Voyagers to the West Study Guide

Voyagers to the West by Bernard Bailyn

BOOKRAGS

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Plot Summary

In *Voyagers to the West*, Bernard Bailyn examines the dramatic increase in immigration to the American colonies from Britain in the years leading up to the American Revolution. He focuses on who the immigrants were, where they came from, why they were immigrating, and where they went in the colonies. His main data source is an emigration register kept by British customs officials during this time. He supplements that information with data from newspapers, town records, personal manuscript collections, and so on.

Bailyn begins his work by giving a broad overview of the early 1770s, and the increase in emigration from the British Isles that was taking place. He argues that this immigration to the colonies helped form the basis of modern American society and increased tensions between the colonies and the crown. The British government became concerned about the number of emigrants leaving, and how their exodus might affect the country. Officials considered banning all emigration to the colonies but decided to first study the phenomenon by compiling official statistics about who was leaving and why.

The emigration Register that developed provides a wealth of information about the emigrants that left the British Isles in the early 1770s, before the American Revolution halted all emigration to the colonies. Bailyn discusses the data found in the Register, including information about the emigrants' social and economic statuses, their ages and sex, stated reasons for emigrating, and their final destinations. He finds that there were two movements from Britain during this time, reflecting different social and economic forces.

The first movement is a labor force made up of indentured servants from central and southern England who went mainly to the middle colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. He explains how these individuals were recruited, how they were distributed upon reaching the colonies, and so on.

In the last sections of the book, Bailyn uses particular situations and people to show the second migration, which consisted of mostly families from northern England and Scotland. The experiences of these individuals, listed in the Register, are fleshed out and expanded on from additional sources. The narratives illustrate how the emigrants came to leave the British Isles and their experiences in reaching and settling in the North American colonies.

Book 1, Introduction and Chapter 1 An Expanded World, 1760-1776

Book 1, Introduction and Chapter 1 An Expanded World, 1760-1776 Summary

In *Voyagers to the West*, Bernard Bailyn examines the dramatic increase in immigration to the American colonies from Britain in the years leading up to the American Revolution. He focuses on who the immigrants were, where they came from, why they were immigrating, and where they went to in the colonies. His main data sources is an emigration register kept by British customs officials during this time, and he supplements that information with data from newspapers, town records, personal manuscript collections, and so on.

In the pre-Revolutionary years, many people emigrated from the British mainland to America. The population of the colonies spread into the backcountry of the coastal colonies and trans-Appalachian west. The magnitude of these developments was greater in these years than they had been in the preceding years. This helped transform the basic elements of American life.

Eighteenth century America was pre-industrial, pre-urban, and pre-humanitarian. There was little regard for the human consequences of deprivation or of chattel slavery and lesser forms of servitude. While these characteristics were shared with other societies, America's way of life was unique. They lived far from metropolitan cores, and they had to struggle to maintain the forms of civilized existence that were present elsewhere. They lived in a world constantly at risk. Yet, thousands of people immigrated during this time to America who were not driven out of their homelands by plague, famine, war, or persecution.

After 1760 and the end of the war in North America, the colonies expanded. The expansion became a social force that would strain relations between America and Britain. America had become a place of interest for Britain and to a lesser extent, Western Europe. The colonies became known as a potential gold mine in land values, consumer markets, and so on. The colonies had also become known as a refuge for the threatened, impoverished, and the ambitious of the western world. This wasn't a new thing, as North America had been seen in these terms for some time. The issue of how to control settlement in the new western land acquisitions grew.

The expansion in North America after 1760 began with a movement to the frontiers by isolated families and community groups. These movements began to multiply, flowing together, forming greater settlements. More and more immigrants to the colonies moved west, north, and south from the already established centers of the colonies. Areas, which saw a great deal of migration, were western Virginia, northwestern North Carolina, and the eastern edges of Tennessee. The main route of access to these areas

was the Great Wagon Trail, which covered 800 miles by 1770 from Philadelphia to Augusta, Georgia. In North Carolina, immigrants rushed into unsettled and little-known territory. In South Carolina, likewise, much of the expansion came from migrants moving south. There was both an increase in density of land occupation in already settled areas and in the more remote western territories.

This outward expansion of immigrants could not be contained within the constraints of existing colonies or within the extended boundaries of permissible white settlements outside the provinces. Disconnected settlements sprung up even as existing settlements spilled over into the area surrounding it. New communities could be found a thousand miles into the interior of North America, at the farthest regions of Britain's territorial empire. Land speculators abounded, moving people to these areas. Bailyn argues that it seems that everyone with ambition and capacity tried to cash in on the promise of a land boom.

Immigrants from abroad helped to infuse this movement into the interior. Transatlantic migration grew in the years after 1760. People from Western Europe traveled to North America and the Caribbean in increasing numbers. In the early seventeenth century, the migration was heavily British, but this eased later in the century and into the eighteenth century. An estimated 700,000 individuals had reached British North America by 1760. Yet, this number pales in comparison to the immigration between 1760 and 1775. During these fifteen years, over 220,000 individuals arrived on the shores of North America. The average 15,000 individuals arriving annually was triple the average of the years before 1760.

Book 1, Introduction and Chapter 1 An Expanded World, 1760-1776 Analysis

Bailyn outlines in this chapter the changes occurring in the American colonies during the years preceding the Revolution. One of the largest changes was the influx of people immigrating to the colonies, hoping for a better life or more opportunities there. This immigration would have large effects in the colonies. The physical boundaries of society were bushed further and further out as more people settled in the colonies. This was helped along by the profit that many people on both sides of the Atlantic tried to earn through land speculation. Emigration from the British Isles would agitate already strained relations between the colonies and the crown. Parts of Scotland and England most heavily hit by the emigration to the colonies would feel the effect of the loss of tenants and workers.

Bailyn's brief explanation of the immigration to the colonies during these years helps to explain why he believes that this is an important study to undertake. Although his analysis will not directly discuss these effects in more detail, his examination of the immigrants, themselves, and the patterns of movement do shed light on the eventual effects. This chapter is to a certain degree his response to critics who might ask why he is looking at this flow of immigration. Due to the effects that it had, Bailyn argues that it

is important to understand the persons who were immigrating, why they were immigrating, and what they did upon reaching the colonies.

Book 1, Chapter 2 The Dilemma of British Policy

Book 1, Chapter 2 The Dilemma of British Policy Summary

British officials did not pay too much attention at first to the settlement of western lands in America or to emigration from Britain to the colonies. These later concerns did not pay a role in the early efforts of the British government to establish and shape policies on the western lands. The Proclamation of 1763 closed the trans-Appalachian west, except to licensed traders, and created the colonies of Quebec, East and West Florida. This proclamation aimed to slow expansion to prevent border violence and gradually introduce civil government in these areas. Yet, many British officials didn't seem to fully comprehend the implications of expansion in the American west, and how it was connected to British emigration.

One man, however, did grasp the implications and sought to do something about the issues he saw. The Earl of Hillsborough was an Anglo-Irish landowner who became the president of the Board of Trade just before the Proclamation of 1763 was issued. He had long been concerned about the stability and welfare of the agricultural laboring class. In 1753, he entered into a Parliament debate on whether to create a national census. He argued that a census would allow the government a basis for encouraging or restraining the transmigration of people for one part of the British Empire to another. The bill was defeated, but his commitment to limiting British emigration grew stronger. He argued that the colonies were to benefit the kingdom through commerce and the production of goods. He thought that settling the western lands made no sense to this goal and that it would only draw people away from productive centers.

In 1768, Hillsborough took on the key post of secretary of state for the colonies. He held the office for four years, which proved to be crucial for the problems of the western lands and British emigration. During this time, there was also an array of lobbyists working for land speculators and western trading interests, led by Benjamin Franklin. Franklin advocated ambitious plans for western settlement, which put him into conflict with Hillsborough.

It was commonly believed by 1773 that British emigration was leading to depopulation in certain areas of the British Isles. Concern in Ireland over this seemed to turn to panic at times. The reports from Scotland were also alarming, as one land agent reported that if nothing was done, major estates would turn to wastelands. Others raised the alarm that the deeper problem of emigration was a loss of culture. Yet, at the time, most individuals concerned with emigration focused on demographic and economic losses. A constant theme was how America was benefiting from Britain's losses.

Commentary emerged on the causes of emigration. Some argued that the rack-renting, landlords' absenteeism, and the collapse of the linen industry were to blame. The absenteeism of landlords was held as one of the more common, if indirect, causes of emigration from Ireland. Others reported that Ireland was impoverished. Accounts from Scotland, Yorkshire, and other parts of Northern England offered many of the same reasons. Commentators generally agreed that the conversion to commercial agriculture and profiteering in rents were general causes for Scottish emigration. The theme of corruption was also present.

Whatever explanation for emigration was offered, most agreed that something had to be done about it. Some proposed developing the wastelands of England and Scotland in order to counteract the American attraction. Others offered private solutions such as resolving to let out estates. Increasingly, people looked to the government to do something about the issue. One proposal was to license emigration. Yet, there was little agreement or broad consensus. Some believed that retaining a large domestic population wasn't necessarily beneficial. There were also a number of legal and moral implications to government intervention in emigration. There was no consensus on whether the government could in fact legally constrain the movements of British subjects within the empire.

In the early 1770's, however, the government did act in the area of policy and procedures for granting land in North America. The Privy Council's order of April 7, 1773 prohibited all crown governors and other officers from granting land, until a new policy could be enacted. The revised policy in 1774 altered the process of land granting. It ordered that all crown land by surveyed and sold in small public lots, rather than granted. The fees involved in this process were fixed, as well, to keep governors and other officials from profiting. Yet, regulating land grants was a weak and ineffective way of restricting emigration.

In the years before the American Revolution, the pressure to address emigration grew stronger. In 1773, the same year that marked the height of emigration from the British Isles, the government turned seriously toward enacting some policy or other action to stem the tide. Almost every newspaper in Britain and in America carried news that the government was about to take action. However, by December, it had become clear that Parliament would delay consideration of bills on emigration.

Book 1, Chapter 2 The Dilemma of British Policy Analysis

The movement of individuals from the British Isles to the American colonies did not go unnoticed within Britain. As this chapter shows, some British officials were concerned about the emigration of people from Britain, even though the American colonies were a part of the British kingdom at this time. This concern indicates that Britain, at least to a degree, felt the impact of emigration. The concern probably stemmed from both a real effect and a perceived potential for greater effect in the future. Yet, whatever actual degree to which Britain was affected by the emigration from its borders, some politicians

and leaders were concerned about it enough that they felt something had to be done to curb it.

The potential solutions put forth to the emigration "problem" illustrate the difficulties that Britain faced with its widespread kingdom. One of the possibilities suggested was to limit emigration through some means. Yet, if individuals wanted to move between parts of the kingdom, was this truly emigration? These are the types of questions that Britain was forced to contend with as it looked for solutions. In doing so, Britain had to examine ideas of nation, citizenship, and freedom.

Book 1, Chapter 3 Searching for the Facts

Book 1, Chapter 3 Searching for the Facts Summary

John Powell, an undersecretary of state for the colonies, suggested that a statistical assessment of emigration be done to see how Britain was affected. Customs officials were to compile information embarking on all overseas voyages. The officials compiled names, ages, occupations, employment, former residences, where they proposed to go, why they were leaving the country, and so on. In the months that followed, customs officials interviewed thousands of emigrants as they boarded ships sailing for North America.

The result of this collection illuminates the essential characteristics of the emigration and of a major segment of the immigrants who peopled North America in the years leading up to the Revolution. Bailyn argues that there is better source of information on immigration data for these years of American history. Yet, the data source is not ideal for using modern statistical analyses to depict immigration in the years before the Revolution. This data source is incomplete and deficient in some respects. For example, the data include information for only England and Scotland and thus, doesn't include immigration, voluntary or involuntary, from Africa, Germany and other European nations, or Ireland.

The raw data that was collected by English and Scottish port officials was sent to two customs boards in London and Edinburgh. At these two later sites, the information was handled differently. The information sent to Edinburgh was sent directly to the Treasury in London without any editing or summarization. The raw data from the English ports, in contrast, was sent first to the Treasury's statistical branch where the reports were edited and consolidated. This job fell to John Tompkyns, the assistant inspector general of imports and exports. He inspected and corrected each incoming report and then copied the information onto large uniform sheets. Each week's sheets, with a cover letter detailing weekly totals for each port separately and all ports together, were then sent to the Treasury. Tompkyns was soon overwhelmed with this task, and he hired an extra clerk.

There were several weaknesses in this survey of emigrants. The major problem was that there was no legal requirement for vessels carrying emigrants to register with customs. There were also many ocean inlets and ports, some of which were minor enough that no customs agents were placed there. There were also problems with omissions. Even after registering, vessels were free to pick up passengers afterward without registering them. Local customs officials often decided who among the ship's passengers were emigrants. At times, it seems, that professionals and men and women of substance were not included. Some of the personal information, like age, was estimated by the customs officials. Emigrants' residences and destinations also varied

in specificity. Sometimes specific towns or ports were registered, and other times, counties or larger areas were used.

The British Register of Emigration, therefore, is an imperfect data source that was produced in a pre-statistical age. However, it does provide general information about what kinds of individuals were emigrating from the British Isles, why they were leaving, and where they were going. For all its imperfections, it still remains the most comprehensive and most detailed source of information on British emigration and of American immigration in the pre-Revolutionary war era.

Book 1, Chapter 3 Searching for the Facts Analysis

In this chapter, Bailyn addresses his primary source material and the problems with it. Like other historical data of this type, the information contained in the Registry is certainly incomplete and flawed. Customs officials didn't interview every person who emigrated from Britain during this time, didn't always get the correct information down, and sometimes made judgments on their own about passenger information.

Yet, the Registry is an important data source, giving information that would be difficult, if not impossible, to find in other ways. Although imperfect, it does provide a glimpse into who was emigrating, why they were emigrating, and where they were going in the colonies. This is important information for understanding how this immigration affected the colonies and to explain the experiences of the immigrants.

Book 2, Chapter 4 Magnitudes, Locations, and Flow

Book 2, Chapter 4 Magnitudes, Locations, and Flow Summary

Bailyn's first impression of British life in the years leading up to the American Revolution is one of complexity as thousands of people in every region of the country move to ports of exit. Yet, the movement is not a patternless roaming. Bailyn argues that there was a purpose and shape to these movements.

The reports from the customs officials show 9,868 individuals leaving for North America from December 1773 to March 1776. This number must be adjusted however, as not all the travelers were emigrants. A small number, about 2 percent of the total, indicated that they were not emigrating. Of the individuals thought to be emigrating, 5,196 came from England and 3,872 from Scotland. Another 296 came from various other places including Ireland. The overwhelming majority of the individuals emigrating gave their destinations as mainland North American colonies south of Nova Scotia. A much smaller percentage was going to Canada and the West Indies.

Yet, the official totals probably need to be adjusted upward as well. For example, records for three weeks of English emigration in 1774 are missing. The precise difference between the actual numbers of emigrants and between the Register's totals cannot be established. Bailyn compares the Register's totals to notices of ship's arrivals in North America and finds that the Register's totals account for probably around three-fifths of the total number of British emigrants.

The emigrants listed in the Register sailed to America in 402 different vessels. Bailyn finds that in one third of the Atlantic crossings, ships carried only one or two passengers. Most of the 402 vessels listed were probably engaged in commercial voyages and carried passengers to fill out their cargo and to gain some extra profit. "But that is only half the picture: for while most ships carried few people, most people went on vessels crowded with fellow emigrants" (pg. 95). Vessels, which picked up small numbers of emigrants, seemed to be more common in Southern English ports. Deliberately organized emigrant vessels happened more commonly in Northern English and Scottish ports. Overall, it appears that small groups of emigrants left steadily over the months for North America and then, at certain times, vessels would carry large numbers of emigrants.

Emigration from London was complex. It was common for shippers to pick up a few emigrants on commercial voyages, but there was also a small fleet of vessels that carried primarily emigrants. Thus, there were differences in the shipping patterns. From Scotland, emigrants tended to travel in large, organized groups on vessels that were fitted for this purpose. In Southern English ports, emigrants were more likely to travel in

small groups, finding passage on commercial ships. London emigration fell between these two extremes. The sudden increase in emigration for major ports in some months indicates that organized groups were traveling at those times.

Over half (55.5%) of the emigrants accounted for in the Register were from England, while 41.3% were from Scotland. Yet, Bailyn notes that accuracy may have been comprised in the Register. With high mobility, emigrants may have had trouble listing precise residence. In particular, London presents a special problem, as it drew large numbers of individuals from all over England. This makes interpreting "London" as an emigrant's former residence difficult, as they may have only been there a short time.

The Register indicates that emigration in Britain occurred from the three concentrated areas of London, Yorkshire and Scotland. Almost a half of British emigrants listed London as their residence. 76.5% of the English and 42.7% of the entire British emigration came from either the Thames Valley or Yorkshire. No other part of England compares to these two main centers. In Scotland, almost all areas saw some emigration.

Males were more likely to emigrate than females. Over four-fifths of all English emigrants were men and over three-fifths of all English emigrants were male. Thus, British emigrants were more likely to be male than Scottish emigrants. Bailyn argues that this different pattern between Southern England and Scotland form a dual emigration.

The pattern of emigration movements forms a few well-traveled corridors within the British Isles. Only 37 ports were used by emigrants and only 19 saw departures of 90 or more emigrants. Over ninety-five percent of emigrants left through these nineteen ports.

Book 2, Chapter 4 Magnitudes, Locations, and Flow Analysis

Bailyn points out several important facts in this chapter. First, Bailyn argues the complex emigration from the British Isles to the North American colonies was not random, but was patterned in certain ways. He will further explore the patterns in the chapters to come. In short, though, more males than females emigrated. Some areas of the British Isles saw more people leave than others.

One of the interesting patters that Bailyn discusses is that a large number of vessels carried individuals to the colonies. Yet, most of those emigrating traveled in larger numbers on a smaller number of ships. This indicates that traveling via an organized emigration vessel was common, although some individuals gained passage on other commercial ships.

Book 2, Chapter 5 Identities and Motivations: The Dual Emigration

Book 2, Chapter 5 Identities and Motivations: The Dual Emigration Summary

The ages of the emigrants tended to concentrate around the ages of 20-24. Over a third of emigrants from England fell in this range and over a fifth of Scots did as well. Almost two-thirds of all British emigrants were between the ages of 14 and 30. As this concentration was markedly different from the overall percentage of British citizens and from the population of the American colonies, where over half of the free population was under the age of 21, Bailyn argues that this phenomenon must have shaped the ways that the emigrants entered American life.

Of the 8,613 emigrants whose sex was registered, about three-fourths were males, although the pattern differed between England and Scotland. There were almost two-thirds more women who emigrated from Scotland than from England. When age is figured into this account, it shows that emigration was more balanced in age and sex from Scotland than from England. More children below the age of ten and more women and girls departed from Scotland. Vessels leaving English ports carried overwhelmingly young men.

Most emigrants traveled alone, without a determinable personal relationship to anyone traveling on the same vessel. Around thirty-one percent of people emigrated in family groups. A smaller percentage of individuals emigrated in small non-familial groups. Very few young people were sent overseas without other family members. Those between 15 and 24 typically traveled independent of families. Bailyn suggests that it was a common practice to send the young out around the age of 15 for work. Fifteen was also the age that individuals could legally bind themselves as indentured servants. Males emigrated alone more than females.

Of the families who emigrated, most tended to be nuclear family organizations. One-fifth of these families consisted of only a husband and wife. These families were more often English than Scottish.

The Register also lists the occupations of emigrants during this time. Of the 6,190 emigrants whose occupation is listed, only 2.3% listed occupations that were considered "gentle." Similarly, only a small percentage listed commerce or trade. The largest occupation category is artisans, craftsmen, or workers trained in specific skills. More English than Scottish emigrants listed artisans. The Scots were more likely to be laborers, agriculturists, and textile workers. English women emigrants were almost always engaged in some sort of textile work, often "spinning." Almost half of the women emigrating from England said they were servants.

Bailyn argues that for the men a picture develops of lower middle and working class men for whom emigration was an opportunity to be sought rather than a desperate escape. "The occupational character of the English emigration was not created by a balance between respectable elements from the provinces and a mass of destitute laborers pouring out of London's slum" (pg. 164). Rather, London contributed more towards the higher social status than to the lower in the counts. Scotland's emigration has two dominant occupational patterns. One was semi-industrial workers, including artisans, textile workers and so on. The other Bailyn refers to as Highlands-traditional, which included farmers and laborers.

Of the emigrants listed in the Register, just under half, or no fewer than 4,472, individuals were indentured servants. Unable or unwilling to pay for the emigration themselves, indentured servants entered into contracts with entrepreneurs, of some sort. These individuals paid for their transportation to America in exchange for full-time service for a period of years. Their labor was sold upon their arrival to America for whatever the owners of their bonds could get for them. When the indentured servants' work period was up, they were free from all obligations and were often owed "freedom dues," which included possibly a small sum of money or tools or clothing. Sometimes the contracts were contingent on the individual's ability to pay for his or her transportation once reaching America. Indentured servants came from all lines of occupation, including highly skilled artisans. Many more English than Scottish emigrants were indentured, with the largest numbers coming from London. Indentures were often individuals traveling alone. However, if one member of a family was indentured, the remaining members were often indentured, too.

The Register indicates that emigrants left the British Isles for a variety of reasons. From the data, it is difficult to ascertain specific purpose or motive for many individuals and grouping the responses into larger categories is arbitrary. For the vast majority of emigrants whose purpose in emigrating was recorded, economics played a large role in their decision. While some individuals listed fleeing impoverishment or high rents, others listed only positive reasons for leaving, such as improving their condition or developing opportunities. Some individuals stated that they were migrating to better themselves. The English emigrants, in particular, seemed to be more positive and drawn to opportunities.

Book 2, Chapter 5 Identities and Motivations: The Dual Emigration Analysis

Bailyn examines certain aspects of the Register in closer detail in this chapter. One of the interesting aspects that comes forward from the statistics is that emigrants saw the colonies as a place of opportunity. While there were certainly some emigrants who were poor and desperate, the Register also shows that there were many individuals who had some means. These individuals sought opportunities in the colonies for cheaper land and other economic and social benefits.

That a large number of emigrants were young males should not be entirely surprising. As Bailyn points out, young men were often sent out to find work at what we would now consider young ages. The culture also included the idea of men seeking adventure and fortune. Combined with the idea that the American colonies were a land of opportunity, it is not surprising that some young men chose to leave the British Isles in search of this, even if that meant going as an indentured servant.

Book 2, Chapter 6 Arrivals and Destinations

Book 2, Chapter 6 Arrivals and Destinations Summary

Bailyn turns his attention to where the emigrants migrated to in North America. He argues that they did not travel to all the colonies in equal numbers, but rather, concentrated on only a few colonies. Over eighty percent of the migrants went to mainland colonies, and they congregated in the five middle-Atlantic colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. The largest percentage of emigrants went to Maryland. The English migrants most often went to Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Scottish emigrants most often went to New York and North Carolina. These differences suggest different cultural influences in the areas that the English and Scottish migrated to.

Families migrating together tended to go to New York, North Carolina, and Nova Scotia, with over a third of these families going to New York. Indentured servants most often migrated to Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. There appear to be no concentrating of indentures in particular occupations according to destination. The immigrations to Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, and North Carolina are distinguished by the proportions of the sexes among the migrants, differing incidences of families, by the number of indentured servants, and by the geographical origins in Britain of the migrants. More than half of the migrants to Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia were artisans. The occupations and residences of those emigrating to New York and North Carolina are different from the previous colonies. In these two colonies, over eighty-five percent of migrants were Scots and were more likely to be farmers.

Those migrating to different destinations also differed in age patterns. The average ages for immigrants to the colonies range from a low of 27.8 for New York to a high of 40.5 for Canada. The flow of individuals into New York and North Carolina seem to form small communities composed largely of families working the land. The men tended to be older. Migrants to Nova Scotia tended to be similar to those going to New York and North Carolina while those migrating to the West Indies tended to be similar to those migrating to the central colonies. Bailyn argues that these patterns show that the migration was a discrete and patterned movement of people from Britain to America.

The pattern of small numbers of migrants on many vessels accounts for some of the emigration to almost all the North American colonies. This pattern is likely to have been a constant feature of life in the colonies. Yet, this constant trickle of individuals accounts for only a modest part of the total number of migrants. Almost ninety percent of the emigrants to New York and North Carolina, accounting for a third of the total emigration in these years, traveled on only twenty-six vessels from Scottish ports. Almost three-quarters of all emigrants to New York and North Carolina arrived in North America on vessels carrying between 100 and 300 passengers.

When looking at the purposes for migrating, those who went as freemen to the colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were overwhelmingly positive in their expectations. Many left Britain with expectations of personal betterment. In contrast, the free immigrants to New York and North Carolina gave more negative responses, often citing distress at high rents, unemployment and poverty. The colonies of New York and North Carolina seem to have been magnets for farming families.

Book 2, Chapter 6 Arrivals and Destinations Analysis

Bailyn also shows that there was a pattern in the emigrants' final destinations and that these destinations differed for emigrants from Scotland and England. Those who were indentured servants most often traveled to colonies where there was already an established population in need of these servants. Especially for those who went on vessels organized around emigration, this destination had probably been established by merchants and emigration organizers to fulfill the labor demands in these areas.

Another interesting aspect of the emigrants' destinations was that Scottish immigrants, often traveling in family groups, went overwhelmingly to North Carolina, New York and Nova Scotia. In all likelihood, this was probably due to several factors. Later in the book, Bailyn discusses the communication that occurred among some Scottish immigrants in the colonies with their families back in Scotland. It's likely that people chose destinations where they would have family members. These areas may have also been better suited for farming, something many of the Scottish immigrants had done before leaving their homeland.

Book 3, Chapter 7 The Demand

Book 3, Chapter 7 The Demand Summary

Bailyn argues that the force of attraction to North America was powerful for British emigrants, helped along by a labor shortage. Certain regions experienced greater shortages as well as certain activities and skills. In this chapter, Bailyn examines the areas which experienced labor shortages in North America during this time period.

Iron was one industry, which sought laborers from the British Isles. On the verge of the Revolution, the American colonies were producing about one-seventh of the world's iron supply or about 30,000 tons annually. There were over 250 ironworks operating in the colonies, with most of them located in southwestern New York, northern New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and northern Maryland. Yet, the ironworks were built in isolation from one another, often built surrounded by heavily wooded areas. Timber was an essential part of the ironworking process and turning it into charcoal fuel required a large labor force. Slaves provided much of the unskilled labor, particularly in the South. The work for everyone held few satisfactions, as it was hot, filthy, and dangerous. The importation of workers from Germany had begun in 1714. While Germans were prominent in the work forces, workers from elsewhere were also recruited.

Construction, and in particular shipbuilding, was also a large industry in the North American colonies. During the late colonial period, the colonies were producing about four hundred ocean vessels a year. Master shipbuilders recruited both skilled and unskilled workers from overseas. Building in general accounts for much of the recruitment of artisans from abroad. Wherever new lands were being opened up, labor was in short supply and construction workers of all kinds were also needed as established settlements grew. In some regions, the demand for laborers was small. New England, in particular, was already producing a surplus population and the need for additional workers was small.

Building craftsman and clothing makers were in high demand almost everywhere. Many employers had to provide special inducements to compete for the laborers available. The qualities that colonists sought in their servants were often clearly stated although they sometimes had to compromise. The most sought after servants were skilled artisans, especially those trained in construction trades. After this group, colonists sought "likely" teenage boys, experienced farmers and farm hands, and finally, physically capable laborers. "It is a measure of the colonists' need for extended labor commitments that they were generally willing to take on as servants convicted felons whose sentences, many of them death sentences, had been commuted to banishment in the colonies" (pg. 260).

Despite the obligatory length of their sentences, convicts were never preferred over ordinary indentured servants. By 1700, Britain was disallowing any colonial laws prohibiting the importation of convicts and by 1717, the courts were authorized to use

seven-year terms of transportation to the colonies for a whole host of non-capital offenses. Merchants took the opportunity for profit and the flow of convicts increased. Colonists were caught between a need for labor and fears of the social consequences that convicts might bring. The drawbacks for colonies included convicts determined to escape their bondage or continue their "felonious practices."

Individual householders, planters, and farmers expressed their needs for indentured servants often and local merchants turned to their ship captains and others to fulfill these needs. Most requests illustrate the terms of supply and demand. The demand for indentured servants was strengthened as skilled indentured workers were released from their service. Generally, few of those released renewed their contract. Instead, many sought to establish themselves as independent craftsman or entrepreneurs.

Some individuals exaggerated or falsified their competences in order to become indentured servants and receive transportation to the colonies. Buyers of labor had to be constantly on guard against this. Virginia passed the Act for the Better Government of Servants and Slaves in 1753, which allowed buyers to sue workman who didn't live up to the skills that they claimed. Even when farm workers were ordered, specific skills were often listed.

Book 3, Chapter 7 The Demand Analysis

The demand for labor was high in the colonies, particularly in the industries of iron and construction. Yet, colonists did not always have easy answers for how to fill this demand. While the British government banished some convicts to the colonies for a period of years, colonists had mixed feelings about using their labor. In particular, colonists worried that convicts might degrade the society that they were trying so hard to build.

Yet, indentured servants were also problematic. Most did not remain working with their buyer after their period of servitude was up. Some vanished into the backcountry as soon as they could before fulfilling the terms of their service. Indentured servants also sometimes lied about their competence in certain areas to obtain passage. Despite these drawbacks, colonists were forced to use both indentured servants and convicts in order to meet the labor demands of the growing colonies.

Book 3, Chapter 8 Sources

Book 3, Chapter 8 Sources Summary

To satisfy the unending demand for labor, many population sources were drawn from. The richest source of labor in London was in the working population. In the pre-Revolutionary days, it was the largest urban center in the western world. It was also a magnetic source for migrant workers from all over the British Isles. By 1775, it is estimated that one in every eight Londoners was a servant, often recently arrived. Few of the thousands of unskilled laborers would find steady employment, and they formed a large pool of eligible emigrants. Workers in almost all of London's trades and industries dealt with irregularity of employment.

Concentrated in four blocks in East London, the silk industry had developed in the late seventeenth century. Labor unrest had long existed in this growing industry, including riots by workers and layoffs. Child labor was popular as well as engine looms. There was also increasing competition between industries. By 1765, it was evident that one result of the employment problems in the silk industry would be a large exodus of weavers to the colonies. Similar situations existed in other industries in London and the underemployed workers were to some degree available for emigration.

In the provinces, there was no mass exodus anywhere in Britain. The economy as a whole was growing, but workers faced uncertain situations. Agricultural employment also became unstable.

Most available for labor were condemned criminals whose sentences had been commuted to banishment in the colonies. It is estimated that for the years 1718 to 1775, 50,000 convicts were banished to the colonies.

Book 3, Chapter 8 Sources Analysis

The previous chapter discusses the high demand for labor in the colonies. In this chapter, Bailyn explains how colonists, merchants, and others tried to meet these demands. With its higher population size and transient population, London became a magnet for those both seeking work and those seeking workers. Not surprisingly, this led to situations of exploitation, coercion and deception, as everyone tried to gain the best deal at the lowest cost to them.

Yet, other areas in the British Isles did not see a mass exodus of individuals for the colonies. Despite British officials' concern, most areas did not see a massive move of people, which would have left areas of Britain in need of workers. Although many people did leave for the colonies, the economy in Britain was strong and there were opportunities to be had there as well.

Book 3, Chapter 9 Recruitment

Book 3, Chapter 9 Recruitment Summary

Not only was the demand for labor high in the colonies, but there was a potentially plentiful supply of labor in the British Isles and in London, in particular. A network formed on both sides of the Atlantic to connect those who needed labor with those who could supply it. The extent of this network cannot be determined with any accuracy, but in the years before the Revolution, there were at least thirty-eight colonial merchant firms dealing in British servants.

One part of this network was intelligence, later called register, offices. These were private, profit making employment agencies. They first appeared in the early seventeenth century and quickly gained a reputation for corruption. Both applicants for employment and for servants paid fees and the managers at the agencies made the connections by managers who did so with varying methods. The managers often fleeced applicants and sometimes trapped poor women into prostitution. During the seventeenth century, they became increasingly involved in shadier dealings in the servant trade. By this time, only those who were desperate or napve continued to use the service.

To find the types of workers that were needed, merchants and their agents relied on public notifications. Public houses were important focuses of these notifications. These houses attracted artisans of all kinds. Notices were also circulated via newspapers and circulating handbills. The information also passed mouth to mouth.

Merchants also used more direct and individual recruitment, often through middlemen or agents of some sort. Some merchants sent their agents to places where those potentially available would gather. They also bartered with overseers, who were eager to unload their charges.

There were also unscrupulous recruiters, called crimps, who used less respectable methods of recruiting individuals for labor. The crimps often induced impoverished victims to pile up debts for food, clothing, and drink and then confronted them about this debt, giving them the choice of debtors' prison or servitude.

The most convenient place to find labor was Gravesend, which was twenty-six miles down the Thames from London. Gravesend was the ultimate departure point and customs clearance. Here, final freight and passenger lists were completed and notarized. For these reasons, a labor pool gathered.

Matching workers with the demand for labor in the colonies was uncertain and the more specific the need, the more difficult it was to fill. Individual orders for a certain type of workmen were seldom filled as stated. Most often, the British merchants just signed on

all the workers that their agents could produce, hoping that American buyers would be able to find an approximation of what they wanted.

Many of the emigrants seemed to decide to indenture themselves on a whim. As their decisions swayed, it was often difficult to gain a secure commitment. As merchants were determined to obtain sufficient cargoes of servants, this indecision combined with the merchants pressure lead to charges of kidnapping, intimidation, and enticement. Merchants, when getting their orders, would often strike up temporary bargains with servants. As the time passed before the ship left, the merchants' costs would increase. During this time, they had to feed and house the indentured workers in order to keep them from disappearing. There were no doubt situations of outright kidnapping as well.

The possibility of failing to recruit the number of workers needed was always present. Most of the uncertainties in the process ended, when the formal indenture was drawn up and notarized. By the last eighteenth century, these forms came in duplicate. One was designated for the servant, and the other for the owner of the labor, who was often the ship's captain. The servant swore before witnesses to serve the owner of the labor for the period of service. The owner of the labor pledged to transport the servant to the colonies and provide for the servant during the time of his/her indenture. Later, in the colonies, the document was completed transferring rights and obligations to the buyer. The American buyer then owned the servant's labor as any other piece of property.

There were seasonal variations in the transportation and demand for indentured servants. The shipping figures show that the most popular months for departures from England were January and February. These servants would arrive in March, April, or May in the colonies. The suppliers were aware of these seasonal variations and tried to time their shipments accordingly, but the erratic availability of servants in Britain made this difficult. Problems could compound if too many vessels reached the same port at the same time. Even four vessels unloading servants in the same weeks in a large market could deflate the prices.

British supplies also faced the problem of shipload size. While they often believed that servants sent in a good season would produce profits for them, large cargoes of servants presented problems. Disease, particularly if the ship was overcrowded, was a danger and could cancel out profits. The health of the servants was a constant concern although little could be, or was, done to try to protect it. The conditions for indentured servants and convicts were very similar, although the convicts were shackled together. There was little food and the servants were confined below decks, in small, unventilated, cold, wooden storage spaces.

Storms were common and must have made the transatlantic crossing that much more dangerous and uncomfortable for the servants. Notices of ships lost at sea and of people killed during storms were common in colonial papers. Passengers also were washed overboard and food rations sometimes ran out. Bailyn suggests that the actually casualty rate for transatlantic crossing from Britain were probably around 3% and may have been lower. While this rate is relatively low given the dangers, the more

general problem was severe debilitation. Indentured servants traveled under difficult conditions for several months and accidents were common.

Book 3, Chapter 9 Recruitment Analysis

In the preceding chapters, Bailyn examines the demand for labor in the colonies, and where recruiters went to find it. In this chapter, he explains how workers were found and recruited to fill the labor demand in the colonies. Given this situation, opportunities abounded for both workers and those who wished to recruit workers for the colonies. With the potential for profit, some recruiters and organizers turned to less than upstanding means of gaining workers, tricking or kidnapping some individuals.

The chapter also illustrates some of the dangers and hardships that individuals faced in the emigration process. The passage to the colonies was uncomfortable at best and dangerous at worst. Ships might be packed full of emigrants as the ship owner tried to make an even greater profit. Storms on the Atlantic often made the passage difficult. For some of the emigrants, hardships would continue once they reached the colonies, which they believed to be their land of opportunity.

Book 3, Chapter 10 Sales and Distribution

Book 3, Chapter 10 Sales and Distribution Summary

At almost any time during the spring and fall months, indentured servant's labor was sold on board the newly arrived vessels in the ports south of New England. The servants and convicts were brought up on deck and interested customers came aboard and began the process of inspecting and selecting the servants that they wanted. Servants and convicts were treated similarly throughout this process.

Shipboard sales were carefully arranged and efforts were made to spruce up the servants and convicts. The location of the sale was important. Sellers tried to find sites that had advantages and would lead to higher sales. They tried to avoid places where other ships had recently arrived, where individual buyers might have difficulty getting to, and locations where the servants available wouldn't match what the buyers were looking for. Yet, choosing a location was still a guess. The seller waited anxiously, when the buyers surveyed the servants.

Buyers and sellers both tried to maximize their gain and get the better deal. Buyers wanted healthy young workers with the particular skills that they were looking for at the lowest price for the longest commitment time. They also had to consider encumbrances like other family members and the character of the servants. From the buyers side, the longer they delayed the more likely that the prices would fall, but they had to move quickly enough to make sure that the best prospects weren't bought by others. In contrast, the sellers sought maximum profits and the longer the "goods" remained, the lower the profit margin as the seller had to feed, clothe, and house the servants.

Servants were paid for in a variety of ways. Some buyers paid cash, at fluctuating rates of exchange, but the most valuable form of payment was bills of exchange payable on demand from well-known and financially stable British firms. As these bills were not always available, the most common form of payment was a trade in goods. The seller had to estimate the price that he could get for these goods in relation to the price that they buyer had set on them.

Sellers were always concerned about disease. Sales depended on the health of their charges. They felt a great deal of relief, when the servants arrived in good health. For the buyer, the health of the servant was also paramount as was the stress on occupation and skills. Merchant's letter books record their unending efforts to fulfill their customers' needs. The prices offered reflected the priorities of demand. The American marketers often struggled to dispose of servants who were incompetent, drunks, violent, sick, or elderly.

"All of these conditions - appearance, health, skills, temperament, general competence and promise, and length of commitment to servitude - together with sex, age, and the condition of the local economy and labor markets, entered into the complicated equation that determined the prices the servants fetched" (pg. 334). Males tended to sell more quickly and for more money than females. Servants between 20 and 24 were more valuable than those younger or older. Sellers often lumped together groups of servants in wholesale lots. Sellers tried to dispose of the most valuable servants quickly and for the most profit and then to lump the remaining servants while prices were still decent.

Sellers and agents tried to sell the servants for cash or goods, but sometimes they had to take credit for them. Credit, however, was generally only given to trustworthy customers.

Most servants reached their final destinations by foot or by wagon, riverboat or raft. These journeys could take many days or weeks as some final destinations were located in the interior, as far as the present day states of Kentucky and Ohio. Some servants were sold to "soul drivers" who took the servants around the country to find buyers inland. The servants were identified as human commodities on these journeys. Advertisements were sent ahead to courthouses to announce that the drivers and servants would soon be appearing.

The workers, from villages, farms, and cities in the British Isles, were absorbed into scattered farms, plantations, and so on. The American communities were loosely organized allowing for some servants to disappear into the general population before they had worked off their time. How many servants escaped is unknown, but notices in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* indicate a maximum loss of less than three percent in the 1760s. The danger of escape was low during the shipboard marketing period and most escapees happened as the servant was being transported to their final destination. Laws were passed to help control this problem and individuals suspected of being runaways could be jailed and advertised. The costs of recovery were high and some masters wrote off their losses rather than trying to track the escapees down. When they did try, notices, offering rewards for capture, were inserted into newspapers as advertisements. The notices might be repeated week after week and the runaways were described with remarkable accuracy.

Book 3, Chapter 10 Sales and Distribution Analysis

This chapter describes the buying and selling of labor once indentured servants reached the colonies. The description is reminiscent of descriptions of slave auctions in the United States before the Civil War, although the indentured servants knew that they would only be servants for a certain number of years.

Bailyn includes an interesting discussion about runaway servants, and what their owners did to track them down. One of the most common methods was for owners to puts notices in newspapers, offering descriptions of the runaways. Bailyn includes a selection of these notices, illustrating how detailed these notices were.

Book 4, Introduction and Chapter 11 Yorkshire and the Maritime Northeast

Book 4, Introduction and Chapter 11 Yorkshire and the Maritime Northeast Summary

The demand for labor after 1760 accounts for a major part of the migration to North America in the Register. The Register also records the movement of families, traveling to different parts of the colonies. These families sought reinstatement on the land in different circumstances than they were in on the British Isles. Some entrepreneurs sought to capitalize by populating new land acquisitions. Large-scale land speculation was nothing new in North America, as it had been present since the earliest years of British settlement. There were successes in land speculation and as more British became aware of the opportunities, more entrepreneurs tried to put together ventures.

In the period before the American Revolution, Nova Scotia was the northeastern most point in the arc of borderlands in the outer boundaries of British communities in North America. Nova Scotia and the adjacent islands totaled over 22,000 square miles and had a population of less than 18,000 in early 1774. The population, although small, was ethnically diverse. Part of the base population were Acadians, who descended from seventeenth French settlers who intermingled with Portuguese, Scots, English, and Micmac Indians, developing a unique culture and language.

When Britain took over Nova Scotia, they deported the entire Acadian population to various points south. One or two thousand escaped this deportation and emerged after 1763. With those who returned, they formed new Acadian communities. One reason for this displacement, in addition to military decisions, was a desire by the British to repopulate Nova Scotia with politically reliable Protestants. A new British navel base and provincial capital was built at Halifax and the government announced in London free transportation, land, and supplies to foreign Protestants who would settle in Nova Scotia. Over 2,700 German immigrants answered this call.

In the early 1760s, agents of land companies toured the peninsula for the most promising sites. The fertile land along the Bay of Fundy was most attractive. The possibilities for exploiting Nova Scotia were large and people with imagination and ambition responded. There was a wild land boom in the mid-sixties.

The adjacent island of St. John's was also opened to development. Its 1.4 million acres, divided into 67 townships, was offered to a select group in a managed lottery. The effect of this was that St. John's became owned by individuals with funds to invest who wanted to sell the land again for profit.

The land speculation depended on having settlers who were willing to move into the wilderness and try to make the land profitable. The number of these migrants was few.

Most were encouraged and partially subsidized by either the speculators or the government. A group from Pennsylvania that came to settle in Nova Scotia could convince only six families to move. A census of the present maritime provinces listed a total of 13,374 individuals living in Nova Scotia in 1767.

In 1772, the first significant shiploads of migrants arrived in Nova Scotia from Britain. It is estimated that between 1772 and 1775, 20 vessels, carrying around 1,400 people arrived in Nova Scotia and St. John from Britain. The movement of people attracted entrepreneurs, who helped mobilize and transfer the newly opened land. One of the most prominent organizers was Michael Francklin. He was born in Poole, England and made a fortune in privateering. He had been acquiring land for some time and hoped to attract settlers to his property, concentrating his efforts on recruitment in Yorkshire. In Yorkshire, rent increases and a fast growing rural population made emigration appealing. Methodism had also grown in Yorkshire and individuals saw the new world as a place to practice their religion in greater freedom.

Francklin made use of these upheavals within Yorkshire, focusing his recruiting there. He placed newspaper ads, praising the climate of Nova Scotia and the absence of game laws, taxes, tithes, and so on. He offered generous terms for anyone willing to settle the land. These efforts succeeded. On March 16, 1772, 62 passengers left Liverpool for Nova Scotia.

Francklin's main rival was J. F. W. DesBarres, the principal draftsman of the hydrographic survey of the eastern coasts of North America. He settled in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia. He acquired at least 78,000 acres in Nova Scotia by 1776. He lacked Francklin's ability to connect with the population of Yorkshire, although he did capitalize in other ways.

Settlers coming to Nova Scotia were often shocked upon landing. They saw not the civilized frontier that they had imagined, with farmland, roadways, and villages, but untouched wilderness and dense forests. Conflicts developed between the voyagers and earlier settlers who were concerned about their own survival. In the end, some ignored their would-be sponsors and squatted on available land, later applying for land grants and most often receiving them.

Profits for entrepreneurs engaged in land speculation and immigration management could only be developed in the long term. Yet, projects were often stimulated by the hope of profits. Sir James Montgomery invested in emigration and overseas land. He acquired four of the "lots" that St. John's had been divided into and in 1770, he sent over from Scotland fifty indentured servants to start producing flax and collecting fish and timber. The problems and costs multiplied quickly. His servants were ill prepared for life in the American wilderness. Their indentures ended before profits were produced and the servants drifted away.

The recruiters and speculators were active in Britain and the newspapers were full of notices about emigration to Nova Scotia and St. John. The central theme in the notices was the amount of people emigrating from northern Britain. The larger the numbers that

were reported, the more prosperous the emigrants were. The reports represented a threat to social stability and economic security for some, and they responded with counter-propaganda. For the people emigrating, however, the advertised prospects of land ownership or cheap rentals were more effective than the warnings.

Six vessels leaving Britain for Nova Scotia and St. John in 1774 and 1775 were listed in the Register. The migration was one of families. Of those in the Register, three out of four passengers traveled as members of families. The average size of the families was 4.4. Of those whom occupation was known, half had been employed in agriculture as independent farmers of tenant yeomen. Around 27 percent were artisans and around 20 percent were laborers. "The typical history is, rather, the story of a modest competence largely absorbed in the process of transplantation, and then the development, through years of labor, of substantial property and minor prominence in the New World" (pg. 416). Although returning to Britain was often talked about by the settlers, such returns were infrequent as most remained in Nova Scotia. The mixed group of settlers, from Yorkshire, Scotland, New England, Germany, Ireland, and so on, recognized that they were at the start of a surge of development.

Book 4, Introduction and Chapter 11 Yorkshire and the Maritime Northeast Analysis

In this section of the book, Bailyn turns to focus more specifically on certain areas in North America and explains how and why immigrants moved to these areas. In doing so, he highlights the influence of land speculators and others who invested in land. Opportunity again plays a large part in this venture. Individuals who had capital available or who knew others with capital, had connections, and had the desire to try land speculation grabbed on to the newly opened lands and attempted to make a profit off it.

However, as Bailyn's discussion of Nova Scotia shows, land speculation was not always a sure thing. Land grants required that a certain number of individuals be settled on the land within a particular number of years. Indentured servants ran away. The climate and conditions of a particular area affected crops, the progress of clearing land, and the ability to attract settlers. Profits often took several years to attain.

Book 4, Chapter 12 Failure in Xanadu

Book 4, Chapter 12 Failure in Xanadu Summary

2,000 miles to the south of Nova Scotia, a stranger and more exotic society was emerging. Efforts were also being made to exploit and populate the coastal lands of Florida and the gulf and river shores of Mississippi and Alabama. Military leaders had provided what little information was known about this area in the battles with the Spanish. Traders in the area also provided some information. In 1763, when almost all of the land east of the Mississippi River became British territory, entrepreneurial action spilled over into this unknown region. Gradually, an exotic society developed of plantations, worked by gangs of black slaves, nurturing a distinctive culture.

The beginning steps of opening the land to settlement were confident. The British government divided the newly acquired land in the South into East and West Florida. Land in both areas could be acquired either as township grants of up to 20,000 acres each, or in smaller sizes as a family grant. Grants were revocable unless one-third of the land was populated within three years with one person for every hundred acres. After ten years, any land not populated would revert back to the crown. The terms of the land distribution were advertised quickly. The possibility of large-scale land acquisitions generated a lot of interest in Britain. Individuals in the provinces were also excited.

East Florida proved to be most attractive to land speculators and investors. In the 1760s, the Privy Council issued 227 land grants in East Florida but only 41 in West Florida. Most of the applications were individual but there were some township grants as well. The East Florida Society was one organization involved. The society was made up on 40 to 50 merchants, noblemen, and entrepreneurs who wanted to develop new properties in America. It acted as a discussion and lobbying organization that was devoted to planning and promoting ventures in Florida.

Maps were needed for the new territory. Samuel Holland was appointed in the north and William Gerard De Brahm in the south. De Brahm had led a group of German refugees to Georgia in 1751. Within a year, he was turning out maps of Georgia. He was quickly appointed as one of the colony's surveyors general. In his new post, De Brahm was to survey individual grants in East Florida. He was also to survey and map the whole of North America, south of the Potomac. He set to work with a team of assistants and by the summer, he was sending preliminary materials back to England. In 1772, De Brahm presented the King with a huge map. The map was a highly technical rendering of East Florida.

Two weeks after the colony of East Florida was officially created, Archibald Menzies decided that he had found the perfect race of people to populate Florida. He had recently visited the Middle East and thought that the Greeks of Levant were frugal, industrious, used to a hot climate, and familiar with the cultivation of exotic products. He also thought Armenians living under Turkish rule would be willing to immigrate to

Florida. Thus, began the largest single shipment of emigrants from Europe to North America since the Puritan migration in the 1630s.

At the center of the plan was Andrew Turnbull, a Scotsman who was married to a Greek. He threw himself into organizing the emigration that Menzies had described. He began in 1766, when he and Dr. William Duncan applied for separate grants of 20,000 acres in East Florida. They expected to populate these together with emigrants from the Mediterranean. Turnbull traveled to Florida and settled his family there. He laid out the two land grants in adjacent blocks and began erecting crude shelters.

Turnbull traveled to the Mediterranean to gather settlers. His recruits were from many different ethnic groups and were largely family units. Almost all of the individuals were political and religious refugees from the oppression, hardship, and threat of starvation in the region. Word spread about an English doctor offering a better life elsewhere. By March 1768, he had agreed to take about 1,200 men, women, and children. After he sailed, he found that he was also carrying close to 200 stowaways. When his eight vessels sailed into the Atlantic, they carried 1,403 individuals.

The voyage across the Atlantic was a nightmare. One in ten died onboard. They arrived in Florida exhausted and debilitated. For a month, they struggled to clear the land and begin planting. On Aug. 19, a month after their arrival, around 300 revolted, seizing a vessel and plundering the warehouse. They were caught. Profitable crops were slow in growing, and the costs of the settlement shot up. In the first six months, one in four settlers died of malnutrition and disease. The overseers used severe discipline. When workers tried to leave after their terms of service were up, they were confined and made to sign on for further work. Two years later, half the settlers were dead. Of those remaining, most fled when the American Revolution started.

In East Florida, absentee land grantees sought to bring in a population of white settlers to sustain the terms of the land acquisition. The land grantees tried various ways of doing this, including bringing in young women for men to marry. Repeatedly, these efforts failed.

In 1776, most of East Florida was still in the pristine state it had been when the British acquired it thirteen years earlier. Settlements could only be found in a narrow strip 25 to 30 miles wide from New Smyrna to the Georgia border. As many plantations and cattle farms were abandoned as were still in existence. Of the 242 Privy Council land grants for East Florida, only 114 were processed in the colony. Almost all of the 114 grants were to absentees, and only 16 of them settled some part of their land. Indentured servants proved not to be worth their cost, given the conditions. As the numbers of indentured servants in the colony declined, the number of slaves increased.

Book 4, Chapter 12 Failure in Xanadu Analysis

East and West Florida present an important contrast in the pattern of immigration and settlement in the colonies. In many ways, East Florida represents a model of what

officials should not have done. First, most of the land grants went to absentee owners. This meant that these owners would be bringing in settlers, often-indentured servants, to settle the land. Without land ownership, the settlers often moved on quickly. The large amount of acres included in the land grants also meant that settlements were far apart and not easily accessible. Absentee land speculators had to rely on overseers or others to protect their interests.

All of these conditions meant that East Florida remained largely undeveloped, even though large sections had been granted to individuals. Efforts to settle the area were at times disastrous, even before the disruption of the Revolution. Bailyn highlights Turnbull's project, which failed miserably as many settlers died, crops were slow to grow, and costs kept mounting. This situation was not an isolated one in the colonies, as individuals turned to land speculating in its various forms without being prepared.

Book 4, Chapter 13 Gulf and Delta

Book 4, Chapter 13 Gulf and Delta Summary

West Florida differed from East Florida in a number of ways. First, the colony was adjacent to Spain's territory of the trans-Mississippi west. Since Spain had acquired this land from France, there was reason to think that the settlers established there might be willing to come into British territory to help settle the new province. The proximity to Spanish land also meant that the government was more likely to invest in garrisons, roads and population growth. That the land was also obscure and unglamorous meant that land speculators had little interest in acquiring land there, and less of the land became tied up in absentee grants. The land mass in West Florida was also more ample with greater accessibility and better land than in East Florida.

Military commanders were the first to inspect the province, when they took over the Spanish garrisons in 1763. They first saw the gulf shore lands, which were sandy and infertile. Later investigations would show the rich delta lands, and the first land grants were laid out along the river. Governor Johnstone tried to draw over some of the former French immigrants to British territory. The Register shows five departures for West Florida between 1773 and 1776.

The first settlers into the new British territory began in 1767, as people seeped in from the seaboard colonies. They went first to the fertile upper valley of the Tombigbee and Alabama rivers, which empty into Mobile Bay. Then, the flow of people turned to the west and south to the delta. By 1770, a small, steady flow of people was moving into the province. People came from all over the colonies, particularly from western North Carolina. Most came in small groups, including single families and small clusters of families.

One of the first larger groups to migrate to West Florida from the other colonies was backcountry Virginians. They began investigating West Florida in 1768. In 1770, they requested a ten mile strip along the Mississippi River. In July of the same year, another group of 79 whites and 18 slaves came down the Ohio to Natchez.

The largest group to settle in West Florida was led by Major General Phineas Lyman of Connecticut. The Proclamation of 1763 promised veterans of the late war cheap or free land in the new colonies. Lyman applied for a major grant in West Florida. He received a personal grant in 1770 of 20,000 acres. An exploring committee was sent out, and they jubilantly reported back about the land in West Florida. In November, four townships were selected for settlement and in December, around 30 settlers left for Pensacola. General Lyman led a second party and the General's wife followed with a third. In two years, about 400 settlers joined this migration.

William Dunbar was a Scot and the youngest son of Sir Archibald Dunbar of Morayshire. He appeared in Philadelphia at the age of twenty-two in 1771. He crossed the

mountains to Fort Pitt and spent two years trading alone before forming a partnership with another Scottish merchant, John Ross. This allowed Dunbar to move farther west, and he joined the movement to West Florida. He selected land in the fifteen-mile strip between Baton Rouge and Manchac. He traveled to Jamaica to buy slaves and remained at this estate for ten years before moving north near Natchez. His production varied from rice to tobacco to cotton. His chief product in the early years was small timber products. His plantation was an agricultural factory, and he worked as the supervisor and manager. He was continually bewildered by his slaves' behavior, particularly their tendency to run away. Dunbar was typical in many ways with the hundreds of individuals who pushed into the Mississippi delta.

The development in West Florida only scratched the surface of the available resources. The total population was somewhere around 5,000 in 1774, and twenty-five percent of those individuals were slaves. The province was thinly populated. Governor Chester sought to revoke land grants from individuals who didn't use the land. He began confining new grants to 2,000 acres or less, and he awarded them to individuals whose plans were to cultivate and improve the land.

Book 4, Chapter 13 Gulf and Delta Analysis

The situation in West Florida was very different from that in East Florida. There are a number of reasons for this. First, as Bailyn points out, the proximity to Spanish held land meant that the government would spend money in the colony to build roads, garrisons, and to attract people to the area. Thus, land grantees were not solely responsible for developing their lands, but sometimes received government help.

A second major difference is that many of the settlers in this region were not recent newcomers. Bailyn shows that a number of different groups who moved into West Florida had already been living in the colonies for a period of time. At times, parts of settled communities in other colonies moved into the newly opened land, again hoping for a better opportunity. This created more solid communities and settlements in the colony, as well as brought in people who were already familiar with the lifestyle and reality of life in the colonies.

Book 5, Chapter 14 North Carolina: The Wreck of the Bachelor

Book 5, Chapter 14 North Carolina: The Wreck of the Bachelor Summary

All those who voyaged to the American colonies were risk takers. Of all the migrants to the inland periphery, the greatest risk takers were those who crossed the sea. The transatlantic voyagers knew little of what to expect inland.

James Hogg tried to settle 200 Scottish Highlanders in the backcountry of North Carolina. However, this plan ended in failure. Hogg was a native of East Lothian in the Scottish Lowlands. In 1765, he and his family moved to the Scottish Highlands, where he leased property. The lawlessness and danger of the Highlands convinced Hogg to look for another place to live. He decided on North Carolina.

The connection between the Highlands and North Carolina had been in place for almost half a century, when Governor Gabriel Johnston promoted immigration to the colony. It is unknown how many highlanders moved to what would become Cumberland County. One estimate is 12,000 in the upper Cape Fear region in 1776. Communication between inland North Carolina and the Scottish Highlands remained strong, as letters passed between family members on both sides of the ocean.

James Hogg's departure for North Carolina is not unique, but the records that survived about this are. Hogg began by making known that he and his family intended to leave for the colony of North Carolina. His brother, Robert Hogg, stopped on his way back to the colony and arranged to have a vessel sent north to transport James and his family. Many individuals approached Hogg, wanting to go with him to the colony. Inglis, the ship owner, probably convinced Hogg to lead and organize a group of emigrants.

Hogg sent the requirements for emigrants on the vessel. He decided that the prospective emigrants had to be disease free, be of good character, and be able to pay their freight with extra for accidents. The number of emigrants was increased from 100 to a minimum of 200, when Inglis found the cost of outfitting the ship greater than he thought. Inglis chose the *Bachelor* for the transportation vessel.

While Inglis was preparing the vessel and ordering supplies, Hogg was busy selecting passengers. Hogg posted a notice that required a final commitment and half freight costs in advance. It was easier to fill the passenger list than it was to find passengers of good character who were disease free. When the list was finished, it contained 280 names, including Hogg's party of 16.

The emigrants on the *Bachelor* were interviewed extensively, so there is more information known about them than most of the general emigrants during this period.

The former residences of these emigrants were scattered through seven parishes of Sutherland and five parishes of Caithness. The economic situation in the Highlands was grave and emigration seemed to be an obvious response to this. Yet, the poorest individuals didn't always leave. Some of the farmers from secure small farms left and often the people that left had some resources. The *Bachelor's* passengers were not unemployed laborers, drifters, or isolated adventurers. Only eight passengers were not part of an emigrating kinship group. Only one person confessed to be so poor that he couldn't pay for his own passage. Everyone else had some resources, but had diminished circumstances and was looking for a better life in the colonies. They left because of increased rent prices, the collapse of cattle prices, and the higher costs of basic food supplies.

When it came time to leave, the vessel was delayed. Instead of arriving in July, the vessel arrived in Thurso on August 28. It then took eighteen days to load all the provisions. It was Sept. 14 before the ship headed into the north Atlantic. September storms moved in almost immediately and the ship was forced to take refuge in the port of Stromness, only twenty-eight miles from their starting point. They left again on September 25, getting only ninety miles from Thurso, meeting with another storm. Battered by the storms, the *Bachelor* looped back to the northeast, landing on the Shetland Islands. The passengers, with all the delays, had little left to buy supplies and food. Hogg drew up a protest against Inglis and the ship's captain Ramage.

The inhabitants of the Shetland Islands provided help to the marooned emigrants. Everyone assumed that the stop would be temporary while the ship was repaired. On October 24, everyone was ready to go again, when a storm tore the ship from its anchors and rocks tore through the bottom of the vessel. The Islanders intensified their charitable efforts for the emigrants. On November 9, a group of landowners in and around the village petitioned that the emigrants be supplied the provisions from the vessel or that they hire another vessel to get them off the islands.

A group of the emigrants filed a lawsuit, suing Ramage for release of the provisions, and Hogg and Ramage on broader charges. They alleged that Hogg had exploited the general discontent in northern Scotland. Hogg refuted the allegations. The case against Hogg was dismissed. Inglis heard about the wreck on November 2, and he set about preparing a rescue vessel. This took more money and winter storms delayed the departure of the rescue vessel. It finally arrived in the Shetlands on February 10. The *Bachelor* had to be taken back for the repairs.

On April 25, 1774, the *Bachelor* limped to Leith with all but twenty-eight of the passengers. The captain offered to stop in Thurso to let off passengers but they chose to remain with the ship. Almost all of them were destitute by now, through no fault of their own. In the early weeks, Inglis was sympathetic to the emigrants, but he refused to take any legal responsibility for them while they were on shore. It soon became clear that the vessel would not be usable again for transatlantic shipping. Hogg declared that Inglis was obligated to either repay the emigrants their freight money or provide another vessel to take them to North Carolina. Inglis declared that he had fulfilled the terms of the contract. If Hogg and the others wanted transportation, it would take another

contract that stated that Inglis owed them nothing under the terms of the original contract.

Hogg arranged for transportation for himself and his family with another shipper and then he began court proceedings against Inglis. Inglis tried to have the ship repaired and started stating how he would resume the voyage. Hogg argued that it was too late. Emigrants had either booked passage on other vessels or they had gone home. The court found Inglis liable for the transportation costs of all, except those who had died or been discharged. A few days later, Inglis declared that the *Bachelor* was sea-ready and ordered everyone on board, even though some, including Hogg, were already gone. On July 9, Inglis announced that he was going out of the shipping business and would sell the vessel.

Some of the emigrants did manage to make it to North Carolina. Hogg and his party sailed at the end of June 1774. A few weeks after their arrival in North Carolina, Hogg moved 100 miles inland. Within several more weeks, Hogg moved again, this time 70 miles north to Hillsboro. Then he met Richard Henderson, a former judge and land speculator.

Richard Henderson saw that a population was ready to move to the western edges of the coastal colonies. Along with several others, he formed the Louisa Company, to negotiate a lease of some part of the Kentucky territory. It is not clear what Hogg contributed to the company's capital. Henderson sent Daniel Boone and thirty axe men to build a settlers' trail to central Kentucky. The prospectors passed resolutions bearing on all aspects of the new colonies life and appointed James Hogg to be the colony's delegate to the second Continental Congress. Hogg informed the Congress of the company's purchase and so on. The response of the Congress was not altogether what they hoped for. They were unwilling to do anything that might give the appearance of independence to the King, when they were trying to get a redress for their grievances. Thomas Jefferson wanted independent small farmers to have the ability to move into the west, free of any charges.

Hogg remained in North Carolina after this and the Company never fulfilled the proprietors' hopes. After the War, Hogg helped organize the Science Hall Academy in Hillsboro in 1779, and he became the chairman of the academy's board in 1784. The Company's Kentucky lands were surveyed, and the lands became Henderson, Kentucky. The Tennessee lands were divided among the proprietors and their heirs. Hogg died in 1805 at the age of seventy-six.

Book 5, Chapter 14 North Carolina: The Wreck of the Bachelor Analysis

Land Speculators and labor recruiters did not always have an easy time of things, evidenced again in this chapter. The chapter also shows the potential problems and hardships that emigrants faced in coming to the colonies. Although most vessels made it to its destination, some didn't and some were plagued with sickness and death. For

individuals with few resources, the hardships that they encountered could prove to undo them, as was the case for some of the passengers of the *Bachelor* who had no money to gain passage on another ship. Yet, as Hogg's situation points out, some people were able to overcome the hardships and thrive in the colonies, particularly if they had other resources to draw on.

Book 5, Chapter 15 Georgia: Exploiting the Ceded Lands

Book 5, Chapter 15 Georgia: Exploiting the Ceded Lands Summary

Hogg's enterprise as an organizer of emigration was only one of the different ways in which these transfers of people took place. The Register brings into focus the small fishing village of Whitby on the North Sea coast of Yorkshire. In the 1770s, it was one of the minor ports where trade to North America took place. The Register documents two emigrant voyages from Whitby, containing 155 emigrants, in total.

The same vessel, the *Marlborough*, was involved in both voyages. It is unknown how its owner, Jonas Brown, became involved in the emigrant trade. His main business was the production and sale of alum, a substance used in dyeing, tanning, wine making, and so on. Brown, his son Thomas, and James Gordon embarked on a scheme to settle the Ceded Lands, a two million acre wedge in the backcountry of Georgia. In the spring of 1773, these men acquired grants for over 5,000 acres for a down payment of 8 pence an acre.

Brown's advertisement stated that the ship would sail from Whitby to Georgia on August 1, 1774 and would take anyone wishing to settle in this area. Brown hoped to fill the ship with independent family groups who would be useful as land purchasers to satisfy the terms of the land grant. He also hoped to have indentured servants who could develop the plantation that the men planned. Individuals who were unable to pay their passage would be indentured servants for three years and at the end of that time, they would be given acreage. This was an attractive offer, and he gathered a full load of emigrants.

Brown and the emigrants joined Gordon on the Georgia grant, where they created a clearing and the first temporary buildings. Brown and Gordon soon learned how difficult it was to maintain a work force of indentured servants. Almost all of the emigrants who came over on the ship simply faded into the general confusion of the backcountry. They persisted, clearing ground, planting and harvesting the first crop, and fencing fields.

The recruitment pattern for the second voyage was similar to the first. It left Britain only days before news came of the ban on emigrant shipping from Scotland. In the summer of 1775, Brown found himself caught in the struggle between loyalists and revolutionaries in the Georgian backcountry. In early August, vigilante soldiers took him prisoner and tried to torture him into compliance. He was tarred and feathered and eventually gave in, promising to support the American cause. Once freed, however, he planned an assault on Augusta and joined the loyalists in South Carolina. In Florida, he worked with Governor Tonyn on a plan to use the Cherokee Indians to support the

loyalists. The plan was not put into effect, however. He survived the war and moved to the Bahamas, where he became a planter and colonial politician. He died in 1825.

When Brown fled in 1775, he left the plantation in the hands of James Gordon. By the time the second emigrant voyagers arrived, the venture was out of control. Most servants simply left. Others remained, until they received word that the plantation would be plundered by the militia. Gordon gathered up the servants and moved them to a plantation of his own in South Carolina. Eventually, Gordon made his way back to Britain. What remained of his and the Browns' property was seized by the state of Georgia.

The last vestiges of this venture were a flurry of petitions to the loyalist claims commission in the 1880s for the Browns' personal and company losses. They ended up receiving one third of their investment and Gordon received a very small sum.

Emigration ventures spread, and promoters organized and devised variations. A former employee of Jonas Brown, William Manson, also devised an emigration venture. Manson's involvement with Brown's commercial voyages to the southern colonies would have been enough to turn his attention. In 1774, he stopped over in Savannah and toured the interior. He bought a 300-acre plantation and settled a family there to raise provisions. He also made arrangements for the Georgia Council to hold 3,100 acres in the Ceded Lands, which he would formally claim, when he had the number of settlers needed.

Manson returned to England and turned to John Chapman for capital. Chapman would finance a plantation and a trading establishment in the Ceded Lands. Manson would receive one-fifth of the profits of both. Manson estimated that he would need about one hundred settlers. The venture was both commercial and personal for Manson, who intended to take his family and brother along.

The vessel arrived in Savannah on December 12 and by early January; the emigrants were settled in the Ceded Land. They were scarcely there, however, when the war encroached on their settlement. Within a month, a recruiting officer "enticed" away several indentured servants.

Still preserved in the Orkney County Library in Kirkwall are two account books that Manson maintained during this time. The first is a cashbook, and the second is a ledger containing the company's individual accounts. Together these two books reveal the character of the company's enterprises for the particular times that they cover. One aspect that the books show is that the deliveries of farm products tapered off after the summer of 1776, indicating both the effects of the war and that the plantation was producing its own supplies. The books also show that Manson's plantation was not only providing farm products, but that it was also a handicraft-manufacturing center. The ledger shows the sale of 11 indentured servants within the first eight months.

By 1788, the world had by-passed the Manson-Chapman project. The war caused upheaval in the backcountry and Manson was forced to move his family close to the

British fort in Augusta. As the Mansons were Quakers, they were not pressed to take the oath to the new government, and they were allowed to pass through the lines into British held territory. Manson was banished from Georgia, and in 1781, he moved to Charleston. Four months later, he got passage to England. Resettled in England, he tried to recover his losses, first approaching the Chapmans. They were in financial trouble and Manson was forced to ship out again. This time he went to Jamaica to serve as a storekeeper in the navy's victual office. He stayed until 1783. He submitted claims to the government for his losses and received a small pension. In 1788, he and the Chapmans came to a private agreement.

Book 5, Chapter 15 Georgia: Exploiting the Ceded Lands Analysis

Once again, Bailyn turns to examine several individuals who attempted to profit from land speculation and emigration. Like other cases that he has discussed, these ventures faced problems with greater than expected costs and problems with keeping indentured servants. Often these two problems went hand in hand for the grantees paid the expenses for the servants to come and their care while there only to have some of them disappear.

The cases here also illustrate the problems that some grantees had when the American Revolution began. For those who remained loyal to the crown, their isolated settlements and resources made them targets. Although Bailyn doesn't discuss any cases of individuals who joined in supporting the Revolution, their situation must have been easier in some ways than those who remained loyal to the crown. The latter group often lost everything in the Revolution and received little in return from the British government for their losses.

Book 5, Chapter 16 New York: Swarming to the North

Book 5, Chapter 16 New York: Swarming to the North Summary

The extraordinary aspects of the cases examined in the preceding chapters are not so much that the cases are unique but that the documentation surrounding them was full. The surviving records are surprisingly complete. Detailed records connected to the Register are rare. The same kinds of records about migration to the north are even rarer.

During the years in question, three huge areas of land were claimed by the colony of New York and were opened to settlement. Immigrants from overseas were prominent in these areas. The beginning point for this migration was the port of New York, which was the main entrance to the colony's upcountry. In the years of the Registry, there is evidence for 42 ships arriving with emigrants from Britain in New York. 16 of these ships came from England and 13 from Scotland. The ships brought 1,954 emigrants on them, with about 85 percent of these individuals hailing from Scotland. There were also 13 non-registered ships carrying an unknown number of passengers. At a minimum, 2,000 immigrants arrived in New York from Britain in the two years before the war and it is likely that another 1,300 also arrived.

Most of the early seventeenth-century land patents that lay close to the Hudson River below Albany had been settled or developed into tenanted estates or individual farms. A few settlements had been established along the Mohawk, but steady growth in that area did not occur until 1738 and the arrival of William Johnson. Johnson dominated this area, establishing peaceful relations with the Six Nations of Native Americans in the area, setting up trading stores, and buying land and arranging for others to buy land as well. After 1763, his manor, Johnson Hall, was the site for conferences with Native American chiefs and managing the settlement of immigrants.

By the mid-1760s, European settlements had thickened north and south of the Mohawk. Physically, the land was still largely empty and undeveloped, but legally, it was a maze of patent titles and other claims. These claims threatened the Native American populations, whose hunting grounds were within these claims.

Johnson claimed 100,000 acres in the northern section. Others also grabbed up grants in the area. The real value of these grants depended on attracting people to the area. Johnson and several others needed to have one family for each 1,000 acres within three years in order to keep the grant. Of the land speculators, Johnson was perhaps the region's most successful recruiter. He reached wide and his fame and many contacts brought settlers to his lands. Some groups simply arrived on their own but

more often immigrants came to him through recommendations or through previous arrangements.

One of Johnson's links to immigrant groups emerged in the fall of 1773, when he welcomed some of the most consequential Scots to appear in New York during these years. The group had come together in September and boarded the ship *Pearl* in the southern Scottish Highlands. They came from all over the region. They arrived in New York on October 18. On October 28, most of the 280 passengers boarded another ship for Albany.

Two groups of representatives went on from Albany to the Mohawk, where they separated. One group went south and then west to inspect the lands of Schoharie and Banyar. The other group went to Johnson Hall to discuss terms with him. Johnson offered four possible sites. The main one was part of Kingsborough and the adjoining Mayfield patents north of the Mohawk. Since 1771, Johnson had been advertising generous terms for anyone willing to settle there. The Scots argued that the land was too great a distance from markets and so on. They were also critical about the other plots offered. They countered with a set of general demands they hoped Johnson would meet including start-up and maintenance costs for the first year.

Johnson's reply isn't recorded but the result was positive. The majority of the Scots settled on the land between the branches of the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. Almost all of them settled within a radius of six miles from the modern village of Kortright Center.

A year later, Johnson reported that the settlers were doing well. In the next two years, British customs officials recorded the departure of four vessels for New York from Scotland, carrying 607 passengers. How many of them joined the voyagers of 1773 on the properties near the Mohawk is unknown. Yet, some of them did.

The Revolution had a disruptive effect on the settlers in this area. The majority of the population in the area supported the American cause. The Scots, in contrast, remained loyal to the crown. Some of the immigrants protected themselves as neutral and remained on the land through the war. However, many fled the area.

Lawrence Kortright and Goldsbrow Banyar were land promotion merchants who were at the head of the flow of immigrants. Kortright who owned a choice plot at the head of the Delaware concentrated on collecting newcomers and negotiating with them. He usually leased 150-acre plots to settlers and sent them to the property.

Kortright was not alone in inspecting newcomers at the docks. The most active recruiters were Walter and Thomas Buchanan. They were the largest ship owners in the city, and they were involved in the importation of goods. They were said to have recorded 2,000 Highland Scots in the first half of 1775 alone. Nonetheless, however active they were, they were still passive recipients, as their reach was limited to New York.

John Weatherhead was an active recruiter, with ties in both England and America. He arrived in New York in the early 1760s and became a dry goods merchant. In 1769, he began concentrating on land speculation. His two most valuable pieces of property were at the head of the Delaware. He advertised for settlers in colony newspapers. By the early 1770s, he was beginning to sell off the land for a profit.

The Beekmans were one of the earliest affluent families in New York, and they were also active in land development. They obtained a grant of land on the north end of Lake Champlain and to keep the land, they turned to the problem of peopling the land. They turned to Daniel MacLeod, a Scottish mariner, to help them with this. They leased the entire area to him and two sides came to financial agreements. MacLeod, however, ran into trouble. Instead of the 300 emigrants that he anticipated, he could find only 24. The ship taking them to the colony was caught in a storm and wrecked. After the Revolution, the Beekmans tried other means of settling the area, and it took them over eighty years to dispose of the land.

John Cummings arrived in New York in 1774. He had been a prosperous watchmaker in England. He took with him a shipload of neighbors and kin who wished to emigrate with him. In 1776, he bought around 700 acres and established the families that he had brought with him. He began buying other property, over 6,700 acres in all. With the start of the Revolution, Cummings became a leader for the Loyalists. His house and papers were seized by American soldiers, and he was interrogated about his loyalties. He insisted that he wished to remain neutral. He was closely guarded, but managed to escape. He arranged passage back to England but the ship sprung a leak and sank. He arrived in England stripped of everything that he owned and deeply in debt. Yet, his contributions to settling the colony was permanent, as his estate flourished under other hands and most of the settlers stayed on.

Book 5, Chapter 16 New York: Swarming to the North Analysis

The situation in New York was similar in many ways to the events in other colonies. Land speculators and others invested in land grants, hoping to make a profit. Settlers were recruited for the land, and in this case, many came from Scotland. Given that the land in question was good farmland, it is perhaps not surprising that Scottish farmers flocked to the region.

The Revolution, as it had in other colonies, proved to be problematic for the new settlers and the landowners. Many of these individuals remained loyal to the crown or tried to remain neutral in the fight. This meant that some of the landowners eventually lost their land, when they returned to England.

Characters

The Earl of Hillsborough

The Earl became the president of the Board of Trade in 1763. He was an Anglo-Irish landowner with a great deal of property in Ireland. He was one of the leaders in the concern over British emigration. He argued that the colonies were meant to benefit Britain and to contribute through commerce and the production of goods. In 1768, Hillsborough assumed the post of secretary of state for the colonies, a position that he would hold for four years.

John Pownall

Pownall was the undersecretary of state for the colonies. His chief concern was in developing a general and effective policy for restraining emigration from Britain. He proposed that a statistical assessment should be taking of those emigrating so that the government could have a better understanding of who was emigration.

John Tompkyns

Tompkyns was the veteran assistant inspector general of imports and exports in Britain. He was given the task of organizing the reports on emigration coming from customs officials. All of the English port information was sent through him, and he passed it on to the Treasury after compiling the weekly reports. He submitted reports over 127 weeks between December 1773 and the spring of 1776.

Michael Francklin

Francklin was a scrappy, widely disliked land speculator in Nova Scotia. He was born in Poole, England and made his fortune privateering. In the decade before the Revolution, he exploited his position as lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia for his own gain. He concentrated his efforts for recruitment in Yorkshire.

Sir James Montgomery

Montgomery was the powerful lord advocate of Scotland who invested in emigration and overseas land. He owned one of the four lots on the island of St. John and in 1770, he sent fifty indentured servants to begin working the land. He had a part in settling several hundred Scottish immigrants in Nova Scotia.

William Gerard De Brahm

De Brahm was named one of the general surveyors of North America. He was a well-educated German engineer who led a group of Protestant refugees from Germany to Georgia in 1751. He began making detailed maps of the territory in North America, and by 1764, he was appointed surveyor general of the southern district of North America and of the colony of East Florida.

De Brahm began surveying East Florida in 1765 and began sending preliminary maps back to England by the summer. In 1772, he presented the King with an immense, detailed map of the colony. He published several reports about East Florida as well.

Dr. Andrew Turnbull

Turnbull was a Scot who instigated one of the largest single shipments of immigrants from Europe to North America since the Puritan migration. He was married to a Greek woman and lived in Smyrna, or what is now Turkey. He became involved in the East Florida Society and began organizing an emigration from the Mediterranean to East Florida.

Turnbull brought to East Florida 1,403 individuals from the Mediterranean. A month after their arrival, 300 of the settlers revolted, but were captured. Progress on the land was slow and painful. Two years after New Smyrna was founded, half of the original settlers were dead and most of the survivors fled, when the American Revolution loosened civil authority.

James Hogg

Hogg organized a group of Scottish Highlanders who wished to immigrate to North Carolina. He was a native of East Lothian in the Scottish Lowland and was immigrating to North Carolina to join his brother. The ship that the group was to travel on was damaged in several storms almost as soon as the group left Scotland. They were marooned in the Shetland Islands for several months while waiting for repairs or another boat. Hogg sued Inglis and sailed to North Carolina on another vessel.

In North Carolina, Hogg invested in the Transylvania Company, a land speculation company that hoped to open up land at the western boundaries of the British holdings in North America. The company named Hogg to the second Continental Congress. However, his time there came with mixed results, as prominent politicians did not want to have the land under speculators' control. He became a highly influential merchant in the 1780s. He was named as the chairman of the Science Hall Academy board in 1784. He died in 1805.

James Inglis

Inglis owned the *Bachelor.* When Hogg commissioned the ship for the emigration voyage to North Carolina, Inglis had the ship outfitted to carry the immigrants. This took longer than expected and the ship's departure date was pushed back. When he heard about the ship's damages, he sent another vessel to take the passengers back to the mainland. Inglis believed that he had fulfilled the terms of the contract with Hogg and the other emigrants. The court found that he was liable for the transportation costs of the emigrants. He eventually sold the ship and went out of the shipping business.

Jonas Brown

Brown owned the *Marlborough*, which made two voyages in 1774 and 1775 to bring emigrants from Whitby and Kirkwall to the Ceded Lands in Georgia. In 1773, he acquired grants for over 5,000 acres of the richest soil in the Ceded Lands. Brown advertised for settlers in England and offered indentured servanthood for those who could not pay for the voyage. Many of the indentured servants ran off upon reaching the colonies and progress on the land was slow.

When the war started, Brown remained loyal to the Crown, even after he was tarred and feathered for his position. He joined loyalists in South Carolina and spent six years as a leader for the Rangers, a commando unit. When they disbanded after the war, he moved to the Bahamas and began another career as a planter and colonial politician.

William Manson

Manson was a former employee of Jonas Brown, and he decided to recruit workers for his own plantation in the Ceded Lands. In 1774, he bought a 300-acre plantation near Savannah and settled a family there to raise provisions. He returned to England and received capital from John Chapman. By 1776, the emigrants were established at the plantation. The war forced him to abandon the plantation and move closer to a British fort. He returned to England in 1781 and tried to recover his losses from the government and John Chapman. He died in 1808.

Objects/Places

The British Register of Emigration

The Register is a collection of statistics about the characteristics of British emigrants to the American colonies in the early 1770s. The information was collected by customs agents. Bailyn uses this information for his analysis, noting that it is an incomplete source of information.

Scotland

The Register contained information about individuals emigrating from Scotland. Scotland was the third major source of emigration. Larger, organized groups tended to leave from Scottish ports and, more often, these travelers were part of family units. Two dominant occupational patterns in the Register were semi-industrial workers and farmers. Scottish emigrants largely went to New York and North Carolina.

England

Emigration from England to the American colonies consisted mostly of young men who were traveling alone. English emigrations were more likely to be artisans than Scottish emigrants were. English emigrants often went the colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

London, England

London was one of the dominant ports for emigration out of the British Isles. Close to half of the total number of emigrants listed in the Register stated that they came from London.

Yorkshire, England

Yorkshire was an area in England from which over 900 emigrants listed in the Register came from. Some of these individuals settled in Nova Scotia.

Indentured Servants

Indentured servants sold their labor for an agreed upon amount of time in exchange for transportation to the colonies. The Register shows at least 4,400 indentured servants emigrating. The most common period of servitude was four years. More British emigrants than Scottish emigrants were indentured, according the Register.

Iron Industry

Just before the Revolution, the American colonies were producing around one-seventh of the world's iron supply or about 30,000 tons every year. Over 250 ironworks existed, and they created a large demand for labor. The plants were built in isolation, often in heavily wooded areas.

Construction

Another industry with a large demand for labor was construction. Much of the recruitment of artisans is related to this industry. There was a demand for labor both in newly settled areas and in established towns and settlements.

Convicts

Convicts whose sentences had been reduced to banishment in the colonies for periods of seven or fourteen years were another source of labor in the colonies. Although these individuals provided cheap labor, many in the colonies had mixed feelings about using convicts for labor, fearing disease and moral decline.

Intelligence or Register Offices

These offices were private, profit making employment agencies. They first appeared in London in the early seventeenth century and quickly acquired a reputation for corruption. By the 1770s, it was understood that anyone venturing into one of these offices would find themselves an indentured servant in the colonies whether they wanted to be or not.

Gravesend, England

Located twenty-six miles down the Thames from London, Gravesend was the ultimate departure point for emigration. Customs clearance took place here for vessels leaving the Thames. A labor pool formed here, made up of unemployed or discontented workers from all over southeastern England.

Shipboard Sales

When a vessel carrying indentured servants reached the American colonies, whoever owned the servants' labor would often arrange for a shipboard sale. Buyers would be invited onboard to look over the servants.

Nova Scotia

In the years before the Revolution, Nova Scotia was the north easternmost point in the arc of borderlands of the colonies. The population was less than 18,000 in 1774. Part of the base population was Acadians, descendents of seventeenth century French settlers.

West Florida

West Florida covered the southern half of present states of Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana east of the Mississippi, and most of the western panhandle of present day Florida. The colony lay adjacent to Spanish land and because of this, the government invested money in military security, including roads, garrisons, and population growth.

East Florida

East Florida consisted of all of the present day state of Florida except the northwestern panhandle. East Florida proved to be more attractive than West Florida to land speculators and investors.

New Smyrna

This settlement was founded by Andrew Turnbull in East Florida. The settlement failed due to a high death and desertion rate.

The Bachelor

The Bachelor was the ship that James Hogg, his family, and the organized group of emigrants were to travel on to North America. It was damaged in several storms almost immediately after setting sail. The ship was owned by James Inglis.

Transylvania Company

James Hogg was a partner in this land speculation company. The land tract the company owned included 17 million acres between the Kentucky River, Ohio River, and the sources of the Cumberland River.

Ceded Lands

The Ceded Lands were a huge wedge of over 2 million acres in the backcountry of Georgia.

Themes

Opportunity

Throughout Bailyn's work, the theme of opportunity springs up in the accounts of emigrants, land speculators, and recruiters. First, many individuals emigrated from the British Isles, because they believed that the colonies offered them an opportunity to better their lives. Bailyn notes that many individuals stated for the Register that this was their primary reason for leaving. Even when economics played a large role in pushing them toward emigration, the individuals hoped that the colonies would bring them a fresh start and a better life.

Other individuals also saw the opportunities for wealth and profit that the colonies offered as well. Some individuals chose to capitalize off the emigration itself. They bought and sold indentured servants' labor, organized emigration voyages, and so on. With a high demand for labor and the opportunity for profit, there were individuals who turned to less than honest means in order to produce indentured servants in the colonies.

Land speculators also attempted to cash in on the opportunities that newly opened land and a growing population offered. Either individuals applied for land grants that they tried to populate with new settlers and indentured servants, or that they sold off in smaller pieces to individuals and families. The wealth of the land depended on being able to attract settlers, so the land wouldn't be vacant and be taken back by the government, and on its location.

The American colonies were viewed by all of these groups as a place of opportunity. Certainly, many individuals and families grasped on to the vision and came. Some of them were able to create a better life for themselves. Regardless of whether this happened or not, emigrants always saw the colonies as a chance to make a different life.

Hardship

The emigration process from the British Isles to the American colonies could be a torturous one, full of danger and hardship. Through his examples, Bailyn shows how immigrants to the colonies were often unprepared for what awaited them and how a series of small things going wrong often equaled large problems for the immigrants and for land owners.

As one example, Bailyn discusses the trouble that the emigrant vessel the *Bachelor* had, and how this affected the emigrants traveling on her. Although virtually all the passengers had paid for their own fares and some also had other resources, the ship's damage caused a great deal of hardship for the emigrants. Not only were they stranded in the British Isles instead of making their way to the colonies, but they also had to use

their own resources in order to survive. Individuals who didn't have the money to book passage on another vessel were stuck. What had started out as a good opportunity for them ended in financial loss.

In other areas, indentured servants endured hard work and harsh overseers. At times, there was little shelter or food. Settlers ventured into unknown areas with unknown dangers, particularly as more and more people began heading into the backcountry where there were few settlements and contested lands. Bailyn discusses how immigrants, used to cities, markets and schools, expected to find the same in the colonies. However, they found themselves standing on the shores of Nova Scotia, seeing only wilderness in front of them. The hardships that immigrants faced were both physical and mental, as they faced a new land, often with few resources to draw on.

Available Sources

One of the aspects of research that this text illustrates well is the limitations of available sources. Historical research is often plagued by incomplete and imperfect data sources as sources are lost over time or simply not recorded. Bailyn centers his research on the Register and uses other sources to highlight the information that it contains. He suggests that although this text is imperfect, it is the best source available in order to study the immigration to the colonies in the years leading up to the Revolution.

Bailyn notes that the Register has several drawbacks in terms of the information that it contains. Several weeks of information are missing from the records and certainly, customs officials did not record information on every single person who emigrated. At other times, customs officials seemed to make their own guesses about information, rather than getting it from the emigrants themselves. In addition, the Register only covers several years and only lists information from British and Scottish ports. Therefore, only a piece of the total immigration to the colonies during this time is known about.

In the later chapters of the book, Bailyn focuses on some of the individuals who are recorded in the Register. He notes that the documentation surrounding them is unique, because it is documented and the documents remain. For the vast majority of immigrants, the only information that is known about them is what is contained in the Register. For others, often those with wealth or some degree of status, documents and other records have survived the years. This highlights the fact that often what is known about history comes from less than ordinary people and sources. Much less is known about the experiences of the common men and women who immigrated to the colonies.

Style

Points of View

Bailyn uses a third person omniscient point of view in *Voyagers to the West.* The narrator is reliable and offers an authoritative interpretation of the events. This allows Bailyn to trace events and individuals during the time period that he examines with a broader overview than the perspective of one person could offer. This is a familiar academic/ nonfiction writing style for historical events.

Bailyn uses a variety of sources in order to construct this broad view of pre-Revolutionary America and emigration from Britain. His main focus is the Registry, which included information on emigrants leaving Britain during the early 1770s. He connects the Registry with other information, including letters, ship documents, newspaper accounts and so on to give a more detailed explanation of who the emigrants were, where they were going, and why they were going.

Setting

Voyagers to the West examines pre-Revolutionary emigration from Britain and Scotland to the North American colonies. Bailyn focuses his attention to both sides of the Atlantic. He describes where the emigrants were coming from in the British Isles and how they obtained passage on vessels traveling to North America. His examination takes him across Britain and Scotland, including London and other major ports.

In addition, Bailyn examines the experiences and influence of these emigrants in the North American colonies. In the second half of the book, Bailyn spends a chapter each on the colonies of East Florida, West Florida, Georgia and New York. He examines the newly settled areas in these colonies, including the backcountry and coastal areas in the South.

Language and Meaning

Bailyn writes in a clear, accessible language. He appears to be targeting a popular audience, in addition to an academic audience, and uses a fast-paced and simple language and organization to accomplish this. Overall, the book contains little technical jargon and does not use strong, violent or vulgar language.

While Bailyn does quote from personal letters and other sources that the emigrants produced, much of his work is descriptive in nature. Given the time period, the events that would occur within several years in the colony, and the transient nature of emigration, most of the voices of the emigrants have been lost over time. Rather, Bailyn uses generalizations and patterns instead of individual voices and information.

Structure

Voyagers to the West consists of sixteen chapters, which are grouped into five different books or parts. In addition, the book contains an index, endnotes, a number of maps, and some illustrations. The book also includes a number of "runaway sketches" which were placed in newspapers to track down runaway indentured servants.

The work is organized thematically, rather than in a chronological order. This allows Bailyn to focus in on particular aspects of the emigration experience and settlement in the colonies. For example, several chapters explore settlement in a particular colony during the years of the Registry. Other chapters explore what indentured servanthood was like in the colonies, the demand for labor, and so on.

Quotes

"In the years after the cessation of war in North America in 1760, the colonies experienced an extraordinary burst of expansion." Chapter 1, pg. 7

"The British Register of Emigration is thus far from a perfect statistical source. It was produced in a pre-statistical age to provide a general indication of what kinds of people were emigrating from the British Isles, whey they were leaving, and where they were going." Chapter 3, pg. 83

"The customs officials, attempting to tabulate every emigrant departure from British shores, recorded the exodus of 9,868 individuals who left for the Western Hemisphere between December 1773 and March 1776 - all but 44 of them before late September 1775, when the formal ban on Scottish emigration and the informal restriction of overseas movements from England went into effect." Chapter 4, pg. 91

"Some of these emigrants left Britain in small groups on commercial vessels that had a few accommodations for passengers. But most were transported on a small number of vessels that carried large groups - vessels that must have been hired and fitted especially for the emigrant trade." Chapter 4, pg. 125

"The largest occupational category among the emigrants whose occupations are known is that of artisans, craftsmen, or workers trained in specific, sometimes highly specialized, skills." Chapter 5, pg. 152

"The English and Scottish migrations, then, moved for the most part toward separate destinations. This fact is important if only because it suggests somewhat different cultural influences within particular areas of the American population." Chapter 6, pg. 206

"In the preceding chapters it has become clear that a large part of the British migration to America was the movement of a labor force, working people seeking some kind of economic security and a more promising way of life." Chapter 7, pg. 243

"For thoughtful Americans concerned with the character of American society, the banishment of convicts to America was an abomination, and for those with an eye for macabre humor it was ludicrous." Chapter 7, pg. 262

"English and Scottish merchants, familiar with the needs of the American labor market and anxious to transmit any kind of profitable cargo, sought to gather some small part of the discontented and mobile labor force." Chapter 9, pg. 298

"So the workers, drawn from villages, farms, and cities three thousand miles away and from a culture that was dense, deeply rooted, and highly structured, were absorbed into the scattered farms and plantations, the small ironworks and foundries, and the village

shops of a loosely organized, thinly populated, mobile, quickly developing society." Chapter 10, pg. 350

"But the possibilities of exploiting Nova Scotia were enormous, and people with volatile imaginations and large ambitions responded accordingly." Chapter 11, pg. 364

"While of 242 Privy Council grants of East Florida land only 114 were actually processed in the colony, those 114, almost all to absentees, totaled 1,443,000 acres. In fact only 16 of the 114 grantees actually settled some part of their land, but the other 98 grants continued to represent legal titles and in effect kept from circulation well over a million acres - precisely how much cannot be known since the surveys were inexact and there was no way of policing encroachments." Chapter 12, pg. 471

"The enterprises of James Hogg, of the Browns, and of William Manson are extraordinary, not in their substance, which illustrates in typical ways how ordinary people, in the years immediately preceding the Revolution, were transplanted from Britain to remote place on the inland arc of settlement in North America." Chapter 16, pg. 573

Topics for Discussion

Discuss Bailyn's findings about who emigrated from the British Isles, why they emigrated, and where they were going. What patterns did he find in the information?

Discuss the Register. What information is contained in it? Why does Bailyn use it as the central data source for his research? What problems does the Register have in terms of providing accurate information?

Compare and contrast the colonies of East and West Florida. Why did West Florida fare better in its settlements?

Discuss Bailyn's assertion that there were two migrations from England. How did they differ? What caused these differences?

Describe some of the hardships that immigrants to the colonies faced. Why did they choose to migrate?

Describe some of the attempts by land speculators and investors to settle newly opened lands. What troubles did they encounter? Why were some successful but others were not?

Discuss the concern in Britain about emigration. Why was there concern over this? What impact did emigration have on British life?