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**‘One Man’s Gain Is Another Man’s Loss’?  
Interim Report on the Consequences of Emigration for Those Staying at  
Home in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century**

**Abstract**

Research on historical migration has so far focused on the impact of immigration on recipient areas. Although several researchers have already pointed out this bias, no studies have been conducted on the impact of emigration from the early German Empire on the affected areas. In this study, the southern German territories affected by emigration to Hungary in the 18th century are examined. Through some examples, the paper seeks to assess potential source groups and provide a preliminary picture of impacts. In conclusion, further research needs to be carried out through intensive resource exploration, covering individuals, smaller communities along with distinct provinces and regions.

**1. Introduction**

In migration research, under the dichotomous conceptual pair of ‘loss’ and ‘gain’, the question about the consequences of migration movements is raised in a variety of manners: for, it is possible to ask about the effects of migration both at the societal and the personal level, i. e. both from the point of view of emigration- and immigration societies and from that of the migrants and of those staying at home. If it was about the consequences of emigration as a permanent shift of the centre of one’s life to a foreign country, as yet the focus of early modern migration research has almost exclusively been on the causes but not on the consequences of emigration for the region where emigration happened. As early as in their compilation of 2006, Andreas Gestrich and Marita Krauss pointed out to this one-sidedness, while at the same time suggesting to research this neglected part of the history of migration: on the one hand under the aspect of the farewell ritual, on the other hand concerning the effects of emigration on the emigration society in general and on those family members and communities who were staying behind in particular.<sup>1</sup>

However, studies published since then have hardly discussed the topic, and if yes, then only if it was easy to refer to meaningful sources from the archives.<sup>2</sup> But which sources could be referred to concerning the here discussed 18<sup>th</sup> century emigration from the West and South German emigration regions to the Habsburg Southeast? And how did this numerically considerable migration affect the emigration region? To answer these questions, at first the conceptual pair of ‘loss’ and ‘gain’ shall be introduced as a backdrop for the study. By a second step, farewell is determined as a turning point, to be able to judge on the dynamic of loss and gain in the time after emigration.

**2. The contemporary view at loss and gain**

The ‘Oeconomische Encyclopädie’ by Johann Georg Krünitz, one of the most important sources on the early-modern economic history in the German-speaking countries, describes loss as a

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<sup>1</sup> Gestrich, A. – Krauss, M. (2006): 9–28; See also Krauss, M. (2008): 79–91.

<sup>2</sup> Which was the case e. g. with those Italian craftsmen, tradesmen and merchants who developed a transnational way of life between their Italian region of emigration and their German region of immigration. On this see Reves, Ch. (2012)

state of being bereaved e. g. of 'one's wealth, life, senses, reason or office' („seines Vermögens, des Lebens, seiner Sinne, des Verstandes oder seines Amtes“).<sup>3</sup> Gain, on the other hand, is an action, for making gain is possible by way of working and attempting, although not exclusively.<sup>4</sup> As the encyclopaedia emphasizes, loss and gain are dynamically related to each other, as one man's gain is always another man's loss. However, gain and loss cannot always be clearly identified: accordingly, in trade it is indispensable to make an inventory and to check the account balances, to be able to exactly calculate the difference between an account's debit and credit. The authors of the 'Universallexikon' (Universal Encyclopaedia), edited by Johann Heinrich Zedler, pursue quite a different approach. There, loss means any kind of harm,<sup>5</sup> whereas gain is interpreted first of all in the theological sense, to give heavenly gain priority over earthly gain.<sup>6</sup> By their deliberations, the authors of the two encyclopaedia entries concerning the matter point out to economic and religious points of view which, just the same, play a role with the process of migration. For, although in the century of Enlightenment doubtlessly economically motivated migration was predominant, still migration caused by religious constraints was an element of the people's everyday lives, for which e. g. the fate of those 20,000 emigrants from Salzburg is clear evidence who had been evicted from their homes because of their Lutheran faith.<sup>7</sup>

The definitions from the 18th century demonstrate that one assumed a balanced dynamic of the dichotomous conceptual pair and that profit and loss accounts were considered a fixed element of life which, however, could not be reduced to economic calculations.

### 3. Farewell

Like all transitions in the human life cycle, also emigration happened according to a fixed order.<sup>8</sup> In the case of emigration, the fixed succession of action steps did not only include the usually long process from the decision to migrate via being discharged from the association of persons as far as to selling one's goods and chattels and even farewell as a ritual and ceremonial act. However, other than in the case of the Salzburg emigrants, whose emigration was richly illustrated by contemporary texts and images, the farewell of economically motivated migrants was most of all not reflected on. Not even in their letters and other personal testimonials did these emigrants describe their partings, although they left their families and communities forever. That emigration was considered a radical turning point in the lives both of the emigrants and of those staying at home and that the parting was thus ceremonially staged is proven by entries in Church registers. The emigrant was given a ceremonious farewell from his/her parish in the context of a service. In 1737, after 66 people had gone to the East, Josef Frei, the Catholic parish priest of Untermettingen in the Fürstenbergian Landgraviate of Stühlingen, entered into his Church book: 'Civili morte obierunt et abierunt.' He added the blessing with which he certainly had released his parishioners at the end of their last service together: 'Archangel Raphael may accompany them and may take them to the Land of Milk and Honey.'<sup>9</sup> Frei's entry into the Church book, saying that now the emigrants were dead for their native place, gives an impression of the way of thinking of those staying at home. Like their dead, they included the emigrant into their prayers, like also Magnus Braun in Herbertingen in the County of

<sup>3</sup> Krünitz, J. G. et al. (1753–1858): [www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/xxx/v/kv04161.htm](http://www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/xxx/v/kv04161.htm) (last access 01.11.2021).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.: [www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/xxx/g/kg02134.htm](http://www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/xxx/g/kg02134.htm) (last access 01.11.2021).

<sup>5</sup> Zedler, J. H. (1732–1754): <https://www.zedler-lexikon.de/index.html?c=blaettern&id=426110&bandnummer=47&seitenzahl=0625&supplement=0&dateifformat=1%27> (last access 01.11.2021)

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> On this see Haver, Ch. E. (2011)

<sup>8</sup> Durkheim, É. (1972): 219–224; Belliger, A. – Krieger, D. J. (Eds.), (2013)

<sup>9</sup> „Quos angelus Raphael comitetur et introducat in locum lacte et melle fluentem“. Quotations after Ebner, J. (1932): 71f.

Friedberg-Scheer included his brother Lorenz Braun who had emigrated to Frauenbach in Hungary. 'Let us pray for each other', he wrote, 'that in Heaven, our general fatherland, we may come together' („Wir wollen für einander betten [...] daß wir in dem Him[m]el, unserm allgemeinen Vaterland, zusammen kommen“).<sup>10</sup>

If after emigration there were still some reports on arrival and situation in the region of immigration, after a short time contact to the place from which the emigration had started broke, be it because of everyday concerns or of the often lacking writing skills of the emigrants. Family members, friends and acquaintances were no longer present, they did write no longer, and so their memories started fading.<sup>11</sup> Bibiana Weberin addressed this in her letter of January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1786. After her husband's death she was living with her daughter in Temesvar. When she was told that her stepdaughter's grandfather had died in Plochingen in Württemberg, she tried to save the granddaughter's portion of the inheritance, giving the reason that 'after my death [the daughter] would not know how to insinuate herself, being a person who would be completely unknown at her father's native place.' („nach meinem Tod als eine in der Heimat ihres Vatters gänzlich unbekannte Persohn sich nicht zu insinui[e]ren wüsste.“)<sup>12</sup>

Emigration did not necessarily mean the end of all relationships, but the following cases allow for stating that parting resulted in an emotional separation between emigrants and those staying at home which paved the way for material interests.

#### 4. 'One man's gain is another man's loss'?

The analysed migrations from the West and South German emigration regions to the Hungarian immigration regions, which were very intensive throughout the entire 18<sup>th</sup> century, were most of all based on the rural classes. For a short time peasants, day labourers, servants as well as rural craftsmen, although not seldom they found writing difficult, had a lively correspondence with family members and relatives at home if it was about being paid their fortunes still existing at their native places or about hereditary titles there.<sup>13</sup> Included into the correspondence were also the local and mid-ranking authorities and even the highest governmental authorities both of the emigration and the immigration regions.

The group of sources on the financial and inheritance matters of emigrants, consisting of letters, petitions, official certificates and diplomatic correspondence, provides insight into why the migrants were petitioning so persistently.<sup>14</sup> The avails from their real estate and their inheritances were supposed to help them through the difficult beginnings of settling or to be invested in the purchase of lands, draught and farm animals at their destinations: 'Now, as I intend to make use of what is mine for my true benefit, to make my house as good as possible, and to be able to care for myself and my family' („Da ich nun das Meinige zu meinem wahren Nutzen verwenden möchte, damit mein Hauswesen in die beste Lage kom[m]t, und vor mich und die Meinigen nützlich sorgen kann“),<sup>15</sup> this was the reason the widow of Johann Spieß, who had emigrated from the County of Falkenstein, gave to her claim to being paid her inheritance of 460 Guilders. That her efforts lasted several years was no exception at all. Frequently there were lengthy negotiations on purchase prices and inheritances between emigrants and those staying at home. Reasons were not only the various family circumstances

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<sup>10</sup> Stail, G. (1930): 136.

<sup>11</sup> On this see in detail Fata, M. (1999): 385–404.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted after Hefner, A. (2002): 135.

<sup>13</sup> Medick, H. – Sabeian, D. W. (Eds.) (1984)

<sup>14</sup> For files on financial and inheritance matters of migrants see, among others, Wolf, M. (2012): 91–195; Krauss, K-P. (2015)

<sup>15</sup> Landesarchiv Speyer C 14, Grafschaft Falkenstein, Bürgerrecht und Auswanderung, Nr. 372, File 52; printed in Krauss, K-P. (2015): 147.

and circumstances of emigration<sup>16</sup> but also the modalities of the transfer of wealth to a foreign country. And because generally any transfer of money to a foreign country was considered a loss, such transfers were strictly observed and regulated.<sup>17</sup> If governments could not or did not want to prevent emigration, at least they tried to make a certain percentage for the government coffers by imposing taxes on exported wealth.<sup>18</sup>

In times of economic or starvation crises, such as in 1690/91, in 1712 or between 1770 and 1772, when quite a few people incurred debts which by far exceeded their properties and thus wanted to emigrate, houses, fields and other real estate were sold just to pay the debts. However, as there is evidence from preserved lists of emigrants and immigrants,<sup>19</sup> quite a few among the emigrants belonged to the more or less wealthy classes, even more so as from time to time a minimum wealth was demanded in the country of immigration.<sup>20</sup> If the emigrants could not or were not allowed to sell their real estate before their emigration, their lands were either let out on lease or sold or auctioned at a later time. Not seldom the purchasing price was only partly paid in cash, whereas the remainder was paid by instalments until a fixed date, with interest. Even in case of inheritances, frequently the proceeds from real estate were lent with interest to subjects in the region of emigration. Rents and avails were administered by relatives or by those appointed by the authorities, until the emigrated person presented documents which provided evidence of his/her entitlement or until he/she gave up on citizenship and paid the taxes for being released and the administrative fees. The proceeding was the same in case of emigrated minors, whose inheritances were at first retained.<sup>21</sup>

It was not even a rarity that the relatives tried to keep inheritances for themselves or that it was not possible to cash in the instalments from the debtors. Under these circumstances, emigrants were even ready to not insist in the full payment of money they were entitled to. In 1764 Joseph Steib, who had emigrated from the small hamlet of Immendingen, owned by the Lords of Schreckenstein, inherited 37 Guilders from his father, which were supposed to be lent out and be paid back by instalments until 1793.<sup>22</sup> However, he found it most difficult to find out about this, for, as he said, his siblings did not tell him about 'how our matters are'. 'I think they [are] of the opinion that I am far away from them, that I will never come to them to claim anything' („wie es mit unsern Sachen steht“ [...] „Ich glaube, daß sie der Meinung [sind], ich seye weit von ihnen entfernt, ich werde nimmermehr zu ihnen kom[m]en etwas zu fordern“), he wrote. But he did not stop claiming the portion of the inheritance he was entitled to. However, because of the thirty-years period of payment for his portion he was of the opinion that 'perhaps neither me nor my children will live to see the time [of payment]' („vielleicht ich undt meine Kinder die Zeit [der Auszahlung] nicht erleben kön[n]en“). Thus, on advice by the administrator of the dominion of Immendingen, he made an attempt to achieve an agreement

<sup>16</sup> For example, if people were emigrating legally or illegally, if they paid their fees when still being at home or later.

<sup>17</sup> E. g. in the Duchy of Württemberg, as early as in 1709 Duke Eberhard Ludwig created the position of a 'Kommerzienrat (Councillor of Commerce)' to improve the 'Landes-Oeconomie (the county's economy)', 'so that the money may not be taken out of the country' („damit das Geld nicht ausser Landes geführet werden möge“). Reyscher, A. L. (Ed.) (1842) Vol. XIII, 870. One assumed the danger of an outflux of money and thus had a particular focus on balancing export and the export of money. On this see, among others, Graumann, J. Ph. (1762), in part. 73f.

<sup>18</sup> On the emigration procedure and taxation see, among others, Heinz, J (1989): in part. 66–93.

<sup>19</sup> On this see, among others, Wilhelm, F. – Kallbrunner, J. (1936); Pfrezinger, A. (1941).

<sup>20</sup> From time to time, immigrants to Hungary were demanded to own a minimum amount of money, usually 200 Guilders, to this way prevent the immigration of people owning no money. Fata, M. (2014): 222.

<sup>21</sup> 22 Examples of the handling of emigrants' portions of wealth and inheritances in Krauss, K-P. (2015); Hacker, W. (1970): 20f.

<sup>22</sup> Gemeindearchiv Immendingen, Rechtspolizei, Verwaltungssachen, A 234, Fasz. 1762–1768: Nachlassengelegenheit über das Vermögen des verstorbenen Joseph Steib zu Immendingen; printed in Krauss, P-K. (2015): 166–177.

with his sister who had stayed at the place from where he had emigrated. He offered her to reduce his claim by 15 Guilders of his portion if the sister was ready to buy his portion from him and to immediately pay 22 Guilders in cash. Over time, Steib even went as far as to being ready to give up one half of his portion for being paid in cash. Only then the sister agreed with the deal, which was now in her favour, however still in 1768 Steib was waiting for the agreed payment. In that year the correspondence, as far as it is preserved, came to an end, so that we do not know if or when he was finally paid the desired money.

Not only the emigrants did not cease claiming what was theirs. Also those staying at home had years-long correspondences with the authorities if they believed to have drawn the short straw. This was the opinion of some inhabitants of Großostheim in the Electorate of Mainz who approached the 'Vizedomamt (Cathedral Vice Office)' concerning the estate Jakob Ballmann<sup>23</sup> had sold when emigrating to Werschetz in the Banat.<sup>24</sup> Jakob Ballmann, an 'inhabitant and fellow neighbour', decided to emigrate in 1723, 'with the consent of his wife, also after having asked for advice and for their greatest benefit and to prevent other possible hardships' ('mit Verwilligung seiner ehelichen Hausfraue, auch mit zeitigen vorgehabten rath und umb ihres besten Nutzens und andere erwegnete Beschweren damit abzuwenden'). If this, somewhat vaguely formulated, reason to emigrate was also the reason why Ballmann had not offered his family members and relatives to buy his estate cannot be proven. Ballmann's son, brother in law and nephew, however, contested the selling and demanded to apply the so called 'Abtriebsrecht'<sup>25</sup> - meaning the driving out of a foreigner from illegally purchased land and the preemptive right of the locals. The relatives, who belonged to the better-off and renowned families of Großostheim and were frequently members of the local court, were familiar with regulations and stipulations.<sup>26</sup> They justified their claim by stating that the purchaser was not from the village and, being the Tithe Inspector's father-in-law, had purchased the 20 acres large estate without the sale having been publicly announced. Also, they said, the sales contract had been confirmed not 'by our ancient court seal' but by the Chief Bailiff of Bachau. Furthermore, they stated, the purchaser was neither a citizen nor a resident alien of the village, he did not pay any capitation tax and did not go on watch with the other inhabitants. The relatives, whom the emigrant had not offered the estate to buy while not even informing them about the purchasing price, demanded the annulment of the contract and the implementation of their preemptive right. However, after the investigation by the 'Vizedomamt' had produced the result that for 17 years the purchaser had been acting as the Tithe Inspector of Chapter Cathedral of Mainz and was thus considered a pious subject in the Electorate, the application of the 'Abtriebsrecht' was rejected. Furthermore, the investigation produced the result that the purchase had been correct. Thus, the relatives had to be satisfied with the decision that the contract was valid, although they were still of the opinion that this had been a 'Kunkelgeschäft (wheeling and dealing)'. They must have considered the selling of the estate to a non-local, who did not really stick to the village order, a curtailment of the village's resources of lands.

Other sources from the Electorate of Mainz provide evidence for the dynamic of gain and loss from the point of view of the parishes. Upon request of Emperor Charles VI., Elector Lothar Franz von Schönborn granted emigration to Hungary and the Banat only to subjects owning up to 100 Guilders. In 1724 there was another decree by the Elector, according to which the wealth and legacies of illegal emigrants were supposed to be confiscated. Up to 100 Guilders the

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<sup>23</sup> On this see Karch, H. (1977): 162.

<sup>24</sup> Staatsarchiv Würzburg (StAWü), Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 4545: Das von Valentin Wasser, Joh. Kausch und Konr. Ballmann beanspruchte Abtriebsrecht.

<sup>25</sup> Churfürstlich-Mayntzisches Landrecht für sämtl. Chur-Mayntzische Landen, Maintz (1755): 47-49.

<sup>26</sup> Jakob Ballmann was a member of the local court at about 1705, his son Konrad until 1769. Karch, H. (1977): 60.

confiscated money could be used for parish purposes.<sup>27</sup> Even before the decree was confirmed in 1724, the citizens of Dieburg demanded to be allowed to make use of 100 Guilders from the confiscated wealth of illegal migrant Johann Wöll. They needed the money urgently to repair their ‘poor ruined church’ (‘armen ruinosen Kirche’).<sup>28</sup> At Vilbel, the inhabitants demanded to be given the 80 Guilders of Nicolai Jacob, who had emigrated to Hungary but had returned after a short time, to build a church. Jacobi was unlucky because he and his daughter had sold their personal possessions before the emigration ban, on the other hand their house and their ‘few fields’ (‘wenige[n] Feldtgüthern’) after the decree. Accordingly, the 236 Guilders coming from the selling of the real estate were confiscated. When Jacobi came home seemingly on his own, given his old age he was given 100 Guilders *ex gratia*.<sup>29</sup>

In Schlierstatt, on the other hand, in 1727 the parish priest was allowed to make use of the patrimony of Jakob Heck, who had legally emigrated in 1724, for the church ‘ad pias causas’. This emigrant donated his patrimony, ‘in the awareness that said legatum was most urgently needed for this poor church [in Schlierstatt]’ (‘wohl wissend, das sothanes Legatum dieser armen Kirch [in Schlierstatt] höchst nöthig’), as the grateful priest wrote.<sup>30</sup> However, after the donation for the church was more than 100 Guilders, the priest requested to be allowed to spend the other ca. 50 Guilders on regaining the paraments which had been stolen from the small church of Seckach. Heck’s donation must be emphasized simply because it provides evidence that, apart from the predominant economic way of thinking, there was also a degree of solidarity between emigrants and those staying at home. Accordingly, although much more seldom, it happened that emigrants and those staying at home gave up on their inheritances in favour of others. In Heck’s case, however, we can also identify a religious motivation, which again was not unparalleled. Before leaving, emigrants made larger or smaller donations at their places of emigration, for their own salvation and not least to achieve God’s blessing for their enterprise.

The file of Paul Lips, a master smith from Thüngfeld, points out to another aspect of loss and gain.<sup>31</sup> In his petition to the government of the Bishopric of Würzburg in 1726 he asked for being helped with his attempts to have his wife sent back to her fatherland, who had run away to Hungary the year before. Two times the abandoned husband had already made his way to the Royal Free Town of Szeged, to convince his wife to come back, who was living there with a butcher called Bartholomäus Wagner. At the second attempt there happened a fierce argument between the husband and his rival. Wagner abused the abandoned husband and ‘declared him a disreputable man and a rascal [...] so that I would never be allowed to appear in my fatherland again’ (‘vor einen ehrlosen Mann und s. v. schölmen [...] und also ich mich nimmer mehr in meinem Vatterland dürfte sehen lassen’), Lips told in his petition. This insult, which he considered a violation of his honour – perhaps the people’s biggest social capital in the Early Modern Age<sup>32</sup> – he could not take, which is why he wanted to restore his honour as a husband by help of the government.

### 5. Emigration as an economic zero-sum game?

Until the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the cameralists in their texts, who were dominating both the administrations and economies of the German territorial states, assumed the ‘limited

<sup>27</sup> Karch, H. (1977): 100; Schmahl, H. (2001): 121–143.

<sup>28</sup> StAWü Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 23319: Memorialia der Bürgerschaft zu Dieburg, Letter of October 3rd, 1724.

<sup>29</sup> StAWü Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 23322: Mainzer Hofratsprotokoll wegen des Gesuches des Nik(o)las Jacob(us), Letters of January 24th, 1724, and of March 8th, 1724.

<sup>30</sup> StAWü Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 26617: Akten der Mainzer Regierung betreffend ein Vermächtnis, welches die Kirche Schlierstadt von einem nach Ungarn auswandernden Bewohner von Schlierstadt, Jakob Heck, erhalten hat.

<sup>31</sup> StAWü, Würzburger Archivalien 1054: Schreiben des Paul Lips, Schmiedemeister zu Thüngfeld.

<sup>32</sup> Bourdieu, P. (1983):183–198.

good'. They considered the amount of land and money to be limited, according to which any growth on the one hand had to come along with loss on the other.<sup>33</sup> According to their ideas, a gain in arable land, which they believed to be necessary given a constant growth of the population, was only possible under certain preconditions: if seigniorial lands or commons were parcelled as ploughland, if ways of inheriting were in line with the population growth, if fallow land (bogs, mountain slopes etc.) were made arable, if maladministering farmers were driven from their lands, or if peasants had emigrated. But these preconditions were regionally very different: even in West and South Germany the parcelling of seigniorial estates was no common practice, just like the early abandoning of commons. Fallow lands to extend productive land, on the other hand, were not always at hand to sufficient amounts, and inheritance practices such as partible or impartible inheritance were in the long run mostly not expedient; this way either the number of small heirs or of those without possessions at all was increased. Accordingly, family strategies counted among the expedient methods of preserving and increasing landholdings.<sup>34</sup> One important element of the family strategy was the real estate market. In the West and South German territories, even in the 16<sup>th</sup> century there gradually developed the trend of treating hereditary fiefs as actual property.<sup>35</sup> As a result of this development there established a peasant real estate market which could be regulated by opening or secluding the village community, such as by help of raising or lowering fees, by regulating the right to using the commons, or by practicing preemptive rights.<sup>36</sup>

In which ways could emigration affect the peasant real estate market? And how significant was it when it came to the balancing of swiftly growing population numbers and resources which were growing only slowly? As frequently depicted, governments in the 18<sup>th</sup> century considered emigration a means for overcoming social tensions.<sup>37</sup> In the spring of 1712, at the Commandry of Achberg of the Bailiwick of Swabia-Alsace-Burgundy of the Teutonic Order, 'some de-homed poor' („einige ausgehauste arme“) were released who wanted to emigrate to Hungary. On their leaving the Chief Bailiff noted that he was allowing them to 'leave all the more so' („umsoliber abgehen“) as they had worked their fields badly and had incurred large debts, as a result of which they were not able to make a living. But after their emigration, he wrote, he would be able to replace them 'by honest, decent and affluent people' („mit ehrlich, hauslich und bemittelten Leuten“).<sup>38</sup> But not always the release of impoverished people looked desirable. For example, decades-long emigration had taught the Fürstenbergian government to rather prevent people from emigrating, so as to not be forced to accept returning shipwrecked people as their subjects again. For 'frequently [emigrants] have returned as beggars and have thus become a burden for the country and the other subjects' („schon oft haben [...] Emigranten [...] als Bettler retourniert und [sind] damit dem Land und den übrigen Untertanen zur Last gefallen“).<sup>39</sup> When, in the 1760s, ever more day labourers and servants were seeing the opportunity to get their own plot of land and thus asked for being released, on April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1769, the Prince issued a general ban on emigration, giving the reason 'that this increasing emigration makes it difficult for the established subjects to find the servants they need and thus even to pursue their business in the house and on the field' („daß dieses so starke Auswandern denen eingesessenen Untertanen die Aufbringung der benötigten Dienstboten und so gar [die] Bestreitung ihrer Haus- und

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<sup>33</sup> On „Limited Good“ see Fertig, G. (2000); Fertig, G. (2014): 80. See also Zeitlhofer, H. (2014): 115–119.

<sup>34</sup> On this see Maisch, A. (2016); Maisch, A. (2015): 105–123.

<sup>35</sup> Bart, F. K. (1928): 15–19; Fertig, G. (2004): 44–63.

<sup>36</sup> On this see, among others, Thut, W. – Pfister, Ch. (1986)

<sup>37</sup> Hippel, W. (1984): 150. Fertig, G. (2003): 27–55.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted after Hacker, W. (1975a): 151.

<sup>39</sup> Hacker, W. (1975b): 81.

Feldgeschäfte“).<sup>40</sup> But just one year before, in 1768, the government had announced that at the Hungarian royal places and the Banat there was need of immigrants fit for agricultural work and crafts.<sup>41</sup> Every government pursued the goal of keeping the balance between servants and peasants. But also beyond this one aimed at balancing emigration and remaining population numbers. In 1785 the government of Anterior Austria banned Gallus Band at Heimbach from emigrating, indeed giving the reason that ‘for three years there has been more emigration from the Lower Rhine District of the Breisgau than immigration’ („aus dem unteren Rheinviertel des Breisgaus seit 3 Jahren mehr aus- als eingewandert seien“).<sup>42</sup>

In faraway countries the emigrants expected improved living conditions and hoped for opportunities of social climbing. In 1785 Johann Michael Baldauf, an emigrant from Hörschwang in the Principality of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, wrote in a letter to his family: ‘Overhere, life is better than in Swabia’ („Hier ist besser zu leben als im Schwabenland“), and with some pride he signed the letter ‘No longer a tailor at Hörschwang but a farmer of Kerbei’ („Kein Schneider mehr in Hörschwang, sondern ein Bauer von Kerbei“).<sup>43</sup> The promises made in the conditions for immigration, such as a farm of one’s own, became true. Emigration had its advantages also for those staying at home. For, the selling of land and property by the emigrants was an opportunity for them to round off or enlarge their own property, to allow, by purchasing land, for independent lives for children who were not entitled to inherit, or to buy into other places and even become land owners.

Particularly suitable for analysing the effects on those staying at home are those places from where larger numbers of people emigrated within a short span of time. One such place was the Fürstenbergian market town of Trochtelfingen where, in April and May, 1786, a total of 28 families as well as three unmarried males left their homes. The files on their discharge as subjects,<sup>44</sup> on their statements in the well preserved although not complete so called Vienna Immigration Lists (Wiener Einwanderungslisten) as well as on their purchase contracts<sup>45</sup> allow for insight into the structure of their professions and their financial situations and for some hypotheses on the effects of their emigration.

Zedler’s encyclopaedia describes Trochtelfingen as ‘a tidy town and castle in Swabia, towards the Danube, between Reutlingen and Sigmaringen, owned by the Prince of Fürstenberg’ („eine reine Stadt und Schloss in Schwaben, gegen die Donau, zwischen Reutlingen und Sigmaringen, dem Fürsten von Fürstenberg gehörig“).<sup>46</sup> After the great fire of 1726 the town, which had a remarkable fortification since the Middle Ages, was rebuilt within the town walls and was thriving. It was the seat of the 93 km<sup>2</sup> large Bailiwick which also included, apart from Trochtelfingen and the neighbouring village of Steinhilben, the more remote villages of Melchingen, Salmndingen and Ringingen. In the town of Trochtelfingen, like almost everywhere in the Southwest German territories, most plots were peasant-owned and corvée had been changed into dues. Also the fact that the inhabitants were both active in agriculture and in the trades must be considered typical. Since 1777 there existed four guilds at Trochtelfingen, the situation of the craftsmen, despite

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 83

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Hacker, W. (1980): 46. For the debate on the population level at that time see, among others, Pfister, Ch. (1990): 283–313.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted after Kaller, G. (1962): 678f.

<sup>44</sup> The files on this, to be found at Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv Donaueschingen, were assessed by Hacker, W. (1969)

<sup>45</sup> Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen, Ho 172 T3 Nr. 642: Kopien von Kauf- und Tauschverträgen und -handlungen aus der Stadt Trochtelfingen 1764–1783 and Ho 172 T3 Nr. 654: Kopien von Kauf- und Tauschverträgen und -handlungen aus der Stadt Trochtelfingen 1779–1802.

<sup>46</sup> Zedler, J. H. (1732–1754): <https://www.zedler-lexikon.de/index.html?c=blaettern&id=406490&bandnummer=45&seitenzahl=0527&supplement=0&dateifformat=1%27> (last access 01.11.2021).

the ban on peddling, being rather bad, for, as the priest wrote: 'In most cases the professions are nothing more than minor side jobs, and agriculture provides the main nourishment!' („Die Professionen sind meist weiter nichts als eine kleine Nebenerwerbung und der Feldebau der Hauptnahrungszweig!").<sup>47</sup> Thus, it is no wonder that out of those willing to emigrate at least twelve were (also) craftsmen. However, with one exception these professions were withheld from the emigration commissioner of the Imperial Government in Rottenburg on Neckar – not just because the Austrian government wanted good farmers but, among others, simply because only ploughmen could receive a full plot of 24 acres of land in faraway Hungary.<sup>48</sup>

If we consider the size and equipment of the real estate sold at Trochtelfingen, it becomes obvious that only two of the emigrants are likely to have made their livings exclusively from agriculture: Joseph Freudemann sold his fief which consisted of 12 ½ acres of fields and ¾ acre of meadowland. And when finally he also sold his house, this included a horse and cart. The second 'full farmer', Sebastian Braun, sold more than 15 acres of fields, several meadows and also a horse necessary for agricultural work. Johann Martin Hennes, who also owned a farm of more than 10 acres of fields, was at the same time working as a canvas weaver. However, it seems as if not even he was able to be successful with these professions, for as his reason to emigrate he stated his debts which forced him to sell.

There were 19 emigrants selling their property and 77 people ready to buy, all of them local, with one exception. This man came from the neighbouring community of Steinhilben and purchased one acre of field. Although most emigrants sold only one or two acres of field and the smallest plots of meadows and gardens, the number of buyers was four times bigger than that of emigrants. This is an indication that those staying at home were not able to strike big deals given a total offer of 50 acres of field. What was purchased was small and smallest plots of field, meadow and garden, to round off one's own property. Only in six cases it was next door neighbours who were interested in the fields and gardens on sale, thus rounding off one's own property had no top priority. Probably one had since long become reconciled with the parcelled property structure. The purchase of bigger plots would have required larger loans which, it seems, was out of the question. One would not or could not run any higher financial risk, as one had to pay interest elsewhere. Accordingly, in most cases the buyers were not able to pay the full price. Without exception, only a part of the real estate was paid in cash, for the rest one agreed on instalments over two to three years.

There is also evidence of gardens and meadows having been sold after one's arrival at the Hungarian place one had emigrated to. It must be assumed that the reason for this was less disinterest but rather the sudden oversupply, which made prices go down. For in 1786/87, apart from Trochtelfingen, families were emigrating also from other municipalities of the Bailiwick and from the Hohenzollern neighbouring communities of Hörschwang and Mägerkingen, who had offered their property at the same time.<sup>49</sup>

It seems as if at Trochtelfingen itself the interest in offered gardens as well as houses and parts of houses was bigger than in fields. Other than in the case of purchasing fields, in these cases there were no partitions. Involved in the purchase of houses were relatives, co-owners of houses and other inhabitants of the place to the same degree, and in some cases even clauses were negotiated. The latter concern old parents staying at home, who were granted by contract a lifelong right of residence in certain rooms of the sold house and also a lifelong supply of wood. The sources do not tell if the buyers used the house for themselves or if by the purchase they wanted to take care for their children. Only in one case there is evidence that an unmarried white tanner purchased a house.

<sup>47</sup> Quoted after Eisele, F. – Griener, R. (2020): 5.

<sup>48</sup> Fata, M. (2014): 121.

<sup>49</sup> On this see Hacker, W. (1969)

According to the preserved sources, real estate worth about 9,354 Guilders was sold. The emigrants on the other hand, according to their own testimony, exported 7,300 Guilders but had claims of several hundreds of Guilders towards those staying at home. If we relate the capital made available by emigration and the amount of landed property to each other, we must state that both on the side of the emigrants and of those staying at home it was small and smallest owners who did business with each other. Probably those staying at Trochtelfingen invested their small savings into real estate, and the lacking solvency was compensated for by loans – quite in the sense of the proven practice of mutual lend and lease.<sup>50</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

Granted, one case example is not enough for answering the question if and how emigration significantly affected the property situation. Also the gain-loss relation cannot be answered conclusively. However, the examples show neither the emigrants nor those staying at home as clear winners or losers. As a preliminary result, the following may be concluded: in the 18<sup>th</sup> century emigration was understood to be a means of regulation, applied by the governments to keep the balance between possibilities to earn a living and population growth. Probably that is why emigration could be considered a loss of workforce or a gain in distributable land, each according to the given situation. However, the emigration of people could not result in any progress. On the contrary, progress could be expected from a growth of population.<sup>51</sup> This was an insight shared both by the German territorial lords and by land owners in Hungary or by the Viennese and the Hungarian Court Chambers which, after the Peace of Westphalia in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century or after the liberation of the Hungarian territories from the Ottoman Empire since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, supported immigration.

In the West and South German territories, however, where as early as since the year 1700 no immigration was needed anymore, views became common which, starting out from the theory of limited resources, considered a fast population growth an obstacle for keeping the balance between gainful work and population and attempted to control it by help of marriage bans, inheritance practices or emigration.<sup>52</sup> Everywhere there was the complaint 'that there were too many people, that the property was distributed too much, and that neither humans nor cattle could find the merest food if this would go on just for a short time, and that in a way one was wishing new hard luck, so that the surplus of people would be wiped out. These were not only the thoughts of simple peasants but even the clergy and the laypeople were wholeheartedly engaged in the discourse ' („daß es der Leuth zu viel gebe, die Güther zu sehr vertheilet würden, und weder Menschen noch Vieh ihre nothdürfftige Nahrung finden könne, wann es nur noch eine kurtze Zeit also fort ginge, und mann wünschte gleichsam ein neues Unglück, so die überschüssigen Menschen aufreiben mögte. So dachten nicht allein schlechte Landleuthe, sondern auch Geist und weltliche führten den Discurs von gantzem Hertzen“).<sup>53</sup> Privy Councillor Johan Jacob Reinhard from Baden-Durlach gave the opinions of the first half of the 18th century in retrospect. He himself, on the other hand, was a representative of those ideas, common since the 1760s, according to which gainful work and population were no longer considered to contradict each other but to be a self-regulating unity.<sup>54</sup> Even according to Reinhard, growing population numbers caused a growing demand for land, which could result in this resource becoming tight

<sup>50</sup> Ogilvie, Sh. – Kúpker, M. – Maegraith, J. (2015): 125–157.

<sup>51</sup> On this see, among others, Boehler, J–M. (2003): 101–123.

<sup>52</sup> Reinhard, J. J. (1760): 7.

<sup>53</sup> Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 65/1030: Reinhard, Johann Jacob, Versuch einer practischen Betrachtung über die Ursachen des schlechten Fortgangs verschiedener angegriffener Land-Oeconomie-Verbesserungen in rheinischen und schwäbischen Landen sambt einigen Vorschlägen, Manuskript ca. 1767, File 76r–76v.

<sup>54</sup> Fertig, G. (2000): 93–98.

if the people were not provided with new or additional means to earn a living. But Reinhard and the representatives of the optimistic variant of cameralism considered population pressure an opportunity to generate growth by way of work and diligence. Reinhard was convinced that the peasant was 'not lazy at all, and even less wasteful. He was working hard', but his intentions to grow e. g. 'vegetables and other plants which would be advantageous for the household' were not supported. Thus, he should be supported by introducing new methods and profitable cultures. Thus, the support of emigration was replaced by the opinion that growing numbers of people would indeed result in more ideas and proposals for improvement, such as concerning cultivation methods or the division of labour, which way resources could be increased.

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