

Innovation through Migration: The Settlements of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Central and Western Europe*

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Nearly one hundred thousand Calvinists driven out of the Southern Netherlands between the 1530s and the 1590s settled in many parts of western Europe. This study examines their influence in western Germany. Including both skilled craftsmen and large businessmen, they were a major force in the economic modernization of their new homes. They remained socially isolated, however. As modernizing entrepreneurs, they came into conflict with both elites and guild members in the older towns. As Calvinists, they were excluded from political power in both Lutheran and Catholic areas, though sometimes encouraged by princely territorial governments interested in economic growth. Their position as an "early modern business bourgeoisie" owed less to their Calvinist religion than to their social and political isolation and the strong family networks which resulted and sometimes survived into the nineteenth century.

Près de cent mille calvinistes ont été chassés des Pays-Bas du Sud à partir de 1530 environ jusqu'au début du XVII^e siècle et sont allés s'établir dans diverses régions d'Europe de l'Ouest. Le présent article traite de leur influence, en Allemagne occidentale surtout. Les émigrants, qui comprenaient à la fois des artisans qualifiés et des hommes d'affaires importants, ont été pour leur pays d'adoption des agents de modernisation déterminants, sur le plan économique. Sur le plan social, cependant, ils sont demeurés isolés. En tant qu'entrepreneurs progressistes, ils sont entrés en conflit tant avec les élites locales qu'avec les membres des guildes des cités anciennes. Comme calvinistes, ils ont été exclus du pouvoir politique en territoire luthérien aussi bien qu'en territoire catholique. Dans certaines principautés, toutefois, d'aucuns ont pu, à l'occasion, jouir de l'appui d'un prince intéressé au développement économique. Ainsi, c'est moins à leur foi calviniste qu'à leur isolement politique et social et aux solides réseaux de relations familiales qui en sont issus, et qui ont parfois survécu jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, que l'on peut attribuer leur statut de bourgeoisie d'affaires du début de la période moderne.

In early modern Europe, unlike present times, the propagation of innovations and their interregional penetration did not come about primarily through books or technical and professional journals. It took place

* Revised and enlarged version of a paper given in February 1982 at the Department of History, University of Ottawa. This paper is based on research done in the last fifteen years, the results of which are discussed in detail in the author's book, *Niederländisches Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh, 1972), and in articles referred to in the footnotes of this paper.

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rather through the migration of skilled craftsmen, financiers and entrepreneurs, settling voluntarily or in consequence of expulsion from foreign countries. This can be seen in a case described by Professor Cipolla in his well-known book, *Before the Industrial Revolution*. The machine for throwing silk by water power in a large factory was described and portrayed in detailed engravings in Vittorio Zonca's *Nuovo Teatro di Machine et Edificii*, published in 1607 in Padua. This book was on the open-access shelves of the Bodleian Library at Oxford from at least as early as 1620; yet the English did not succeed in building such a mill until, one hundred years later, the engineer John Lombe did two years of industrial espionage in Italy.¹

With reference to the specific structure of early modern transfers of economic innovations, including techniques of production, distribution and finance as well as forms of labour organization, this article describes the impact of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century migration of mainly Calvinistic Netherlanders on the economic and social life of their host societies, particularly in Germany. Part I gives a general survey of the character, origin and structure of the early modern Protestant migration. Part II outlines the socio-economic impact of this migration on European development in general. Part III provides a more detailed analysis of the settlements in German towns and regions as a basis for the general conclusions in Part IV.

I

The migration from the Habsburg Netherlands — modern Belgium and Holland — was part of the great migration movement resulting from the confessionalization of European states and societies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The banishing of religious minorities, though not unknown in Protestant territories, was most typical of Catholic governments and their counter-reformation activities. The Huguenot refugees and the Salzburg exiles of the 1730s are well known because the official historiography of the recipient Protestant territories, especially that of Brandenburg-Prussia, was eager to glorify the ardour of the princes in helping their persecuted fellow believers. The Huguenots' case is familiar, secondly, because of an intense feeling for tradition among their descendants, bound together in many Huguenot societies which today still flourish and sponsor research on the history of their ancestors.²

Though less famous than that of the Huguenots, the sixteenth-century migration from the Netherlands had a great impact on early modern Euro-

¹ C. M. CIPOLLA, "The Diffusion of Innovations in Early Modern Europe", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, XIV (1972): 46-52; C. M. CIPOLLA, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000-1700* (London, 1976), pp. 174-81.

² See for instance the *Geschichtsblätter des Deutsches Hugenottenvereins* and the *Publications and Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*; G. FLOREY, *Geschichte der Salzburger Protestanten und ihre Emigration* (Vienna, 1977); C. F. ARNOLD, *Die Vertreibung der Salzburger Protestanten und ihre Aufnahme bei den Glaubensgenossen*, 2 vols., (Leipzig, 1900-1901).

pean history.³ In terms of socio-economic and socio-cultural development, one might even argue that it was of greater importance than the Huguenot migration. Whereas in the late seventeenth century, an epoch of newly achieved stability, absolutist bureaucracy controlled the settlement of Huguenots and Salzburger and determined the scope and the direction of their economic activities, the transitional character of sixteenth-century Europe offered real chances to introduce innovations without state controls. The refugees from the Netherlands were therefore able to influence the direction of economic, religious and social change more directly. This difference between the two refugee movements is most evident in ecclesiastical matters; only the Netherlanders were able to induce at least some of their host societies to change their religion.

What were the causes, the extent and the main destinations of the emigration out of the Habsburg Netherlands? The emigration was a process of nearly one hundred years with distinct waves differing in intensity and character. It started in the 1530s in consequence of the resolute anti-Protestant policy of the Emperor Charles V, then ruler of the Habsburg-Burgundian provinces; it reached its climax between 1567 and 1590 at the time of the military intervention of the Spaniards, launched by the Duke of Alva and continued by Alexander Farnese; and it persisted, albeit with decreasing intensity, well into the first quarter of the seventeenth century.⁴ At the beginning almost all the emigrants were Anabaptists. With the penetration of Calvinism into the Netherlands from the late 1540s onward, the emigration was increasingly dominated by Calvinists, though Lutherans were not absent either. Even some small Catholic groups left their homes in consequence of the economic calamities following the Spanish invasion or of the Protestant fury of the "Sea Beggars" in the regions recaptured by the Netherlanders.⁵

Estimates of the size of the emigration range, in the historical literature, from fifty thousand to half a million. It seems realistic to speak of just

³ F. A. NORWOOD, *The Reformation Refugees as an Economic Force* (Chicago, 1942); SCHILLING, *Exulanten*; J. BRIELS, "De Emigratie uit de zuidelijke Nederlanden omstreeks 1540-1621/30", in *Opstand en Pacificatie in de Lage Landen, Bijdrage tot de studie van de Pacificatie van Gent* (Ghent, 1976), pp. 184-220; J. BRIELS, *De Zuidnederlandse immigratie in Amsterdam et Haarlem Omstreeks 1572-1630* (Utrecht, 1976). Each study contains a detailed bibliography. H. R. TREVOR-ROPER, "Religion, the Reformation and Social Change", in *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, (New York, 1968). Publications in French: N. H. BOLHUIS, "La Hollande et les deux refuges", *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 115 (1969): 407-28; F. DE SCHICKLER, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1892).

⁴ The most complete study is *Nieuw Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vols. 5 and 6 (Haarlem, 1980); excellent introductions in English are provided by P. GEYL, *The Revolt of the Netherlands, 1555-1609*, 4th ed. (London, 1970), Ch. WILSON, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (London, 1970); G. PARKER, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659* (Cambridge, 1972); G. PARKER, *The Dutch Revolt* (London, 1977). H. PIRENNE, *Histoire de Belgique*, rev. ed., vol. 4 (Brussels, 1952) is still the best general work in French.

⁵ See, for instance, F. DONNET, "Les exilés anversoïis à Cologne (1582-1585)", *Bulletin de l'Académie royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, ser. 5, I (1898): 288-355; B. A. VERMASEREN, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de 16de en 17de eeuw over den opstand* (Maastricht, 1941), pp. 18, 26.

under one hundred thousand people who left their homes, temporarily or forever.⁶ The main area of emigration was from the southern Netherlands, recaptured and recatholicized in the 1570s and 1580s by Alexander Farnese who took Antwerp, the last stronghold of the Protestants in the south, in 1585. The inhabitants of the northern provinces — now Holland — took part only in the early waves, and most of them returned after their home provinces had become strongholds of William the Silent and of the Protestant “Sea Beggars”. Areas of immigration were parts of northern France, England, Germany, Poland, the Scandinavian kingdoms — mainly Sweden — and, during the last two decades of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, the newly founded Dutch Republic.⁷ In Holland as in most other places the refugees formed two different though closely interacting communities: one for the French-speaking Walloons and one for the Flemings and the Dutch-speaking *Nederduits*.

The motives and character of the emigration — whether it was mainly religious or predominantly economic — have been disputed vehemently by the last generation of Dutch and Belgian specialists.⁸ This quarrel may be a problem of twentieth-century historians rather than of early modern history itself. Judgements are influenced by religious, political, and ideological preoccupations. Catholics, Belgian centralists and Marxists tend to emphasize economic motives, Protestants and Flemish regionalists the religious motives of the emigration movement. For the latter group Protestant-

⁶ In his well known chronicle *Historie der Nederlandscher ende haerder nabueren oorlogen* (Amsterdam, 1669) [French edition: *L'Histoire des Pays-Bas* (Amsterdam, 1670)], E. Van Meteren estimated 100,000 families, that is, approximately 400,000 to 500,000 persons. Some modern historians give the same figures, e.g. H. LA FONTAINE, “L’expansion hors frontière du Protestantisme belge”, *Bulletin de la Société d’Histoire du Protestantisme Belge*, ser. 2, 4 (1923): 150. É. G. LÉONARD, *Histoire Générale du Protestantisme*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1961), p. 78, speaks of 100,000 refugees in Germany and England alone during the period of the Duke of Alba (1567-73). For the very low figures of less than 50,000, see L. J. ROGIER, “Over karakter en omvang van de nederlandse emigratie in de zestiende eeuw”, *Historisch Tijdschrift*, 16 (1937): 325-67 and 17 (1938): 5-27. My calculation is based on the figures of the different refugee settlements mainly in Germany and England (see Table I). Data on those settlements are much more reliable than data on emigration from the Netherlands. The same figure is given by A. A. VAN SCHELVEN, *De nederlandse vluchtelingen kerken* (The Hague, 1908).

⁷ The most recent survey is J. BRIELS, “De Emigratie”.

⁸ The religious character is stressed by VAN SCHELVEN (a Protestant church historian), *Vluchtelingen kerken*, and by R. VAN ROOSBROECK (a former Flemish regionalist), *Emigranten, Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland*, (Leuven, 1968). The Catholic church historian L. J. ROGIER, “Over Karakter”, and the Belgian economic historians J. A. VAN HOUTTE and H. VAN DER WEE emphasize the economic factors: see the article of VAN HOUTTE in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlande* (1st ed.) and his discussion of E. M. BRAEKMAN, “Problèmes concernant l’émigration protestante belge”, in *Geistige und religiöse Probleme des Zeitalters der Glaubenskämpfe in den Niederlanden. Niederschrift über die Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für westdeutsche Landes- und Volksforschungen (Bonn) vom 29. April bis 1. Mai 1963*, pp. 47-55; H. VAN DER WEE, “The Economy as a Factor in the Start of the Revolt”, *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae*, 5 (1971): 52-67; VAN DER WEE, “La réforme protestante dans l’optique de la conjoncture économique”, in *Sources de l’histoire religieuse de la Belgique* (Leuven, 1968), pp. 303-15. For a Marxist interpretation, see E. KUTTNER, *Het Honger jaar 1566* (Amsterdam, 1941). A synthetic interpretation is developed by F. PETRI, “Die Ursachen der niederländischen Auswanderung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe”, in *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde* (Bonn, 1973), pp. 594-99.

ism stands for liberty from Spanish centralism and despotism as well as for religion. In fact, the motives and the character of the emigration were diffuse or mixed; flight from religious persecution did not exclude flight from economic and political disorder and vice versa. Further, the relative importance of both factors varied over time and with regard to different social classes. Religion was the dominant motive in the early migration of poor craftsmen, but the importance of economic motives increased as well-to-do merchants and entrepreneurs emigrated in increasing numbers in the 1580s.

It is important to emphasize that the social structure of the respective waves of emigrants differed considerably. The migration in the first half of the century — Anabaptist as well as Calvinistic — was dominated by smaller merchants, craftsmen and journeymen, mainly from the textile sector. The proportion of well-to-do merchants, involved for instance in the Baltic grain trade, and of entrepreneurs and financiers increased during the 1560s and reached its peak in the 1580s, when Farnese recaptured the great commercial and industrial centers of the south — Brussels, Ghent and especially Antwerp. The treaty accompanying the second surrender of Antwerp in 1585 allowed inhabitants who desired to emigrate a delay of three years to terminate their business affairs. In consequence, this wave of emigrants took on the character of a business transfer. Nevertheless, the migrating businessman of the 1580s was often as ardent a Protestant as the craftsman of the preceding waves.⁹

II

Whether it was primarily religious or economic in origin, there is no doubt that the sixteenth-century immigration of Netherlanders was of the greatest importance to all the host societies. This was not only a question of quantitative gains in manpower. It was primarily the quality of the technical know-how and skill of the craftsmen, and the world-wide business relations of the merchants and financiers, that gave a powerful and long-lasting impulse to the economic development of European towns and regions hitherto relatively backward in comparison to the Netherlands. Since the late Middle Ages, the Burgundian provinces — especially Flanders, Artois, Hainault and Brabant — had been the most prosperous and furthest developed part of Europe outside of Italy. Certain provinces showed features of social modernity, for instance in literacy, division of labour and the structure of town-country relations.¹⁰

⁹ SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, parts A and B. The most detailed data exist on the settlement in Frankfurt: see A. DIETZ, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1921; and F. BOTHE, *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Reichsstadt Frankfurt* (Frankfurt, 1906).

¹⁰ J. DE VRIES, "On the Modernity of the Dutch Republic", *The Journal of Economic History*, 33 (1973): 191-202; F. KRANTZ and P. HOHENBERG, eds., *Failed Transitions to Modern Industrial Society: Renaissance Italy and Seventeenth Century Holland* (Montreal, 1975); H. SCHILLING, "Die Geschichte der Nördlichen Niederlande und die Modernisierungstheorie", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 8 (1982): 475-517.

The main sectors of production were in textiles, metal and luxury goods.¹¹ The textile industry was concentrated in the countryside of Flanders. It was run without guild regulations, or with very liberal ones, and was based on modern techniques and modes of production unknown to or prohibited in the old urban textile centers. The products of the Flemish textile industry were made of a mixture of wool and other raw materials, mainly cotton. Light and cheap, they were called the "New Drapery" in contrast to the "Old Drapery" — high quality, heavy woollen cloth that was very expensive, being produced traditionally with regard both to labour organization and techniques and to the raw materials and the dressing of the cloth. Metal was produced in the principality of Liège which, though formally independent, was actually under the political tutelage of the Habsburgs. The iron industry was centered around the capital, that is, the city of Liège. Huy and Dinant in the valley of the Meuse were famous for their brass products of high artistic quality (called *dinanderies*) and for everyday use like basins, kettles, and pans, as well as for copper products for domestic and industrial purposes. The brass mills were large-scale enterprises, run by entrepreneurs with large numbers of workmen and large amounts of capital. The same was true of the various luxury industries concentrated at Brussels and Antwerp, such as the famous production of tapestries, silk, and sugar. Silk production especially had a comparatively modern character, both in organization and in technique. The mills for spinning and special chemical processes in dyeing were prohibited in guild-regulated systems.

Relative modernity was also characteristic of commercial and financing practices. The new techniques and institutions invented in Italy came first to Ghent and Bruges, later to Antwerp, which during the first half of the sixteenth century was the greatest and most advanced emporium of the north. Institutions like the stock exchange and insurance companies, special techniques of banking and commercial financing spread from the Netherlands throughout Europe. The migration of skilled craftsmen and merchants accelerated the process of interregional penetration because it carried modern techniques and know-how directly into towns and regions with traditional institutions of commerce and industry.

All countries and areas touched by waves of Netherland refugees took advantage of their economic skill and financial capacities. That is true first and foremost of the Dutch Republic, whose miraculous rise during the first half of the seventeenth century — the Golden Age of Holland — to the leading position in European economic and social development was to no small extent based on the activities of refugees coming from the

¹¹ SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 24-29, and the literature given in the footnotes. More recent surveys are by J. A. VAN HOUTTE, *Economic History of the Low Countries, 800-1800* (London, 1977); C. M. CIPOLLA, ed., *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, vols. 1 and 2 (London, 1972, 1974). Important monographs are by H. SOLY, "De economische betekenis van de Zuidnederlandse brouwindustrie in die 16^e eeuw", in *Histoire Économique de la Belgique. Actes du Colloque de Bruxelles, 17-19 novembre 1971* (Brussels, 1972), 97-117; H. SOLY, *Urbanisme en kapitalisme te Antwerpen in de 16^e eeuw* (Brussels, 1977); H. VAN DER WEE, "Structural Changes and Specialization in the Industry of the Southern Netherlands, 1100-1600", *The Economic History Review*, new series, 28 (1975): 203-21.

south.¹² Leiden, located in the northern Netherlands, is one example of their impact; 2179 refugees from the southern provinces account for two-thirds of its new citizens between 1575 and 1619. The Leiden and Haarlem textile industries which expanded so impressively at the turn of the sixteenth century, the transatlantic colonial and Baltic grain commerce of Middelburg and Amsterdam and the Dutch production of luxury goods like silk, sugar, gold and silver jewellery were the domains of Walloon and Flemish Calvinists. They also controlled the lucrative commerce in brass products, especially brass guns, which was so important for the equipment of transatlantic sailors and of European armies in the Dutch-Spanish Eighty Years' War, the struggle over the Baltic Sea, and the Thirty Years' War. Elias Trip and Louis de Geer, two of the most famous businessmen during the first decades of the Republic, were refugees from the south who built up an emporium of European dimension centred at Amsterdam.¹³

A prominent field for their economic activities was Sweden. This Scandinavian kingdom under Gustavus Adolphus was in the first rank of European powers. Sweden's political and military expansion was based on the economic transformation of iron and brass production from a primitive medieval to an early modern capitalistic form with features of the factory system. The promoters of this shift came from the southern Netherlands, partly by secondary migration and mainly from Aix-la-Chapelle and Amsterdam. The leading role was played by Louis de Geer.¹⁴

Because of its geographic location at the opposite shore, England was favoured as a country of refuge by many Flemish, Dutch and Walloon Protestants.¹⁵ Centres of migration were Essex, Kent and Norfolk (Maidstone, Canterbury, Colchester and Norwich), and especially London,

¹² BRIELS, "De Emigratie" and "Zuidnederlands immigratie"; N. W. POSTHUMUS, *De geschiedenis van de Leidsche laken-industrie*, 3 vols. (The Hague, 1903-39), especially vol. II, p. 887.

¹³ P. W. KLEIN, *De Trippen in the 17^e eeuw* (Assen, 1965); C. CIPOLLA, *Guns, Sails and Empires* (New York, 1965); E. W. DAHLGREN, *Louis de Geer*, 2 vols., (Uppsala, 1923); F. BREEDTVELT-VAN VE, *Louis de Geer* (Amsterdam, 1935).

¹⁴ DAHLGREN, *Louis de Geer*; B. BOETHIUS, "Swedish Iron and Steel, 1600-1955", *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 6 (1958): 144-175; E. F. HECKSCHER, *Economic History of Sweden*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1968); E. F. HECKSCHER, "Un grand chapitre de l'histoire du fer: le monopole suédois", *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 4 (1932): 127-39 and 225-41; A. PALMQUIST, "Die Auswanderung Aachener Arbeiter und Unternehmer nach Schweden vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 66/67 (1955): 169ff.; M. ROBERTS, *Gustavus Adolphus*, 2 vols. (London, 1958).

¹⁵ SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 45-51, and bibliography, pp. 182-88, 196-97, 199-200; Ph. DENIS, "Bibliographie de l'histoire démographique des réfugiés ... en Angleterre", *Bulletin, vereniging voor de geschiedenis van het Belgisch Protestantisme*, VI, 3 (1974): 61-80 and VI, 4 (1975): 97-124. See also the last volume of the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*; B. MAGEN, *Die Wallongemeinde in Canterbury* (Frankfurt a. M., 1973). Some information can be found in the excellent work that English social and urban historians have published on migration though mostly without particular reference to innovation. See, for instance, P. CLARK, "The Migrant in Kentish Towns, 1580-1640", in *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700*, eds.: P. CLARK and P. SLACK (London, 1972), pp. 117-63; P. CLARK and P. SLACK, *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (London, 1976), pp. 82-96; P. CLARK, ed., *Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England* (Leicester, 1981). Andrew Pettegree is working on a doctoral thesis (at Merton College, Oxford) on the immigrant communities of sixteenth-century London.

where two great communities were founded: the Dutch Community with its church at Austin Friars and the Walloon Community of Threadneedle Street. After 1585, London's refugee colony numbered nearly 10,000 persons or five percent of the city's population. Privileged by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth I, these foreign settlements in the capital and in country towns were permitted wide-ranging commercial, financial and industrial activities. Though tensions and frictions with the natives were common, the English economy as a whole took impressive advantage of the refugees. New types of textile and luxury products were introduced. England became involved in the ever-growing network of Dutch overseas trade, though competition and hostility were the main features of these contacts for more than half a century. And last but not least, the kingdom's financial institutions profited from the financial capacity and skill of the Netherlanders. Gresham's Royal Exchange of 1571 was probably founded without direct assistance from the refugees, but there is no doubt that they contributed to its impressive success.

There was also an immigration of Netherlanders into Switzerland — mainly to Basel, in smaller numbers to Geneva — and into Scotland. Both countries took long-lasting advantage of the technical innovations in industry and commerce and of the financial capacity of these Calvinistic refugees.¹⁶

III

The migration into neighbouring Germany, the consequences of which I should like to describe in more detail, was widespread and of great diversity.¹⁷ It reached far distant places such as Augsburg and Nuremberg in the south and Leipzig, Danzig and Elbing in the east. The latter two were German towns which belonged politically to Poland. These colonies were small in number, one or two hundred people in general. The main areas of concentrated immigration were the regions bordering the eastern Netherlands: the shore of the North Sea (Emden, Bremen, Hamburg, Stade, Altona and — later on — Glückstadt and Friedrichstadt); the northern Rhineland (Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Wesel, and Duisburg); and the middle Rhine area with considerable colonies at the imperial city

¹⁶ W. BODMER, *Der Einfluß der Refugianteneinwanderung von 1550 bis 1700 auf die schweizerische Wirtschaft* (Zürich, 1946); L.A. BURCKHARDT, "Die französischen Religionsflüchtlinge in Basel", *Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, 7 (1860): 301-33; T. GEERING, *Handel und Industrie der Stadt Basel* (Basel, 1886), pp. 440-509; J.K. MÖRIKOFER, *Geschichte der evangelischen Flüchtlinge in der Schweiz* (Leipzig, 1876); A.E. SAYOUS "Calvinisme et capitalisme: l'expérience genevoise", *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 7 (1935): 225-44. A.W.C. HALLEN, "Huguenots in Scotland", *HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON, Proceedings*, 2 (1887-88): 166-81.

¹⁷ R. VAN ROOSBROECK, *Emigranten*; SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, with bibliography, pp. 182 ff., 188 ff., 199 f.; R. VAN ROOSBROECK, "Die Bedeutung der Emigranten aus den Niederlanden für die Neugestaltung der deutschen Wirtschaft im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", in *Führungskräfte der Wirtschaft in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed.: H. Helbig, Vol. 1 (Limburg, 1973), pp. 121-48.

of Frankfurt, at the territorial town of Neu-Hanau in the jurisdiction of Hanau-Münzenberg, and at Frankenthal and some other small towns in the Electorate of the Rhine Palatinate.

Each settlement had a different history. Correspondingly, the social and economic consequences differed widely, too. The possibility of integrating the newcomers into the host societies and the patterns of eventually successful integration depended on a variety of conditions.¹⁸ They depended, firstly, on the proportion of immigrants and natives. In Emden and Wesel during the 1560s and 1570s the proportion of foreigners reached 40 percent and even more than 50 percent of the whole population; in Aix-la-Chapelle and in Frankfurt it varied between 10 and 20 percent; at Hamburg and Cologne it scarcely surpassed 5 percent (Table 1).

Table 1. — NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NETHERLANDISH REFUGEES IN THE POPULATION OF SELECTED GERMAN TOWNS

Towns	Before 1567		During 1570s		After 1585	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Frankfurt	2,000	13	1,500	10	4,000	20
Cologne	—	—	1,000	<3	2,000	5
Emden	2-3,000	40	5,000	50	3,000	30
Wesel	500-1,000	—	7-8,000	40	4,000	20
Aix-la-Chapelle	500-1,000	<5	3,000	15	4,000	20
Hamburg	—	—	1,000	<3	2,000	5

Source: H. SCHILLING, *Niederländische Exulanten* (Gütersloh, 1972), p. 179. For a detailed discussion of the figures, which are necessarily approximative, see pp. 175-78.

Note: The table lists only the most important refugee settlements in Germany.

Integration depended, secondly, on the economic, political and social system of the respective host societies. Harbour towns like Hamburg and Bremen, where merchants dominated economic life as well as the city council, enacted more liberal conditions of settlement than towns like Cologne, whose craftsmen's corporations were politically as well as socially stronger and whose opinions and interests had to be respected by the city council in spite of its composition of members of higher social rank.

The possibility and modalities of integration were influenced, thirdly, by the different social structures of the foreign colonies themselves. These varied with the above-mentioned composition of the waves of emigration. Depending on whether the colonies were dominated by have-nots or ordinary craftsmen or contained considerable numbers of big businessmen, the problems of integration or assimilation were quite different. Due to their pressures on poor relief and the labour market, the waves dominated by poor immigrants irritated primarily the lower classes. The merchants and entrepreneurs, on the other hand, who threatened well-to-do guildsmen

¹⁸ For more detail, see SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 161-74.

as well as members of the political and social élite, tended to bring about a transformation of the medieval economic system as a whole. An extreme case of the second type of impact occurred in Frankfurt.

Last but not least, the conditions of settlement depended on the ecclesiastical situation of the host towns. Though looking for improvement of religious conditions, the refugees seem to have chosen their new homes primarily according to economic possibilities. Consequently, they also settled in Catholic areas and in towns dominated by Lutherans, no less hostile to Calvinists than to Catholics. Only Emden in the county of East Frisia and the Rhine Palatinate were Calvinist, or at least of a Reformed confession, when the immigration started. As a rule, the political elite and the magistrates of the German towns, interested in the potential economic contribution of the newcomers, were readier to make religious concessions and to practise a limited toleration than were the craftsmen and the lower classes. Actually, the chances of building up and maintaining Calvinistic congregations, and the modalities of their organization, depended on the strength or weakness of the alliance between the mass of native inhabitants and the native clergy, Lutheran or Catholic.

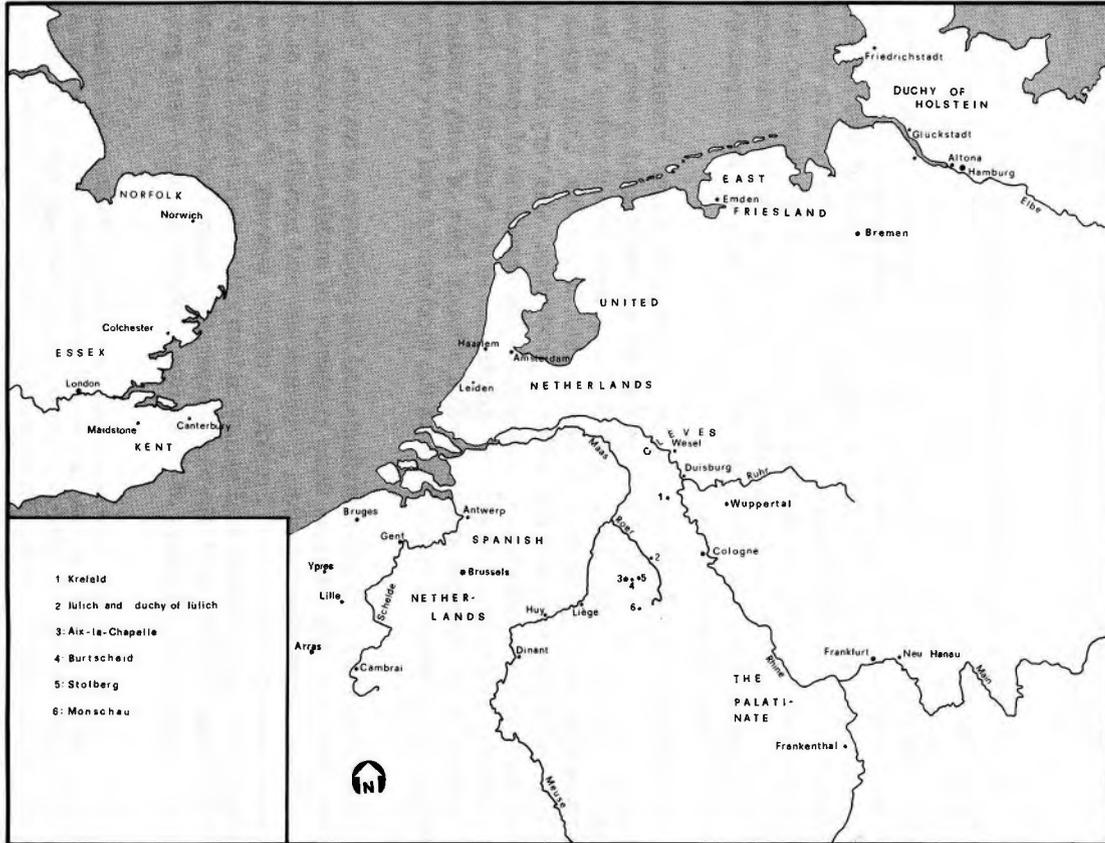
The situation became more difficult after 1555 when the Peace of Augsburg declared Calvinism to be heretical and Calvinists to be rebels. At the end of the century, this gave Catholic powers — especially Spain in alliance with the German Habsburgs — the legal means to suppress Protestantism by military force. This was the case at Aix-la-Chapelle where Protestantism, predominantly Calvinistic, had been introduced and strengthened by the refugees of the 1550s and 1560s.

Corresponding to the different political, socio-economic, cultural and ecclesiastical conditions of settlement, we can distinguish at least four different patterns of development:

- 1) newly founded *Exulantenstädte* (refugee towns) and settlements in small territorial towns;
- 2) integration and assimilation (Emden and Wesel);
- 3) social segregation and economic innovation (Hamburg and Frankfurt);
- 4) failed integration and ultimate expulsion (Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle).

The settlements in small territorial towns — towns that were not independent cities, but under the control of a feudal or territorial lord — and in the newly founded refugee towns took place under special conditions. These towns were Altona, Stade, Glückstadt and later Friedrichstadt in the North, and Neu-Hanau and Frankenthal together with some smaller towns of the Rhine Palatinate in the middle of Germany.¹⁹ As a rule the

¹⁹ H. BOTT, *Gründung und Anfänge der Neustadt Hanau 1596-1620*, 2 vols. (Marburg, 1969-71); G. KÖHN, *Die Bevölkerung der Residenz, Festung und Exulantenstadt Glückstadt*, 2 vols. (Neumünster, 1974); G. KALLER, "Wallonische und niederländische Exulanten-siedlungen in der Pfalz", in *Festschrift für Günter Haselner*, ed.: A. SCHÄFER, *Oberrheinische Studien*, vol. 3 (Karlsruhe, 1975), pp. 327-51; H. BEI DER WIEDEN, *Fürst Ernst, Graf von Holstein-Schaumburg und seine Wirtschaftspolitik*, Schaumburg-Lippische Mitteilungen, 15, (Bückeburg, 1961).



Map 1. — MAIN PLACES OF IMMIGRATION OF CALVINISTIC NETHERLANDERS

political and ecclesiastical circumstances were rather favourable, because they depended only on the will of the princes and their councillors who were on the way towards a mercantilist policy. But good political and religious conditions could not outweigh disadvantageous economic, transportation and financial facilities, which were still the domain of the big medieval cities. In competition with the economic attractions of nearby Hamburg and Frankfurt respectively, the settlements in Stade and Altona as well as in Neu-Hanau flourished only for some years or at best some decades.

This was true even for Frankenthal, the most successful of the newly founded refugee towns.²⁰ From the beginning in 1562, when the Calvinistic Elector Friedrich III of the Rhine Palatinate gave the terrain of the medieval monastery of Frankenthal to 58 families under the famous preacher Petrus Dathenus, up to the 1590s, this settlement of Flemish and Walloon refugees developed rather quickly, to approximately 300 families in 1583 and to at least 674 families or households in 1592. But due to strong return migration into the Dutch Republic and to secondary migration into larger towns with better economic opportunities, this settlement lost many of its inhabitants from the end of the 16th century onward and especially during the Thirty Years' War.

Because, like the other settlements in territorial towns, Frankenthal had no envious competition of natives and no medieval guild system, but rather the support of the Elector and the early mercantilist policy of his administration, the legal framework was rather favourable. Craft regulation, especially with regard to restriction of production, was very liberal, if it existed at all. Tolls and taxes were reduced. The regulation of commerce was patterned on the most progressive conditions in the Netherlands. Due to this there soon emerged at Frankenthal a broad base of early modern industries and commerce, supplying both the local market and more distant ones.

Most important were the merchants and the producers of textiles. The woollen, linen and silk weavers were craftsmen of middle-class character and traditional form of production. Economically and socially more modern were tapestry and, as in Frankfurt, ribbon weaving (*Posamenten-Weberei*). Both were branches of luxury industry that were introduced by refugees from Flanders and Brabant, especially from Oudenaarde and Brussels. Among the members of those two crafts there were very great

²⁰ J. WILLE, *Stadt und Festung Frankenthal während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Heidelberg, 1877); G. FRANZ, *Aus der Geschichte der Stadt Frankenthal* (Frankenthal, 1912); G. KALLER, "Bevölkerung und Gewerbe in Frankenthal, Neustadt und Lambrecht am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts", in *Aus Stadt- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Süddeutschlands. Festschrift für Erich Maschke* (Stuttgart, 1975), pp. 146-71. The information on property distribution is taken from a computer analysis of the 1584 and the 1592 tax registers done by E. Bütfering in the context of the project of F. PETRI, "Frühneuzeitliche Exulantenbewegungen und Städtewesen in Nordwestdeutschland", at the Sonderforschungsbereich 164 of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft at the University of Münster, that is, the German Research Centre on Comparative Urban History. I am indebted to Miss Bütfering and Prof. Petri for permission to read the manuscript.

differences in wealth and style of life. In 1582, twenty-eight of the tapestry weavers were poor and did not pay any tax; eleven members paid tax for properties worth 100 to 200 florins, whereas four persons owned properties of 800 florins and more. Eberhardt van Orlay, the richest of them, paid taxes on 2075 florins. These differences in wealth and income indicate a social and economic differentiation between labourers and small masters on the one hand, and entrepreneurs or distributors on the other, hitherto unknown to these parts of Germany. Even some manufactories probably existed in Frankenthal. Whereas ribbons were produced for the mass market, the tapestries were sold to the courts of the territorial rulers, to Heidelberg, Stuttgart and Munich, or to well-to-do nobles and patricians, mainly in upper Germany.

The Frankenthal settlement was remarkably successful during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Other refugee towns, like Altona and Neu-Hanau, were modelled on this early settlement. But there can be no doubt that the innovative impact of these territorial refugee towns was small in comparison with that of the Dutch and Walloon settlements in the old urban centers, especially in Hamburg and Frankfurt, despite the religious and social frictions in those cities.

Emden and Wesel represent the second pattern of development: integration and assimilation. Though formally territorial towns, belonging to the County of East Frisia and to the Duchy of Cleves respectively, they actually had a wide field for independent action. This independent position was strengthened considerably by the immigrants. In Wesel, the economic impact of the refugee immigration was blotted out after the Hohenzollerns, who succeeded to the duchy at the beginning of the seventeenth century, made the Rhenish town into a mighty fortress.²¹ By contrast, Emden's history was determined by the influence of the refugee settlement for at least two centuries.²² The immigration of Flemish, Walloon, Dutch and West Frisian Calvinists laid the basis for Emden's extraordinary economic rise from a small, unimportant town of fishermen and sailors to one of the most important ports of the German North Sea, which for a short time had the greatest commercial fleet of all Europe. This rise took place within one generation during the second half of the sixteenth century. It was accompanied by deep political and social change, culminating in 1595 in the "Revolution of Emden", a successful rebellion against the rising territorial state of the Counts of East Frisia. This uprising laid the foundations of Emden's political autonomy and social peculiarity for the rest of the *ancien régime* in Germany, and to a certain extent up to the present time. Besides economic prosperity, the Calvinism introduced by the refugees, with its religious dynamic and its political theory, enabled the relatively small community to wage this successful "War of Independence".

²¹ A. LANGHANS, *Wesel. Ein Geschichtsbild* (Wesel, 1958); F. W. CUNO, *Geschichte der wallonisch- und französisch-reformierten Gemeinde zu Wesel* (Magdeburg, 1895); SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 70 ff., 87 ff., 158 ff.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 65 ff., 83 ff., 158 ff., 179 ff.; M. SMID, *Ostfriesische Kirchengeschichte* (Leer, 1974); H. SCHMIDT, *Politische Geschichte Ostfrieslands* (Leer, 1975); H. SCHILLING, "Reformation und Bürgerfreiheit. Emdens Weg zur calvinistischen Stadtrepublik", in *Stadt und Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed.: B. MOELLER (Gütersloh, 1978), pp. 128-61.

After the return of the majority of the refugees into the newly established Dutch Republic, however, Emden's commerce and industry soon fell back to third or fourth rank. Nevertheless, the East Frisian town kept its character as a free Calvinist republic. It was called the Geneva of the North throughout the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century. It was here that the famous philosopher of Calvinistic political theory, Johannes Althusius, found adequate conditions for his political activities. For a whole generation, from 1604 to 1638, he held the post of *Syndicus* of the city council, whose voice was decisive in ecclesiastical as well as in political matters.

The main consequence of the Dutch and Walloon immigration into Wesel and Emden was that Calvinism won two important strongholds in predominantly Lutheran or Catholic Germany, founding special traditions of social and political development within the western part of the Reich. In the case of Wesel and Cleves this development was further strengthened by the succession of the Calvinist Hohenzollern dynasty.

Immigrants to Frankfurt and Hamburg, by contrast, never had any chance to convert the natives of these Lutheran communities to Calvinism as they did in Wesel and Emden. Thus the former may be considered representative of a third pattern of development: social segregation and economic innovation. Religious tensions between Lutheran clergy in alliance with the mass of craftsmen on the one hand, and the Calvinistic foreigners on the other, were rife throughout the sixteenth and especially at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Though temporarily expelled to neighbouring territorial towns, where they received religious toleration (to Altona and Stade in the case of Hamburg, to Frankenthal and Neu-Hanau in that of Frankfurt), the Calvinistic congregations in Hamburg and Frankfurt managed in the long run to defend their rights of public worship and to maintain separate ecclesiastical institutions. Their legal framework remained that of foreigners' churches, the only official religion being Lutheranism until well into the second half of the eighteenth century. To the Calvinistic minorities, this meant special legal status and social segregation, though there were no further attempts to expel them. For generations the descendants of the refugees remained second-class citizens with regard to political participation as well as social standing.

In consequence, urban society in Hamburg and especially in Frankfurt was characterized by an odd division — odd because the Calvinistic second-class citizens were by no means underdogs in the common sense of the word. On the contrary, most of them were well-to-do townsmen, much better off than most of the craftsmen and in the case of Frankfurt even better off than the political and social élite of the native inhabitants. This was still the case in the second half of the eighteenth century when Goethe, born and brought up at Frankfurt, remarked in his *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, "The people called Calvinists form in Frankfurt — like the *Réfugiés* in other places, too — a distinguished class."²³ This distinction was based on economic power. Calvinists soon owned the most marvellous houses

²³ J. W. VON GOETHE, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, vol. 4 at the end of book 17.

within the city. The life-style of the Netherlanders was characterized by conspicuous consumption and not by austerity as in the case of English Calvinists. Most offensive to the upright native burghers were their splendid coaches, carrying them to Calvinistic services in churches outside the town on Sundays.

The economic activities of the Netherlanders during the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries laid the basis of Hamburg's and Frankfurt's rise to the position of the most important commercial and industrial urban centers within the early modern Reich. At Hamburg they gave decisive impulses to overseas trade, to banking and to certain sectors of industry mainly connected with colonial goods, such as sugar refining. But as the native merchants always kept up with the innovations, the Netherlanders never reached a position of absolute domination.²⁴ And as the economic expansion of the harbour town was based mainly on commerce, whereas industry remained of only secondary importance, social change and social tensions were on a small scale.

In both respects the impact of Flemish and Walloon immigration was much more dramatic in Frankfurt.²⁵ When it started in the middle of the sixteenth century, the political élite of the metropolis on the Main was withdrawing gradually from economic activities and well on its way to becoming an urban aristocracy called the *Patriziat*. In consequence, the Netherlanders for generations dominated Frankfurt's economic system nearly absolutely, in commerce and banking as well as in industry. Due to their activities the imperial city, well-situated in the center of the economically dynamic western part of the Holy Roman Empire, became one of the most important centers of finance, with the largest annual fairs apart from Leipzig and with powerful modern industries. The industrial innovation had especially far-ranging consequences for the structure of the economic as well as of the social system. In introducing silk production, jewel polishing and special branches of the New Drapery oriented towards a mass market, the Netherlanders introduced new forms of mass production, of techniques and labour organization. They founded proto-factories of capitalistic character employing unskilled wage labourers in piecework, or businesses based on the work of small masters in domestic industries under the control of big merchants, distributors and entrepreneurs. These types of labour organization conflicted with the existing guild system and the relative social equality among the guild members. Though vehemently attacked by the guildsmen, the Flemish and Walloon financiers, entrepre-

²⁴ H. MAUERSBERG, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte zentraleuropäischer Stadt in neuerer Zeit* (Göttingen, 1960); M. REIßMANN, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Hamburg, 1975); SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 77 ff., 121 ff., 155 ff.; R. HAUSCHULD-THIESSEN, *Die Niederländische Armen-Casse, Hamburgs stille Wohltäterin. Ihre Geschichte von 1585 bis zur Gegenwart* (Hamburg, 1974).

²⁵ MAUERSBERG, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*; M. MEYN, *Die Reichsstadt Frankfurt vor dem Bürgeraufstand von 1612 bis 1614. Struktur und Krise* (Frankfurt, 1980); G.L. SOLIDAY, *A Community in Conflict. Frankfurt Society in the 17th and early 18th Centuries* (Hanover, N.H., 1974); SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 52 ff., 125 ff., 152 ff. Each contains a bibliography on older works.

neurs and businessmen succeeded in the long run in keeping the particular economic structure of their enterprises. The medieval system of Frankfurt's economy and society was at least partially transformed into a more modern form.

Johann von Bodeck (1554-1631) from Antwerp, banker and wholesaler, the first guilder millionaire of Frankfurt, is perhaps the best example of a Flemish refugee who made a great fortune that was the envy of his native competitors.²⁶ His emigration from Antwerp after its recapture by the Spaniards in 1585 was in reality a translocation or transfer of business. Re-established at Frankfurt, Bodeck built up a far reaching network of banks and wholesale firms all over Europe, typical of the business organisation of Antwerps' merchants in the diaspora.²⁷ Bodeck's and other refugee firms founded the business connection between Frankfurt and Amsterdam that flourished for more than two hundred years to the benefit of both cities. The traditional path of commerce of the Middle Ages, from Italy via Basel, Frankfurt and Cologne to the Flemish emporia — Bruges Ghent, and Antwerp — was replaced by the early modern link, Amsterdam to Frankfurt, by which central and upper Germany were connected to the commerce with the New World and to the early modern dynamics of the Atlantic zone in general. At the same time commercial facilities at Frankfurt were improved and modernized. For example, the stock exchange became a permanent institution only after the arrival of the refugees. In order to build up the new facilities adequately and to give them the proper regulations, the magistrate of Frankfurt always maintained close contact with the foreigners, and even asked Dutch and Flemish town councils for advice.²⁸

Bodeck made a great fortune through the international commerce in copper and in bills of exchange. Together with his brother-in-law he controlled at Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Danzig and Hamburg a considerable part of the European wholesale trade in metals. This was very profitable on the eve of the Thirty Years' War. At the same time he was the banker of several territorial rulers, whose need for money expanded rapidly in consequence of the high costs of Renaissance courts, of the growing early modern bureaucracies and last but not least of their armies. In many respects one can speak of Bodeck as heir of the great upper German business houses of the Fuggers, Welsers and Imhofs,²⁹ and of Frankfurt as the suc-

²⁶ See A. DIETZ, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt, 1921; reprint ed., Frankfurt, 1970), the most comprehensive work on Frankfurt's economic history with a lengthy discussion of the refugee firms. In vol. 2, pp. 41-97, he describes the epoch between 1585 and 1630 under the title "Frankfurt's second heyday as a Belgian colonial town (*belgische Kolonialstadt*)". On Johann von Bodeck see also H. MAUERSBERG, "Die Neuorientierung nach 1585 — Johann von Bodeck, Flüchtling aus Antwerpen, Bankier und Kaufherr in Amsterdam und Frankfurt", *Frankfurt, lebendige Stadt*, 4 (1962): 4-17.

²⁷ W. BRULEZ, *Die Firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van vlaamse firma's in de 16^e eeuw* (Brussels, 1959); W. BRULEZ, "De diaspora der antwerpse kooplui op het einde van de 16^e eeuw", *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 15 (1960): 279-306; R. BAETENS, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart: de diaspora en het handelshuis De Groote tijdens de eerste helft der 17^e eeuw*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1976).

²⁸ MAUERSBERG, *Neuorientierung*; SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, p. 57.

²⁹ MAUERSBERG, *Neuorientierung*.

cessor to Nuremberg and Augsburg as the leading financial place of the Empire.

Residing in the most splendid houses of Frankfurt,³⁰ Bodeck and the other members of the refugee economic and financial élite were distinguished by their wealth and style of life. They had themselves portrayed in the manner of Dutch and Flemish painters; they had coats of arms and erected monumental tombs for themselves and their families.³¹

Though there was no doubt that these foreigners were the most successful and richest inhabitants of Frankfurt — Bodeck's loans of deposit money during the annual fairs were higher than the income of the city! —, they had no chance of integration into the highest social ranks of the burghers. The patrician families of the old medieval merchant class withdrew the more quickly from economic life as they could not keep up with the superior economic techniques of the foreigners. They lived the life of landlords and *rentiers*. Incorporated in the illustrious *Gesellschaft zu Alt-Limpurg*, they closed their ranks to maintain social distance from the refugees of new wealth.³² The same was true of the *Frauensteiner Gesellschaft*, second in reputation, the corporation of the non-patrician aristocracy of rising new merchant families and academics, mostly jurists. And since members of these two societies, together with those of the craft guilds who were even more hostile to the Netherlanders, formed the city council and the magistracy, the élite of the refugees were excluded from political participation, too.

This exclusion was absolute for the Calvinistic majority of the Netherlanders, that is, for such wealthy and economically successful families as the de Neufvilles, cloth and jewellery merchants and bankers; the du Fays; the Heldeviers and Couvreurs, entrepreneurs and merchants of silk; or the Malapert and de Spina, who controlled the salt production at Bad Soden and consequently the salt supply of Frankfurt. The social isolation was not similarly rigid in the case of the less numerous Lutheran refugees: Johann Bodeck, the most famous of them, could marry his children to the patrician family von Lersner. One branch of his descendants married with the Frauenstein clan of Bauer von Eyseneck-Fleischbein. In this way the Lutheran refugee of the sixteenth century became the ancestor of the eighteenth-century mayor Johann Daniel Fleischbein von Kleeberg (1715-1787).³³

The most important industrial activities of the Dutch and Walloons were in the production of luxury goods — mainly gold and silver, jewellery and diamonds, silk, lace and ribbons. By the refugee immigration Frankfurt

³⁰ W. SAGE, *Das Bürgerhaus in Frankfurt a. M.* (Tübingen, 1954); SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 55 f.

³¹ See the illustrations in MAUERSBERGER, *Neuorientierung*, and in DIETZ, *Handels-geschichte*.

³² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 77 ff.; F. LERNER, *Die Frankfurter Patriziergesellschaft Alten-Limpurg und ihre Stiftungen* (Frankfurt, 1952).

³³ F. FRIEDERICH, "Sippe und Amt in der Reichsstadt Frankfurt", *Genealogie — Familie und Volk*, 5 (1956): 99-103, 146-50, 180-83.

became the center of European jewellery production and commerce, particularly diamonds. Ribbon and silk weaving had an especially heavy impact on the economic and social structure of the imperial city.³⁴ Netherlandish entrepreneurs and merchants were supported by their families and clans and, during the first years of settlement, by the loyalty of labourers and small merchants exiled from the same towns; they had often helped these poorer men during flight and the first weeks in Frankfurt. They installed the production of silk and ribbons on waste plots and in old, dilapidated buildings abounding in a city that was declining from its economic apogee in the late Middle Ages. And as the market conditions for these cheap luxury goods were good up to the beginning of the seventeenth-century depression, the Netherlanders succeeded in building up firms of medium and large capacity.

The organization and structure of this industry were modern and progressive compared with the guild system of the native crafts. During the first decades there was no regulation at all, apart from tax requirements. More than a thousand silk looms were at work in Frankfurt at the end of the sixteenth century. Some firms used new machines constructed of wood and operated by water power (*Mühlen- und Räderwerk*) with a greater output than ten hand looms. The silk was dyed by a modern technique called *Seidenschweren* (heavying the silk) because the chemical process made the silk heavier — a pretext for the German craftsmen to ask the magistrates for a ban of this technique by which the customer was allegedly cheated. There were also many complaints by natives living in the neighbourhood of the Netherlandish firms who were irritated by noise, dust and stench — even on Sundays.

But the most severe tensions with the natives arose from the social consequences of the economic innovations introduced by the refugees: the appearance of unskilled wage labourers in considerable number, some of them in piece-work; the high turnover of these labouring masses and their bad manners (*lose Sitten*), especially their behaviour towards employers; the growing dependence of native small masters on refugee entrepreneurs and merchants. These social changes offended not only directly concerned native craftsmen, mainly in textile production; they put in question the very existence of the guild system as a whole. Therefore the guild burghers joined *en bloc* in a severe defensive reaction against the representatives of economic innovation and social change.³⁵ In alliance with the Lutheran clergy they launched a great offensive which achieved its objective in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Because the refugees had also lost the support of the native élites, who were irritated by the growing wealth of their Netherlandish counterparts, they had to leave Frankfurt. Most of them went to nearby Neu-Hanau where the Calvinistic ruler gave them freedom of worship and an economic framework in accordance with the

³⁴ DIETZ, *Handelsgeschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 214 ff, 288 ff. SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 52-59; W. KLÖTZER, "Reichsstadt und Merkantilismus. Über die angebliche Industrie-feindlichkeit von Frankfurt a. M.", in *Städtewesen und Merkantilismus*, ed.: V. PRESS (Cologne, 1983): 135-55.

³⁵ SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 55 f.

principles of the early mercantilistic policy of the territorial states.³⁶ But the economic and traffic facilities could not stand comparison with Frankfurt's. Once economic pragmatism had defeated in Frankfurt the sentiments of social inferiority and envy among the urban aristocracy, the economic and religious dogmatism of the guildsmen and the Lutheran clergy had no chance to maintain the restrictions against the refugees.³⁷

The most important merchants and entrepreneurs of the Hanau settlement came back and the Frankfurt settlement was soon enlarged by a secondary migration of Netherlanders from Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne. A compromise was reached with regard to the structure and organization of the newly introduced industries. Social and economic change was no longer as rapid, but the refugee settlement still had a limited innovative impact during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The silk and ribbon industry, for example, was now regulated by formal craft rules, which incidentally were in part a consequence of complaints of Netherlandish small masters against the entrepreneurs. But these rules were relatively liberal. The masters could work with five looms apart from those of family members. The activities of the entrepreneurs were not restricted at all; they could employ as many labourers and put out work to as many small masters as they liked. In this and similar branches, the economic system of Frankfurt had passed, through the influence of the Dutch and Walloon refugees, half way from the traditional guild system of the Middle Ages to the modern factory system.

The histories of the fourth type of refugee settlements in the two Catholic imperial cities of the lower Rhineland, Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle, were very different during the second half of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, their influence on the socio-economic development of that region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the same.

Due to the Protestant immigration, the period between 1560 and 1615 was one of the most dramatic epochs in the history of Aix-la-Chapelle.³⁸ Successful and growing Protestant churches — two Calvinist, one Lutheran and several Anabaptist — were founded within the walls of the town, whose Catholicism had been hitherto unchallenged. Soon the majority of natives became Protestants, too. A fusion between native and refugee families by intermarriage began, especially within the economic élite. In a sort of *coup d'état*, members of the Protestant business bourgeoisie deprived the old Catholic aristocracy of power, in the 1580s for the first an in

³⁶ BOTT, *Neustadt Hanau*; F. BOTHE, "Fürstliche Wirtschaftspolitik und die Reichsstadt Frankfurt vor dem Dreißigjährigen Kriege", *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 4th ser., vol. 2 (1929): 103-23.

³⁷ SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 54 ff., in contrast to the negative assessment of Bothe. The same opinion is now also accepted by KLÖTZER, *Reichsstadt und Merkantilismus*.

³⁸ H. VON ASTEN, "Die religiöse Spaltung in der Reichsstadt Aachen und ihr Einfluß auf die industrielle Entwicklung in der Umgebung", *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 68 (1956): 77-197; R. A. PELTZER, "Geschichte der Messingindustrie ... in Aachen", *ibid.*, 30 (1908): 235-463; SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 72 ff., 95 ff., 158 ff.; H. SCHILLING, "Bürgerkämpfe in Aachen zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 1 (1974): 175-231.

1611 for the second time. But an imperial ban and subsequent military conquest by the nearby Spanish army cut short further Protestant development; in 1614 the town was finally recaptured by the Catholics. Protestants had to conform or to leave the town. Many of them left their homes — in the case of the Netherlanders for the second time — and settled in nearby Holland, in far-off Sweden, in other imperial cities like Frankfurt or in the territorial states in the neighbourhood of Aix-la-Chapelle itself. Only some well-to-do Protestant families remained as Protestants within the walls of Aix-la-Chapelle, mostly big merchants or entrepreneurs, whose taxes were welcome to the Catholic magistracy. But since they had become second-class citizens and since the guild system had been revived simultaneously with the reinforcement of the Catholic church, this Protestant minority soon started to transfer its commerce and its industrial enterprises into the neighbouring territories, too.

As Professor Kisch has shown, the guild system which was restored in 1614 cut short economic growth within the walls of the imperial city for the next two centuries, indeed up to the end of the *ancien régime*.³⁹ In contrast to the slump of the urban economy, new economic centres flourished outside of the walls, mainly founded by Protestant families from Aix-la-Chapelle of native and Netherland origin.⁴⁰ In the valley of the Inde they built up a flourishing iron industry. At Stolberg, which belonged to the Duchy of Jülich, brass production was begun and soon supplanted the once famous brass industry of Aix-la-Chapelle. The little hamlet of Burtscheid, close to the town but belonging to a free imperial Chapter, and Monschau, in the valley of the Ruhr, belonging to the Duchy of Jülich, became new textile centres. In all these cases the economic activities of the Protestant merchants and entrepreneurs led to economic growth because they were no longer deterred by severe guild restrictions.

At Cologne, in contrast to Aix-la-Chapelle, Catholicism was never challenged by the Protestant immigrants.⁴¹ The refugees were only infor-

³⁹ H. KISCH, "Growth Deterrents of a Medieval Heritage: The Aachen-area Woollen Trades before 1790", *The Journal of Economic History*, 24 (1964): 517-37, and the enlarged version with footnotes in *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 30 (1965): 253-308.

⁴⁰ J. HASHAGEN, *Der rheinische Protestantismus* (Essen, 1924); VON ASTEN, "Religiöse Spaltung"; H. VON ASTEN, "Religiöse und wirtschaftliche Antriebe im niederrheinischen Montangewerbe des 16. bis 17. Jahrhunderts", *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 2 (1963): 62-83; H. VON ASTEN, "Wolfgang Wilhelm und Philipp Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg und der Aufbau des Montangewerbes in den Herzogtümern Jülich und Berg (1614-1679)", *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 161 (1959): 146-231; K. VAN EYLL, *Die Kupfermeister im Stolberger Tal — zur wirtschaftlichen Aktivität einer religiösen Minderheit*, Kölner Vorträge zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, no. 17 (Cologne, 1971); K. SCHLEICHER, *Geschichte der Stolberger Messingindustrie* (Stolberg, 1956); H. CROON, "Führungsschichten in Rheinland und Westfalen", in *Führungskräfte der Wirtschaft, 1350-1850*, ed.: H. HELBING (Limburg, 1973), pp. 311-36. The last-named book covers mainly the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but contains some information on the seventeenth with a detailed bibliography in the footnotes. E. HAUSEN, *Die Tuchindustrie in Montjoie* (Aachen, 1925).

⁴¹ F. PETRI and G. DROEGE, eds., *Rheinische Geschichte*, vol. 2 (Düsseldorf, 1976); H. KELLENBENZ, ed., *Zwei Jahrtausende Kölner Wirtschaft*, vol. 1 (Cologne, 1975), each with bibliographical notes; G. GRAMULLA, *Handelsbeziehungen Kölner Kaufleute zwischen 1500-1650* (Cologne and Vienna, 1972); SCHILLING, *Exulanten*, pp. 59 ff.; 110 ff., 152 ff.

mally allowed to settle in "holy Cologne", as the city was appreciatively called by the Popes. They never received the opportunity to found regular foreigners' colonies. For religious services they had to resort to underground or "secret churches", as their congregations were called. The period of minimal toleration ended during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, when the magistracy was forced by popular pressure to implement banishment decrees against the Protestants. And, as in Aix-la-Chapelle, simultaneously with the victory of the counter-reformation, the medieval guild system was reinforced. Whereas native middle- and lower-class Protestants mostly conformed, members of the economic élite left the town — natives as well as foreigners. A considerable group went to Frankfurt, strengthening remarkably the economic activities of the foreigners' colony there. Others remained in the neighbourhood of Cologne, producing the same shift of economic life from town to countryside or from the old urban center into rising country-towns as did their fellow-believers in the region of Aix-la-Chapelle. Places that profited directly or indirectly from the religious and economic restrictions enforced in Cologne were, among others, Mülheim and Wuppertal — the highly industrialized birthplace of Friedrich Engels in the nineteenth century — both part of the Duchy of Berg, and Krefeld, a famous silk centre of the Lower Rhine during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴²

We have several case studies on Protestant entrepreneur families and on the industries they built up in hamlets, villages, and small territorial towns after they had emigrated out of the old Catholic cities of the Rhineland.⁴³ There is, for example, the history of the brass industry at Stolberg, a feudal district (*Herrlichkeit*) of the Lords of Efferen under the sovereignty of the Dukes of Jülich as territorial rulers. It had roughly a dozen houses in the middle of the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Owing to good locational factors — water power, cheap plots, iron and zinc ore — some iron and brass furnaces were already at work. The owners, however, lived at Aix-la-Chapelle. The first shift of an old established brass firm from Aix to

⁴² F. SCHULTE, *Die Entwicklung der gewerblichen Wirtschaft in Rheinland-Westfalen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1959); L. SCHWERIN, "Die Auswanderung protestantischer Kaufleute aus Köln", *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 26 (1907): 194-250; CROON, "Führungsschichten"; P. KOCH, *Der Einfluß des Calvinismus und des Mennonitentums auf die niederrheinische Textilindustrie*. (Cologne, 1928); G. BUSCHBELL, *Geschichte der Stadt Krefeld*, vol. 1 (Krefeld, 1953). H. KISCH, *Prussian mercantilism and the rise of the Krefeld silk industry* (Philadelphia, 1968), especially pp. 15 ff. The textile industry of Protestant Barmen and Elberfeld (i.e., Wuppertal) was not introduced by refugees, but it profited by the decline of Cologne. See W. DIETZ, ed., *Werden und Wachsen der Wuppertaler Wirtschaft* (Wuppertal, 1977): see also H. KISCH, "From Monopoly to Laissez-faire: The Early Growth of the Wupper Valley Textile Trades", *The Journal of European Economic History*, 1 (1971): 298-407.

⁴³ J. HASHAGEN, *Geschichte der Familie Hoesch*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1916); H.F. MACCO, *Genealogie und Geschichte der Familie Peltzer* (Aachen, 1901); F. WILLEMS, *Prym. Geschichte und Genealogie* (Wiesbaden, 1968); H. RITTER, *Alte rheinische Fabrikantenfamilien* (Cologne, 1920); H. THIMME, *Geschichte der Firma Christoph Andreae in Mülheim a. Rh., 1714-1914* (Cologne, 1914).

⁴⁴ SCHLEICHER, *Stolberger Messingindustrie*; PELTZER, *Messingindustrie*; VAN EYLL, *Die Kupfermeister im Stolberger Tal*; K. SCHLEICHER, *Die Weide. Geschichte eines Stolberger Kupferhofs und seiner Bewohner in 3½ Jahrhunderten* (Stolberg, 1965).

Stolberg took place in the early 1570s when Leonhard Schleicher moved in to the little hamlet. Schleicher, in the 1550s one of the first Protestants within the imperial city, had been in trouble with the Catholic church court and the city council for having a child secretly baptized by a Protestant preacher. In the 1580s Schleicher was followed by other Protestant entrepreneurs. Motives for migration were primarily economic in this decade, because in Aix-la-Chapelle the Protestants had gained the majority in the city council. Mass migration to Stolberg started only after the second, definitive defeat of Protestantism in 1614. There was another small wave after the Thirty Years' War, when the shelter of city walls was not needed any more and when hopes for toleration of Protestantism in the city were finally extinguished during the negotiations for the Peace of Westphalia. The Hoesch, Prym, Amya, Momma, von Asten, Schardinal and Bellier families moved into the countryside — all of them entrepreneur families who played a leading role in the economic history of the Rhineland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some of them even during the industrialisation of the nineteenth century.

These emigrants made Stolberg's brass industry the most efficient in the world during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1669, sixty-one furnaces produced a million pounds of brass. At the end of the seventeenth century there were 140 furnaces and 100 mills and forges in the hands of a dozen families. The hamlet had become a first-class industrial centre, integrated into a wide commercial and financial network. The copper ore was imported from Mansfeld in the Harz mountains or from Scandinavia, partially through the intermediary of refugee bankers and merchants at Frankfurt. The final products were exported mainly to the Netherlands and — via Amsterdam and Rotterdam — to France. The entrepreneurs (*Kupfermeister*) managed the purchase of the raw material and the selling of the final product as well as the different phases of production — smelting, processing into semi-finished products (sheet, band, and wire brass) and fabrication of final products (arts and crafts objects, basins, kettles, pans, coppers, etc.). All lines of production were centralized in the *Kupferhöfe* (copper manors) where the furnace, the hammer-mill, the wire-drawing-mill and the hollowing-hammer, banned in Aix-la-Chapelle at the request of the guilds, were combined with the manor of the entrepreneur and his family. During the heyday of the Stolberg brass industry a thousand to twelve hundred persons — masters, journeymen, wage labourers, carters, etc. — were at work in these *Kupferhöfe*. Most of them were weekend commuters whose families lived in the valleys of the Eifel.

In the early period the Stolberg brass industry worked without regulation. During the first half of the seventeenth century a guild organization appeared. In 1669 the *Kupfermeister* received, on their own demand, a formal guild statute from the territorial government. But this statute was different from the traditional handicraft regulations in the towns. It was the charter of a kind of corporative family cartel installed to maintain the monopoly of the small circle of old *Kupfermeister* families.

Their economical and social dominance notwithstanding, these Calvinistic and Lutheran *Kupfermeister* of Stolberg formed a minority as dis-

advantaged legally and politically as the Calvinist migrants at Frankfurt and Hamburg. Within the Catholic southwest of the Duchy of Jülich they were a religious minority. That was true even for the feudal district of Stolberg itself, with approximately 200 Protestants out of a total of 600 inhabitants. Most of their workers were Catholics. The Protestant service depended on the good will of the local lord and the territorial ruler, both Catholics, but prepared to tolerate Protestantism for economic reasons. There were frictions with the local lord, but the relations with the territorial ruler and his administration were usually good, especially in what concerned the social, economic and legal requirements of the brass industry. Entrepreneurial needs were served well by the mercantilist policy of the territorial bureaucracy. Despite religious toleration and economic support, however, there was no question that the government had the last word and that it reserved the right to withdraw all religious and economic privileges from the Protestant minority. In contrast to many craftsmen in the traditional towns, the entrepreneurs had no legal right to participate in the formulation of the economic policy of the government. Unlike the élite in the territorial towns, they had no possibility of political participation — neither on the local level by membership in town councils nor on the territorial level via the estates.

Thus the public activities of Stolberg entrepreneurs were restricted to the economic and ecclesiastical fields. They devoted much time to the Protestant service and the government of the congregation. Immediately after their arrival they established private services in their *Kupferhöfer*. Later they financed and managed the construction of church buildings. Both congregations — the Lutheran as well as the Calvinist — had a presbyterial organization. Both presbyteries were dominated absolutely by the *Kupfermeister*.⁴⁵ These public actions rested on a stable family structure, forming the basis of the triangle: family-church-economy, which demarcated the sphere of existence of the Protestant entrepreneurs. On the one hand, the family supported involvement in ecclesiastical and economic activities. It guaranteed the continuity of the individual firm as well as the monopoly of the copper guild, which, as mentioned above, was a corporation of entrepreneur families. On the other hand, the firms and the congregation guaranteed the material and spiritual stability of the family.⁴⁶

This family-centred organization, so typical of early modern society⁴⁷ together with the corporative principles of church and business structure, indicates a clear distinction between these early entrepreneurs

⁴⁵ I am preparing a book on the social structure and the activities of German and Dutch presbyteries during the early modern period. See in the meantime H. SCHILLING, "Calvinistische Presbyterien in Städten der Frühneuzeit", in *Städtische Führungsgruppen und Gemeinde*, ed.: W. EHBRECHT (Cologne and Vienna, 1980), pp. 385-444 and H. SCHILLING, "Kirchenzucht als Sozialkontrolle?", in *Niederlande und Nordwestdeutschland*, eds.: W. EHDRECHT and H. SCHILLING (Cologne, 1983).

⁴⁶ Detailed research is still to be done in this field. Some observations may nonetheless be found in SCHILLING, "Bürgerkämpfe in Aachen", pp. 218 ff.

⁴⁷ For an impressive example concerning civil servants of the territorial state, see K. E. DEMANDT, "Amt und Familie, Eine soziologisch-genealogische Studie zur hessischen Verwaltungsgeschichte", *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 2 (1952): 79-133.

and the individualistic, liberal bourgeoisie of the late eighteenth and especially the nineteenth centuries. Church and family bonds enabled the Protestant entrepreneurs to build up great firms independent of urban facilities and to establish new forms of burgher existence outside of the towns. They thus became an important element in the transformation of the traditional urban system into a modern bourgeois society, which appeared in the Rhineland during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, earlier than in other parts of Germany.

IV

Two dimensions of the impact of the Calvinist immigration on German society and its development during the early modern period have been analysed. First, the foundation of Calvinist churches and the dissemination of Calvinist political theory stimulated religious, political and social developments in the western parts of the Holy Roman Empire which were different from those in both the predominantly Lutheran eastern and the predominantly Catholic southern parts. Secondly, the economic activities of the Flemish, Walloon and Dutch merchants, financiers and entrepreneurs promoted economic innovation and consequently economic growth throughout Germany. Both these influences were of considerable importance for the development of the towns and regions concerned. The crucial development, however, was a distinct shift within the social system connected with the confessional and economic changes. Due to the transfer of large-scale economic activities from traditional urban centers into the countryside in the northern Rhineland and due to the exclusion of Calvinist inhabitants from full citizenship in the case of Hamburg and Frankfurt, a new social group or class hitherto unknown in German society came into existence. It may be termed, in German, *frühmodernes Wirtschaftsbürgertum*, or in English, the "early modern business bourgeoisie".⁴⁸

Only partially present, if at all, in the traditional town system of *ancien régime* Germany, this early modern business bourgeoisie was a forerunner of the modern industrial bourgeois class of the nineteenth century. Although the two types of bourgeoisie must be carefully distinguished, the early modern bourgeoisie smoothed the way for the modern industrial bourgeoisie. In the Rhineland it is even possible to demonstrate a certain family continuity between the Protestant entrepreneurs of the seventeenth century and the leading figures of the industrial revolution during the nineteenth century.

What were the peculiar features of this early modern business bourgeoisie? In contrast with traditional burgher élites of medieval and

⁴⁸ For a more detailed discussion, see H. SCHILLING, "Wandlungs- und Differenzierungsprozesse innerhalb der bürgerlichen Oberschicht West- und Nordwestdeutschlands im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", part II., in *Schichtung und Entwicklung der Gesellschaft in Polen und Deutschland (16. und 17. Jahrhundert)*, eds.: M. BISKUP, G. SCHRAMM, K. ZERNACK, Beiheft der Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 122-74.

early modern towns, this new élite was not part of the urban system of the *ancien régime* characterized by a strong communal, anti-individualistic impetus. Even more importantly, the early modern business bourgeoisie was not involved in urban political life, nor for that matter in any political activity at all, since the burghers' representation within the German territorial estates was composed of deputies of the town magistrates and not of representatives of the burghers as a social class. A weakness from one point of view, this exclusion from political participation was an advantage from another point of view: the Protestant, mainly Calvinistic élite was forced to concentrate exclusively on economic activities. Furthermore, it became capable of enforcing economic innovation and modernization because it did not have to bother about the demands of the urban middle classes for protection and restrictions. Nor did it share the resentments and political reservations of the estates against the rulers and their administration. This enabled the Protestant outsiders to cooperate closely with the early modern state bureaucracy, which was interested both in economic modernization and in the overcoming of traditional deterrents to economic growth.

The preceding analysis raises the question of the role played by Calvinism in the emergence of modern capitalism. What conclusions can be drawn concerning Max Weber's famous thesis on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism?⁴⁹ The position adopted on this point is quite simple: the innovations and the economic modernization launched by the Flemish, Dutch and Walloon refugees were not the consequence of their Calvinist beliefs, but of the fact that they emigrated from the most developed parts of sixteenth-century Europe. Nor was Calvinism the origin of social change. The transformation of the traditional social and economic framework brought about by the early modern business bourgeoisie, mostly of Calvinistic belief, came from their minority status which pushed them out of the traditional urban system. This is demonstrated by the fact that among the Protestant minority in the Lower Rhine region, as well as among the Netherlandish minority in Lutheran Frankfurt, there were also a considerable number of Lutheran entrepreneurs whose economic activities and social sentiments were exactly the same as those of their Calvinistic counterparts.

Finally, what are the implications for current directions of historical research on early modern migration? Due to the work of English and to some extent French and Dutch urban historians, our knowledge of this

⁴⁹ It is not possible to give here a report of this discussion. Important readers in German with detailed bibliographies are: Max WEBER, *Die protestantische Ethik II, Kritiken und Antikritiken*, 2nd ed., ed.: J. WINCKLEMAN (Hamburg, 1972); C. SEYFARTH and W.M. SPRONDEL, eds., *Seminar: Religion und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung, Studien zur Protestantismus-Kapitalismus-These Max Webers* (Frankfurt, 1973). See also A. MÜLLER-ARMACK, *Religion und Wirtschaft, Geistesgeschichtliche Hintergründe unserer europäischen Lebensformen* (Stuttgart, 1959). One of the best reports on the early debate is given in E. FISCHOFF, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: The History of a Controversy", *Social Research*, 11 (1944): 53-77. See also S.N. EISENSTADT, ed., *The Protestant Ethic and Modernization* (New York, 1968); K. SAMUELSON, *Religion and Economic Action* (London, 1961); H. LUETHY, "Once Again — Calvinism and Capitalism", *Encounter*, 22 (1964): 26-39.

phenomenon has been remarkably enlarged during the last decade.⁵⁰ This research has focussed on those migration types which were functional to early modern society — the “normal” movement back and forth between countryside and towns or between town and town, categorized as betterment or subsistence migration. Compared with this, the longer distance trans-European migration of the type discussed in this article has not attracted similar attention. In a paper given at a conference on urban migration organized by the *Mission historique française en Allemagne* at Göttingen in June 1982, Paul Hohenberg emphasized that “urban migration played a key role in adapting the city’s human capital to changing economic circumstances”.⁵¹ If one concedes that this was one of the major functions of migration during the process of societal transformation that took place in the early modern period, it seems evident that migration historians should be concerned more closely with the refugee migration of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to understand the innovative impact described above.

Peter Clark and Paul Slack have argued that the refugee migration was a mixture of betterment and subsistence migration.⁵² I should like to understand it as a special type of early modern migration: “confessional migration”. This confessional migration predominated during the “confessional epoch” of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a period of exceptionally sharp religious conflict and exclusiveness between not only Catholics and Protestants, but Lutherans and Calvinists as well. As with so many phenomena of the sixteenth century, confessional migration occupied an intermediate position between migrations of the Middle Ages and the migration pattern of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵³

The classification as confessional migration does not refer primarily to the causes and motives of migration but to the special conditions of settlement within the host societies. German society especially was deeply influenced by the process of confessionalization which took place during the sixteenth century and which determined the legal, social and intellectual conditions of the refugee settlements.⁵⁴ It was most important for the innovative impact of the refugee migration that religious or confessional

⁵⁰ See note 15 above; P. CLARK, “Migration in England during the late 17th and early 18th Centuries”, *Past and Present*, no. 83 (1979): 57-90. The classic introduction is still R. MOLS, *Introduction à la démographie historique des villes d'Europe*, 3 vols. (Leuven, 1954-56), particularly vol. 2, chapter XII; see also MOLS' article, “Population in Europe 1500-1700”, in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, ed.: C. M. CIPOLLA, vol. 2, especially pp. 55-65.

⁵¹ See note 53 below.

⁵² CLARK and SLACK, *English Towns in Transition*, p. 97.

⁵³ PAUL HOHENBERG described the latter pattern in detail in his paper given at the Göttingen conference mentioned in the text. Since the papers will not be published, we have to wait for Hohenberg's forthcoming book on urbanization.

⁵⁴ For a theoretical discussion of the impact of “confessionalization” on early modern society, see H. LEHMANN, *Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus* (Stuttgart, 1980); W. REINHARD, “Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa”, in *Bekennnis und Geschichte* (München, 1981), pp. 165-89; H. SCHILLING, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung* (Gütersloh, 1981), pp. 15-40.

attitudes isolated the Protestant refugees — especially the Calvinists — as distinct minorities, even if they lived for generations among Germans as in Frankfurt. Due to the special legal, intellectual and social conditions of the confessional epoch, these religious minorities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were much more energetic and innovative than traditional migrants and ethnic minorities, and also more energetic than religious minorities in the non-confessional societies of later periods.