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Clubs as vehicles for inclusion in the urban fabric? Immigrants and elitist associational practices in Antwerp, 1795-1830

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ABSTRACT

In both migration studies and sociocultural studies of associational practices, membership of voluntary associations has been considered as a vehicle for inclusion in the urban fabric. In migration studies, on the one hand, attention has been focussed primarily on migrants' own organisations, revealing questions about the role of these organisations as obstacles or incentives for social embedding in the new living environment. Associational studies, on the other hand, have emphasized social practices and social differences between clubs, without taking into account the impact upon immigration. This article brings together both historiographical traditions, and emphasises the structural and socio-cultural elements of incorporation processes. The research investigates a group of immigrant-businessmen and their participation in club life in Antwerp between 1795 and 1830, asking whether associational life was used as a vehicle for inclusion, or whether access was only feasible when other inclusion mechanisms had been successful. By situating the timing of any entry into club membership in relation to other aspects of their personal and professional life-course, it becomes clear that access was preceded by other social mechanisms. Indeed, even for wealthy businessmen, mechanisms of exclusion existed as a consequence of existing social hierarchies amongst voluntary associations in Antwerp.

KEYWORDS

Incorporation; migration; voluntary associations; nineteenth century; business elites

Europe's nineteenth-century urban life is characterized by an explosion of voluntary associations and clubs that were often considered as important vehicles for processes of political democratization and for the formation of urban middle classes.¹ Between the domestic sphere of the family and the public sphere of the state, clubs and associations were described as being positive for social cohesion. By way of creating a social space where people assembled in a democratic fashion, members expressed their collective identity and reinforced their social ties. However, although democratic ideals and election procedures were often implemented in these new clubs, social hierarchies of power also existed in the associations emerging in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In-depth research of the associational practices and social backgrounds of members reveals processes of inclusion and exclusion, indicating that voluntary associations also created differences and hierarchies amongst individuals and groups.² Practices of exclusion and distinction were related to social identities including gender, age, religion, social background or ethnicity.

This article aims to contribute to a better understanding of these mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion by focussing on the accessibility of clubs and associations for immigrants finding their way in their new hometown. By charting the connections between different elements and events in their lives and careers, this study examines whether club membership was an aspiration for immigrants, whether it was used by these immigrants as a vehicle for inclusion in the urban bourgeois sphere, or whether access to clubs was only possible for them when other inclusion mechanisms had been successful. Such in-depth research is only possible for a small sample group. It therefore concentrates on the accessibility of clubs for successful businessmen who moved to the port city of Antwerp towards the beginning of the nineteenth century and who, as in many other port cities, played an important role within the merchant community. Thus it provides a case study of a very specific and highly selective subgroup which can best be referred to as elite migrants.³ Yet at the same time, they were all immigrants and probably went looking for social contacts and local embeddedness within their new living environment. The city of Antwerp represents an interesting focus for this research, since the river Scheldt reopened to all maritime traffic in 1795 and as such the city was confronted with a first wave of immigration of businessmen from abroad who wanted to take advantage of these new prospects.

The article first discusses key findings to date on the relationship between migration, clubs and urban incorporation, through a brief review of existing literature within migration history and the study of associational life. Subsequently, it examines the sample group of

migrant businessmen, as well as the formal rules and regulations of the Antwerp clubs and voluntary associations they sought out. Finally, it elaborates on specific characteristics of the lives, careers and social embeddedness of immigrants which, according to research on integration mechanisms, might explain their presence within or absence from club life in general, as well as in relation to specific club circuits in Antwerp. Ultimately, an in-depth study of such clubs makes it possible to explore which mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion were at work, shedding light on the multi-vectored relationships between migration, associational practices and inclusion in the urban fabric.

Migration, clubs and urban life: research context

In connection to urban growth, increasing numbers of people moved to cities to search for work, thereby adapting to structural economic changes during the nineteenth century.⁴ In the main, opportunity structures at place of origin and destination, in addition to social and information networks, help reveal essential elements for understanding the migration trajectories of people and their economic opportunities upon arrival. At the same time, however, their mobility patterns only offer some indications of their settlement processes and participation in urban life. In particular, pioneering immigrants may experience difficulties in finding their way in their new home town. They may not be able to rely on already settled migrants functioning as bridgeheads for newcomers, thereby reducing the costs and risks of moving to a fairly unknown place.⁵ To understand processes of incorporation and belonging, then, researchers often distinguish between more structural factors (often measurable components) and socio-cultural elements (more subjective assessments of immigrants made by themselves and by others).⁶ In these processes occupational and social mobility as well as marriage patterns are often considered as important indicators for the relative openness of a society and as structural elements of incorporation processes.⁷ At the same time, membership of clubs and voluntary associations may offer further indications of the identification and socio-cultural settlement process.

In migration studies, however, distinctions have arisen between researchers focussing on the act of migration and those studying whether, how and when these newcomers participated in urban life.⁸ This was stimulated by an often underlying assumption that migration was a one-directional movement and that people settled permanently in their place of destination. In the meanwhile, a critical strand in the study of migration emphasizes that most migrants settled only temporarily and often moved back and forth between different

places stimulated by more and cheaper transport and communication means during the course of the nineteenth century.⁹ This growing overall mobility was in a way socially biased because relatively elitist migrants could afford to be more mobile, since they disposed of sufficient financial means and generally had access to more information channels, so their migration options were wider. They often moved back and forth between different trade hubs to improve their career prospects. As such, dividing migrants into ‘stayers’ and ‘leavers’, which often coincide with a gloomier and more negative picture of leavers as people who lacked the skills, means and social networks to become part of their new living environment, does not apply to the group of high professionals and often neglects the fact that one needs financial and social resources to change residence and look for better opportunities elsewhere.¹⁰

These findings might imply that many temporary immigrants might not be interested in getting incorporated within the local fabric, challenging the integration ‘paradigm’ even further. Nevertheless, it remains difficult to know whether immigrants intended to settle permanently or not. Furthermore, their intentions and plans could differ from their actual migration behaviour, because of intervening obstacles or opportunities. Some could have the intention to move on a permanent basis but did not do so, while others planned to move for a short period of time but stayed put. In the case of elitist migrants, whose migration was part of career-related options and choices, one might argue that they had the possibilities to fall back on well-developed transnational networks and relations, and as such did not need any kind of local embeddedness and incorporation. While it is clear that transnational contacts and relations were particularly helpful to be successful in business (as has already been demonstrated in relation to the Antwerp case), migrants also needed to get acquainted with other people in their new hometown.¹¹ Furthermore, recent research taking a transnational perspective argues that migrants especially, whose life was characterized by mobility and circulation, could be simultaneously committed to different communities and societies.¹² For businesspeople, getting access to ‘new’ people in the place of settlement was particularly important from a business standpoint, because by building a network of relations they also gained access to more and other information, which was of crucial importance in a quite insecure and volatile world of business.¹³ As such, both for temporary and long-resident immigrants, club membership could be helpful to gain access to specific circles in a local setting, even if inclusion was not their aspiration in the first place.

Research on associational practices and club life of migrants, however, often emphasizes only immigrants’ own organisations, as strongly influenced by organisational

practices in cities today.¹⁴ Thus it often focuses on one specific ethnic or religious group.¹⁵ Some of these organisations created and expressed their collective identity by emphasizing special ties between members with a shared background or provenance and, in so doing, by stressing differences between themselves and others. Of course, immigrants do not as a rule form an homogeneous group. To be sure, the nature of immigrants' organisations differs not only according to the demographic and socio-economic profile of immigrants,¹⁶ but also because of characteristics of the receiving and sending countries alike.¹⁷ As such, immigrant organisations often express the need to reinforce and maintain their collective identity. Yet they can also reveal demarcations within immigrant communities or between immigrants and their host society, through processes of exclusion from organisations in their new living environment. While some researchers even consider immigrant organisations as an expression of their unwillingness to participate in urban life, others believe they acted as bridgeheads or carriers for exploring their new hometown.¹⁸ In contrast, this article attempts to transcend these differences by focussing on a broad range of clubs and voluntary associations, established by both newcomers and residents, and by combining structural and sociocultural elements to address the importance of club membership for processes of incorporation. As such, it will contribute to a better understanding of the settlement process of immigrants by also focussing on associational practices in addition to mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that stimulated or hampered their access to the urban fabric.

Although club life during the nineteenth century has been extensively explored, these very mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion along with the dynamics of social hierarchies between and within clubs are still in need of further research. In the historiography of associational practices, much research has already been devoted to the rules and regulations emphasizing the democratic character of associational practices, on the one hand, and to highlighting social classification of members on the other hand. However, the most important indicators of social differences between members studied were frequently differences according to age, gender and social class, often defined in terms of occupation, income or social practices.¹⁹ Then again, unlike most migration research, associational studies have given ample attention to the incorporation opportunities offered by voluntary associations for immigrants and newcomers to the city. By connecting both fields of research, therefore, and by focussing on a group that was more or less homogeneous in occupation and income, this study hopes to offer some new perspectives on the accessibility of clubs and associational practices of immigrants.

The Antwerp case study: sources and methods

The case of Antwerp lends itself well to an examination of the position of immigrants and their inclusion into urban elites. Antwerp's position in 1795 was quite unique. After having been closed off for more than two centuries from direct access to the sea, the River Scheldt was reopened in 1795 to all maritime transport, enabling the erstwhile metropolis to develop again as a port city.²⁰ During the preceding years of the eighteenth century Antwerp had been a rather small textile centre with no important international maritime relations and exercising only a regional pull on immigrants from nearby provinces.²¹ As a consequence of the scarce possibilities to generate financial means through trade operations, persons of private means and noblemen were overrepresented proportionally in the upper classes.²² Former traders preferred to be ennobled and tried to bridge the gap between themselves and the noblemen and 'rentiers' by buying immovable properties, by marrying into noble circles and by applying for patents of nobility.²³

The setting changed after 1795, since Antwerp could then regain its position as a well-located harbour town in the Southern Netherlands. This situation offered new prospects for generating wealth from trade and allowed maritime traders to gain social status again. Furthermore, the city became a magnet for traders and businessmen from inside and outside the country who moved to Antwerp and wished to take advantage of the promising prospects. Their relations in their hometown or elsewhere abroad further seem to have been helpful in making their entry into the Antwerp commercial world and in reinforcing their commercial activities, while using the port town of Antwerp as a new headquarters for their business.²⁴

This study is based in the first instance on a sample of 234 successful businessmen who were operating in Antwerp across this period of rapid economic transformation.. The sample was carefully selected through reference to a range of quantitative and qualitative sources (between 1796 and 1825) that indicate financial capacity, elite social status and economic activity.²⁵ The first set of sources was fiscal, containing references to capital and income: a list of the 974 highest taxed Antwerp citizens drawn up by the French government in 1796 (with an estimation of their capital), a list of the 600 highest taxed inhabitants of the Department in 1813 (containing 233 persons with a domicile in Antwerp), and a list of the 100 'richest' Antwerp citizens of 1814, drawn up by the central government and compiled for electoral reasons.²⁶ The second set of sources was more qualitative, relating to status, esteem and prestige. It included a list compiled by the prefect of the Department, Voyer d'Argenson,

in 1810 of the thirty-three ‘most important businessmen’ in the city, as well as four different ‘listes des négociants notables’ (the names of those eligible for the commercial court in the city), dating from 1817, 1819, 1822 and 1825 and whose significance was recognised by contemporaries.²⁷ In order to establish which of the names on these lists were still active in the business world (and not living on private means), they were cross-referenced with a third set of sources relating to patent taxation (given that the French decree of 1791 had stated that anyone had the right to operate a business or to trade provided that the annual patent tax was paid).²⁸ A problem of bias towards more settled businessmen was solved by adding a small group of the highest taxed businessmen in the patent taxation of 1817. Although this method of selection has some pitfalls since it does not always enable the measurement of exact differences in social standing and wealth and does not guarantee the selection of *all* important businessmen in Antwerp, it offers a dynamic picture of the business elite in the period under scrutiny, which could be enhanced through further prosopographic research on the family and business careers of the sample group.

Distinctions can be made within the sample group between businessmen born in Antwerp (128), as well as immigrants from within (forty-two) and outside the country (sixty-four). Although it is well known that economic change affected the composition of the Antwerp financial elite, it remains a debatable question as to how these 106 newcomers adapted themselves to their new living environment and how their presence gave rise to a different attitude towards social (elite) status in this city in transformation. The question then becomes one of whether these immigrants easily gained entrance into clubs and societies, as new types of voluntary associations emerged in Antwerp at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, or whether they were confronted with obstacles in their efforts to do so. Both members of clubs and those who decided not to join (or were not welcomed) are included in this research, thus enabling a clearer view of aspirations for membership and the practices of inclusion and exclusion that were possible.

In major European cities from the eighteenth century onwards, all kinds of new voluntary associations emerged with divergent goals ranging from the improvement of language, enjoying music or stimulating artistic taste. Yet these associations also functioned as places for pleasure and relaxation during leisure time. Clubs and societies could be established in Antwerp only after approval by local authorities and by referring to literature, music, science or art, since political activities were absolutely prohibited.²⁹ The Southern Netherlands were part of France between 1796 and 1814, and the French authorities in particular kept an eye on associational practices out of fear of political resistance, by controlling statutes

and membership lists of clubs and societies.³⁰ Thanks to these public control mechanisms, membership lists and regulations have been well preserved. This research is further based on the statutes and membership lists of twenty-eight different voluntary societies that emerged in Antwerp in the first three decades of the nineteenth century (1795-1830), including artistic, scientific and literary clubs, but also musical and concert societies, and which were mentioned in the official police reports.³¹ Membership lists were kept for twenty of these societies, offering clear insights into associational practices during this period. There were of course many other ways to gather and assemble, such as in religious brotherhoods, Freemasons lodges, professional organisations and the like that are not included in this research.

Mostly described as ‘société’, ‘club’ or ‘cercle’ in Antwerp’s sources, these associations were characterized by common features such as the regular and regulated assembly of their members during leisure time; an own administration, regulation and compliance policy; and a fixed place and scheduled time of association.³² While public coffee houses and ale houses, along with public gardens and promenades, were accessible for everyone, societies were ‘a controlled arena for social contact among the respectable classes’, according to Peter Clark.³³ Internally democratic rules guided Antwerp’s associational life, illustrated by election and decision-making procedures that were generally mandated by an absolute majority of votes (mostly a two-thirds majority), in addition to accessibility of the board of commissioners to all members. Nevertheless, admittance policies, rules and balloting procedures reduced the openness of many associations. In general, entrance was restricted to men (in Antwerp as elsewhere, no women were listed in membership registers as active members), to educated people (in some associations even knowledge of a foreign language was required), and to people who could afford to take leisure-time.³⁴ Formally, entrance was made difficult by the payment of membership fees that could be very expensive. To pay the yearly membership fee of the *Société du cercle*, a labourer had to work sixty days, while members of the *Société littéraire d’Anvers* were obliged to buy shares (one share of 181.8 Belgian francs in 1829 corresponds with 181 working days).³⁵ Balloting procedures additionally obstructed entrance to societies, mostly as a result of the rule that admittance only occurred after recommendation by an active member, after which the plenary assembly decided by (absolute) majority the fate of the applicant’s candidacy.³⁶ These rules thus offered possibilities to strengthen the elitist character of associations and even restrict entrance. The *Société d’Harmonie*, for instance, aimed for homogeneity amongst members by stipulating that only those people were welcomed who resembled the majority of present members in birth or social ranking.³⁷ Such systems could reinforce the exclusive character of societies or the recruitment from one specific segment of

society.³⁸ Even the entrance to certain concerts in the city was restricted to those holding membership cards of specific societies.³⁹

Some membership regulations included specific rules regarding temporary visitors in the city. In 1813, the *Société Olympique* stipulated that these ‘foreigners’ could get an entrance ticket to the concerts or balls only when invited by a member. It was stipulated that persons who maintained their domicile or who sojourned more than three months in the city were no longer considered to be ‘foreigners’.⁴⁰ The regulations of the *Société Philharmonique* adapted the same procedure, although in this club a stay of more than six months was required.⁴¹ In other societies, rules were even more stringent: for instance, in the elitist *Société littéraire d’Anvers* nobody could enter without being a member, and the stay of foreign visitors was limited to a period of at most three months.⁴² While in theory inclusive, such stipulations, membership regulations and balloting procedures reveal that access to clubs and societies was restricted.

Entry into club life

Life course, career and social embeddedness in relation to club admission

Voluntary associations were clearly expanding and the appearance of all sorts of clubs was a typical feature of an urban bourgeois lifestyle in which educated people with means were able to participate.⁴³ Moreover, the absence of family and kin, and thus weakened kinship bonds, could have also motivated immigrants to search for extra-familial networks. By joining associations they were able to establish social contacts in their new environment and thereby build networks of friendship. Reciprocal relations on a neighbourhood level could compensate for the absence of a family network in the communal unit.⁴⁴ However, the building and reinforcing of social relations by entering club life was able to strengthen social ties in an urban bourgeois sphere. For businessmen, clubs and associations not only offered opportunities to meet people informally, but also gave them access to other channels of information through which the latest commercial, financial or political ‘news’ could be gathered, which was of crucial importance in an unstable business setting with limited communication channels.

To scrutinize if and how voluntary associations acted as vehicles for social inclusion, it is necessary to determine individual life-course characteristics as well as the career trajectories of the immigrants in the sample group and then to check if these might explain

their presence in or absence from club life. By paying attention to both members and non-members, it becomes clear which immigrants aspired to be incorporated into local associational life and which did not, and what elements could have had an impact upon the accessibility of club-life for newcomers. Identification of the timing of life events is of decisive importance for highlighting if membership in clubs was connected to other social inclusion mechanisms, such as having relatives in Antwerp, marrying locally or collaborating professionally with partners in the new living environment.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the sources do not allow for taking more personal attitudes into account, such as a higher or lower degree of ‘cultural’ interest or a more individualistic attitude towards life.

Before turning to some social indicators, the individual characteristics of these 106 immigrant-businessmen can be considered for both members and non-members of clubs in Antwerp (see Table 1). Next to age (for which the year 1800 was chosen as a reference point), their provenance (being an immigrant from inside the country or from abroad), time of arrival and length of stay in Antwerp clarifies places of origin and migration pattern. Furthermore, information about their main occupation in Antwerp has also been ascertained, by using the professional ascription enlisted in the patent taxation records.

Table 1. Individual characteristics of immigrant-businessmen in relation to participation in club life in Antwerp between 1795 and 1830, in percentages.

	Members	Non-members	Total immigrants
	n=68	n=38	n=106
Age in 1800			
>40	9	26	15
21-39	62	42	55
< 20	26	21	25
?	3	11	5
<i>All (%)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
Mobility and migration pattern			
<i>Provenance</i>			
Immigrants from inside the country	40	39	40
Immigrants from abroad	60	61	60
<i>All (%)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Arrival in Antwerp</i>			
Before 1796	25	37	29
1796-1814	54	45	51
1815-1830	21	16	19
?	0	2	1
<i>All (%)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Length of stay in Antwerp</i>			
Temporary migrants	35	53	42
Long-resident migrants (who died in Antwerp)	65	47	58

<i>All (%)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
Main occupation			
Production	7	8	7
Wholesale	6	21	11
Maritime trade	78	71	76
Other services (excluding trade)	9	0	6
<i>All (%)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

Sources: Different membership lists in City Archives Antwerp - Felixarchief (SAA), *Modern Archives* (MA), 240/20; 382/3, 382/5, 382/6, 382/8, 382/10, 382/11; State Archives Antwerp (RAA), *Provincial Archives Antwerp* (PAA), A 133, F 15/B, RAA, *Fonds Antwerpen*, B 42/10; Prosopographic database of businessmen in Antwerp.

Sixty-eight (or sixty-four per cent) of the 106 selected immigrant-businessmen participated in club life in Antwerp between 1795 and 1830, while thirty-eight businessmen (or thirty-six per cent) were not enrolled in the membership lists of the twenty different clubs under scrutiny (see Table 1). There were more immigrants from abroad than from inside the country among the businessmen selected, but both groups had a comparable rate of participation, indicating that foreign immigrant-businessmen did not encounter any more difficulty in entering local club life than internal immigrants. The time of arrival, however, indicates that immigrants who moved to Antwerp after the reopening of the River Scheldt, and who mostly came to Antwerp to take advantage of the revival of maritime trade, participated much more frequently in associational life than immigrants who had moved to Antwerp before 1796, and who more often worked as wholesalers or manufacturers. The most remarkable difference, though, between members and non-members is a difference in age. It is striking that in 1800, sixty-two per cent of immigrant members was between twenty-one and forty years, while for the same date forty-seven per cent of non-members was older than forty (twenty-six per cent) or younger than twenty years (twenty-one per cent). Older businessmen showed less interest in the social activities of club life or had built social relations in a different way, or at other moments in their life span. Determining events and elements in the lives of newcomers as well as the dating of membership lists (all after 1795) thus explain differences between members and non-members. It is also important to notice that of the 106 selected immigrant-businessmen forty-two only settled temporarily in Antwerp, highlighting the high mobility among elite-migrants in the period under scrutiny. One often assumes that these temporary immigrants might have had less reason to aspire to incorporation within the local elite. This seems not to have been the case within this group. Although among immigrant-members sixty-five percent were long-resident migrants, a third of club members envisaged only a temporary stay in Antwerp. Furthermore, among the non-members of clubs, forty-seven per cent were long-resident migrants.

Next to individual characteristics other features can be tested that might have been helpful in facilitating inclusion processes in the new hometown. The social embeddedness of these immigrants is accentuated by looking at three elements: their family network upon arrival in Antwerp (indicating whether these immigrants could rely on relatives when arriving in Antwerp), their marriage pattern (indicating if marrying a spouse from Antwerp accelerated inclusion in the urban fabric), and their professional embeddedness by looking at their partnerships and the geographical origin of their associates. These potentially important events in migrants' settlement and embeddedness processes are then related to their presence or absence in club life (see Table 2).

Table 2. Social characteristics of immigrant-businessmen in relation to participation in club life in Antwerp between 1795 and 1830, in percentages.

	Members n=68	Non-members n=38	Total immigrants n=106
Family networks upon arrival in Antwerp			
Moved with spouse or other relatives	55	31	46
Moved alone, but has family in Antwerp	10	8	10
Moved alone without relatives in Antwerp	35	61	44
<i>All (%)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
Marriage pattern			
Unmarried	13	29	19
Married with a spouse from Antwerp	34	16	27
Married with a spouse from elsewhere	53	55	54
<i>All (%)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
Professional embedment			
One-man company	37	45	40
Family company	35	18	29
Firm with non-related business partners from Antwerp	2	3	2
Firm with non-related business partners from elsewhere	26	34	29
<i>All (%)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

Sources: See Table 1.

In addition to life-cycle elements, social variables mattered for these immigrants. Among migrants who belonged to a club, the majority had arrived in Antwerp with relatives usually a spouse (fifty-five per cent), or were reunited with other relatives in Antwerp upon arrival (ten percent), although this was only respectively thirty-one per cent and eight per cent amongst those who were not club members. The majority of immigrants who did not become a member of a club moved alone to Antwerp and did not have relatives in the new hometown (sixty-one per cent). Married men equally gathered more often in the ‘salons’ of clubs than bachelors: only thirteen per cent of the immigrant-members were bachelors against twenty-nine percent among non-members. Moreover, among migrants who belonged to a club, thirty-four per cent were married to an Antwerp-born spouse; among those who were not members, this was only sixteen per cent. The vast majority of foreign immigrants, however, brought their partners along upon arrival in Antwerp or afterwards married women who were foreigners by birth. For pioneering immigrants in particular, this was not an exceptional marriage profile. In so doing, they reinforced their professional and social ties abroad and built an international network of trustworthy family relations, which obviously proved helpful to staying competitive in an international trade environment.⁴⁶ However, this did not seem to hinder their access to club life, since fifty-three percent of immigrants who belonged to a club were married with a spouse from elsewhere. Moreover, among immigrant-members, businessmen working with kin or other partners (non-relatives) in the company were better represented, even if they seldom worked together with a partner from Antwerp. Even so, parallel to their marriage patterns, immigrants preferred to establish a firm with other immigrants and not with businessmen born in Antwerp. Among migrants as non-members, however, forty-five per cent worked alone in a one-man company.

Social embeddedness of immigrants within a family or professional basis facilitated access to associational life, although local embeddedness – demonstrated by marrying or working with someone native to Antwerp – seems not to have been a prerequisite for membership in Antwerp clubs. Thus, a lot of these immigrants could rely on ‘practical’ kin in Antwerp, with whom they maintained ongoing face-to-face relationships, and who could be called upon for assistance in daily life.⁴⁷ Such relationships underscore the fact that participation in voluntary associations does not seem to have been a substitute for weakened

family and kinship bonds for these social strata. Given that social rather than local embeddedness seems to have been of importance, the question then becomes one of timing: as to whether membership of associations took place soon after arrival in the city or when other social inclusion mechanisms had already been successful.

Timing of first membership and participation intensity

For immigrants who decided to enter club life, the timing and intensity of associational practices are essential for gaining insights into their motivations and into the dynamics of their socio-cultural activities in urban society. Table 3 shows the length of time that had been spent in Antwerp at the moment of first enrolling in an Antwerp club for immigrants from both inside and outside the country.

Table 3. Timing of first enrolment of immigrant-businessmen who were members of a club in Antwerp between 1795 and 1830, in percentages.

	Immigrants from inside the country	Immigrants from abroad	Total immigrants
Length of stay in Antwerp at first enrolment			
< 2 years	19	29	25
3-5 years	7	27	19
6-10 years	19	17	18
>10years	41	25	31
?	14	2	7
<i>All (%)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Value (n)</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>68</i>

Sources: See Table 1.

Only a quarter of all immigrants (twenty-five per cent) became members during their first two years in Antwerp; in fact, almost half of them (forty-nine per cent) lived and worked in Antwerp for more than five years before entering club life. Immigrants from abroad enrolled proportionally earlier (twenty-nine per cent after a stay of less than two years, and twenty-seven per cent between their third and sixth year in Antwerp) than immigrants from inside the country (nineteen and seven per cent respectively). One third of all immigrants (Forty-one per cent of the internal migrants and twenty-five per cent of the immigrants from abroad) only joined a club after living in Antwerp for more than ten years.

Table 4. Plural membership of immigrant-businessmen who were members of a club in Antwerp between 1795 and 1830, in percentages.

	Immigrants from inside the country	Immigrants from abroad	Total immigrants
Plural membership			
5 membership cards or more	11	15	13
4	15	10	12
3	22	27	25
2	22	12	16
1	30	36	34
<i>All (%)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Value (n)</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>68</i>

Sources: see Table 1.

Yet how far did their engagement go? Plural membership (see Table 4) offers some general insight into the significance of these social gatherings, given that information on individual activities undertaken in voluntary associations or on the participation frequency of club members is scarce. Contacts would not have to have been intensive to be useful, since mere acquaintances might have been valuable especially for businessmen looking for (new) business opportunities.⁴⁸ Although one third (thirty-four per cent) of all immigrant-members held just one single membership card, plural membership did occur; and, indeed, half of these immigrant-newcomers who were club-members belonged to at least three societies. Those who might be called ‘network tigers’, who held five membership cards or more, were represented in these lists, and although differences are small, foreigners proportionally held more membership cards than immigrants from inside the country. Involvement in club life differed, naturally, and the timing of entrance suggests that immigrants only joined clubs after some years of settlement. The question remains as to which clubs they were interested in and whether all kinds of associations were really accessible. Thus this study now demands a closer inspection of the type of associations joined.

Admission to all clubs?

Distinct clubs, different audiences

Existing research on associations has tended to observe that, despite the increasing density of associations, they remained socially selective, underscoring not only differences in social standing between clubs, but also in social practices and behaviour. For instance, businessmen in Antwerp did not meet in the *Société des amis de la Bonne foi*, which recruited among the circles of craftsmen and middling groups. Nor did they come together in the *Société de l'Union*, which counted amongst its members a huge amount of tradespeople (seventy percent of its 111 members) including wholesalers, retailers, apprentices and commercial clerks, but none who were part of the business elite.⁴⁹ To provide a clearer view of the mechanisms of inclusion at work, Table 5 lists every voluntary association that included the names of more than ten businessmen amongst its membership. In addition, Antwerp businessmen in the sample have been categorised by origin in order to distinguish between immigrants and businessmen born in Antwerp within these associations. The participation of immigrant-businessmen in club life

became stronger over time, which is related to their growing presence in Antwerp from the 1810s onwards (see also Table 1). While the eldest societies like the *Société des concerts de la Bourse* and the *Société des amateurs de la musique à la Salle dite Sodalité* attracted local businessmen in the first place, societies that were established from the 1810s onwards, such as the *Cercle littéraire d'Anvers* or *Société Olympique*, had a more mixed character or were predominantly visited by immigrant-businessmen.

Table 5. Participation in club life of businessmen in Antwerp according to geographical origin, 1795-1830, in numbers (for clubs that included more than ten businessmen only).

	Date membership list	Born in Antwerp	Immigrants from inside the country	Immigrants from abroad	Total businessmen in the sample
Société des concerts de la Bourse	1796	13	1	0	14
Société des amateurs de musique à la Salle dite Sodalité	1800	13	1	3	17
	1814	31	4	9	44
Société littéraire d'Anvers	1802	5	0	0	5
	1812	26	5	4	35
	1819	24	4	8	36
	1829	2	1	1	4
Societeyt van Kruys- en Handboog/Société de l'Arc et de l'Arbalette	1806	11	2	0	13
	1807	13	4	0	17
	1812	12	6	0	18
	1812	21	11	3	35
	1819	19	15	3	37
	1825	8	7	3	18
Société de la Philharmonie/Philharmoniek Genootschap	1810	5	2	2	9
	1811	2	2	2	6
	1815	20	6	12	38
	s.d.	16	8	9	33
Cercle littéraire d'Anvers	1812	9	3	11	23
Société Olympique	1813	2	2	7	11
	1813	3	1	5	9
	1819	1	4	23	28
Société du Cercle	1823	3	3	10	16
Société Philotaxe	1828	11	7	3	21
Société d'Harmonie	1829	7	7	10	24

Sources: see Table 1.

Immigrants from inside the country seem to have had fewer difficulties in entering these different circuits. Moreover, the timing of first enrolment also reveals that it was easier for immigrants to gain entrance into the *Société Olympique* or *Société de la Philharmonie* than into some other voluntary association. Thus, mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion were not limited to subordinate or marginal groups alone, since even in circles of wealthy people conscious efforts were undertaken to differentiate between groups and to exclude people on the basis of background.⁵⁰ This differentiation, then, requires a closer examination of the social profile of specific voluntary associations and the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion at play.

Immigrants/businessmen and the establishment of the Société Olympique

In 1813 the *Société Olympique*, a concert association, was established to support musical practice by organizing concerts, balls and daily meetings.⁵¹ This society, called in popular speech the ‘Société allemande’, was particularly well-known in foreign circles, especially amongst those from a German background.⁵² Its members comprised successful maritime merchants including Christian and Johannes Lemmé, Wilhelm and Johannes Abraham Nottebohm, Johannes Georg Rücker, Johannes Mathias Gogel, Hubertus Havenith, Christopher Dühring and Conrad Frederik Pfeffel. These foreigners entered international trading business in Antwerp fairly easily, not because of large capital reserves, but because their trade activities were organized in flexible and extensive networks of trusted relations across borders.⁵³ This association, however, was more than a ‘German club’ since many immigrants working in Antwerp as international traders appeared on the membership lists in 1813 and in 1819, even when they had only temporarily moved to Antwerp. Among these traders, one finds the names of John Lawford, Charles Grant and William Steelz from England, who only temporarily stayed in Antwerp. Acquiring membership, too, were shipbrokers (such as Anton Giese, Charles Grisar and Daniël Van Dooren), bill brokers (such as Jean François Standaert and Felix Oboussier) and brokers in commodities (such as Johannes Martin Grisar and Corneil Van Nest). In fact, all of these members played a key role in commercial and financial dealings as intermediaries between buyers and sellers.⁵⁴ Thus, key figures in maritime trade as well as services related to international trade came together in the *Société Olympique*. Indeed, a quarter of all foreign newcomers in the current sample possessed only one single membership card: that of this particular musical society.

To some extent, the attractiveness of the *Société Olympique* for immigrants resulted from the fact that this was an early organization that constituted a distinctive social life for

‘new’ groups in the city, such as the German colony (although membership lists do reveal an attraction for the broader mercantile community as well).⁵⁵ In the early nineteenth century especially, when newcomers trickled in, joining this club generated contacts with other businessmen and offered opportunities to gather information on a friendly basis, outside of a business context. These kinds of social gatherings offered opportunities for small talk, for engaging in conversation with new people and for creating new interpersonal bonds. In addition, they were helpful in maintaining and reinforcing existing relations. Even local authorities were aware of the commercial platform an association like the *Société Olympique* offered, since they remarked that a lot of commercial agreements were initiated within these club walls.⁵⁶ Of course business groups developed a strong associational profile elsewhere too: for example, in Buenos Aires where British and foreign merchants joined the same associations, as well as in French masonic lodges or in British clubs.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, as researchers have been quick to stress, there were significant differentiations even within the mercantile elite according to their wealth, social position and assimilation processes.⁵⁸

The apparent openness of the *Société Olympique* can be traced back through its rules and regulations. The salons and gardens were located in the ‘Local dit des Arquebusiers’; and, in addition to concerts, *redoutes* and masked balls, members might have played cards or billiards in the club rooms. Every trimester, members had to pay twelve Belgian francs to enjoy the facilities of the club, and new members could be introduced via current members by applying to the administration board that decided on admission by ‘tirage au sort’. Furthermore, it was open to members to invite friends to concerts, balls and *redoutes*.⁵⁹ However, one should not overstate the openness of this association, since only a few members of the *Société Olympique* were also to be found, for instance, in the *Société littéraire* and in the *Société des amateurs de la musique à la Salle dite Sodalité* (see below). The only ‘Antwerp’ exceptions were the merchant Laurent Solvyns-Pieters and the banker Edouard van Ertborn, both connected with the international mercantile elite thanks to their business activities and membership of the Chamber of Commerce, which functioned as a pressure group for international merchants in Antwerp.⁶⁰ In the very first place, though, this club seems to have functioned as meeting place for people active in international trade.

Limited entrance to closed circles of the ‘old’ Antwerp upper classes

A completely different audience must be sought in the *Société littéraire d’Anvers* and in the *Société des amateurs de la musique à la Salle dite Sodalité* (hereafter *Société Sodalité*). Very early in the nineteenth century the *Société Sodalité* had already been established, organizing

concerts in the *Sodalité*.⁶¹ As the city chronicler Lodewijk Torfs remarked, members of this society were always fashionably dressed and belonged to the upper classes.⁶² Torfs was right: in 1814 this association counted 172 members; of these, eighty-three per cent belonged to the financial economic elite during the eighteenth century.⁶³ To enter these circles, then, fortune and social standing were essential, for in this club one became acquainted with the offspring of the old Antwerp financial elite as well as with members of old Antwerp noble families, such as Della Faille, Moretus, Ullens or De Fraula. Its members similarly included a generation of merchants ennobled during the eighteenth century, who had made efforts to regain their commercial and financial activities after the reopening of the River Scheldt, such as Werbrouck, Cogels, De Broëta and De Wael.

Cross-membership with the *Société littéraire d'Anvers* occurred in many cases. This society, established in 1802 to promote social relations and to facilitate business, was known in Antwerp as the 'Société des nobles' because it was also frequented by the highest nobility in town.⁶⁴ Members of this society distinguished themselves from others by owning their own club house near the Meir (the central boulevard of the city) and by sharing that ownership of the house, its furniture and other possessions of the society among members, who were admitted to this club by buying expensive shares. Open every day from eight o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock at night, its members enjoyed reading newspapers and books, having discussions in a private atmosphere, playing cards or billiards, or partaking of certain refreshments.⁶⁵ Smoking was prohibited, as in other exclusive clubs,⁶⁶ and, although not mentioned in regulations and prescriptions, the club was an exclusively male space.

According to the establishment act of 1802, the 'old' Antwerp financial elite gathered at the *Société littéraire*. Rich ennobled businessmen, such as Cogels, Diercxsens, Le Grelle, De Broëta and De Heyder, but also Antwerp citizens from old noble families, such as Della Faille, De Stier, De Bosschaert and De Labistrate, were members.⁶⁷ The club offered these men from various aristocratic and old Antwerp mercantile families an exclusive meeting space because to become a member one had to be nominated by an active member of the club and be elected by an absolute majority. Between 1802 and 1812 the number of members increased from fifty-three to 241. In 1819 the society still counted 200 active members; in 1829, however, the number was limited to fifty-three. The *Société Sodalité* and the *Société littéraire d'Anvers* recruited their members in the same Antwerp social circuits. From 1808 onwards, the *Société Sodalité* became known in Antwerp as the 'concert noble', this being a more appropriate name.⁶⁸

As this discussion has demonstrated, a mixed company of rich Antwerp citizens and aristocrats met in both societies, and, just as in Brussels, The Hague or elsewhere, they were part of a well-organized society life, where people gathered on the basis of birth, financial means and a civilized and shared lifestyle.⁶⁹ The strong ties and connections between these people dated from the second half of the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ In general, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the old Antwerp elite was still a close-knit group, deeply embedded in Antwerp society, sharing business concerns but also reinforcing their ties through marriage and family connections, and joined together by a mixed yet exclusive social life. Far more important, though, is the fact that they still cultivated these relations after the turn of the century. In periods of change such as in Antwerp at the turn to the nineteenth century, when businessmen from abroad trickled in and gained wealth, these phenomena of group formation or consolidation was important. The new economic and political circumstances urged them to reinforce these ties and to display their internal social cohesion, at least during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

Was it possible for ‘newcomers’ to acquire entrance into these elitist circles? A small group of rich businessmen from abroad did indeed succeed, suggesting that they were trusted and accepted in these upper circles. In 1812 and 1819 in particular more ‘newcomers’ were admitted, a process that went hand in hand with the growing presence of foreign businessmen in town. Seven individuals were even enrolled in both societies. A closer look at their background and professional and social relationships reveals that it is necessary to make some distinctions and thereby refine the idea of inclusiveness. Indeed, half of them were born in the Northern Netherlands and already had built strong professional ties in Antwerp during the eighteenth century because of the need of Dutch mediation in international trade during the closure of the Scheldt. Others reinforced professional ties by marriage patterns, such as Jean Joseph Osy and Daniël Thuret who married Antwerp women of noble birth, much as the Frenchmen Jean Charpentier and the Spanish merchant Dominique Dutari married in Antwerp business circles too.⁷¹ The only two foreign merchants without introduction, thanks to former trade relations or family ties, were James Clegg from Manchester and Georg Kreglinger from Karlsruhe. Georg Kreglinger settled in Antwerp in 1797, and went on to hold a seat in the Chamber of Commerce with its establishment in 1802.⁷² In 1804 he became member of a small reading society, the ‘Société littéraire allemande’, though he had to wait until 1812 and 1814, respectively, to become member of the more elitist *Société littéraire d’Anvers* and the *Société Sodalité*. These findings do suggest, then, that both clubs cannot be viewed as vehicles of inclusion; rather they were places of social distinction and exclusion. As an ‘outsider’, one

could only enter into these societies when relations with Antwerp elitist circles were already established through other different channels involving formal and informal networks.

A mixed world?

In the clubs mentioned until now, the social background of members was fairly homogeneous. At the same time, the carefully arranged composition of these voluntary associations reflects how ‘old’ and ‘new’ upper classes constituted relatively distinct formations in early nineteenth-century Antwerp. Fortune and profession, prestige and lifestyle, but also geographic and social background, mattered. However, plural memberships of clubs indicate that it was still possible to build bridges between several groups. For instance, immigrants and locals circulated together in the *Cercle littéraire d’Anvers*, also a prestigious club (with a membership fee of seventy-two Belgian francs in 1812) and known, according to local authorities, for its large number of merchants, of which one group already belonged to the economic elite before 1795 while others had just arrived in Antwerp.⁷³ In the *Société du Cercle*, another rather elitist club asking a membership fee of sixty Belgian francs, foreigners were also admitted. Later on, the *Société d’Harmonie*, recruiting especially from broader bourgeois circles (referred to as the ‘bonne bourgeoisie d’Anvers’), also counted traders from Antwerp and abroad amongst its members. It became a favourite focal point during summertime by organizing concerts in the ‘Hof ter Beke’, near the Markgravelei, situated in the residential quarters in town where the upper classes resided.⁷⁴ Hence, in all these associations, there were only a few traces of the old Antwerp noble families to be found, indicating that important demarcation lines seem to have existed between nobility and bourgeoisie and, more important, between nobility and the ‘new’ bourgeoisie who had just arrived in town.

Yet the presence of foreigners in these associations also has to be put into perspective. The timing of their entrance into Antwerp club life, as well as their family and professional networks, indicate that their presence in these clubs was associated with previous local embeddedness through family networks or by holding public office. Not surprisingly, businessmen – such as the already mentioned Jean Joseph Osy, Daniël Thuret, Georg Kreglinger or Jean Charpentier, who were wealthy but also well connected with the Antwerp upper classes by marriage, public office or otherwise – eventually became ‘network tigers’. That is, they developed a strong associational profile, being members of four or more different clubs in Antwerp, thanks to their wealth and influence but, foremost, to the

connections they had established outside club life. These engagements enabled them to exploit their networking opportunities even more by becoming members of respectable associations. In contrast, many other foreign merchants in the early years after their settlement in Antwerp acquired admission only to less elitist clubs, while others failed or were not interested in joining any association in Antwerp at all. These cases offer some indications of distinct phases in the settlement process and demonstrate perhaps also differences in wealth and social status among newcomers in town.⁷⁵

Concluding remarks

To evaluate whether and how associations acted as vehicles for the embeddedness of immigrants within their new hometown, it is important to examine the timing of entrance into club life and to relate this participation to other indicators of local inclusion, such as professional embeddedness or marriage. Although based on a relatively small and socially quite atypical group of successful businessmen, this case-study reveals mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that were operating even amongst more elitist and wealthy levels of society, and it demonstrates the challenges for newcomers in entering the local bourgeois sphere. Of course membership in associations was only one of the mechanisms for becoming part of the urban bourgeois sphere. Even so, it clearly facilitated networking within Antwerp society and offered opportunities for establishing, maintaining or reinforcing economically and socially useful networks. Nevertheless, although the majority of these wealthy immigrant businessmen did appear in the salons, balls or concerts of clubs, one third of them did not enter club life at all. Moreover, a large majority joined only one specific association that primarily recruited in mercantile circles and was known for its relative openness towards foreigners.

Age and generational factors were responsible for the most striking differences in participation of these wealthy businessmen, as well as their orientation towards trade and services, but, in contrast to what is often supposed, not only long-resident migrants but also temporary ones found their way into clubs in Antwerp. Still, the social embeddedness of migrants through family or professional relationships clearly made associational life much more accessible, even though foreigners certainly preferred to work with or marry other immigrants. Being socially embedded, in other words, seems to have been more important than being locally embedded. Even so, the timing for first membership does reveal that in

many cases – except for some young foreigners – immigrants only entered clubs after a stay of several years in Antwerp and often after taking advantage of other successful mechanisms of structural inclusion. In this way, club life was a vehicle for inclusion into the urban fabric only to a certain degree.

Yet even then there were remarkable social dividing lines between associations, and even for wealthy and successful merchants the doors of all associations were not similarly open. Indeed, some associations were operating in a completely separated, more elitist sphere and probably also fulfilled other needs than facilitating business relations. In the early nineteenth century, while members gathered in the *Société littéraire* and *Société dite Sodalité* on the basis of their aristocratic background and Antwerp roots, foreigners engaging in business activity and forming a sort of ‘new’ business elite met in the *Société Olympique*. Associations and networks are not a given, but are the products of conscious efforts to invent, maintain and reinforce them. These clubs, therefore, both reflected a hierarchy of old and new social formations with little interaction between them and, at the same time, were involved in creating new social hierarchies and boundaries.

Some social groups, such as the old Antwerp noble families, were very strongly represented in specific elitist associations and nearly absent from more mixed bourgeois associations and clubs. At the same time, the ennobled bourgeoisie of the eighteenth century, who regained their commercial activities in the early nineteenth century, became actively involved in several club circuits. For successful foreign businessmen, however, being locally embedded through family or professional ties was a prerequisite for entering the more elitist and profoundly more locally embedded bourgeois societies and clubs of Antwerp. Thus, mechanisms of exclusion were clearly in place, supported by membership fees and balloting procedures.

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²⁹ *Pasinomie*, série 1, 3, 1791, 9 October 1791, 457-461.

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- ³² H. Greefs, 'Informeel netwerken van de zakenelite in Antwerpen (1796-1830)', *De Achttiende Eeuw*, 2 (2007), 61-87.
- ³³ P. Clark and R.A. Houston, 'Culture and leisure, 1700-1840', in: P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain. Volume II: 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), 594.
- ³⁴ Although formal membership was restricted to men, special social gatherings, such as (masked) balls and winter and summer concerts, were often mixed, as elsewhere in Europe: C. Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France. Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999).
- ³⁵ *Règlement de la Société littéraire d'Anvers pour l'an 1829* (Antwerp, 1829) art. 3 and 4. For wages: see C. Lis, *Social Change and the Labouring Poor. Antwerp, 1770-1860* (New Haven and London, 1986), 176.
- ³⁶ SAA, MA, 382/3, nr. 1 (4); and 382/10, nr. 1, Statutes, 1813, art. 6.
- ³⁷ RAA, PAA, F, 15 B, 1, Société d'Harmonie d'Anvers, Statutes, 3 March 1820, art. 30.
- ³⁸ Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen*, *op. cit.*, 224.
- ³⁹ RAA, PAA, A 133, nr. 2
- ⁴⁰ RAA, PAA, F, Police, 71, map 4, Société Olympique, Statutes, art. XV and XVI.
- ⁴¹ SAA, MA, 382/6, nr. 1, Société Philharmonique, Statutes, 29 décembre 1811, art. XVI and XVIII.
- ⁴² SAA, MA, 382/3, 2/1, Société littéraire d'Anvers, Statutes, 26 December 1802, art. 12 .
- ⁴³ Morton, de Vries and Morris (eds), *op cit.*, 1-17.
- ⁴⁴ D. Garrioch, 'Introduction. The social history of urban neighbourhoods', *Journal of Urban History*, 32/5 (2006), 663-677; C. Lis and H. Soly, 'Neighbourhood and social change in West

European cities. sixteenth to nineteenth centuries', *International Review of Social History*, 38 (1993), 1-30.

⁴⁵ Timing is a crucial element in life-course analyses. See Jan Kok, 'Principles and prospects of the life course paradigm', *Annales de démographie historique*, 1 (2007), 203-230.

⁴⁶ H. Greefs, 'Exploiting international webs', *op. Cit.*.

⁴⁷ As opposed to official kin who appear only on specific occasions. See: P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977), 32-35.

⁴⁸ On the importance of weak ties see M. Granovetter, 'The strength of weak ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (1973), 1360-1380.

⁴⁹ SAA, MA, 382/8, nr. 5, Société des Amis de la Bonne Foy, 14 December 1808; nr. 7, Société de l'Union, November 1811.

⁵⁰ K. Lynch, *Individuals, Families and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800. The Urban Foundations of Western Society*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time 37 (Cambridge, 2003), 14-18.

⁵¹ SAA, MA, 382/10, nr. 1 (1), 10 April 1813.

⁵² SAA, MA, 382/8, nr. 1 (12), State of private societies (1821).

⁵³ Greefs, 'Exploiting international relations', *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ SAA, MA, 382/10, nr. 1 (1-3), Société Olympique, Membership lists, 10 April 1813, 25 October 1813 and 1 April 1819.

⁵⁵ Devos and Greefs, 'The German', *op. cit.*, 12-27.

⁵⁶ SAA, MA, 382/8, nr. 16, Official report, 7 September 1821.

⁵⁷ D. Roche, *Les Républicains des lettres. Gens de culture et lumières au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1988) 289; V. Blinn Reber, *British Mercantile Houses in Buenos Aires, 1810-1880* (Cambridge Mass., 1979) 45; 292 en 298 ; R. Lee (ed.), *Commerce and Culture. Nineteenth Century Business Elites* (Farnham, 2011).

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- ⁵⁸ R. Lee, 'Divided loyalties? In-migration, ethnicity and identity: the integration of German merchants in nineteenth century Liverpool', *Business History*, 54, 2 (2012), 117-153.
- ⁵⁹ RAA, PAA, series F, Police, nr. 71/4: Société Olympique, Statutes, 1813.
- ⁶⁰ H. Greefs, 'Van formeel vrij tot tolvrij. Vertogen over de Scheldevaart en de positie van Antwerpen als havenstad binnen de schoot van de Antwerpse Kamer van Koophandel, 1795-1863', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 123 (2010), 554-571.
- ⁶¹ *Règlement adopté par la Société des amateurs de musique à la Salle ci-devant Sodalité, dans l'Assemblée générale du 9 Novembre 1800* (Antwerp, 1800), art. V.
- ⁶² L. Torfs, *Nieuwe Geschiedenis van Antwerpen of schets van de beginsels en gebeurtenissen dezer stad, als mede van de opkomst harer instellingen en gestichten* (Antwerpen, 1866), part 2, 306.
- ⁶³ K. Degryse, *De Antwerpse fortuinen. Kapitaalsaccumulatie, - investering, en - rendement te Antwerpen in de 18de eeuw*, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis, 88 (2005), appendix Ia and Ib; SAA, MA, 382/6, nr. 4: *Société des amateurs de la musique à la Salle dite Sodalité*, Membership list, 1814.
- ⁶⁴ SAA, MA, 382/8, nr. 16, Official report, 7 September 1821.
- ⁶⁵ SAA, MA, 382/3, map 2, nr. 1, Société littéraire d'Anvers, Statutes, art. 1 and art. 3.
- ⁶⁶ J.H. Furnée, *Plaatsen van beschaafd vertier*, 114, 139.
- ⁶⁷ SAA, MA, 382/3, map 2, nr. 1, Société littéraire d'Anvers, Statutes.
- ⁶⁸ H. Baeck-Schilders, 'De Sodaliteit als concert-en spektakelzaal', in *De Nottebohmzaal. Boek en mecenaat, Publikaties van de Stadsbibliotheek en het Archief en Museum voor het Vlaamse cultuurleven*, 34-36, (Antwerpen, 1993), 59.
- ⁶⁹ K. Buyens, 'Het muziekleven te Brussel, 1740-1780. Een sociaal-historische verkenning', *De Achttiende eeuw* 37 (2005), 142-143, 154; Furnée, 'In good company', *op. Cit.*
- ⁷⁰ Degryse, 'The Aristocratization', *op cit.* 39

⁷¹ Degryse, *De Antwerpse fortuinen*, *op. cit.*, appendix Ia, 156-157; Prosopographic database on businessmen.

⁷² Prosopographic database on businessmen.

⁷³ SAA, MA, 382/8, nr. 16, Official report, 7 September 1821.

⁷⁴ H. Baeck-Schilders, 'Het muziekleven', *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁷⁵ See also R. Lee, 'In-migrants', *op. cit.*, 131-137.