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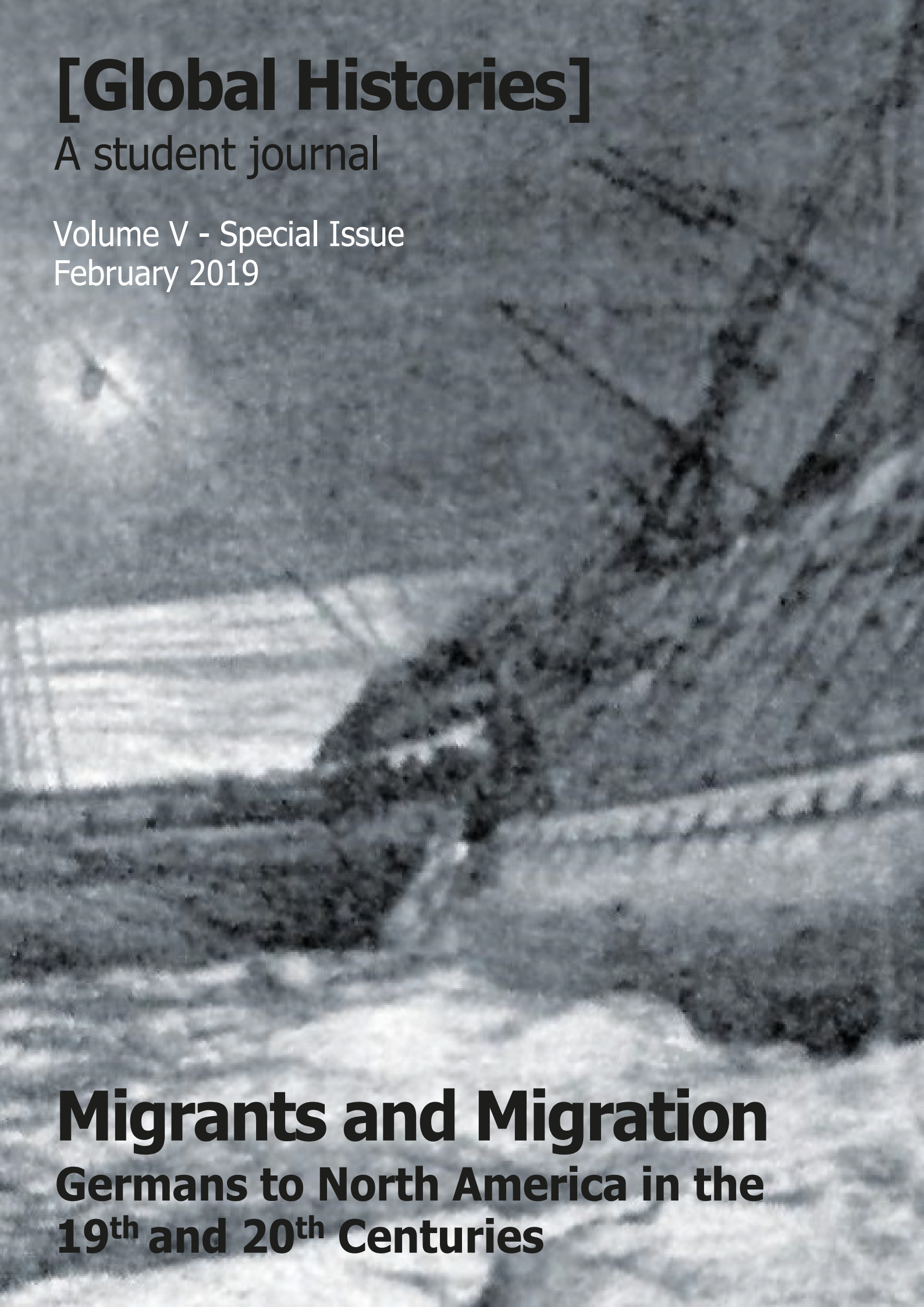

Migrants and Migration

Germans to North America in the 19th and 20th Centuries

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In response to the increasing interest in the 'global' as a field of inquiry, a perspective, and an approach, *Global Histories: a Student Journal* aims to offer a platform for debate, discussion, and intellectual exchange for a new generation of scholars with diverse research interests. Global history can provide an opportunity to move beyond disciplinary boundaries and methodological centrisms, both in time and space. As students of global history at Freie Universität Berlin and Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, our interest lies not in prescribing what global history is and what it is not, but to encourage collaboration, cooperation, and discourse among students seeking to explore new intellectual frontiers.

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Editorial Note

Dear Reader,

We are happy to publish this special winter issue of *Global Histories: a Student Journal*. In this issue, guest editor Martin Lutz introduces us to exemplary research resulting from the Master-level seminar "Migrants and Migration: Germans to North America in the 19th and 20th Centuries," which took place in the winter term of 2017/2018 at Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. In the spirit of this publication's mission, it is the aim of this special issue to promote quality research produced in collaboration by fellow students from Berlin.

We would like to thank and acknowledge the authors, Andrew Dorsey, Jacqueline Wagner, Mary Walle, Karl Dargel, Tyler Hoerr, Petar Milijic, Derek Hattemer, Fritz Kusch, Selena McQuarrie, and Louise Thatcher for their contributions;
Equally, we want to acknowledge the members of our editorial team Jack Clarke and Paul Sprute for their collaboration in preparing this edition. We hope you enjoy it.

Your Editorial Team

Migrants and Migration

Germans to North America in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Introduction

MARTIN LUTZ

In the course of the nineteenth century the United States and Canada became the most popular destination for German emigrants.[1] Including later migration waves after World War I and World War II, approximately seven million crossed the Atlantic Ocean making Germans the largest ethnic group in the United States today.[2] Historiography of German migration to North America has evolved in several waves. Prominent topics in the literature include ethnic German religious groups seeking religious freedom in the United States, the 1848/49 generation of liberal refugees seeking political freedom, the mass migration of farmers and laborers in the 1870s and 1880s, anti-German sentiment during World War I, and German Jewish refugees in the 1930.[3] More recently, a large-scale research project by the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. was completed, which focused on German-American entrepreneurship in the United States and Canada in the 19th and 20th centuries.

While historiography of migration addresses a plethora of themes, theory-building largely took place in other academic disciplines.[4] Migration sociologists developed approaches to explain the social and economic adaptation of migrants

[1] I would like to thank the *Global Histories*' journal editors for accepting this special issue.

[2] Bernd Brunner, *Nach Amerika: Die Geschichte der deutschen Auswanderung* (München: Beck, 2009 [1918]); Wolfgang Helbich, "German Research on German Migration to the United States," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 54, no. 3 (2009): 383–404; Günter Moltmann, "Three Hundred Years of German Emigration to North America," in *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration*, ed. Günter Moltmann, 8–15 (Stuttgart: Eugen Heinz Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1982); Kathleen N. Conzen, s.v. "Germans," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin, 405–25 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

[3] For example, see: Horst Weigelt, *Migration and Faith: The Migrations of the Schwenkfelders from Germany to America—Risks and Opportunities* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017); Susan Welch, "American Opinion Toward Jews During the Nazi Era: Results from Quota Sample Polling During the 1930s and 1940s," *Social Science Quarterly* 95, no. 3 (2014): 615–35; Alison C. Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Henry L. Feingold, "'It can happen here': Antisemitism, American Jewry and the Reaction to the European Crisis 1933–1940," in *Antisemitism Worldwide: 2000/1*, ed. Dina Porat and Roni Stauber (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 5–20; Mark Häberlein, *Vom Oberrhein zum Susquehanna: Studien zur badischen Auswanderung nach Pennsylvania im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1993); Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds. *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working-class Culture from 1850 to World War I* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Robert Higgs, *The Transformation of the American Economy, 1865–1914: An Essay in Interpretation* (New York: Wiley, 1971).

[4] Caroline Brettell and James F. Hollifield, eds. *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, (New York: Routledge, 2015); Christiane Harzig, Dirk Hoerder, and Donna Gabaccia, *What is Migration History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009); Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind, eds. *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999).

in ethnic enclaves and ethnic entrepreneurship. This perspective has been widely applied to more recent waves of immigration to North America from Africa, Latin America, and Asia, but so far rarely adapted by historians. Economists focused primarily on migrants' choices in seeking employment and economic gains through migration.[5] For example, a recent paper by economic historian Ran Abramitzky and economist Leah Boustan surveyed the quantitative literature on immigration in American economic history. According to the authors, employment opportunities and wage level were the primary factor shaping migration patterns to the United States and immigrants' assimilation into the American society.[6] Culturalists in turn reject assumptions of rational choice in migration processes and rather focus on migrants' experiences and perceptions, ethnic traditions, and their respective impact on adaptation in host societies.[7]

The articles in this special issue connect migration history with theoretical approaches in the social sciences and other disciplines. They focus on three distinct categories of German migrants to North America, namely political migrants, economic migrants and religious migrants, thus addressing the high variety of motivations of why and how people migrate. The first article by Andrew Dorsey, Jacqueline Wagner, and Mary Walle looks at a 1848er revolutionary, Franziska Anneke, and her contribution to the women's movement in the United States. Applying an intersectional analysis of newspaper reports, the authors examine Anneke's images as portrayed in six newspapers in the United States after her speech at the Annual Meeting of the American Equal Rights Association in 1869. The article links Anneke to perceived gender roles in the U.S. Women's Rights Movement in the nineteenth century. The authors show that Anneke's strong stance in favor of women's rights was widely and positively interpreted as "masculine," adding to the overall acknowledgement of her work in the media. Moreover, Anneke's work for women's rights was intricately linked to her "Germanness," her participation in the 1848/49 revolution and her high standing in the German-American community. The intersectional analysis thus contributes to the scholarly debate on migration and gender in American history.

[5] Alejandro Portes and Josh DeWind, eds. *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Jimy M. Sanders and Victor Nee, "Limits of Ethnic Solidarity in the Enclave Economy," *American Sociological Review* 52, no. 6 (1987): 745–73; Alejandro Portes and Leif Jensen, "What's an Ethnic Enclave? The Case for Conceptual Clarity," *American Sociological Review* 52 (1987): 768–71.

[6] Ran Abramitzky and Leah Boustan, "Immigration in American Economic History," *Journal of Economic Literature* 55, no. 4 (2017): 1311–45.

[7] Rachel Rubin and Jeffrey P. Melnick, *Immigration and American Popular Culture: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002); William H.A. Williams, "Immigration as a Pattern in American Culture," in *The Immigration Reader: America in a Multidisciplinary Perspective*, ed. David Jacobson (Malden: Blackwell, 1998), 19–28.

The second article by Karl Dargel, Tyler Hoerr, and Petar Milijic analyses the economic dimension of chain migration. While the authors contend that every type of migration—also migration for primarily religious and political reasons—has an economic component, they focus on economic push-factors which influence migrants' choices to leave their home countries. Applying an approach developed by historian Donna R. Gabaccia, they argue that economic migrants were particularly inclined to keep relations between their home and host countries. The authors thus provide empirical evidence to the theoretical debate on migrations patterns and the typological categorization of migrants.

The third article by Derek Hattemer, Fritz Kusch, Selena McQuarrie, and Louise Thatcher looks at 'desirable' citizenship in the context of Hutterite migration from the United States to Canada between 1917 and 1919. Hutterites were a small German-speaking religious group from the Anabaptist religious tradition that had recently immigrated from Southern Russia to South Dakota in the 1870s due to increasing pressure to assimilate in the Tsarist Empire. In this period, the Hutterite population grew from about 425 to more than 2000 people who lived in small-scale communal settlements called "Bruderhöfe." Due to military conscription and anti-German sentiment during World War I, the vast majority of Hutterites decided to relocate to Canada in order to escape religious and ethnic discrimination. Focusing on this micro-case of a small Anabaptist community, the authors address wider questions concerning migration and the modern state's codified ideals of 'desirable' and 'undesirable' citizens.

The three articles are the result of the research-oriented Master-level seminar "Migrants and Migration. Germans to North America in the 19th and 20th Centuries" taught in the winter term of 2017/2018 at Humboldt-Universität in Berlin. The seminar's discussions greatly helped shape the authors' analytical precision, understanding of theory, and empirical application. I would like to thank all the seminar's participants for their contributions.

‘Barnum’s Fat Woman,’ ‘Velvet-Robed Amazon,’ German-American Civil War Hero, or Man? An Intersectional Analysis of Newspaper Portrayals of Mathilde Franziska Anneke

ANDREW DORSEY, JACQUELINE WAGNER, AND MARY WALLE

German-American activist Mathilde Franziska Anneke created a “great sensation” when she spoke at the annual meeting of the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) held in New York City in 1869. Reporters for mainstream U.S. newspapers, however, focused much less on her words than on various aspects of her identity. Situating Anneke’s speech in the context of her relationship to the white U.S. Women’s Rights Movement, we apply an intersectional framework to analyze Anneke’s public reception through the close reading of six contemporary Anglo-American newspapers’ reports on the speech. Looking at the interlocking identities of class, ethnicity, and gender, we argue that the public, via these newspapers, perceived Anneke as worthy of attention because they perceived her as more masculine than her immigrant sisters. At a key moment in the U.S. Women’s Movement, an intersectional analysis of public perceptions of Mathilde Franziska Anneke shows the deep entrenchment of contemporary gender roles, as well as their intertwined relationship to class and ethnicity.

Introduction

Mathilde Franziska Anneke created a “great sensation” when she spoke at the annual meeting of the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) in New York City in 1869.[1] Reporters for mainstream U.S. newspapers, however, focused much less on the words of the German-American activist than on the various aspects of her identity. After analyzing Anneke’s speech within the context of her relationship to the white U.S. women’s rights movement, we examine the images of Anneke circulating in six Anglo-American newspapers.

In order to analyze the perception and evaluation of Anneke in Anglo-American mainstream society the construction of identity has to be understood as an interplay of different categories. Anneke’s reception was shaped by how her ethnicity, gender, and class interacted. According to Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw’s “intersectional analysis”—which was developed in order to point out the histori-

[1] “Anniversaries: The Equal Rights Association Still on the War Path: Ventilation of Views on Free Loveism, the New York Newspapers and the Bugbear, Women’s Suffrage,” *The New York Herald*, May 14, 1869, 3, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030313/1869-05-14/ed-1/seq-3/.

cal exclusion of Black women from the U.S. feminist movements—an individual's identity is located in a particular socio-political situation. Furthermore, one's whole identity is constituted by inextricably linked identities such as class, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and sexuality. These identities change and develop over time and in relationship with each other. Thus, the concept of intersectionality provides the framework to analyze systemic injustice and social inequality as systems of oppression that are created by interrelated forms of discrimination such as racism, sexism, xenophobia, and classism.[2] This analysis relies on understanding gender and other identities as socially constructed rather than as biological differences. With an intersectional framework each identity is understood in relationship to others.

Though we are moving this analytical framework out of its original context, applying the tools of intersectionality to U.S. history helps to more fully understand women such as Anneke. Regarding gender history in the U.S., Sonya Michel and Robyn Muncy have pointed out that "putative gender characteristics have contributed to the formation of racial and ethnic hierarchies that almost invariably place white European men at the apex."[3] During the period of our analysis, this 'apex' was specifically occupied by white Anglo-American Protestant men. Anneke deviated from this social center on many counts. Although she could claim European identity, her status as an immigrant, and especially as a non-native English speaker, distanced her from the center. In the patriarchal system of the time, she was further pushed toward the periphery simply by being a woman. Moreover, these two identities are inextricably intertwined. As a German-American and a woman, she did not fit in the contemporary stereotype of a German-American woman, who was considered to be the traditional culture bearer in the sanctuary of the German-American home.[4] Given Anneke's many 'deviations' from the societal norm of a public actor, we thus examine her representation in contemporary newspaper articles and her speech at the AERA meeting through the lens of the interrelated identities of ethnicity, class, and gender.

Due to her various literary and political publications, Mathilde Franziska Anneke's biography has been thoroughly investigated; however, her significance and role in the women's rights movement has not been integrated into the larger discourse.[5] Two works are particularly relevant for our case study. In *Twice Removed:*

[2] Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum, special issue: Feminism in the Law: Theory, Practice and Criticism* (1989): 139–68, esp. 143.

[3] Sonya Michel and Robyn Muncy, *Engendering America: A Documentary History, 1865 to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill College, 1998), 3.

[4] Dorothea Diver Stuecher, *Twice Removed: The Experience of German-American Women Writers in the 19th Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 18–20.

[5] See for example: Anna Blos, *Frauen der deutschen Revolution 1848: zehn Lebensbilder und ein Vorwort* (Dresden: Kaden & Comp., 1928); Manfred Gebhardt, *Mathilde Franziska Anneke: Madame, Soldat und Suffragette: Biografie* (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1988); Mar-

The Experience of German-American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century, Dorothea Diver Stuecher analyzes Anneke's "Otherness" and her isolation and frustration as a female immigrant writer. She argues that due to their cultural affiliation and gender status, German-American women writers were not only separated from the (literary) mainstream in the United States, but also were subject to nativist attacks from their homeland constructing them as "Fremdgewordene" and "Heimatlose." In *Women of Two Countries: German-American Women, Women's Rights, and Nativism, 1848–1890*, Michaela Bank situates Anneke within the U.S. women's rights movement as part of her broader examination of nativism's impact on the women's movement and German-American activists. Bank attributes Anneke's high standing within both the movement and her own immigrant community to Anneke's significant function as mediator and translator between the two frequently opposed groups, as well as the respect Anneke gained for her active part in the 1848 Revolution. Thus, the literature has so far focused on Anneke's role as a writer and activist within the U.S. women's rights movement.

As discussed, scholars such as Bank and Stuecher have previously attributed Anneke's historical importance to her role as mediator between the U.S. women's rights movement and the German-American community.[6] This essay employs intersectional analysis to determine which aspects of Anneke's identity appeared salient to the reporters covering the 1869 AERA meeting, who both represented and influenced the American mainstream outside of activist or ethnic circles. Why did Anneke make a strong impression on these reporters?

The Life of Mathilde Franziska Anneke

Mathilde Franziska Anneke was an exceptional woman. Brought up as a devout and conservative Catholic, she came to be the most prominent German-American women's rights activist.[7] She was a writer, advocate of revolutionary liberal principles, and an active participant in both the German Revolution of 1848 and the women's rights movement in the United States. Born on April 3, 1817, Anneke was the daughter of a wealthy mine and landowner in Leveringhausen, a small village in Westphalia. Owing to financial difficulties, she was prompted by her family to marry the wine merchant Alfred Philipp Ferdinand von Tabouillot in 1836. However, one year later, and shortly after giving birth to her first child, An-

tin Henkel and Rolf Taubert, *Das Weib im Conflict mit den sozialen Verhältnissen: Mathilde Franziska Anneke und die erste deutsche Frauenzeitung* (Bochum: Verlag Edition Égalité, 1976); and Susan Piepke, *Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817–1884): The Works and Life of a German-American Activist, including English translations of "Woman in Conflict with Society" and "Broken Chains"* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006).

[6] Stuecher, *Twice Removed* and Michaela Bank, *Women of Two Countries: German-American Women, Women's Rights, and Nativism, 1848–1890* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012).

[7] The biographical section draws mainly on information provided by Blos, *Frauen der deutschen Revolution* and Bank, *Women of Two Countries.*

neke filed for divorce to escape domestic violence. This experience triggered for her a religious and political reorientation, and can be seen as the beginning of her politicization and commitment to women's rights.

Following her divorce, Anneke pursued a literary career in order to find solace and distraction. She wrote and edited a number of almanacs, short stories, poems, and published drama. As her involvement in democratic and freethought circles grew, she extended her professional field to non-fiction and journalism. For instance, she wrote for the Augsburgian *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Kölnische Zeitung*, two contemporary popular, liberal newspapers.

In 1847, Anneke married the editor of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, political activist Fritz Anneke. Fritz Anneke was imprisoned in July 1848 for high treason and inflammatory political activities. During his internment, Anneke assumed management of her husband's newspaper, and after its legal prohibition in 1848 she founded her own paper, the *Frauenzeitung*. After only three issues, political pressures by those who found it too radical forced the paper to cease publication. Following Fritz Anneke's release in December 1848, the couple joined the Palatine revolutionary army. When the liberals were finally defeated by Prussian troops, the Annekes were forced to emigrate to the United States (via Switzerland) along with about 6,000 participants of the uprisings who became known as the "Forty-Eighters" in their destination country. Following various relocations, the family was eventually able to settle in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

After her arrival Mathilde Franziska attempted to establish the newspaper *Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung* with the intention to create an organ for German-American women. However, the paper folded after only two years. Given its conception in the spirit of the radical politics of the recently-arrived Forty-Eighter group, it is not surprising that the ideas put forth in it were too assertive for the tastes of the established, more conservative German immigrant population. In her first few years in the United States Anneke travelled frequently. She gave a lecture series in various German-American communities, providing accounts of the events of the failed revolution and the current political situation in Europe, and, already, attempting to promote gender equality. Although her reports on the homeland were met with interest, her plea for women's rights raised initial skepticism and rejection within the established ethnic communities. Nonetheless, she soon entered into the prestigious German-American literary and press arena, which at that time was the most significant branch of immigrant literature and foreign-language press in the United States. Anneke was, however, never able to write professionally in English. Due to this fact and the lack of sufficient readers for the type of literature and newspaper content she would have liked to produce for the German-American community, she eventually became insecure about her own writing aspirations. Ultimately, she gave up writing in 1865, when, on her return to the U.S. from a five-year residence in Switzerland during the American Civil

War, she founded the Milwaukee Töchter Institut, a girls' school which she led until her death in 1884.

Due to her previous experience in public speaking, newspaper editing, and utilizing the networks of political migrants, Anneke was granted easy access to political circles. Although not a central protagonist, she became a substantial participant in the U.S. women's rights movement. She supported the movement by coordinating communication with the German-American immigrant community and serving as honorary Vice President of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) for the state of Wisconsin. This lesser, but not insignificant, role in the movement can be traced back to the fact that she never succeeded in overcoming her difficulties with the English language, and also to her seclusion after suffering various illnesses, the loss of five children, and the separation from her husband Fritz Anneke.

Gender Roles and the U.S. Women's Rights Movement in the Nineteenth Century

In order to place Anneke's appearance at the 1869 AERA Annual Meeting into context, we now examine the state of gender roles and activism at the time of her speech. Industrialization, a growing middle class, and the resulting conceptions of gender shaped the women's rights movement in the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century the family shifted from the productive unit of the colonial period to an emotional and childrearing unit. This economic shift changed the role of women within the family and society. In the model of home-based production, women had played a significant role in the family economy. With the rise of industrialization, however, came an increasing emphasis on wage labor and the separation of "public" and "private" spheres. This separation produced the ideology of the "cult of domesticity," which limited women's influence to the home. While men took up the economic opportunities of new industrial jobs in the "public" sphere, women, mostly white and from the middle and upper classes, remained relegated to stay in the home and raise the children. "Separate spheres" and the ideology of the "cult of domesticity" profoundly shaped gender roles in the United States from the nineteenth century through the early twentieth century.[8]

Beginning as early as the 1830s, white middle class U.S. women reformers started entering politics on the basis of expanding the woman's sphere for the benefit of society. Stemming from the abolitionist movement, this early iteration of the U.S. Women's Movement in the nineteenth century focused on the right to vote, primarily for white women. These middle class white women reformers called not for the destruction but rather the expansion of the woman's sphere into political life in order to protect society from the harms of industrialization and,

[8] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151–174. In addition, Welter expands on this definition in *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1977).

implicitly, to protect white racial purity. Thus, the early women's rights movement often relied on racist and xenophobic narratives to promote white women's right to vote and participate in public political life. Although not all suffragists eagerly promoted racist rhetoric, overarching arguments for (white) women's rights in the mid-nineteenth century relied on the dominant narratives regarding race and gender roles.[9]

Soon after the Civil War ended in 1865, the U.S. suffrage movement—the focal point of the early Women's Rights movement—split due to differing opinions on strategy. The issue of whether to support the 15th Amendment, which granted suffrage to Black men without mentioning women, drove a wedge between two factions. Following the 1869 Annual Meeting of the AERA, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who did not support passing the 15th Amendment without the inclusion of women, founded the more aggressive National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). The NWSA focused on the passage of a national Amendment on women's suffrage, advocated on a variety of additional issues related to women, and did not permit men in leadership roles. The other faction, led by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and Julia Ward Howe, formed the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), which took a more incremental approach. The AWSA and its leaders supported the passage of the 15th Amendment even if it did not include women, focused *only* on women's suffrage, allowed men in leadership roles, and advocated for state-by-state legislative reform.[10]

Anneke's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the American Equal Rights Association

It is within this context that Anneke participated in the U.S. women's rights movement and gave her speech at the Annual Meeting of the AERA on May 13, 1869. As Michaela Bank argues, Anneke was able to gain the respect of white women's rights advocates because of her standing in the German-American community and her participation in the German Revolution of 1848/49.[11] Indeed, two weeks after the meeting, the leaders of the movement used Anneke's positive reception to advance the idea of German-American support for the movement, writing in their newspaper *The Revolution* that the "fond and enthusiastic applause" which met Anneke's speech "was an unmistakable proof of a large German attendance."[12] Anneke spoke on the second day of the meeting, and was followed by two other immigrant women: Jenny d'Hericourt, a French immigrant,

[9] Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[10] Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, ed., *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement* (Troutdale: NewSage Press, 1995).
[11] Bank, *Women of Two Countries*, 68.
[12] "German Advocates of Woman's Rights," *The Revolution*, May 27, 1869, 330, https://archive.org/details/revolution-1869-05-27.

and Ernestine L. Rose, a Polish immigrant. In her speech, Anneke celebrated how far public opinion had come since she spoke to a similarly large crowd at a women's rights event two decades prior.[13] After a brief introduction in English, she changed to German, "the language of [her] childhood's play," as she was never as comfortable speaking in English as she was in German. Anneke spoke of her own "varied life" which had "carried [her] through the terrors of bloody revolution" and brought her to the United States where "*Sanitas Libertas* is free to all those who seek it." She situated women's desire for equality within a larger pursuit of "scientific knowledge" which she argued had always existed in women as in men, but had been to that point "violently suppressed." Despite the history of suppression, she claimed that now was the time and place, in that "enlightened century…under the protection of the star-spangled banner" for men to receive the other "half of the human family." Anneke argued for women's rights on the basis of "Reason, which we recognize as our highest and only law-giver, which commands us to be free" above all else. She called on men to "give women [their] rights in the State. Honor [women] as [men's] equals. And allow [women] to use the rights which belong to [them], and which reason commands [women] to use." The speech shows that Anneke's arguments for equal rights were grounded in freethought and human rights discourse, unlike the often religious, nativist, and gender-essentialist arguments of the U.S. women's rights movement. Her speech was commented on by many of the mainstream papers of the time.

Newspaper Analysis

The following analysis of Anneke's reception by the American mainstream is based on a study of high-circulation U.S. newspapers from major cities: *The New York Herald*, *New York Times*, *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph*, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, and *Charleston Daily News*. Little is known about the individual authors of the articles, whose by-lines are not given, but their style of writing reflects the dominant male, Anglo-American culture, as embodied by the New York Herald article's title, "The Equal Rights Association Still on the War Path."[14]

While we have a transcription of Anneke's speech (summarized above), we unfortunately do not know what information the press had access to, and thus cannot say how much of their coverage was based on their own observations and interpretations. Specifically, no transcription of Mary Livermore's introduction of Anneke appears to have survived, and neither *The Revolution*, a weekly newspaper run by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the time of the convention, nor the massive *History of Woman Suffrage* (second volume) which

[13] The speech appears in Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds. *History of Woman Suffrage,* vol. II, 1861–1876 (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1882), 392–394, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101075729069.

[14] "War Path," *New York Herald*.

they and others published about a decade later, contain Livermore's words. Both texts state merely:

> [A]ddresses were delivered by Madame Anneke, of Milwaukee (in German), and by Madame d'Hericourt (in French). Both of these ladies are of revolutionary tendencies, and left their native countries because they had rendered themselves obnoxious by a too free expression of their political opinions.[15]

The *New York Herald*, however, does provide a little insight, suggesting that "Mrs. Livermore excited the curiosity of the audience to the highest pitch" with her description of Anneke's life.[16] Within her own speech, Anneke spoke rather humbly of her "own strangely varied life," and referred to "the terrors of bloody revolution" only once, so further focus on these aspects must either have resulted from Livermore's introduction or the reporters' imagination.[17] Nonetheless, without knowing exactly what information the reporters received, it is impossible to attribute exactly the source of any embellishments beyond Anneke's speech itself. Despite this limitation, several themes emerge.

Anneke's "Germanness," while ever-present, did not greatly excite the journalists. Every newspaper article in our sample contains reference to Anneke's German nationality, usually in the form of the descriptor "a German lady" directly following her name.[18] The journalists thus immediately identified her as German—not surprising given Livermore's introduction and the fact that Anneke spoke mainly in German—but having established this fact, most simply moved on. Only one paper, the *New York Herald*, made further reference to "her full Teutonic face," which it claimed caused spectators to believe she was "a vender [sic] of lager in disguise."[19] Drawing attention to Anneke's accent, the paper also mentioned that she delivered the second half of her speech in "the sweet language of Faderland [sic]." Generally, however, the papers merely stated her nationality without dwelling on it.

Even less obviously visible in the newspaper assessments of Anneke are considerations of class. The *New York Herald* briefly described her as "Barnum's fat woman… in a long, loose, black velvet riding habit," an outfit which the *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* corroborated, and to which it added "expensive lace" and "several valuable rings." The articles, however, also provided descriptions of the attire of other participants in the convention, suggesting that Anneke's clothing

[15] "Annual Meeting of the American Equal Rights Association: Second Day's Proceedings," *The Revolution*, May 27, 1869, 323; and Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage,* vol. II, 392.
[16] "War Path," *New York Herald*.
[17] Stanton, Anthony, Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage,* vol. II, 393.
[18] The texts produced by the women's rights movement, however, further describe her as "of Milwaukee."
[19] "War Path," *New York Herald*.

did not widely set her apart on grounds of class. Indeed, most of the participants at the meeting, as well as the target audience of the newspapers, were middle-class. Therefore, it is not surprising that this aspect received very little attention, as it was an assumed characteristic.

By far the most salient characteristic which the newspapers fixated on was Anneke's perceived masculinity, which stood out even among a group of publicly active advocates of women's rights. Some newspapers emphasized this subtly by drawing attention to Anneke's military activities during the failed 1848/49 Revolution in Baden. As previously discussed, mid-nineteenth century society was divided into public and private spheres. Waging war fell strictly in the male public sphere, so to mention that "Madame Anneke commanded a body of troops during the revolution of 1848, and shared in many a battle" imbued her with an exotic masculinity.[20] The *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* suggested that this extended into her bearing as well: "When she bows to, or salutes, an acquaintance, it is with a distinguished inclination of the head."[21]

The *Boston Daily Advertiser* sedately suggested that Anneke "served on the staff of General [Franz] Sigel in Germany,"[22] while the *New York Herald* relayed the information that Anneke had "fought 'mit Sigel' in the '48 trouble in Germany. She rode at the head of her command, and wielded her sabre like any other man."[23] Unfortunately, it is impossible to say if Livermore specifically used the culturally-charged words "mit Sigel" in her introduction, or if this is an embellishment of the journalist. After the revolution, Sigel moved to the United States and achieved fame commanding a corps of primarily German-American immigrants in the U.S. Army during the Civil War. The phrase "I'm going to fight mit Sigel" became well-known, inspiring a popular song which caricatured German-Americans and their way of speaking.[24] The phrase "mit Sigel" would thus have conjured up images of the recently-ended American war, a major reference-point of post-War America. Indeed, the *New York Times* followed this suggestion to its extreme conclusion, incorrectly reporting that "just before the breaking out of the [civil] war here [Anneke] came to this country. She served on General Sigel's staff, was present in many battles, and rendered important service to the Union

[20] "News Summary," *The Charleston Daily News*, May 18, 1869, 2, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026994/1869-05-18/ed-2/seq-2/.
[21] "New Yorkisms," *The Evening Telegraph,* Philadelphia, May 15, 1869, 1, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025925/1869-05-15/ed-1/seq-1/.
[22] "News by the Mails," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 15, 1869, 4, http://find.galegroup.com/ncnp/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=fub&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3006456789&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0.
[23] "War Path," *New York Herald*.
[24] John F. Pool, "I'm Going to Fight Mit Sigel," https://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/songsheets_bsvg100370/.

cause."[25] In fact, the Annekes arrived in New York in November 1849, more than 10 years before the firing on Fort Sumter.[26] While Fritz Anneke fought for the U.S. Army during the American Civil War, Mathilde Anneke most certainly did not. She wrote much against slavery in this period, but the purported Civil War heroine spent the years 1860 to 1865 in Switzerland. Historical inaccuracy aside, the paper's attribution of an illustrious Civil War military career to Anneke put her firmly in the masculine sphere.

Although appearing nearly a year later and in reference to a different women's rights conference, an article by the *Rutland* [Vermont] *Weekly Herald* of February 1870 likewise subtly emphasized Anneke's masculinity, through omission. Describing nearly all the other participants as mothers—President Elizabeth Cady Stanton appears only as "a fine looking mother of about sixty"—the paper omitted any mention of the many children Anneke bore.[27] Rather, it noted that she "fought on horseback side by side with her husband for liberty." The U.S. American press clearly fixated on Anneke's martial characteristics while downplaying her femininity.

The *Boston Daily Advertiser* provided a powerful metaphoric image of Anneke's rejection of the "two spheres" world of nineteenth-century gender discourse. Reporting in quotation marks what may have been direct citations from Livermore jotted down by the correspondent, the paper noted that "When the [1848] revolution was put down, Madame Anneke ripped up her carpets and sold her household furniture to get the means to start a newspaper, through which she filled Germany with liberal ideas of freedom."[28] The violent image of ripping and the exchange of domestic, middle-class concerns for worldly, political ones positioned Anneke securely outside contemporary gender norms for women and into the public "man's sphere."

Other papers emphasized Anneke's perceived masculinity even more explicitly. In addition to noting, as quoted above, that Anneke had fought "like any other man," the *New York Herald* also reported that at the 1869 convention, Anneke wore her hair "in masculine fashion."[29] The *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* reported that her "gestures in talking, standing, sitting, are those of a man," and

[25] "Equal Rights: Another Interesting Debate by the Female Surface Agitators: Moral Maps and Celestial Kites: Proposition to Throw the Negro Overboard and Advocate Only Woman Suffrage," *New York Times*, May 14, 1869, 8, https://search.proquest.com/docview/92492129?accountid=11004.

[26] Stephani Richards-Wilson, "Mathilde Franziska Anneke (née Giesler)," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 2, ed. William J. Hausman (German Historical Institute: last modified June 30, 2014), http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=204.

[27] "From the *Herald's* Special Correspondent: Washington Letter: Virginia Bill—World's Fair—The City Government—Woman Suffrage and the Suffrage Convention," *Rutland Weekly Herald* (Rutland, Vermont), February 3, 1870, 1, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022367/1870-02-03/ed-1/seq-1/.

[28] "News by the Mails," *Boston Daily Advertiser.*

[29] "War Path," *New York Herald*.

that, "Before she rose, and while only the upper portion of her body could be seen, many of the audience thought she was a man."[30] The paper further compared her to Felicita Vestvali, a lesbian opera star and actress well-known for playing male roles.[31] Anneke's perceived masculinity clearly made a great impression upon the reporters present at the convention.

This perceived masculinity also led them to attribute competence to Anneke. The *New York Herald* described her as an "Amazonian Orator" and "the great sensation of the evening."[32] The Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph* concluded its polemical coverage of Anneke by stating, "Madame Anneke is one of the most unmitigated of the women's rights women, and I have no doubt that she would look well at the head of a regiment." This statement combined fear and awe of Anneke's competency based on her perceived martial masculinity.

The *Evening Telegraph*'s coverage also drew explicit comparisons between Anneke and the two other immigrant women who spoke after her. The author noted the "striking contrast" between Anneke and Jenny d'Hericourt, "an emotional woman" in "attire so dandysh [sic] you might think it was English or German," who pursued universal suffrage as a "hobby," clearly showing awe of the former and disdain for the latter. Similarly, Ernestine L. Rose, although identified (questionably) as German, received short shrift compared to Anneke. The paper focused mainly on her age, her "interesting lisp," and her inability to speak English like a native. The article exoticized both of the other immigrant women as foreign but did not imbue either of them with the same degree of competency as it attributed to Anneke, to whom it ascribed overwhelming masculine characteristics.

Conclusion

Despite strong nativist sentiment within the U.S. women's rights movement, Mathilde Franziska Anneke enjoyed relatively high-standing due to her access to the German-American community and her active participation in the German Revolution of 1848/49. Newspaper coverage of her speech at the Annual Meeting of the American Equal Rights Association in 1869 demonstrates that she also enjoyed the respect of the U.S. mainstream society outside of the movement, but on different grounds. Overwhelmingly, reports perceived her as having masculine qualities, repeatedly highlighting activities such as riding into battle—an activity securely in the "male sphere"—and referring to her appearance and behaviour with masculine signifiers. At a time when women were not taken seriously and were believed to belong in the "woman's sphere" (i.e. the home), these writers ascribed more competence to Anneke because they perceived her as being mascu-

[30] "New Yorkisms," *The Evening Telegraph.*
[31] "Matthew Brady's National Portrait Gallery: A Virtual Tour," Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery, http://www.npg.si.edu/exh/brady/gallery/18gal.html.
[32] "War Path," *New York Herald*.

line. Though this proved to be the most salient aspect of her identity for reporters, Anneke's positive reception cannot be solely attributed to her perceived masculinity. Reporters 'read' her within the middle-class dominated women's rights movement culture and never failed to also note her 'Germanness.' These intersecting identities contributed to her ability to be taken seriously inside the women's rights movement and in the general public through coverage of her speeches by many high-circulation newspapers. At a key moment in the U.S. Women's Movement, the perceptions of this German-American activist show the deep entrenchment of contemporary gender roles. Though she herself argued for equality for women on the basis of their human rights, the public could only take her seriously by seeing her as like a man.

Economic Migration: Tracing Chain Migration through Migrant Letters in an Economic Framework

KARL DARGEL, TYLER HOERR, AND PETAR MILIJIC

The categorization of migrants in both a contemporary as well as a historical perspective continues to be a delicate matter. For 19th century migration, recent scholarship has mainly focused on concepts of agency such as chain migration or immigrant foreign relations. By analysing these 'migrant' concepts through a series of letters from a Württembergian family from the period, this paper engages and challenges the theoretical use of these terms for understanding transnational connections. Specifically it is argued that these concepts become more clear when limiting the categorical scope to 'economic migration.' As the case study shows, these migrants tended to sacrifice personal and cultural continuity in favor of material gain, which inclined them to formulate a so-called 'second project' by which they emphasized contact with relatives in their home country creating a mutual desire for the migration project to continue. Chain migration, as this is called, is thus contextualized in a meaningful way, contributing to a debate, largely focused on the utilitarian aspect.

Introduction

In 1872, Johannes Hörr was born in Pforzheim, spending his youth moving throughout southern Germany as the son of a landless farmer. Orphaned at 13 years, he moved between several of his aunts and uncles before taking up his father's trade. Throughout his youth, he was raised in a small anabaptist religious community. In 1889, at the age of 17, he left his home in Germany for the United States of America at the suggestion of his sister in search of economic opportunity, thus joining the global community of migrants. He set his sights on the rural Midwest, bringing with him the skills of a field worker. Additionally, connections with other families from his religious group made central Illinois an attractive destination which would provide both job opportunity and community life. Writing in his twilight years, Johannes described his first encounters in the U.S., saying he felt "welcomed by these people," and that he "felt at home in this new country; never felt homesick."[1]

Johannes' story is one of thousands who took part in the trans-Atlantic migration from Germany to the United States during the late 19th century. Yet his story

[1] Christian Hörr (Torf-Christian), Heißesheim, Story of the Hörr Family, July 27, 1933, copied and updated by Wilhelm Hörr 1975, unpublished.

also offers us an important insight about migration studies; categorizing migrants is difficult, to say the least. Johannes moved for economic reasons, yet he was drawn on by religious community. Unlike many of his fellow migrants, drawn to economic opportunity across the ocean, Johannes was an orphan, who leaves no record of written correspondence back to Germany after his move. If we categorize Johannes as an *economic migrant*, do we jeopardize our ability to see the diverse nature of this migrant group?

It is with this sensitivity that we begin by asking, 'who is the *economic migrant*?' This category has no explanatory power if not limited. For, if one contends that an economic migrant is simply 'anyone with economic impact,' they really are talking about all migrants, because all migrants affect economic systems. While acknowledging that all migrants have an economic potential (and affect economic structures by migrating), we refer to an *economic migrant* in this essay specifically as someone who migrates from their home country primarily due to semi-voluntary economic pressures (*push-factors*), as opposed to involuntary religious pressure, political pressure, ethnic pressure or otherwise.

As illustrated by the story of Johannes, these *economic migrants* are an extremely diverse group; while they may be unified in their reason for leaving, who they are, what they do, and where they go vary greatly.

This encourages a second question: 'is the term *economic migrant* analytically helpful?' As seen by the problems of diversity and unique experience—there are many ways in which this category is potentially dangerous. Despite these issues, however, there may be some aspects which are made clearer through this type of grouping. Specifically, it is possible that when speaking of transnational connections, it could be useful to employ *economic migrant* as a category. It is in this context that we make the following claim. Donna Gabaccia argues that migrants maintain their transnational connections after emigrating.[2] We support this argument with regard to *economic migrants*—notably in the case of German migration to the United States during the late nineteenth century—but suggest it requires further evidence to apply the same claim to non-economic migrants.

This essay will begin by discussing the historical context and economic theory which is the foundation of our research. After this, a detailed look at Garbaccia's theory of *immigrant foreign relations*, its implications, and our own contributions will follow. Finally, a brief analysis of immigrant letters will conclude the essay as well as apply the principles discussed in the preceding sections.

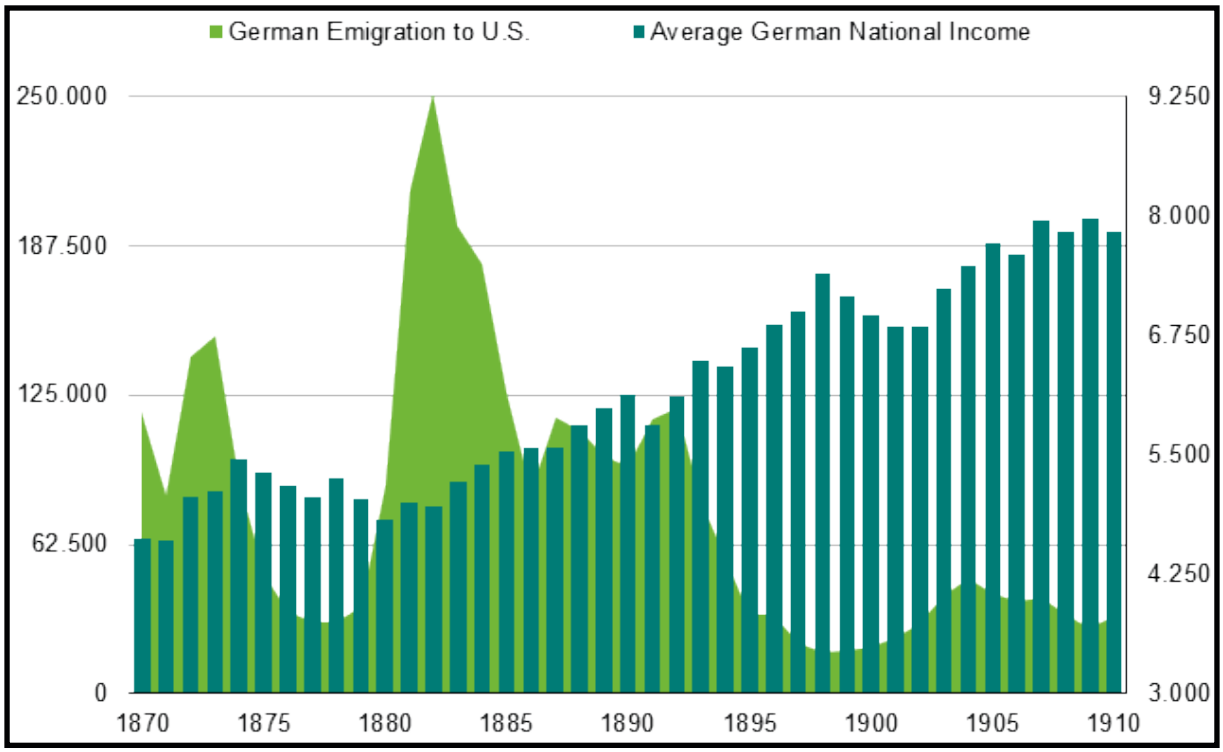
[2] Donna R. Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 27.

Historical and Theoretical Context

Wage-gap hypothesis

Today, German-Americans are the largest ancestry group in the US, numbering around 45 million people.[3] From Christmas trees to hamburgers and hot-dogs, their German heritage has left a permanent mark on their adopted country and its traditions. Most of their immigrant ancestors migrated in the second half of the 19th century, roughly between 1840 and 1890, coinciding with what is called the age of mass migration—one of the largest movements of people in modern history. 60 million people moved during that time.[4]

There are two intuitive ways in which we usually think about migration. The first approach is to consider the fall in wages. It supposes that people migrate more when their wages in their homeland go down and stay when their wages grow. The below graph shows the interaction.

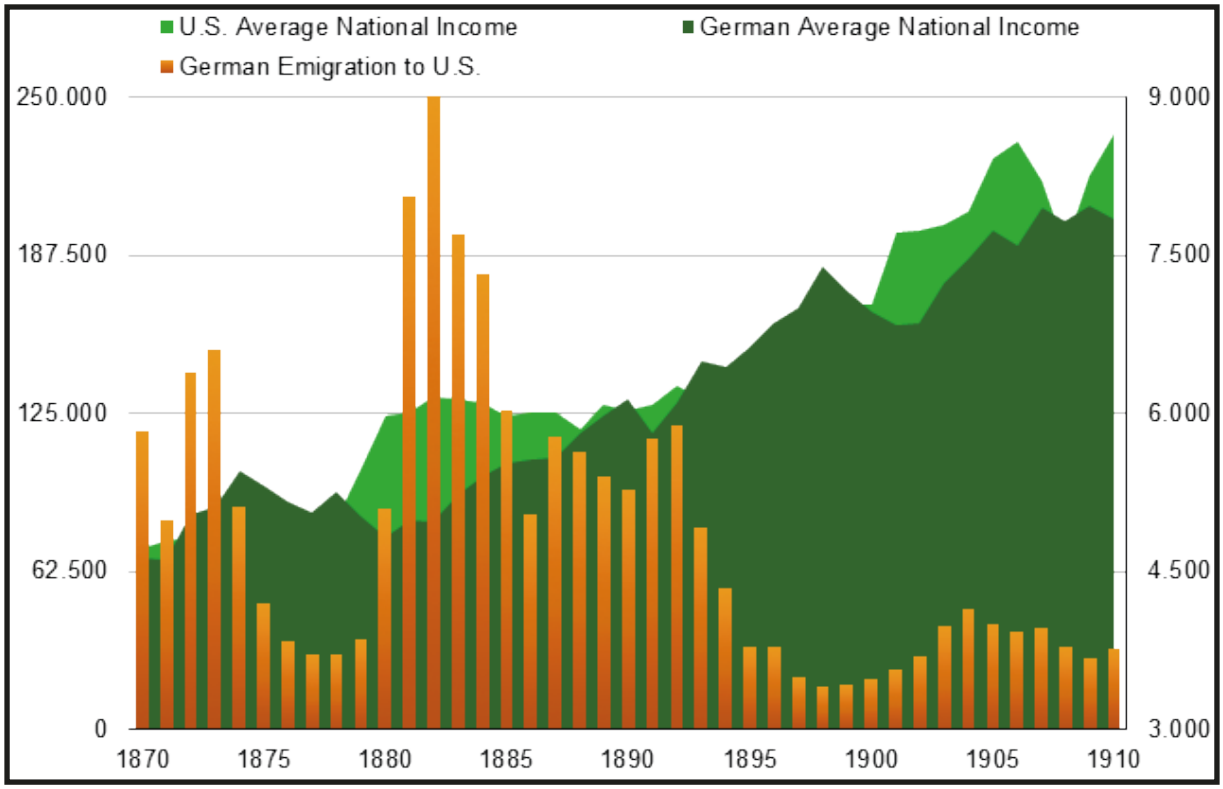


Source: National income series from wid.world/data, immigration numbers based on the U.S. Census Bureau's Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Series C89-119. National income (right-hand side) in 2016 Euro, PPP adjusted.

[3] "People reporting ancestry." 2016 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates. US Census Bureau.

[4] Kevin H. O'Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *Globalization and History,* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 119.

The second correlation, the wage-gap hypothesis, is more interesting. Roughly it presumes that it is the structural, rather than short-term, gap in wages that matters. Therefore, regardless of whether there was wage convergence or divergence, whether the gap increased or decreased, it was still big. Below is a graph depicting the relationship between the wage gap and immigration numbers.



Source: National income series from wid.world/data, immigration numbers based on the U.S. Census Bureau's *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, Series C89-119. National income (right-hand side) in 2016 Euro, PPP adjusted.

The correlation is visible. The spike in migration from Germany to the United States happened when the wage divergence was at its largest. Once the wages were similar, migration decreased and settled on small numbers.

Note that the indicator of living standard used above is average national income, which takes into account a multitude of factors, from wages to capital ownership to GDP. While it does provide a valuable overall picture, the wage gap itself across the Atlantic was astronomical in some sectors. An OECD paper claims real wages of building labourers in 1880 were around four times larger in Western off-shots (Canada, Australia, USA) than they were in Germany.[5] Out of the Western off-shots, the U.S. were the richest, so the real number might have been even higher.

[5] Pim de Zwart, Bas van Leeuwen, and Jieli van Leeuwen-Li, "Real Wages since 1820," in *How Was Life? Global Well-being since 1820*, ed. Jan Luiten van Zanden et al. (Paris, OECD Publishing, 2014).

A Closer Look

Wegge offers occupational data for emigrants from the German principality of Hesse-Cassel and crosses it with emigration numbers.[6]

Table 1. *Artisans and day workers, 1852–1857.*

Group	Category	Index of representation	Sample size (emigrants)
I: Wealthy, low emigration rate	Chemicals	60	74
	Mill workers	89	168
	Precious metals	77	47
	Farmers*	63–88	1,542
IV: Wealthy, high emigration rate	Traders, merchants	186	651
II: Less wealthy, high emigration rate, and skilled	Bakers, butchers	170	481
	Beer, schnapps	161	176
	Construction	123	796
	Leather, paper, shoes	149	967
	Stones/earth	130	261
	Machines	397	56
	Fine Instruments	96	26
	Non-ferrous metals	201	89
	Textiles**	121	1,355
	Transport builders	130	194
	Wood products	157	753
III: Poor, low emigration rate	Labourers/servants (all)	74	4,251
	Labourers/servants, male	85	2,602
	Labourers/servants, female	63	1,649
	Iron/Steel	85	497
	Tobacco	33	43

Source: Wegge, "*Occupational self-selection,*" 376.

The ones with the highest emigration rates were those middle-class artisans who were more skilled than they were wealthy. The old environment did not reward them properly and they had a lot to gain from the move. The wealthiest and the poorest had low emigration rates, while the middle class had the highest representation.

Why was it not the poorest who migrated most, if the wage gap was the driving force? And why such massive emigration numbers from the German Empire, one

[6] Simone Wegge, "Occupational Self-selection of European Emigrants: Evidence from nineteenth-century Hesse-Cassel," *European Review of Economic History* 6, no. 3 (December 2002): 376.

of the wealthiest countries in the world at the time?[7] The answer is transportation. Getting across the ocean in the 19th century was an ordeal. The journey took months, depending on the weather, and was very expensive. So expensive, in fact, that more often than not it was a family endeavor.

It is important to note that as soon as one adds more factors to the equation, the unit of analysis becomes the household rather than the individual. This is essential for explaining another key phenomenon of economic migration, the fact that it is mostly young adult males who migrate. The model must therefore be expanded to account for these nuances. The invariable is now the travel cost, a constraint that disqualifies the poorest and makes providing for the passage a family project, also creating selection on the basis of potential human capital return (the highest in young adult males).[8]

The variable is the home-to-destination wage-gap. The poorer the potential migrant, the more he/she or the family or household have to gain from the move in absolute terms, thus the more likely the migration. What this means is that the myth of America as an engine of upward social mobility must be understood within these limits. To qualify for the American Dream you had to have been born in the second richest region of the world, you had to have been a well-informed, skilled young adult male with a supporting family willing and able to risk a substantial amount of money to either send you abroad first, or else being already there, willing and able to take you in.

Agency: Gerber's Projects and the Typology of 19th Century Migrants

After soldiers, immigrants produce the largest amount of letters. Gerber points out that because the letters don't seem to be very concerned with documenting the world around them, they almost resemble a project serving an end.[9] We can imagine that choosing a cross-oceanic migration meant leaving behind the hometown, the family, the friends, the nation, and aspects of language, religion, and tradition which are all necessary ingredients of a dignified human existence and vessels of social and personal continuity. After their primary, material goal was fulfilled, they sought to reestablish personal relationships torn apart by the migration.

Chain migration is thus not only a duty of those family members who successfully made the move as a means of giving back to the household that enabled them to move in the first place, but also a desire to achieve or repair a sense of community.

[7] Bolt et al., 2018, "Rebasing 'Maddison': New Income Comparisons and the Shape of long-run Economic Development," Maddison Project Database, 10.
[8] Oded Stark and J. Edward Taylor, "Relative Deprivation and International Migration," *Demography* 26, no. 1 (February 1989): 13.
[9] Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Immigrant Epistolary and Epistemology: On the Motivators and Mentality of Nineteenth-Century German Immigrants," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 34.

Historiography and Argument

Donna Gabaccia's "Immigrant Foreign Relations"

In 2012, Donna Gabaccia published her book, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective*, as part of the "America in the World" series, edited by Sven Beckert and Jeremi Suri. In it, Gabaccia described in detail a concept she calls immigrant foreign relations, which outlines the web of connection between immigrant populations and their home countries, often leading to chain-migrations and continued involvement in international politics.[10] For Gabaccia, immigrant foreign relations had a profound impact on American foreign politics, yet this connection has been largely ignored both within contemporary conversation and the historical discipline.[11]

In her book Gabaccia attempted to bridge a gap between diplomatic and immigration historians,[12] however our aim in this essay is to narrow the focus to the immigration side of her argument, namely, that migrants (in general) maintain foreign relations, or *transnational connections* after they've moved abroad. Research into transnational German *economic migrants* to the United States in the late nineteenth century supports this claim by Gabaccia.[13] This however, does not come as a surprise, as much of the evidence used in the book refers to examples of what we would classify as *economic migrants*. An easy critique of her broad claim arises when looking at examples of forced migration, where actors tended to be forced into migration as single units, severing ties with their homeland. Thus, we argue that applying this principle to all migrants requires further evidence, and may or may not be tenable.

The Conceptual Use of 'Economic Migrants'

One of the reasons *economic migrants* provides a good category in which to see these transnational connections circles back to the idea of *secondary projects*. *Economic migrants*, in their *second project* often keep personal contact with their friends and family back home, leading to long-term *chain migration*. A second, and very important part of this, however, is the semi-voluntary nature of *economic migration*. This idea is theoretical, but worth mentioning, as it moves the categorization away from *push* and *pull factors*, toward immigrant experience.

[10] Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations*, 2, 27.
[11] Ibid., 1–7.
[12] Ibid., ix.
[13] Gabaccia's Chang family used throughout the introduction of her book is a good comparison. While there are mentions of what might be considered 'political migrants' in the book, these are often more complicated stories to categorize. Some of these migrants (such as the ones found in Garbaccia's book) may also fit the conclusions of this argument, but their reasoning is often more sporadic than is found with economic migration, and thus, difficult to apply such an argument wholesale.

We place *economic migrants* into a semi-voluntary category, since they possess more agency in their decision to leave home, and in where to go. Importantly, because of the uneven effect of economic migration on families (meaning, they do not move as a 'community' or large group), economic migrants naturally have longer-term chain migration. Migrant groups who have been forced into migration, like group migrations stimulated by religious and political persecution, are more likely to move in larger groups, as entire families. Thus, while there may be shorter-term examples of chain-migration, they are more likely to move together, and leave the country which ejected them behind.

Of course, all migrants are shaped by their circumstances, and the lines of categorization are somewhat blurry. One might protest that all migrants are economic—even religious or political 'refugees.' Similarly, extreme poverty could also be seen as an involuntary stimulus for migration akin to these other types of 'forced' migration. However, these issues can be helped by a clear definition of *economic migrant*, understanding motivations before and after migration (as explained by *primary* and *secondary projects*) and noting the distinction between a migrant being pushed out of their home nation by hegemonic groups and economic migrants deciding to leave in most cases because of economic hardship (though often not extreme poverty, as the travel costs would have prevented such migration in many cases).

Analytical Section

Working with Letters as a Unit of Analysis

Working with our tentative category of an economic migrant, the task at hand is to retrace these immigrant foreign relations as they were established and maintained. As social ties and webs of connections are bound to the lifetime of the ones who invested in them, they may become intangible to those who come after.

Yet, some sources are written evidence of these foreign relations. More specifically, (German) migrants frequently sent an abundance of letters back to their country of origin, often to their family and friends. These letters will form the basis for the unit of analysis, enabling us to closely examine the interdependencies between immigrant foreign relations, chain migration, and "German immigrants writing home."[14]

An outstanding publication in this context is Helbich's et al. *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der Neuen Welt 1830–1930*. Bundling twenty series of letters, broadly categorized into farmers, workers, domestic servants, the authors attempt to categorize these migrants along the lines of age,

[14] *News from the Land of Freedom: German Migrants Write Home* is the English title of Helbich, Kamphoefner, and Sommer's book *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der Neuen Welt 1830–1930* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988).

gender, family status, confession, occupation, region of origin, and their place of settlement.[15] However, their work does not claim representativeness in a statistical sense, as it merely deals with a selection taken from the *Bochumer Auswandererbriefsammlung*[16] which accounts for roughly 0.0018 per cent of the estimated 280 million letters that were written from the United States to Germany between 1820 and 1914.[17]

Unlike other databases that provide written accounts of migrants,[18] the letters presented by Helbich et al. are backed up by crucial additional information that allow for an insight into the ties the migrants maintained with their former home.[19] Furthermore, all case studies deal precisely with what we have defined as an economic migrant.

Before we conduct a close analysis of some of these letters, it is important to stress the limitations of said sources. For one, there is the very subjective, at times even 'propagandistic,' nature of letters, which is especially true when the letters intend to convince other family members to embark on the journey to the United States.

While this fact alone might not diminish the value of letters as proof of chain migration, a more specific case can be made for the letters that these migrants have sent home. Leaving for a new life on a different continent, not all might have successfully reached their destination, thus never being able to write letters at all. One might refer to this issue as *survivor bias*.[20] Moreover, for every migrant establishing contact with his home country, there is an unknown number that are part of the silent, or rather illiterate, migrants that never did so. As mentioned earlier, however, it was by and large the middle-class who migrated, often with some basic education and writing skills.[21] To put it in the words of American poetess Emma Lazarus and her famous poem "New Colossus," these letters are not the work of "Europe's Tired, Poor, Huddled Masses."[22]

[15] Helbich et al., *Briefe aus Amerika*, 36. Unless specified otherwise, all translations are by the author.

[16] Over the past thirty years, this database has grown from 5,000 to 7,000 letters. http://www.auswandererbriefe.de, accessed, March 11, 2018.

[17] For more details on exact numbers, estimates, and calculations of the authors, see: Helbich et al., *Briefe aus Amerika*, 31–33.

[18] Another project, run by the University of Chicago, is for instance: *North American Immigrant Letters, Diaries and Oral Histories*, https://imld.alexanderstreet.com/, accessed March 13, 2018.

[19] Helbich et al., *Briefe aus Amerika*, 39.

[20] P. Moles and N. Terry, s.v. "Survivor Bias," *The Handbook of International Financial Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 534.

[21] Helbich et al., *Briefe aus Amerika*, 36. Literacy tests for migrants were only introduced with the Immigration Act of 1917.

[22] The line quoted also served as the title for Abramitzky, Boustan, and Eriksson's study on "Self-Selection and Economic Outcomes in the Age of Mass Migration," *American Economic Review* 102, no. 5 (2012): 1832–1856. In their study, Abramitzky et al. analyze whether "the United States acquired wealthier and higher-skilled European migrants who were

The Klinger Family: 34 Years of Economic Migration

Bearing all these things in mind, we will now turn to the small municipality of Korb, near Stuttgart. In the year 1848, the situation for the rural lower class in the predominantly agricultural Kingdom of Württemberg was dire. Anna Maria Klinger, the oldest daughter of impoverished wine maker Eberhard Ludwig and his wife Barbara requested the authorities of the Kingdom of Württemberg to emigrate to North America.[23] On March 18, 1849, she sent the first letter from "New Jork"[24] back home, initiating a correspondence that would last for more than a generation well into 1883. Since this exchange of letters includes more than thirty letters and a number of different authors, only a few 'highlights' can be taken into account here.

On the day of her arrival, Klinger was employed by a German family, earning twelve times more than what she would have received in Germany.[25] Critically evaluating her current position, she noted that "no one really likes it at first and especially if you are so lonely and forlorn in a foreign country like I am, with no friend or relative around me."[26] Yet, she remained in good spirits, knowing that learning English would help to significantly improve her situation. Apart from an account of her arduous journey and some information on New York, she stated how much better it would be in America for her family, especially for her brothers. Already in her first letter, Klinger began to work on her *second project*, by not only reporting back to her family but also actively encouraging them to join her.

Roughly one year later, a second letter from New York arrived. We learn that Anna Maria is no longer without "friend or relative" and now signs her correspondence with Anna Maria Schano, née Klinger.[27] Between these two letters, she married Franz Schano, a Bavarian soldier who deserted while on leave and immigrated with his father and brother to America.[28] Franz Schano took the opportunity to write his in-laws in great detail sometime in 1850.[29] However, this investment is not about introducing himself—as he most likely never met his in-laws in person—but rather was sorting out which member of the Klinger family should follow next.

able to finance the voyage, or whether it absorbed Europe's "tired, poor, huddled masses' who migrated in search for opportunity" (p.1833).

[23] Helbich et al., *Briefe aus Amerika*, 500–502.

[24] While she was literate, her writing is heavily influenced by her local dialect, as unfamiliar words are often written the way she must have perceived them. Other examples include "Blümuth" (Plymouth) or "Viladelfe" (Philadelphia), see: Ibid., 505.

[25] Her monthly salary was four Dollars, which equals ten guilders, a sum she would have made in an entire year in Württemberg, see: Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Unfortunately, the beginning of the second letter, and hence the exact date, is missing. But from census records we learn that Anne Maria Klinger and Franz Schano had married by July 1850.

[28] Helbich et al., *Briefe aus Amerika*, 514.

[29] Ibid., 507–509.

Anna Maria was informed by her parents that her brother Daniel, who was willing to immigrate, lacked the financial resources to do so.[30] Franz and Anne Marie suggested that in this case it would be better if the two younger Klinger sisters, Barbara and Katharina, "came first because for them we can find more work than they would like within the first days."[31] In return, this money then could be used to pay for Daniel's journey who would have started an apprenticeship under Franz.[32] After receiving detailed instructions, Barbara Klinger arrived in the Schano household on June 14, 1851, and after a year she paid off the passage money.[33]

The proposal made by Franz and Anna Maria to reunite the whole Klinger family in America (and bear the financial brunt if necessary) was rejected by the father.[34] Instead, two of Anna Maria's younger siblings, Katharina and later Gottlieb, migrated to New York. By September 1852, three Klinger family members found their way to the United States. On strictly economic grounds, it was decided that Daniel's journey would be postponed until the summer of 1857.[35]

After the death of the mother in 1858—mourned on both sides of the Atlantic—Rosina Klinger decided to leave too, and by March 1859 six of Eberhard Klinger's children were living in the U.S.[36]

Having finished their *second project*, the letters became more and more sparse, with longer breaks between 1863 and 1868[37] and complete silence from 1868 until 1882. In his last letter to the remaining siblings back home, Gottlieb Klinger, who had become the leading voice of the American part of the Klinger family, summed up the aftermath of the Klinger migration: Daniel, "it seems, has not much longer to live"; Barbara lived on a well-doing farm with "seven well-behaved Christian children"; Marie, twice widowed, had lost her only son at 25 years but was financially doing well; Katharina, "well off," lived with her second husband in New York, and "of Rosina I can't tell much, she lives in New York and has a bunch of kids."[38]

In itself, the immigration history of the Klinger family is a typical case of German migration to the United States that occurred millions of times. These letters however, show the direct connection between exchange of knowledge through immigrant foreign relations and successful *chain migration*. Beyond that, these relations are crucial in enabling chain migration. Once a family member has es-

[30] Helbich et al., *Briefe aus Amerika*, 506.
[31] Ibid., 508.
[32] Ibid., 509.
[33] Ibid., 513.
[34] Ibid., 520: "if this is too you wish and will, we have decided to whatever you can pay add fifty dollar to bring mother father and the three siblings here." Schano even considers to collect funds from the local community.
[35] Ibid., 521.
[36] Ibid., 525.
[37] The American Civil War certainly played into that as well.
[38] Helbich et al., *Briefe aus Amerika*, 532.

tablished a bridgehead in the new country, other family members—mainly the younger sister as we have seen—could follow.

Nevertheless, the pivotal role of the family in these *foreign relations* did not end as soon as all eligible family members had crossed the Atlantic. Rather, these networks extended to North America, spanning from New York, to Albany, Mishawaka, or even Canada.[39]

Above all, this emphasizes that migrant letters were not simply a small peripheral phenomenon, but rather a ubiquitous important means of keeping up foreign relations. They shed light on the extremely diverse group we here have called *economic migrants*. Ultimately, *economic migrant* can be successfully employed as a category in understanding the intertwined relations between *immigrant foreign relations* and *chain migration*.

Conclusion

This essay has considered the usefulness of the analytical category *economic migrant*, by modifying Donna Garbaccia's theory of immigrant foreign relations. As with any categorical limitation, there are a number of problems which arise when attempting to group migrants into an economic framework. However, as our theoretical and analytical discussions have shown, using *economic migration* as a lens through which to see *immigrant foreign relations* and the associated chain-migration can prove to be insightful.

In the first part of our essay, we discussed the economic and theoretical context of our discussion. After this, a discussion of Donna Gabaccia's theory of *immigrant foreign relations* led us to our argument that *economic migrants*, in particular, maintain transnational connections after moving abroad. Finally, the final section offered a simple application of our discussion through the letters of the Klinger family.

We believe these questions of categorization, and the usefulness of analytical concepts like *economic migrant*, highlight the importance of continuing discourse within our discipline on how to understand our historical actors.

[39] Gottlieb, Anna Marie, and Daniel lived in Albany, Barbara in Mishawaka, Indiana, and Rosine at least temporarily in Canada.

‘Peculiar Peoples’: The Hutterites’ Migration to Canada and the Selection of Desirable Citizens

DEREK HATTEMER, FRITZ KUSCH, SELENA MCQUARRIE, AND LOUISE THATCHER

The younger scholarship on migration history has identified and analyzed the introduction of individual examination of would-be migrants based on certain legally determined criteria as an important factor in the development of modern nation states’ migration policies. This paper analyzes the underlying cleavages inherent in the establishment of that system by presenting a peculiar example of group migration in a time in which the basic legal apparatus of individual migrant examination and admission was still in the making. Between 1917 and 1919, the eventual entry into Canada of large groups of Hutterites, a highly industrious, uncompromisingly pacifist anabaptist group of German descent whose lives centered around communal living and pious deeds, challenged the Canadian government’s developing migration regime. The Canadian parliamentary debates, which the paper analyzes, upheld the idea of individual assessment whilst awkwardly trying to bend the criteria in order to exclude the Hutterites as a group. The paper connects thus this case of group migration to the recent literature concerned with the development of individual migrant assessment. This paper deduces that the MPs were unanimously certain that migrants should be assessed individually and that the state had the right to reject certain individuals deemed unfit for entry into the country. Also, however, ambiguities concerning the state’s conception of individuals’ identities and group memberships on the one and of desirable migrants and citizens on the other hand are addressed.

Introduction

Between 1917 and 1919, almost all of the Hutterites in the USA—around 2000 people—packed up their farms and crossed the border to resettle in Canada. An Anabaptist sect, the Hutterites lived in rural colonies with all property held in common. They had a long history of relocating across borders as a community to escape persecution and this move, triggered by the harassment they had faced during the war for being German-speaking pacifists, can be seen as part of this pattern. However, this journey had new features for the Hutterites: for the first time, they had to negotiate as migrants with a modern state bureaucracy applying new norms of selective immigration. While they were eventually able to settle in Canada, their move sparked nativist opposition and parliamentary debate which led to immigration laws passed specifically to exclude them. These debates pro-

vide a window onto the broader processes of this time, in which states codified ideals of 'desirable' and 'undesirable' migrants and asserted their right to choose which individuals could enter the country. By examining these debates, we bring the Hutterites' journey into a larger history of migration.

This article has three sections. We briefly tell the history of the Hutterites as a group, then we outline contemporary scholarship on the development of migration controls from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. In the final section, we bring these together by analyzing what Canadian parliamentarians had to say about the Hutterites as migrants, and what that can show us about the contested development of migration admission criteria.

Historians of the Hutterites have tended to come from Mennonite backgrounds themselves and their histories have reflected the Hutterites' self-understanding as a persecuted minority forced to move in search of religious freedom.[1] We tell the long history of the Hutterites because this collective identity is what made them unusual migrants. They sought to migrate as a group, in an era in which migration regulation was becoming increasingly individualized. And it was their commitment to a separate group identity—a way of living apart from the world, and from the obligations of citizenship—that was, from the Canadian perspective, the most troubling thing about them as prospective migrants.

This was the era in which selective, individualized immigration control became a global norm. We draw in particular on Adam McKeown's work on this period, which saw an ideological shift towards the assumption that a nation had a right to absolute control of entry at its border, the development of bureaucratic technologies to assess individuals, and the creation of global standards of health and racial fitness.[2] McKeown's work is primarily on anti-Chinese laws and racial exclusion; other scholars have further examined how the categories of 'desirable' and 'undesirable' migrants were developed with reference to exclusion on the basis of gender, sexuality, and health. We add to this work by examining how these developing standards of individual suitability were applied to the Hutterites, a peculiar collective religious group.

[1] For a comprehensive history and ethnology of Hutterite communities, see: Victor Peters, *All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1965) and John Hostetler, *Hutterite Society* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974). For reasons perhaps related to access, both authors are of Mennonite backgrounds. The Hutterites' own historiographical tradition and records, which provide a detailed and expansive account of the order's history since its origins, were edited and published by philologist Andreas Johannes Friedrich Zieglschmid: A.J.F. Zieglschmid, *Das Kleingeschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943) and A.J.F. Zieglschmid, *Die Älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1947). For further reading on Hutterite communal life and beliefs, see: Paul F. Conkin, *Two Paths to Utopia: The Hutterites and the Llano Colony* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964) and Rod Janzen, *The Prairie People: The Forgotten Anabaptists* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999).

[2] Adam M. McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

We examine the debate across two days in the Canadian House of Commons in which members discussed the Hutterites' entry into Canada and the question of whether or not the government should take measures to prevent further migration. There we find a consensus among Canadian MPs that the government has the right and duty to exclude unwanted migrants from Canada, albeit with some disagreement over which criteria should be applied. Examining what was said about the Hutterites shows us that Canadian authorities were developing processes of assessing migrants on the basis of their perceived ability to become members of Canadian society. What was in question was whether or not the qualities that held the Hutterites apart—their language, communal way of living, and religious pacifism—should be seen as immutable and thus bar them from admission. Just as the Hutterites were forced to grapple with a new, modern border system, this emerging system was forced to come to an understanding of the Hutterites as a class of migrants with a peculiar group identity. These debates show the development, and some of the ambiguities, of the new regime of migration control in Canada.

The History of the Hutterites

The Hutterites' origins can be traced back to the early years of the Protestant Reformation. In 1528, various smaller Anabaptist groups living outside the Moravian towns of Nikolsburg and Bergen merged together to renounce private property and commit to living together as devout pacifists in self-sufficient communities of goods.[3] Jakob Hutter, a Tyrolian Anabaptist pastor, became these communities' leader in 1533 and presided over the group during a crucial period of its development. Hutter created the first formal guidelines for the organization of Hutterite communities and provided a formative contribution to their pastoral tradition. He preached a total break with the past, a complete communal removal from worldly affairs and considerations, reminding his followers that "they were indeed God's elect, who, as despised sojourners in the world, could only expect hardship and suffering."[4]

Over the next three hundred years the Hutterites would migrate again and again, temporarily enjoying the patronage and protection of feudal lords, only to see conditions change, and be forced once again to migrate due to religious persecution. This journey would take the Hutterites from Moravia (1528–1621), where their 'golden age' transpired, to Transylvania (1621–1767) and Wallachia (1767–1770) where the sect reached the verge of total dissolution, to Russia (1770–1842) and then Ukraine (1842–1874) where the group experienced a spiritual revival and reinvented themselves as specialized agriculturalists.[5] In 1874, the Hutterites, now numbering 1,265 individuals, chose to emigrate en masse to the United

[3] George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 422.
[4] Hostetler, *Hutterite Society,* 20.
[5] Ibid., 9, 107.

States of America rather than risk forced conscription as subjects of the nationalizing Russian Empire.[6] They settled in the northwestern United States, modern-day South and North Dakota and Montana, where their communities thrived and rapidly expanded. Although the Hutterites received vague reassurances from the United States government that they would not be required to serve in the military for at least fifty years, the issue was never settled for good through a formal legal exemption.[7] By 1898, fearing that the Spanish American War would lead to mass conscription, Hutterite elders began exploring the possibility of resettling in Canada, even obtaining a special dispensation from the Canadian government freeing them from any obligation to perform military service in the event of their settlement in the country.[8]

Although the Spanish American War did not result in a challenge to the Hutterites' commitment to pacifism, the First World War pushed them into a dramatic standoff with the American government. Despite the Hutterites elders' desperate efforts, young Hutterite men remained eligible for conscription. Declining to compromise and allow their young men to perform the alternative national service offered by the federal government to members of peace churches, the Hutterite elders instructed their draftees not to resist the recruiters by force, but to refuse to obey orders or to put on a military uniform.[9] Tragedy was soon to follow. In May 1918 four young Hutterite men, Joseph, Michael, and David Hofer, and Jacob Wipf were imprisoned at Alcatraz Island where they were subjected to horrific abuse at the hands of military police. In November the four were transferred to a separate military prison in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where Joseph and Michael died from abuse and exposure.[10] Their struggles with the draft board and burgeoning American anti-German sentiment had already led the Hutterite elders to begin to re-explore migrating to Canada. When word of the events at the military prison reached the Hutterite communities, their decision to migrate was guaranteed.

The Hutterites' entry into Canada, however, would be complicated by contemporaneous developments in Canadian immigration politics, a site of shifting understandings of nationality and citizenship. While the brethren quickly managed to purchase land in Canada and resettle their communities, they soon faced political backlash from Canadian nativist groups.[11] In the years of and immediately following the first border crossings, the Hutterites would be thrust into the center of a national debate over the role of immigrants in Canadian society, with policy and enforcement changes threatening the settled Hutterites with deportation and preventing their family members from joining them. The Hutterite community had to

[6] Bradley Armishaw, "The Hutterites' Story of War Time Migration from South Dakota to Manitoba and Alberta," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 28 (2012): 228.
[7] Armishaw, "The Hutterites," 229.
[8] Conkin, *Two Paths to Utopia*, 52.
[9] Hostetler, *Hutterite Society,* 127.
[10] Armishaw, "The Hutterites," 233.
[11] Ibid., 226.

grapple with alien, modern notions of the nation-state and a lack of understanding for their own particular identity and form of social organization. While they were ultimately able to settle and found communities in Alberta and Manitoba, the Hutterites' trying negotiations with the Canadian state immigration system offers a useful lens for examining a developing international regime of immigration control in the early twentieth century.

The History of Migration Control

In 1999, prominent migration historian Aristide Zolberg wrote that "it is remarkable that the role of states in shaping international migration has been largely ignored by immigration theorists."[12] In the twenty years since, significant work has been done on the history of migration controls—but it could well be argued that this historiography is still not fully connected to other work of migration theory.

Selective, individualized immigration control is now an international norm. That is, each state claims an inherent right to determine who is permitted to enter or remain within its borders. The state asserts this right through a complex legal regime and exercises it through an extensive immigration bureaucracy, which checks the identity and evaluates the desirability of each individual would-be migrant. It is taken for granted that an individual who wants to travel legitimately must carry a passport, a document which Adam McKeown described as "a tangible link between the two main sources of modern identity: the individual and the state."[13] Historians of border controls reveal that normalization of these practices is a relatively recent phenomenon. There is broad agreement that they developed in the period between the 1880s—which saw the introduction of laws against Chinese immigration in the United States and Australia—and the interwar period —which saw the general end of laissez-faire migration and the establishment of the passport as a normative, internationally recognized document.

The Hutterites crossed the border between the United States and Canada during the period in which this system was being codified in North America. These new immigration controls were part of what made this modern journey different from their earlier journeys. As an exceptional group, they provide an interesting window into the period. For Canada—a country still in the process of developing comprehensive migration legislation—the entry of the Hutterites was controversial, resulting in the passage of laws to explicitly exclude them. The debate over these laws shows the development of the norm of selective immigration and the

[12] Aristide R. Zolberg, "Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy," in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, ed. Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999).
[13] Mckeown, *Melancholy Order*, 1.

shifting and contextual question of which migrants governments consider desirable and which dangerous.

In this article, we draw in particular on Adam McKeown's book *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders*. McKeown looks at the processes in the 1880s to the 1910s through which white settler nations—the United States, Canada, and Australia—mutually excluded Asians. He argues that this period is the origin of most of the basic principles of modern border control on two fronts. In terms of ideology, it saw a shift away from principles of free movement to an assumed right of a nation to control entry at its border. The enforcement of anti-Asian laws also led to the systematization of the bureaucratic technologies of identification and record-keeping which are fundamental to modern border control and, indeed, the modern state. The right of a country to exclude Chinese immigrants—which was justified with more or less explicit racism—laid the groundwork for laws to exclude other immigrants deemed to be unsuitable for the national good. McKeown argues that by the 1920s national borders had become the main obstacles to mobility, becoming more important than other factors such as distance and cost.[14] The diffusion of migration laws across the world in this time, he writes, "established individuals as the fundamental object and product of global regulation," and established "global standards of physical and mental fitness, race, and family."[15] The Canadian debate about whether or not the Hutterites were suitable migrants is a window into the development of these in a particular time and place. In this way, it adds to the research that looks at other elements in the development of these standards.

McKeown's focus is on the origin of immigration control in racial exclusion—and indeed, the racist underpinnings of migration legislation cannot be ignored. Other historians and legal theorists explore the interaction between migration control and other forms of social classification. Catherine Lee and Kitty Calavita examine the particular effect of early anti-Chinese legislation on Chinese women, and the way in which immigration laws interacted with norms around family structure and women's appearance.[16] Martha Gardner investigates how similar processes were applied to European women migrating to the United States.[17] Eithne Luibhéid's *Entry Denied* takes as its subject the relationship between border control and sexuality. She argues that measures aimed at the exclusion of Chinese women "laid the groundwork for the subsequent delineation and surveillance of

[14] McKeown, *Melancholy Order*, 90.
[15] Ibid., 322.
[16] Kitty Calavita, "Collisions at the Intersection of Gender, Race, and Class: Enforcing the Chinese Exclusion Laws," *Law & Society Review* 40, no. 2 (2006): 249–82, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5893.2006.00264.x; Catherine Lee, "'Where the Danger Lies': Race, Gender, and Chinese and Japanese Exclusion in the United States, 1870–1924," *Sociological Forum* 25, no. 2 (2010): 248–71, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1573-7861.2010.01175.x.
[17] Martha Gardner, *The Qualities of a Citizen: Women, Immigration, and Citizenship, 1870–1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 10.

a whole host of other 'dangerous' sexual figures."[18] Other scholars consider immigration controls based on health—the health and ability of individual migrants, and the metaphoric 'health' of the receiving nation. Ena Chadha looks at the development in Canada of immigration law relating to people with disabilities. She traces how in the early twentieth century mental illness or disability transformed from a family issue to a social one. Increased concern about the quality of migrants and eugenicist ideas about 'mental fitness,' led by 1919 to strict rules barring the entry of migrants deemed 'mentally ill' or 'mentally retarded.'[19]

All of these factors came together into comprehensive immigration codes that sought to exclude various types of people who were seen as racially, morally, or physically unfit, including: those who were deemed racially incapable of assimilating; paupers, who might become a drain on public resources; the sexually immoral; people with contagious illnesses; people with physical or mental disabilities; anarchists and other politically dangerous individuals; and citizens of war-time enemy nations.[20] Counterpoised to these undesirable migrants was the figure of the desirable migrant. The desirable migrant had the capacity to become a citizen—that is, to contribute to the health and the strength of the nation. The development of this ideal migrant was part of the development of modern border controls and the justification of exclusion.

As outlined above, scholars have examined how the categories of 'desirable' and 'undesirable' migrants were developed, with particular work on exclusion on the basis of race, gender, sexuality, and health. There is, however, a gap in research on how this was applied to a religious minority like the Hutterites. Examining the Canadian debates about whether or not the Hutterites were desirable or undesirable migrants can contribute to understanding the development of these categories at the time. It also serves to bring the history of the Hutterites' migration from its niche in Mennonite community history into migration history more broadly.

The Canadian Debates

The debates of the Canadian House of Commons illustrate the change in admission criteria for migrants implemented by the governments of modern nation-states around the turn of the century. There, on April 29th and 30th, 1919, the House of Commons discussed the Hutterites' migration into Canada and whether or not further migration should be prevented by the Canadian government. Also

[18] Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), xiv.

[19] Ena Chadha, "'Mentally Defectives' Not Welcome: Mental Disability in Canadian Immigration Law, 1859–1927." *Disability Studies Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (2008).

[20] Armishaw notes that two individual Hutterites were excluded from Canada under these rules, even when the rest of their colonies were able to migrate. Bradley Armishaw, "The Hutterites' Story of War Time Migration from South Dakota to Manitoba and Alberta," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 28 (2012): 225–246.

addressed in the debate are more general questions of admission criteria. The Canadian government's position on desirable and undesirable migrants becomes clear in the statements by the MPs of the ruling conservative Unionist Party, led by ruling Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden, and those of the Liberal opposition. Their debate offers a connection to the aforementioned historiography.

Almost all speakers declared in different terms that it was the right and the duty of the government to exclude unwanted migrants from Canada. In this they followed the sitting Unionist Minister of Immigration and Colonization, James Alexander Calder, who stated:

> We should know best what classes of people we need in this country and what classes we can best assimilate. […] For this is a domestic question affecting Canada, and we, and we alone, should determine the class of people that we are going to ask to become citizens of this country.[21]

This sentiment reflects the decisive shift in modern migration control away from a general right of free movement towards the sort of modern selection process identified by McKeown as the most important underlying ideological argument behind the modern nation-states' migration regime. The need to translate this ideological goal into reality by creating and supporting a modernized migration control apparatus was voiced by several fellow Unionist MPs during the debate. For example, the conservative Howard P. Whidden from Manitoba called for the "more practical and scientific regulation of immigration, and a realization of the necessity of a national policy […] of immigration."[22] Before, Minister Calder had declared in similar terms that to execute these regulations more than additional resources would be needed. Calder said:

> We must provide the necessary machinery and the necessary experts, and we must have a sufficient number of inspectors and other officers to see that the doors are properly closed against the prohibited classes.[23]

The invoking of 'scientific' criteria and a migration 'machinery' are *signa* of an age deeply pervaded with the language of scientific progress. The use of this vocabulary to describe a change in migration policy and thus to present it as particularly modern should not come as a surprise. Furthermore, it is an important indication of the change in migration policy that occurred and was still occurring at that time. Obviously, the MPs were unambiguously aware of the fact that they

[21] Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, April 29, 1919, MP James Alexander Calder, 1871, http://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC1302_02/845?r=0&s=1.
[22] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Howard P. Whidden, 1913.
[23] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Calder, 1923.

were in the process of creating a new, formerly unknown system of migration and its control.

McKeown identifies "global standards of physical and mental fitness, race and family" as another important *signum* of the modern border regime. These debates show that in the Canadian case, new, individualized categories for these global standards were developed. Two groups were explicitly mentioned by Calder as definitely undesirable immigrants to Canada:

> [O]ur existing law and this Bill provide for the exclusion of certain prohibited classes, which include persons suffering from some loathsome disease, or who are otherwise unhealthy, and those of weak mentality, or of bad character, and criminals and others of that kind.[24]

Here the aforementioned legislation of that same year, identified by Chadha as eugenic and aimed at excluding *mentally unfit* migrants, is communicated straightforwardly. Furthermore, both criteria, health and criminality, also reflect a categorization of migrants according to their individual characteristics and do not categorize them with their whole group. While some consensus existed that these individuals should be excluded, Liberal MP Rodolphe Lemieux of Quebec argued that to do so upon arrival was inhumane. Questioning Minister Calder about the practicalities of these individuals' exclusion, Lemieux recounted an instance of the separation of an immigrant family of several members in his native Quebec, a scene at which he was personally present and could only describe as "heart-breaking."[25]

This particular rationale for exclusion could also extend beyond individual migrants to entire nationalities or races. Unionist MP Hume Blake Cronyn from Ontario read from a 1916 report by the Commissioner General of Immigration of the United States in which it was argued that these mental illnesses and deficiencies of character were heritable, to wit "with steady increase in the strain…so that the importance of rejecting and expelling this class of immigrant…can hardly be overstated."[26] Quoting the same report, Cronyn cited figures that show the share of the population of mentally ill in the USA was rapidly rising, implying that this was at least in part due to massive immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe.

Liberal MP Samuel William Jacobs of Quebec responded to a number of points raised by Cronyn, contesting his claims that these immigrants were a significant source of social problems. In a rebuttal to Cronyn's remarks about immigrants and mental illness, Jacobs stated that from what he knew, the number of individuals in insane asylums was far greater in Great Britain and other emigrant nations.

[24] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Calder, 1923.
[25] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Rodolphe Lemieux, 1923.
[26] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Hume Blake Cronyn, 1879.

Here Jacobs' response takes an interesting turn: implicitly linking mental illness and criminality, as Cronyn himself had done, he noted that Canada's jails also detain far fewer individuals percentage-wise than those of emigrant nations. He continues: "speaking for my own particular race, I can point with pride to the Montreal jail, where you will find not a single person of the Jewish race at present incarcerated."[27]

Cronyn's concerns regarding hereditary, unrecognized and yet "latent" mental illness, and Jacobs' response, which more explicitly addresses what he regards as the underlying notions of racial preference, show that the criteria of mental fitness, while assessed on an individual basis, were nevertheless grounds for suspicion about entire groups among the more radical exclusionist camp. Furthermore, it illustrates the process of mediation and negotiation in which these new individualized migration criteria developed.

The overarching principle present in virtually all speeches in the debate, equally announced by the ruling and the opposition party, was that only those migrants willing and able to be assimilated and to become *true* Canadians should be admitted. The principle was put forward first by Minister Calder, who, whilst again reiterating the now commonly shared axiom that Canada alone should decide who is allowed to enter the country, asserted:

> If there are any peculiar peoples the world round whose customs and beliefs, whose ideals and modes of life are dissimilar to ours and who are not likely to become Canadian citizens, we have the right to put up the bars and keep them out.[28]

Or in other words, as stated by Unionist MP William A. Buchanan of Alberta:

> I look upon a desirable citizen as one who comes into this country prepared to associate with the rest of the people and to assume all the obligations of citizenship. If immigrants fail to do that, then I do not look upon them as desirable citizens, and we should refrain from allowing such classes of people to enter the Dominion of Canada.[29]

Projected onto the Hutterites' case, a wide spectrum of reasons was put forward for regarding the Hutterites as unassimilable. These numerous different reasonings touched upon several key categories of modern migration criteria, illustrating that the process of selecting and testing migrants for their ability to function as a member of the society was in full progress. In his speech MP Thomas Tweedie of Alberta stressed that the main reason the Hutterites could not be assimilated as Canadian citizens and should therefore be denied entry into Canada was their

[27] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Samuel William Jacobs, 1881.
[28] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Calder, 1875.
[29] *House of Commons Debates*, MP William A. Buchanan, 1914.

peculiar way of communal living and possession. He boldly declared that such principles were not tolerable in Canada: "If there is anything upon which we pride ourselves in this country it is our individual liberty, our individual freedom, and the right to enjoy and to hold property." He then contrasted these ideals with the Hutterites' way of communal living:

> These Mennonites and Hutterites who are now coming into this country as individuals have no power to enjoy any such rights; the property which they acquire as the result of their industry and of their labour becomes the property of their association or organization. […] These people all live together. They live under conditions which are not suitable to our people, and which would not be tolerated by Canadian Citizens.

And finally, summing it all up in strong language:

> [T]he future policy of the Government should be to exclude from Canada all classes of people who have communistic ideas. Communism as practiced by people of certain European countries is incompatible with the economic and industrial life of Canada.[30]

Here the commingling of pseudo-scientific criteria and political rejection is presented quite openly. Often this repudiation of the Hutterites' way of communal living was combined with a critique of their supposed tendency to separate themselves from society. This was strongly articulated by Buchanan:

> [T]hey want to maintain their own schools, have their own teachers, and perpetuate their own language. I object to that because I think that the only way we can develop good citizens in this country is for the newcomers to acquire a knowledge of the English language in order that they may mingle with the other elements of the population and become good British subjects.

And at another point:

> [T]hese people were prepared to admit that under certain circumstances their own laws were above the laws of the State, and that they would refuse to obey the laws of the State if they came into conflict with their own laws. I do not think we should admit people of this type into Canada.[31]

[30] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Buchanan, 1941–1942.
[31] *House of Commons Debate*, MP Buchanan, 1913.

It is unclear how much information was actually available to MPs on the Hutterites, Mennonites, and Doukhobours' actual practices; at several points in the debates MPs seem to confuse the various groups, or else entirely conflate them. Early on in the debate, Liberal MP William Daum Euler of Ontario attempted to draw a clear distinction between the Mennonites of Ontario and the Mennonite groups of Western Canada, presenting the Mennonites in his constituency as upstanding and productive Canadian citizens. Euler noted that while the Mennonites of Ontario have retained their language, Pennsylvania Dutch, which they speak among themselves, they have otherwise assimilated into the community. He claimed to have no knowledge of the newer groups out west, but said that:

> I should like it to be understood that if the Mennonites in Western Canada object to sending their children to the public schools, there is a distinction between them and those living in Western Ontario.[32]

Minister Calder seemed to concur that members of these religious groups had potential as valuable Canadian citizens, but that their refusal to publicly educate their children was a deal-breaker:

> I am well acquainted with many of our Mennonite settlements in Western Canada and the people, and those who have broken away from the old ideas are law-abiding moral living people; they have no bad habits; they are great producers; they are making great progress from many standpoints, and they make very desirable citizens. But so long as a large section of these people hold out from coming under the education laws of the Western provinces, an agitation will prevail to exclude them from entering Canada.[33]

Here the groundwork was implicitly laid for a deal with Hutterite migrants—if acceptance of the public schooling system was what primarily stood in the way of their being welcomed as desirable citizens, a concession here seemed to go a long way towards peaceful cohabitation.

One of the strongest arguments presented against the Hutterites' ability to assimilate into Canadian society was their strict pacifism and its practical ramifications. Several MPs, among them Unionists Daniel Redman of Alberta and George Andrews of Manitoba, who both personally fought as soldiers during the First World War, argued resolutely against the Hutterites' admission. "[W]e must bring into this country men who at the drop of the hat will spring to arms in its defence,"[34] declared Andrews. John Edwards added aggressively:

[32] *House of Commons Debates*, MP William Daum Euler, 2571.
[33] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Calder, 2570.
[34] *House of Commons Debates.* MP Daniel Andrews, 1922.

> [W]e do not want them to come to Canada and enjoy the privileges and advantages of life under the British flag if they are willing to allow others to do the fighting for them while they sit at home in peace and plenty. We certainly do not want that kind of cattle in this country.[35]

Some speakers also made it abundantly clear that they saw the possible admission of the Hutterites into Canada as an insult to Canadian soldiers and that the soldiers demanded actions against the Hutterites. Andrews, for example, declared: "Our returning soldiers have had the fact driven into them by six-inch shells that citizenship is a question of vital importance, which must be settled."[36] This argument often mixed with a clear anti-German sentiment. Thus, Buchanan for example asserted:

> Of course the agitation is strongest with the returned men, and I fully appreciate their point of view. They went across the seas and risked their lives, and they dislike very much to see other men who were not prepared to risk their lives or their money for the freedom and liberty they possessed come and buy land and settle in this country and enjoy all the privileges and protection of Canadian citizenship, and especially as these people are nearly all of German origin and want to perpetuate the German language in Canada.[37]

And later:

> I do not think that any one should advocate the giving of the privileges of Canadian citizenship to interned alien enemies belonging to countries that we have been fighting and with which we are still technically at war.[38]

The major obstacles of the Hutterites' inability to become Canadian citizens were not only their pacifist beliefs, but also their German heritage. Tweedie asserted:

> I do not believe that this Government, or any government on Canada, would be justified in allowing these people to conduct their commercial, social, religious, or educational life in the German language, or any medium which savours of that tongue. […] It is very difficult for me to believe […] when a man uses as a means

[35] *House of Commons Debates*, MP John Edwards, 1929. For using the word cattle in describing conscientious objectors Edwards was called to order by the chairman after a short but fierce confrontation with the pacifist Liberal MP Isaac Ellis Pedlow from Renfrew South.
[36] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Andrews, 1921.
[37] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Buchanan, 1914.
[38] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Buchanan, 1915.

> of intercourse the German language, that he is not so closely allied with the German race and the German people that his sympathies are German.[39]

MP Jacobs presents the Liberal party's objections to this point as well, arguing that ethnic heritage was no particular obstacle to assimilation. He calls the house's attention to the case of the Galician immigrants in Western Canada. Despite hailing from an enemy nation, Austria, and having little education and a primitive way of living, the Galicians raised children who 'made good' in Canada.

> We may not be very successful with the parents, but through our public schools we can reach the children, and the second generation will develop into citizens as good as many of those who belong to the so-called better class.[40]

Neither party contested the basic principle, however, that a migrant unable or unwilling to assimilate into Canadian society should be rejected by the government.

It was also a common assumption that migrants to Canada should enrich the Canadian economy and bring with them the means to become economic producers. Calder stated: "Our free lands are largely gone. In the future, if we are to have people go on the land—I am speaking largely of Western Canada—it is very necessary that they should have some capital."[41] The ability to properly work these fertile lands was another oft demanded quality of migrants. Here even the strongly anti-Hutterite MPs of the Unionist Party had to acknowledge that the Hutterites had good qualities. Calder declared: "There is also room in this country for farm labour, both male and female. I think we should endeavor to get as large a number of that class, properly selected, as we can."[42] To this, MPs Robert F. Green of British Columbia—"no one who knows those people can deny that they are sober, industrious and hard working,"[43] and Tweedie—"they are good farmers, they can herd cattle, and their efforts will tend to the agricultural development of this great country"[44]—concurred.

However, this appreciation for the Hutterites' agricultural abilities was almost always accompanied by the caveat that this alone was not enough and that a will to assimilate was also necessary. For instance, MP Whidden stated:

[39] *House of Commons Debates,* MP Tweedie, 1940.
[40] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Jacobs, 1882.
[41] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Calder, 1873.
[42] Ibid.
[43] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Robert F. Green, 1914.
[44] *House of Commons Debates,* MP Tweedie, 1941.

> These people may bring money with them and may buy some of our best lands, but if they are allowed to come with their peculiar and, to us, false views we may be able to tolerate them, but it would be only toleration.[45]

And Buchanan added:

> It is true we want countless peoples to come to the prairies to cultivate the soil and produce wealth, but at the same time, we want more than that; we want people who will make good Canadian citizens, and the qualification of production of crops, production of wealth, is not sufficient in itself.[46]

Conclusion

The 1919 immigration debates in the Canadian House of Commons concerned how best to implement what was unanimously considered to be Canada's national prerogative: to control immigration according to the national interest. The particular criteria for admission or rejection were contested, with MPs from the leading Unionist party favoring a greater number of restricted categories of migrant and MPs from the minority Liberal party opposing a few of these restrictions. Nevertheless, a general consensus prevailed that Canada had the right to refuse entry to those migrants who demonstrated undesirable qualities and would thereby weaken the Canadian nation. Debate over whether specific criteria for exclusion should be drafted to prevent further Hutterite migration largely concerned whether or not the Hutterites could truly become Canadian citizens.

The arguments for exclusion that enjoyed the broadest bipartisan support in the House were those that concerned the Hutterites' willingness to fulfill certain participatory duties that would connect them to Canada as citizens: military service and public education. MPs disagreed over whether the Hutterites' particular religious beliefs, 'German' ethnicity, or commitment to communal living were appropriate grounds for exclusion. The final language of the act that directly regards the Hutterites appears as an expansion on a provision of Canada's Immigration Act of 1906, which already allowed for the exclusion of any specified class of migrants at the Immigration Department's discretion. The new law would:

> prohibit or limit in number...immigrants belonging to any nationality or race or immigrants of any specified class or occupation, by reason of any economic industrial or other condition temporarily existing in Canada or because such immigrants are deemed unsuitable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational,

[45] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Whidden, 1923.
[46] *House of Commons Debates*, MP Buchanan, 1913.

> labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada or because such immigrants are deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of life and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry.[47]

The Hutterites 'peculiar customs,' particularly their commitment to communal living, were thus ultimately deemed likely to prevent their assimilation or assumption of the duties of citizenship.

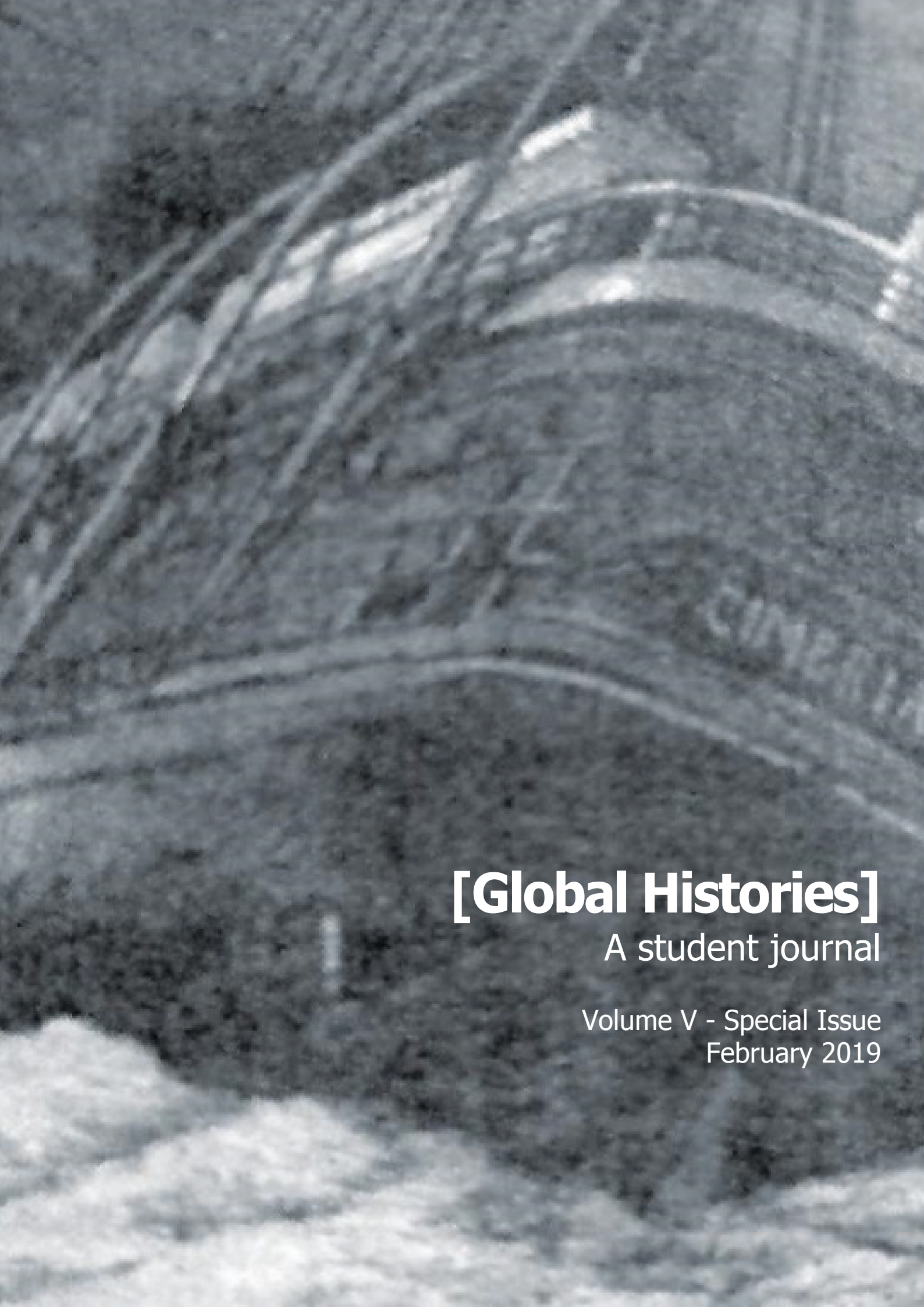
Within the larger history of migration and the state, the Hutterites' particular case demonstrates some of the ambiguities of the new regime of migration control in Canada. Migrants were evaluated as individuals; insofar as they were considered to be Canadian citizens in the raw, the secondariness of any previous group membership was virtually taken for granted. However, some of these categories—primarily nationality and race—did not simply disappear, but were increasingly understood as immutable individual qualities which conferred certain characteristics, rather than as anything the individuals could willingly relinquish or renounce.

The nature of the Hutterites' group membership put them in a peculiar middle ground. Less than an ethnicity and more than a set of political or religious beliefs, the Hutterites could only be referred to by the Canadian government as a 'specified class' with unusual customs and practices. They were not considered racially unfit and thus inherently unassimilable, nor were they considered fundamentally disloyal. Because their practices themselves were the reason for exclusion, even to the extent that they were the only way to define the group itself, it seems that the MPs considered the Hutterites essentially unwilling to abandon these practices and become Canadians. Yet this refusal, this unwillingness, is treated as a quality shared by all members of the group, as if it were impossible for the individual Hutterite migrants to give up these practices on their own. As the Hutterites' communal resilience and high rates of retention attest, this was not a totally inaccurate conclusion. And yet, strangely enough, in taking this group membership to be ironclad, the legislation addresses the Hutterites on their own terms, continuing to treat them as a community and not as a collection of individuals.

All of the qualities that made the Hutterites desirable as individual migrants—industriousness, agricultural skills, ample capital, religiosity—were inextricable from their commitment to communal living, which in turn made it impossible for the Canadian government to treat them as individual migrants. The debates over the Hutterite migration to Canada illustrate how the creation of the modern regime of migration control based on the scientific assessment of individuals was in part

[47] An Act to Amend the Immigration Act, Statutes of Canada 1919, https://www.pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/immigration-act-amendment-1919.

at least the result of ad hoc responses to particular exigencies, even as these responses sometimes contradicted the principles of the new system itself.



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