channel and Baltic ports, and inland along the great rivers which formed their hinterland.<sup>1</sup> The mighty Elbe River, which rises in the mountains north of Prague, Czechoslovakia, surges northwest through Germany to empty into the North Sea at the base of the Danish

Peninsula. Hamburg, on the east bank of the Elbe River sixty miles from the sea, had little agricultural hinterland to bolster its economy. However, it lay at the junction of a major east-west trade route with the mighty river. Accordingly, it benefited from both the magnitude of inland trade and the deep river channel, which could accommodate the largest ocean-going ships. Until early in the nineteenth century, therefore, Hamburg paid little attention to the New World.

Its historic prosperity had earned Hamburg the privileged status of a Free City. Under a constitution implemented in 1712, it was governed by a merchant Senate which excluded aristocracy from public affairs. It had survived the Napoleonic upheavals with this republic relatively intact. By the beginning of the nineteenth century its population of 100,000 ranked it the third-largest German city, behind Vienna and Berlin. It had its own municipal bank, founded in 1619, which was the only German bank with international ranking. Dependent on foreign trade for their thriving prosperity, the local merchants owned only about 150 of the estimated two thousand ships which annually used the port facilities. Hamburg had close commercial links to Scandinavia, and was the major port for British trade with the Continent. In addition to trade, Hamburg welcomed immigrants, was liberal in granting them citizenship, and, according to historian Hajo Holborn, "showed an unusual capacity for adopting new people into its communal life and public service."<sup>2</sup>

While Hamburg was building its prosperous trade, Germans from other regions of Central Europe had been emigrating to North America since the beginnings of European settlement there, mainly to secure religious freedom. Between 65,000 and 100,000 Germans migrated during the colonial period.<sup>3</sup> These early migrants embarked from French and English ports until the blockades of the Napoleonic period choked off traffic from the Continent in 1806.<sup>4</sup> As part of his imperial design, Napoleon then totally restructured Central Europe. In 1803 he erased the historic mosaic of over three hundred sovereign states, free cities and bishoprics allied in the Holy Roman Empire. Incorporating hundreds of small units within the lands of amenable German rulers, he redrew and rationalized the boundaries of the German states. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna accepted the permanent revision of Central Europe and established the German Confederation, an association of thirty-five princely states and four free city republics. Hamburg and the Weser River Hanseatic city of Bremen, the two major North Sea ports, each retained their free city status. Each was about to develop a whole new commercial orientation toward the Atlantic.

During the eighteenth century the mercantilistic policies of the colonial powers had prevented German merchants from developing trade with the Americas. And the possibilities opened by the establishment of the United States were quickly cut off by the hostilities of the French Revolution. However, when Napoleon overran the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish colonies in South America refused to recognize his rule, and began the wars which led ultimately to their independence. The United States was eager to accord them diplomatic recognition. By 1825, Paraguay, Chile, Peru, Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia and the Por-

tuguese colony of Brazil were independent and eager to trade with Europe. And it was to these new nations of Latin America that the German merchants turned first in their pursuit of new markets. Bremen and Hamburg cooperated in establishing Hanseatic consulates in Rio de Janeiro (1817), Bahia (1820), Mexico and Port-au-Prince (1825), Montevideo (1827), Buenos Aires and Lima (1828), Valparaiso (1834), Havana (1837) and Guatemala (1841).<sup>5</sup>

Like trade, the flow of emigration had been revitalized by the opening up of the New World. The mercantilist policies of the various German states had led to laws prohibiting emigration, since population was considered a vital resource. Most of these policies, too, had disappeared during the imperial era. With restrictions eased, an average of 5,000 Germans per year emigrated between 1819 and 1829 to all countries. Between 1820, when the United States began reporting immigration statistics, and 1900, 5,010,248 Germans were reported to have entered the United States. Of that total, 4,494,335 immigrated between 1850 and 1900. Until 1854 the Irish were the most numerous immigrants to the New World. But in that year the gates of Central Europe opened wide, and until 1895 when the Eastern European emigration began, Germany provided more immigrants to the United States than any other European country or region.<sup>6</sup> However, the United States was not the only destination of the emigrants. During this same period at least an additional half million Germans left Central Europe for other regions of settlement, notably Canada, Latin America, and Australia.<sup>7</sup> In addition, large numbers of non-German emigrants, especially those from Eastern Europe, sailed from German ports to the New World.<sup>8</sup>

In the traditional Hanseatic trade, Bremen had a considerable disadvantage in comparison to Hamburg. Hamburg was the terminus of long and established land and water routes which provided easy access and low freight costs. However, the Weser River, on which Bremen was located, barely penetrated the northwestern German plain, and its shallow channels were frequently silted up. Prior to the development of railroads, goods had to be freighted in by cart, adding considerably to time and transport costs. Emigrants, however, had the advantage of paying their own way to the port of embarkation, and the Bremen Senate recognized the income potential of this passenger trade. In 1832 it enacted the innovative policy of requiring the shipping companies to provide emigrant passengers with sufficient food for the crossing. Bremen was the first West European harbor to provide such protection, and soon began to attract emigrants in great numbers.<sup>9</sup>

Hamburg was caught unprepared and made uncertain by the German overseas migration in the early nineteenth century. The initial migrations of the 1830s had utilized the Atlantic ports of Le Havre, Antwerp and Rotterdam, and Hamburg made no effort to attract this new business. In fact, in 1832 when Bremen began to enact legislation protecting emigrants, Hamburg tried instead to prevent emigrants from using its facilities. However, emigrant passage money helped ship captains finance trading expeditions to the Americas, and they began to favor the Weser River port. As a result, within a few years Hamburg

merchants experienced a 5 percent decline in their trade with the United States, while that of Bremen increased by 20 percent. The worthy Hamburg merchants, recognizing their mistake, took the necessary steps to recoup their losses, and from 1837 on began to enact legislation to protect emigrants and encourage them to begin their journey in Hamburg.<sup>10</sup> Thereafter, until the end of the century, Hamburg and Bremen were locked in fierce competition for the emigrant trade.

The merchant leaders of Hamburg initially thought in terms of establishing a Hanseatic colony. In 1841 Karl Sieveking, acting on his own without approval of the Senate, began private negotiations with representatives of the British New Zealand Company to obtain Chatham Island, off the southern coast of Chile, for ten thousand English pounds. He was able to attract modest support from other Hamburg merchants and shippers, notably the Slomans, Abendroths, Godeffroys and others. Sieveking envisioned a trading company, the "German Admiralty," which would manage the colony, and anticipated requesting Prussian assistance in providing military security. The plan was rejected by the Prussians, however, and sharply criticized elsewhere in Germany as impractical. In 1842 the British withdrew their offer to deal, and the colonization plan came to naught. Shortly thereafter, Hamburg's port facilities were destroyed by a major fire, and the city's energies focused necessarily on reconstruction at home rather than overseas development.<sup>11</sup>

The revolutions of 1848 generated Hamburg's next colonial initiative. Encouraged by the Frankfurt Assembly, which was trying to design a constitution for a united Germany, the "Colonization Association in Hamburg" was established in 1849 under the chairmanship of Senator Christian Schröder. It acquired four thousand square kilometers of land in the Brazilian province of Santa Catharina. The defeat of the German revolutionary movement in 1849 ended the hope of establishing a national colony in Brazil, so the project remained a commercial venture. Having lost the jump on North American emigration to Bremen, Hamburg regarded the Brazilian emigration trade as its especial concern. By 1868 it had sent eight thousand emigrants to settle the lands bought by the association. By 1886 there were approximately 100,000 German settlers in Brazil, concentrated in the southern provinces of Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul.<sup>12</sup>

While the Hamburg merchants had been preoccupied with land colonies, the shipping interests were also examining the potential of the emigrant trade. In 1828 the first North American shipping line began to operate in Hamburg, although through the 1840s the majority of the North American traffic flowed through Bremen. Hamburg shipping interests began to consider the passenger trade, however. In March 1847 a stock corporation was founded by August Bolton, a ship broker, merchants Adolph Godeffroy and Ernst Merck, and shipping magnates Ferdinand Laeisz and Carl Wörmann. With the proceeds from investment and stock sales (limited to Hamburg residents), the corporation planned to acquire sailing ships and inaugurate the Hamburg-Amerika

shipping line. Although steam was just being applied to the Atlantic route, the infant corporation felt it could not afford the new technology without a government subsidy. In 1848 it purchased for 132,000 marks each the *Deutschland* and the *Nordamerika*, sailboats of 717 registered tons, providing space for two hundred emigrants and twenty cabin passengers. With these two ships the round trip to North America took forty-two days out and thirty days to return. The emigrant trade was so lucrative, that within the next five years the Hamburg-Amerika Line bought four more ships, and chartered a number of others. By the end of 1853 the corporation commissioned the construction of two steamships, without waiting for a government subsidy.<sup>13</sup>

Whereas the colonization projects and the Hamburg-Amerika Line were essentially commercial projects, the Hamburg merchants were also genuinely concerned with the more human aspects of the emigration trade. Their primary interest was managing the impact on the city of the increasing flow of emigrants to the port. The emigrants strained housing facilities; some were ill or indigent and needed care; all were at the mercy of aggressive and sometimes unscrupulous agents who sought to rent them rooms, and sell them tickets and supplies. To cope with these basic problems, and others that would arise, the merchants formed the Hamburg Association for the Protection of Emigrants, and under its auspices established an Information Bureau for Emigrants in 1851. Supported by the financial contributions of the merchants, the Bureau opened offices at the major railroad stations and other locations where emigrants congregated. It provided reliable information on the cost of rooms and provisions, passage prices and dates, and advised emigrants on the amount and types of provisions to take with them. However, as the number of emigrants increased, this task became increasingly difficult, especially since the Bureau had no official authority to discipline landlords or agents who bilked the emigrants. Accordingly, in 1854, a year in which the exodus of fifty thousand Germans strained the capacities of the port city, the Association requested support from the city senate. Early in 1855 the Hamburg Senate established an official Emigration Commission, composed of members of the senate and members of the Chamber of Commerce. The new commission was charged to continue the operation of the Information Bureau, and, in addition, to oversee and regulate those businesses involved in the emigrant trade.<sup>14</sup> In 1857 it responded to 17,835 inquiries at the railroad stations and 1,454 at riverfront docks, distributing over four thousand pieces of printed information. It had also made arrangements with thirty-seven landlords to provide approved lodgings for emigrants waiting to board ships.<sup>15</sup>

Henceforth, the Hamburg Emigration Commission involved itself in all aspects of the emigration trade. Appropriate to its origins, a primary concern was the welfare of the emigrants passing through the city. Regulation of housing for the transients was a major task, and one which had great significance for the development of the port. The Information Bureau continued to provide information on hotels and

prices, but the Commission now had authority to enforce compliance. A Commission poster on room and board prices, dated 1871, indicates how closely the landlords were supervised:<sup>16</sup>

**FIRST CLASS: Price for adults: 1 Mark, 10 Schillings. Includes:**

A good bed; Breakfast—coffee with sugar and milk, white bread; Midday—soup, vegetables, baked meat; Afternoon—coffee with sugar and milk, white bread; Evening—coffee or tea with sugar and milk, white bread or, as substitute, some warm food.

**SECOND CLASS: Price for adults: 1 Mark, 4 Schillings. Includes:**

A bed; Breakfast—coffee with sugar and milk, white bread; Midday—soup, vegetables and meat; Evening—coffee or tea with milk and sugar, white bread.

**THIRD CLASS: Price for adults: 1 Mark. Includes:**

Sleeping space (mattress); Breakfast—coffee with sugar and milk, white bread; Midday—soup, vegetables, meat; Evening—tea or coffee with sugar and milk, white bread.

The emigrants must specify at the outset the class of lodging they wish. For all classes the price includes the necessary room heat and light, sufficient for the coldest season, for a period of 24 hours. If the lodger wishes a variation of these accommodations, the price must be negotiated in advance.

. . . The above prices include provision of bedding, mattress, eating and drinking utensils for the duration of the stay.

Despite the rigorous supervision, the inkeepers had incentives to open their facilities to the emigrants. The most lucrative part of their trade came from brokering the ship tickets, for which they received the contract for providing the food and supplies needed by the travelers for the Atlantic crossing. By 1886, the ninety-mark ticket price could include up to forty marks worth of travel supplies, well justifying for the inkeeper the necessity of meeting the Commission's requirements for maintaining standards, accepting inspection, and posting prices.<sup>17</sup>

One of the greatest problems for the emigrants was arranging for their travel in the United States. On both sides of the Atlantic aggressive agents, called *Makler* in Germany and "runners" in the United States, hustled to sell railroad and canal tickets. They often misrepresented the actual cost, facilities and travel time, sometimes selling completely fraudulent tickets. Regulation of foreign agents became, and remained, a primary concern of the Emigration Commission. In its annual report of 1857 the Commission discussed the wisdom of a ban on the sale in Hamburg of tickets for land transportation in the United States. The ban had been established in June 1854 and strengthened in February 1856. However, the general agent of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad had appealed the decision, based on the claim that competitive railroads in New York had barred the Pennsylvania agents from selling tickets at the Castle Garden docks, thus denying emigrants access to a major route inland.<sup>18</sup>

To investigate this problem, the Commission had contacted the president of the German Society of the City of New York, an organization established in 1784 to "promote emigration from Germany, to assist immigrants in distress . . . and to spread useful knowledge." The German Society had been successful in counteracting the "runners" at Castle Garden, and its president served on the Immigration Commission established in New York in 1847.<sup>19</sup> On the basis of information provided by the German Society, the Hamburg Emigration Commission rejected the petition of the Pennsylvania Railroad agent, and voted to require ship captains to post notices of the ban as well as information about the regulated sale of land transportation tickets at Castle Garden.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the Commission began a registry of approved agents operating in Hamburg,<sup>21</sup> and investigated the activities of agents suspected of improper conduct of business.<sup>22</sup> In a similar manner it conducted a vigorous campaign against the sale of counterfeit American money by illegal money changers. In addition to maintaining vigilance in the city, the Commission placed warnings about this practice in twenty newspapers throughout southern Germany, Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Prussia, paying Türkheim's agency to assure their insertion at least three times.<sup>23</sup>

Nor did the Commission hesitate to confront Hamburg firms in the interest of the emigration trade. For example, in December 1870 the Commission directed the Hamburg-Amerika Line to provide mattresses and eating utensils for its emigrant passengers. Investigation had shown that emigrants often failed to bring these bulky and heavy objects with them, and consequently were often sold bedding which was of poor quality, lumpy and unclean, leading to hygiene problems during the voyage. The Commission felt that the shipping line, buying large quantity of bedding wholesale, could best handle the problem, noting that Bremen had solved the problem in this way. Adolph Godeffroy, on behalf of the Hamburg-Amerika Line, argued that the majority of the emigrants came from Mecklenburg, Holstein and Pomerania, where only featherbeds were used; they would never accept the seagrass mattresses usually provided. Moreover, the mattresses would have to be discarded after each voyage, a needless waste of money. Nevertheless, the Commission's regulation prevailed.<sup>24</sup>

By the 1890s the flow of emigrants through the city became so great that the approximately two thousand lodging rooms available were insufficient to handle them. At first the Commission ordered the innkeepers to increase room occupancy by 50 percent, but that only increased the problem. In 1891, a year in which the Hamburg-Amerika Line had forty-five ships in service, undertaking 273 round trips for 125,997 passengers, the corporation management opened up temporary lodgings in some older ships it had retired from the Atlantic passage. This extended accommodations by another one thousand places. The Emigration Commission also commandeered unused buildings in the city, but this still did not handle the problem. In 1892 the Commission therefore ordered the Hamburg-Amerika Line to use land on its Ameri-

ka Dock in the harbor to construct barracks to handle emigrants in transit. Another 1,400 places were provided in this way. However, more than space needs dictated this solution. Increasingly, the transient groups were composed of Russian emigrants. In 1892 cholera had broken out in the Russian Empire; and to residents of Hamburg, concerned about the possibility of an epidemic, isolating the emigrants seemed an excellent solution. More barracks were built, and tracks laid to bring emigrant trains directly to the dock area. Ultimately, in 1901 the city deeded unused land in the Veddel area to the Hamburg-Amerika Line, which built an emigration facility complete with barracks, clinic facilities, Protestant and Catholic chapels, and even a synagogue.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to taking action on behalf of the emigrants, the Hamburg Emigration Commission also began to collect information about their activities in the United States. Its file contained annual reports from the German Society of New York, American government publications, and reports from the Castle Garden authorities, among other materials. These provided information such as land prices, the location of recent German settlers in the United States, statistics on employment of recent immigrants, average American wages for farmworkers and various trades, and lists of reliable lawyers in each state.<sup>26</sup>

While the Emigration Commission took genuine interest in the welfare of the travelers passing through Hamburg, its most vested interest was in developing the economic benefits of this traffic for the business community of the city. A major concern for the Commission was the competition with Bremen, which had gained, in Germany, the reputation as the best place for emigrants. This reputation was due not only to the early protective legislation passed by the city, but also because Bremen provided travelers with direct transportation to the United States. Hamburg shippers initially carried emigrants to Hull, England, where they traveled overland by train to Liverpool and then went on to Boston or New York by English ships. This indirect route, while less expensive and offering emigrants more frequent sailings, took longer and subjected the traveler to more stress. Indeed, in 1837 the Bavarian government issued a formal warning against the Hamburg indirect route, declaring that passengers there were "handled no better than Negro slaves."<sup>27</sup> The Hamburg-Amerika Line began providing direct emigration to New York in 1846, and from 1853 on arranged more direct than indirect passages. By 1874 almost all Hamburg emigrant trade was by the direct route. Yet Hamburg never fully overcame its earlier reputation.

To cope with this situation, the Hamburg Emigration Commission conducted a businesslike campaign to attract emigrants. In January 1866, concerned about a decline in emigrant inquiries, the Commission considered its "market." Most of the city's emigrant traffic came from the nearby eastern states, Mecklenburg and Pomerania, because Hamburg was the most convenient port. However, to increase traffic the Commission agreed it had to reach emigrants before they had selected a port of departure. They decided to send information detailing the



protective policies of the Emigration Commission to the other German governments, and also to place advertisements in south German newspapers, such as the *Schwäbischer Merkur*, reputed to have a wide following in the southern agricultural communities. As part of this campaign, the Hamburg-Amerika Line also placed ads promoting its service to New York, and the Sloman Line advertised its service to Canada and Brazil.<sup>28</sup>

The following year the commission flared in indignation at an article in the *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung* that the Prussian government had recommended Bremen as the best emigration port, due to its careful protection of the safety and interests of the emigrants. The Hamburg commissioners enlisted the help of the senate to contact the Prussian Ministry of Interior and point out that Hamburg offered the same excellent protection and provided an even wider selection of ships than Bremen, where opportunities for less expensive passage via England were not available. The Prussian ministry assured Hamburg that it had only distributed Bremen's information without endorsement, and agreed to circulate Hamburg's materials as well.<sup>29</sup>

Hamburg's independent management of emigration was affected by Prussia's competition with Austria for hegemony over the German states. The defeat of Austria in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 dissolved the German Confederation headed by Austria. Under Bismarck's leadership, Prussia consolidated the states north of the Main River into the North German Confederation in 1867. Bismarck intended to appoint an agency to supervise emigration from the Hanseatic ports, but this plan ran into the strong resistance of both Bremen and Hamburg. Accordingly, he compromised, appointing a confederation commissar, without enforcement authority, to inspect emigration facilities and policies, and report on them to the central government.<sup>30</sup> Following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 (during which a French blockade interrupted German emigration)<sup>31</sup> the German Empire was founded in January 1871. Under this new government an imperial commissar continued the practice of inspecting emigrant shipping in Bremen, Hamburg, and Stettin. Although no other formal emigration office was established until 1898, the national government made occasional efforts to control emigration policies. For example, German men were not allowed to emigrate if they had not fulfilled their military obligation. Also, in 1873 the government ordered that all emigration agents and representatives hold German citizenship; all others were to be excluded from the business. Hamburg reported that of all the city's agents promoting American land sales, only one, from Iowa, was not a citizen; the agent from Michigan had moved to Leipzig, and the Nebraska agent had returned to the United States in October 1872. All the ticket agents were Hamburg citizens.<sup>32</sup>

According to the statistics of the Hamburg Emigration Commission, some 2,516,285 emigrants departed through Hamburg between 1850 and 1900.<sup>33</sup> The average number of emigrants by decade provides a profile of the traffic:

**Table**  
**Emigrants Departing Hamburg by Decade**

Years	Average No. of Emigrants	Peak Year	Number
1850-59	23,851	1854	50,819
1860-69	30,607	1868	50,050
1870-79	39,454	1872	74,406
1880-89	87,643	1881	123,131
1890-99	70,075	1891	144,382

During this same period, the Hamburg-Amerika Line also grew and prospered. Its records indicated that it carried 2,227,820 passengers between 1850 and 1900. From its beginning in 1848 with two ships and two round trips to New York transporting 168 passengers, it increased in size to a fleet of ninety-eight ships in 1900, during which it made 419 round trips.<sup>34</sup> It survived serious competition from the Bremen Lloyd Line (founded 1857), the Hamburg Adler Line (founded 1872), the Hamburg Carr Line (founded 1884), and the Hamburg Hansa Line, which it took over in 1891. It expanded its routes as well. Until 1856 its ships made one crossing monthly, usually stopping at one British port (Southampton or Plymouth) and one French port (Le Havre, Boulogne or Cherbourg) en route. In 1866, with a larger fleet, the company began weekly crossings to New York, and put some ships in service on a New Orleans-Havana route. This service was extended to the West Indies in 1871; however, both routes were shut down due to the depression of 1873. After a period of financial difficulties, during which it paid no dividends for four years, the Hamburg-Amerika Line recovered its losses, reopened the West Indies route and began a new service to Mexico. After 1881 its ships sailed twice a week to New York from Hamburg. Service from Stettin was added in 1886. American service was extended to Baltimore in 1888, as well as to New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Boston in 1891.<sup>35</sup>

The Hamburg merchants and shippers had clearly prospered through the emigration trade. Just as important, however, the millions of emigrants who passed through the venerable port city had benefited as well. Because of their competition for passengers, Bremen and Hamburg enacted the first laws which guaranteed steerage passengers the "necessities of life" for their crossing; "on all other ships they were required to provide themselves with everything except fire and water."<sup>36</sup> Whereas the United States immigration authorities tried to control hygienic conditions on board ship by establishing minimum standards for steerage and cabin passengers on ships to American ports,<sup>37</sup> "[a]ll authorities agree . . . that in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century little was accomplished by legislation except at Bremen and Hamburg toward improving the conditions of transportation."<sup>38</sup>

The provision of free and reliable information, the regulation of

housing, provisions, and sale of tickets, and, ultimately, the establishment of complete port facilities for transit passengers may simply have been enlightened self-interest on behalf of the Hamburg city fathers. Certainly the growth of the Hamburg-Amerika Line reflects the business benefits to the city. Yet the Commission also established connections with the German Society of the City of New York, and the New York immigration authorities to assure proper reception for the Hamburg passengers. In retrospect, there can be little doubt that the emigration industry in Hamburg was managed by purposeful, principled businessmen and that it represented an unusually successful cooperation between commerce and government. The city benefited, the emigrant benefited. And in the long run, the United States benefited as well. The Germans arrived in time to man the new industries and open up the farmland of the Midwest and the Great Plains, bringing with them capital estimated at five billion marks to invest in land, tools, livestock and provisions.<sup>39</sup> Thanks to the Hamburg Emigration Commission, millions of these emigrants arrived not as huddled masses, but as free men ready and able to prosper in the New World.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Schildhauer, Konrad Fritze, Walter Stark, *Die Hanse* (Berlin, 1985); Jürgen Bolland, "Hamburgs Weg zur Großstadt," in *Hamburg: Großstadt und Welthafen* (Kiel, 1955), 131-41.

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<sup>2</sup> Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany 1648-1840* (New York, 1971), 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> Günter Moltmann, ed., *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983* (Stuttgart, 1982), 9.

<sup>4</sup> William J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States, Exhibiting the Number, Sex, Age, Occupation, and Country of Birth, of Passengers Arriving in the United States by Sea from Foreign Countries from September 30, 1819, to December 31, 1855; Compiled Entirely from Official Data: With an Introductory Review of the Progress and Extent of Immigration to the United States Prior to 1819, and an Appendix Containing the Naturalization and Passenger Laws of the United States, and Extracts From the Laws of the Several States Relative to Immigrants, the Importation of Paupers, Convicts, Lunatics, Etc.* (New York, 1856), 13-15.

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich Wehner, "Hamburgs Beziehungen zu Iberoamerika," in *Hamburg: Großstadt und Welthafen*, 315.

<sup>6</sup> Oscar Canstatt, *Die deutsche Auswanderung, Auswanderungsfürsorge und Auswandererziele* (Berlin, [1905]), 11, 51-53; United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States 1789-1945: A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, DC, 1949), 34-36.

<sup>7</sup> F. Burgdörfer, "Migration Across the Frontiers of Germany," in *International Migrations*, ed. Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1929-31), 2:333. Canstatt, who was Director of the German Colonial Society, provided considerable information on German emigration to lands outside the

United States during the nineteenth century, including chapters on Mexico, Canada, Central America, South America, Australia, Africa and Asia (cf. pp. 299-346).

<sup>8</sup> Birgit Gelberg, *Auswanderung nach Übersee: Soziale Probleme der Auswandererbeförderung in Hamburg und Bremen von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg, 1973), 38.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>11</sup> Helmut Washausen, *Hamburg und die Kolonialpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1880 bis 1890* (Hamburg, 1968), 12-15.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

<sup>13</sup> K. Thiess, "Die Entwicklung der Hamburg-Amerika Linie von 1847 bis 1901," in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 3d ser., 21 (Jena, 1901): 817-18. These ships, built in England, were completed in 1855 and immediately chartered by the British and French governments as troop transports for the Crimean War.

<sup>14</sup> Gelberg, 13-15.

<sup>15</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg [hereafter: StAH], Auswanderungsamt, VII, vol. 2, IV, "Dritter Jahresbericht über die Wirksamkeit des Nachweisungs-Bureau der Auswanderer-Behörde in Hamburg während des Jahres 1857," p. 27.

<sup>16</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII, 2. Anlage, vol. 17 (1871).

<sup>17</sup> Gelberg, 21.

<sup>18</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII, vol. 2, IV, "Dritter Jahresbericht . . .," pp. 5-8.

<sup>19</sup> Rudolf Cronau, *Denkschrift zum 150. Jahrestag der Deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York 1784-1934* (New York, 1934), 72-74.

<sup>20</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII, vol. 2, IV, "Dritter Jahresbericht . . .," pp. 9-19.

<sup>21</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, 5. Register zu den Protokollen VII 3 und VII 4, vol. 1 of "Auswanderexpedienten und -agenten (Eisenbahn und Hafenvorkimnisse) 1855-1887."

<sup>22</sup> For example: StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 15, 1869, Anlage III, 1869 ["Texas-Liverpooler Dampfschiff Compagnie"]; VII 2, vol. 20, 1874, Protocolle Anlage ["Reichsangehörigkeit der Auswanderungs-Agenten"]; IV E, I 3 ["Amerikanische Siedlungsgesellschaft Missouri, Kansas und Texas Trust Co.'], 1899.

<sup>23</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 17, Protocolle Anlage, 1871, "Warnung für Auswanderer, betreffend Nordamerikanisches Papiergeld." 29 September 1870.

<sup>24</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 17, Protocolle Anlage, 1871, *Bremen Courier*, 26 November 1870, p. 4; Godeffroy, 6 December 1870; Emigration Commission to Godeffroy, 31 December 1870. 116. Gelberg, 21-22.

<sup>25</sup> Thiess, 825; Canstatt, 110-113; Gelberg, 21-25.

<sup>26</sup> The following are a representative sample: StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 15: "Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York for the Year Ending December 31, 1868" (New York, 1869); Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 17: 1871 "Jahres-Bericht und Mitglieder-Verzeichnis der Deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York für 1870;" "Jährlicher Bericht des Castle Garden Arbeits-Bureau [1870];" "Chart of the United States Law Association and Collection Union: Containing the Name of a Reliable and Responsible Lawyer in Every County of the United States," no. 7 (New York, 1871); "Special Report on Immigration accompanying Information for Immigrants Relative to the Prices and Rentals of Land, the Staple Products, Facilities of Access to Market, Cost of Farm Stock, Kind of Labor in Demand in the Western and Southern States, etc., etc. to which and [sic] Appended Tables Showing the Average Weekly Wages Paid in the Several States and Sections for Factory, Mechanical and Farm Labor; the Cost of Provisions, Groceries, Dry Goods and House Rent in the Various Manufacturing Districts of the Country in the Year 1869-1870 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1871). [This report was translated into German by the United States Government Printing Office in 1872. Cf. VII 2, vol. 19, 1873, Anlage II B, 1873.]

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in Canstatt, 119.

<sup>28</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 12, 1866: I.C. 24 January 1866 Brehmer. I.C. 1866 Bericht.

<sup>29</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 13, 1867, Anlage A: "Abschrift *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*, Rudolstadt 16 Mai 1867, No. 20." "Bericht, J. Ch. Brehmer," 21 Mai 1867. "Extractus, Protocolli der Deputation für das Auswandererwesen," 28. Mai

1867. Gobert, Hamburg, den 31. Mai 1867. "Abschrift, Hanseatische Gesandtschaft No. 137," Berlin, 5 Juni 1867.

<sup>30</sup> Hans-Georg Schönhoff, *Hamburg im Bundesrat: Die Mitwirkung Hamburgs an der Bildung des Reichswillens 1867-1890* (Hamburg, 1967), 67-68.

<sup>31</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 17, 1871: "Jahres-Bericht und Mitglieder-Verzeichnis der Deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York für 1870" (New York, 1871) reported cessation of immigration from the Elbe and Weser between the middle of June and the end of September.

<sup>32</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 20, 1874: R.C.A. No. 338B, Berlin, 10 Juli 1873. VII 2, vol. 20, 1874, Protocolle Anlage: Bericht, 2 August 1873.

<sup>33</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, I E I 8, Statistisches, Allgemeine Überschrift.

<sup>34</sup> Thiess, 825.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 818-20.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas W. Page, "The Transportation of Immigrants and Reception Arrangements in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Political Economy* 19 (1911): 737.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Bromwell, Appendix, 189-225.

<sup>38</sup> Page, 743.

<sup>39</sup> Canstatt, 214, provides statistical data on the percentage of Germans who own their own farms in sixteen agricultural states; p. 44, calculates the basis of German wealth conveyed to the United States at from 400 to 1,200 marks per emigrant.

