Publisher's Note

Defining Documents in American History series, produced by Salem Press, consists of a collection of important historical primary source documents by a diverse range of important figures from history, dealing with a broad range of subjects in American history, along with thoughtful commentary and analysis by contemporary scholars and writers. This established series offers twenty-two titles including *Exploration & Colonial America* (1492-1755), *The American West* (1836-1900), *The Civil War* (1860-1865), *The Cold War* (1945-1991), and *The Vietnam War* (1956-1975).

This current volume, *Defining Documents in American History: Immigration & Immigrant Communities (1650-2016)*, offers in-depth analysis of a broad range of historical documents and historic events that shaped the lives of immigrants and immigrant communities throughout American history, from Adriaen van der Donck's description of the New Netherlands in 1650 to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 in 1942 that led to the incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry during World War II to the opinions of Supreme Court Justices Anthony Kennedy and Antonin Scalia in 2012 regarding the case of *Arizona v. United States* concerning states' rights related to the enforcement of federal immigration laws to the 2016 Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Texas*. The material is organized under four broad categories:

- **In Their Own Words: Immigrant Descriptions**
- **Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric**
- **Federal Legislation**
- **Executive and Judicial Actions**

Historical documents provide a compelling view of this and other important aspects of American history. Designed for high school and college students, the aim of the series is to advance historical document studies as an important activity in learning about history.

Essay Format

Immigration & Immigrant Communities contains thirty-one primary source documents—some in their entirety. Documents are supported by a critical essay, written by historians and teachers, that includes a Summary Overview, Defining Moment, Author Biography, Document Analysis, and Essential Themes. Readers will appreciate the diversity of the collected texts, including congressional acts, letters, presidential vetos, political and religious sermons, laws and executive orders, government acts, and Supreme Court decisions, among other genres. An important feature is the close reading of the primary source that develops evidence of broader themes, such as the author's rhetorical purpose, social or class position, point of view, and other relevant issues. In addition, essays are organized by section themes, listed above, highlighting major issues of the period, many of which extend across eras and continue to shape life as we know it around the world. Each section begins with a brief introduction that defines questions and problems underlying the subjects in the historical documents. A brief glossary included at the end of each document highlights keywords important in the study of the primary source. Each essay also includes a Bibliography and Additional Reading section for further research.

Appendixes

- **Chronological List** arranges all documents by year.
- **Web Resources** is an annotated list of websites that offer valuable supplemental resources.
- **Bibliography** lists helpful articles and books for further study.

Contributors

Salem Press would like to extend its appreciation to all involved in the development and production of this work. The essays have been written and signed by scholars of history, humanities, and other disciplines related to the essays' topics. Without these expert contributions, a project of this nature would not be possible. A full list of contributor's names and affiliations appears in the front matter of this volume.

Editor's Introduction

"Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America," recalled historian Oscar Handlin. "Then I discovered that the immigrants *were* American history." Indeed, the history of the United States is the history of the peoples who moved there to create a society, a nation, bringing with them their own familiar cultures and traditions that they reshaped for use in their new environment and which, in turn remodeled that society itself. The most accepted theory of the population of North America is that the very first inhabitants were themselves immigrants, crossing the Bering Sea on a land bridge millennia ago from northeastern Asia to be joined thousands of years later by new arrivals from Europe, Africa, and other lands, making North America a multicultural region long before the establishment of the United States as an independent nation. It is this pattern that continues to repeat itself from the establishment of American independence until today.

By the time of the first United States census in 1790, the more than 3,929,000 recorded inhabitants included 2,100,000 of English descent, 300,000 Irish and Scots-Irish, 270,000 Germans, 150,000 Scots, 100,000 Dutch, 15,000 French, 10,000 Welsh, 2,000 Swedes, 2,000 Jews, with smaller representations from many other nationality and ethnic groups. At the same time, the census recorded 757,208 people of African ancestry, some 19.3 percent of the total population. Of course, most of these were not immigrants of their own free will.

Between 1790 and the eve of the Civil War in 1860, immigration to America grew from a small stream to a massive wave. In the first decade after ratification of the Constitution, 1790-1800, approximately 50,000 immigrants arrived in America. From that time until 1830, the number coming per decade tripled: 70,000 in 1801-10; 114,000 in 1811-20; and 151,000 in 1821-30. Beginning in 1816, about seventy percent of all European travelers entered the United States through the port of New York City. Most arrived in "steerage," the cheapest class of travel. Until the advent of the large passenger liners toward the end of the nineteenth century, most came in ships built to carry cargo rather than people. The average passage before the Civil War was about 44 days at sea, with some lasting as long as four months due to inclement weather. Overcrowding was standard, with poor ventilation and poor food. Upon arrival in America there were no public facilities or officials to assist the newcomers. If no one met them, they were let loose in the city with nowhere to turn for assistance. This led to the formation of the Irish Emigrant Aid Society in New York City in 1817 as the first ethnic attempt to assist fellow countrymen. In an era before government support facilities, individual groups increasingly developed societies to assist their own in the transition to American life.

In an early effort to regulate immigration, New York passed a law in 1824 requiring ships' captains to post a bond to guarantee that arriving immigrants would not become paupers or public charges. Later, a head tax of $1 per immigrant was levied, on steerage passengers only, to support an immigrant hospital. In 1849, however, in the "Passenger Cases" brought against New York and Massachusetts, the U.S. Supreme Court, by a vote of 5-4, declared the "head tax" on aliens to be unconstitutional. Its reasoning was that the power to regulate commerce rested exclusively with the Federal government. In 1847 New York established the "State Board of Commissioners of Immigration" to address immigration issues, and in 1855 "Castle Garden" was established on the southern tip of Manhattan Island as a reception center for new arrivals. There, newcomers could exchange money at fair rates, obtain food, review lists of approved boarding houses, and obtain other information. Later, Castle Garden would be replaced by Ellis Island in New York Harbor as the primary immigration center in the United States. In the two decades between 1820 and 1840, the largest single group of immigrants was from Ireland (43 percent), followed closely by those from the various German states (27 percent), England (18 percent), and the nations of northern Europe (11 percent).

Beginning in the 1830s, massive immigration from Ireland, followed in the late 1840s by huge migrations from Germany, saw arrivals reach never before imagined numbers: 599,000 in 1831-40; 1,713,000 in 1841-50; and 2,314,000 in 1851-60. By the mid-1850s, with a total population that stood slightly less than thirty million, nearly ten percent of the population had arrived within the previous decade. The overwhelming majority of Irish were Catholic, while German immigration contained in addition to Catholics, large numbers of Lutherans and other Protestants, significant numbers of

Jews, and a sizeable minority of "freethinkers," groups that were either anti-clerical, anti-religious, or both. Germans arriving after 1848 included a large number of political radicals who wanted to remake society. Failing in Germany, they brought their penchant for reform to America where they supported the anti-slavery movement, women's rights, and other causes.

The dramatic rise in immigration led to a corresponding rise in "nativism," a growing concern that immigration should be regulated to preserve "the American way of life." The Irish were Catholic, while America was overwhelmingly Protestant. In 1776 there were little more than 25,000 Catholics in the rebellious colonies, but that number increased dramatically to 1,750,000 by 1850 and 3,103,000 in 1860, making Catholics the single largest religious group in the country. The Irish also tended to stay in the large cities where they landed, or close by, where they competed for jobs, housing and services. Because of this, they were blamed for the poverty and rising crime rates in the cities and an anti-Catholic bias grew rapidly, including violence and mob actions in some cities. German migration included new strains of Protestantism such as the Lutherans, but also large numbers of Catholics and Jews, both of which continued to be antithetical to mainstream Protestants. The Germans also spoke a different language that they proved reluctant to give up, and had cultural habits, like having picnics on Sunday, which seemed odd if not downright sacrilegious to more conservative English-American Protestants. All of this heightened fears that continued immigration would take away jobs from "real Americans" and submerge American culture in what one writer referred to as the "pollution and degradation of European hordes."

The first nativist political convention, convened in Philadelphia in 1845, resulted in the formation of the "American Party" with a platform arguing for opposition to Catholics and the foreign-born being able to vote or hold elective office, as well as stricter naturalization requirements. The American Party, also known as the "Know-Nothing Party," reached its zenith of influence in 1854-55 when it counted three million supporters out of a total population of over twenty million. Thus, as immigration increased, so did nativism, but so also did the diversity of the United States.

With the conclusion of the Mexican War, "ethnicity" became a major issue. Although the overriding issue of the day was whether the "Mexican Cession," the lands taken from Mexico as a result of the war, would enter the nation as "free" or "slave" states, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo that ended the war also had a profound effect on the American cultural makeup. Along with the new areas under American control, which would become the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California, came tens of thousands of Spanish-speaking peoples and indigenous people. All had considerably different cultures and historical traditions than the rest of the American population. Of course, these people could not strictly be considered "immigrants." After all, they had not moved, control of the land on which they lived had changed hands.

Following the Civil War Southern and Eastern Europeans flocked to the unskilled labor positions in the expanding textile, steel, mining and other industries. By 1910, 58 percent of unskilled industrial workers were foreign-born, two-thirds of those being from the "New Immigration," chiefly Italians, Poles, and others from those regions. Numbers increased to the peak year of 1907 when more than a million people entered the country. It has been estimated that some 10 million people entered the United Stated between 1860 and 1890, and another 18 million between 1890 and 1920, a total of over 28 million people. About 80 percent of these settled in the northeast. New York City's population grew from just over one million in 1860 to over three million by 1900, while the dramatic rise in Chicago's population reflects not only increased immigration but also the massive westward movement: 100,000 in 1860, 503,000 in 1880, and 1,700,000 in 1900. Between 1860 and 1910, the urban population rose from 6.2 million to 42 million, an astounding 677 percent of its 1860 size. By 1890, New York City had become the largest immigrant center in the world and in the 18 largest American cities fully 60 percent of all males were of foreign birth.

As in previous eras, this enormous influx of people, most of whom were somehow perceived as "different," led to a renewed upsurge in nativism stoked by the American Federation of Labor's fears of competition and lowering wage scales combined with the racism attending the growing popularity of eugenics and Social Darwinism. While the reaction in the eastern portion of the nation was against those from Southern and Eastern Europe, that on the west coast was aimed at the Chinese. The discovery of gold and work on the railroads brought 14,000 Chinese to California by 1852. This number increased to 37,000 in 1855 and 290,610 by 1880. Of the 10,000 workers employed constructing

the Central Pacific Railroad, some 9,000 were Chinese. By the 1870s, most of the railroads had been completed, mining was gradually closed to many Asians, and the economic panic of 1873 brought increasing calls for the restriction of the Chinese. The result was the first exclusionary immigration law in American history bases on national origins, the "Chinese Exclusion Act" of 1882.

Similarly, political pressure led to restrictions on Southern and Eastern European immigration as well. In 1887 the anti-Catholic American Protective Association was formed in the Midwest. In 1894, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and a number of other New Englanders formed the Immigration Restriction League in Boston to push for a literacy test as a requirement for admission to the U.S., and other immigration "reforms." Opponents of the 1906 literacy test bill hoped to postpone or prevent its passage by calling for the establishment of the United States Immigration Commission, also known as "Dillingham Commission" after its chair, Sen. William P. Dillingham of Vermont. The Commission's findings supported the proponents of restriction, officially declaring for the first time that there was a distinct difference between what it labeled the "new" immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe and the previous groups from Northwestern Europe that it termed the "old" immigration. Restriction of the former, it concluded, was "demanded by economic, moral, and social conditions." This led to passage of severe restrictions on the entry of people from countries of the "new" immigration through legislation adopted in 1921 and 1924, as well as a cap on total immigration from outside the Western Hemisphere. Whereas nearly 880,000 people a year arrived in the first decade of the twentieth century, the new law reduced the maximum annual number to only 164,667.

World War II brought some exceptions to the rigid quotas with the War Brides Act of 1945 and the Displaced Person Acts of 1948 and 1950, but even when the immigration laws were revised under the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952 the previous nationality quotas were kept. They would not be discarded until the Immigration Act of 1965. In the meantime, arrivals from the Western Hemisphere foreshadowed a new "mass migration" from Latin America akin to that of the "new" immigration during the period between 1870 and 1920. By 2010 the U.S. census recorded a total population of 311,591,919. Of these, 40,381,574 (or 13.0 percent) were of foreign birth including 18,788,300 Hispanics (6.0 percent) of whom 11,691,632 were born in Mexico (3.8 percent). Mirroring the same cycle that is typical of American history, these new arrivals were also met with growing nativism and calls for restriction, generally using iterations of the same recycled arguments.

In this volume we attempt to present a cross section of documents for the study of what Oscar Handlin aptly note was the heart of American history. We begin with the immigrants themselves, providing a collection of first-hand commentaries on the process of immigration, the construction of immigrant communities, and protests of unfair treatment. We follow this by selections taken from those who opposed unrestricted immigration because without understanding their motivations one cannot understand the issues and their consequences. Since American immigration policy is defined by law, the third section includes a collection of federal legislation either designed specifically to address immigration or effecting it whether intended or not. Finally, immigration policy can be influenced by both the executive and judicial branches of government so we have included texts from both that have played important roles in how the legislation adopted by Congress is interpreted or enforced.

We hope that these documents not only provide for a better understanding of immigration issues, but an incentive for further study of this continually evolving subject.

James S. Pula, PhD

A Voyage to America

Date: April 27, 1805
Author: Andreas Geyer, Jr.
Genre: Letter

Summary Overview

Before the age of steam, immigrants wishing to cross the Atlantic to the "New World" had to endure a lengthy and dangerous voyage across the ocean in small wooden ships that were at the mercy of the winds to fill their sails enough to push them through the water. Too little wind and the ship was becalmed making the voyage longer and possibly even threatening to outlast the supply of food and drink. Too much wind, such as a major storm, and the vulnerable ship might be sunk with everyone aboard.

The ships themselves were built for carrying cargo so passenger space was limited. Fortunate indeed was a well-to-do passenger who could find a ship with a cabin and afford the cost of securing the accommodation. The typical immigrant was housed in a cargo hold on the ship which was either a large open area or, on the better ships, temporary partitions that divided the space into smaller compartments. Since this was located on the same level as the steering mechanisms it came to be referred to as "steerage." Often travelers had only a bench to sit on and these, or bunks made of wood, on which to sleep. Some had straw-filled mattresses, but passengers were expected to bring their own pillows, blankets, or whatever else they needed.

Conditions aboard ship varied, but generally they were crowded, lacked proper ventilation and sanitation, and took on the odors of the people and cargo being carried. More often than not the passenger spaces were infested with rats, fleas, lice, and other vermin making for a decidedly unhealthy atmosphere in which diseases spread quickly. In 1800 the average Atlantic crossing took six weeks, but depending on the weather could stretch to as much as fourteen weeks, in which case provisions might run out before reaching land. In the end, much depended on the ship's captain.

Defining Moment

Prior to the 1820s when the British government began to actively regulate ships carrying passengers, travel was done mostly at the mercy of the ship owner and the captain of the vessel. Conditions varied greatly and there were many opportunities for the unwary to be abused or exploited. For example, if a voyage took longer than travelers expected they might run out of provisions and the captain could then increase profits from the voyage by selling food and drink at greatly inflated prices. Or if it were cold on the ocean and the traveler did not bring a blanket these could also be sold at exorbitant prices. Female passengers were particularly vulnerable, especially if traveling alone.

Particularly at risk were people referred to as "redemptioners." In colonial times when a person signed on as an apprentice to learn a trade they incurred an obligation to the master craftsman doing the training that had to be satisfied. Once this was done, the apprentice was said to be "redeemed" and had then settled the obligation. The same concept was used for indentured servants who obligated themselves to provide their labor for a certain number of years in return for passage to America and often some other considerations such as a piece of land of their own when the obligation was completed.

In Germany this practice usually took one of two forms. There was the traditional indentured servant who negotiated the terms of the indenture prior to leaving Europe, but there was also another type of traveler sometimes referred to as a "free-willer" who, in return for passage, gave the ship's captain permission to arrange an indenture for the traveler once the ship arrived in America. The latter left the immigrant particularly vulnerable to unscrupulous exploitation. One study found that German redemptioners paid almost twice as much for passage as did English equivalents and that while the average debt amounted to about a half-year's salary for the typical Philadelphia laborer the redemptioner was

usually required to work three to four years to satisfy the debt. Once in America they had no way to return to Europe and could not leave the ship, or the place where they were held, until they agreed to the conditions under which the captain had sold them.

Author Biography

Andreas Geyer, Jr., was sent by the German Society of Philadelphia to Perth Amboy, New Jersey, to look into rumors of abusive treatment of German immigrants during their voyage from Europe. Located in Philadelphia, the Society was founded in 1764 to assist German immigrants and today claims to be the oldest German cultural organization in the United States. Geyer was born in Philadelphia in 1772. His father served as an officer in the American Revolution including the Battles of Trenton, Princeton, Germantown, and Monmouth. He became a bookseller and an officer in the German Society of Philadelphia where he was a member of the St. Michael's-Zion German Lutheran Congregation. The younger Geyer was no doubt detailed to this mission because of his father's prominence in the German Society.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENT

SIR: Having just returned from the errand sent upon by you and the other officers of the German Society, relative to the German Redemptioners lately arrived at Perth Amboy, I have thought proper without loss of time to communicate to you in writing, for your and their information, how far I proceeded with the business entrusted me, respecting the said German redemptioners.

I left the city on Friday last, and in the evening arrived at New Brunswick, when I waited on Mr. Robert Eastburn[1], and presented him the letter you addressed him. Mr. Eastburn appears to be a gentleman of humanity and of feeling. After he read the letter, he observed a willingness to accompany me to Amboy; he did so the next morning, as also did Mr. Kladey. Both of them behaved with the greatest politeness towards me, and with great liberality towards the German Redemptioners at Amboy. Immediately on our arrival at Amboy we went to the river with an intention of going on board the ship General Wayne, or with an expectation of seeing some of the redemptioners on shore. However, we saw none of them at the time, and the ship was weighing anchor, and soon after set sail for New York. By enquiry we found the passengers were deposited in the Jail of Amboy, however not closely confined, having permission granted them by the agent to walk about the place or town. From what I could learn, the captain began to be uneasy, as some of the inhabitants had spoken to him with respect to the malconduct exercised by him towards those unhappy beings, and resolved to leave Amboy and go to New York.

I went to visit those unfortunate people, and in truth they may be called unfortunate. And I must confess I have seen a number of vessels at Philadelphia with redemptioners, but never did I see such a set of miserable beings in my life. Death, to make use of the expression, appeared to be staring them in the face. The complaints were numerous which they made against the captain respecting the bad treatment they received from him on and during the passage. The complaints which I conceive are of the greatest importance I shall briefly state. My intention was to have had them confirmed with their oaths, but as they are made by every one of the passengers I thought it unnecessary. They are that they left Hamburg some time in November last, and arrived at Tonningen, where lay the ship General Wayne, John Conklin, Master, bound for New York, with whom they entered into a certain agreement, on condition that he, the said Conklin, would take them to New York, that during the passage they should be allowed a certain quantity of bread, meat, peas, fish, vinegar, butter, potatoes, tobacco, etc., as also a dram in the morning, as will appear by a reference to the agreement itself, each passenger having one. About fourteen days after they left Tonningen they put into an English port near Portsmouth, where they remained about four weeks ; that during that time a British recruiting officer came on board the ship, when the captain informed them that they now had an opportunity of enlisting, that those who so chose to do might, as the recruiting officer was on board the

ship. Ten men consented, and entered their names, giving to the other passengers their reasons for so doing, namely, that, having been already put on allowance by the captain, they were apprehensive that, should they stay on board the ship, they should be starved before they arrived in America. Amongst those that enlisted was a man who had a wife and child on board the ship; that eight days after they had thus entered their names they were taken from the ship by the recruiting officer, although some of them wished to withdraw their names, but to no effect; go they must. The woman and her child are now at Amboy, lamenting the loss of the husband and father.

On the last day of their remaining in this British port, the same recruiting officer came the third time on board the ship, when the mate called four or five of the passengers by name, and told them, in the presence of the captain, they must be soldiers and go with the officer. They replied they had no intention of being soldiers, they wished to go to America; whereupon the captain and mate seized one of them by name Samuel Vogel, and threw him into the boat belonging to the recruiting officer, which was alongside of the ship. However, Vogel got back again into the ship, went below, and hid himself, but was again compelled to come forward with his clothes, when the recruiting officer, observing him weep, declared he would not have him, and left the ship, mentioning that he should not have again come on board had not the captain, the day before, pressed him so to do. The captain was highly dissatisfied with these men for refusing to go, and declared that they should not have anything to eat on board the ship, that they might starve, and ordered one of them to be flogged for refusing, which was performed, too, in a cruel manner. That the whole of the passengers, when at this British port, complained to the captain that the treatment they received was not such as was agreed to between them at Tonningen. He replied they were not then in Tonningen, neither were they in America, but in England. They then set sail, and after fourteen days had elapsed the captain informed them that they would get nothing to eat except bread and meat. After this each person received two biscuits, one pint of water, and the eighth part of a pound of meat per day. This regulation continued for two or three weeks, when they one and all declared they could not any longer exist on the small allowance they received; that they must, without doubt, perish. The hunger and thirst being at this time so great, and the children continually crying out for bread and drink, some of the men, resolved, at all events, to procure bread, broke open the apartment wherein it was kept, and took some. This was discovered by the captain, as were also those who did the same, when each of them was ordered to, and actually did, receive, after being first tied, a number of lashes on their bare backs well laid on. The whole of the passengers were also punished for this offence. The men received no bread, the women but one biscuit. This continued for nine days, when the men were again allowed one biscuit per day; however, the captain would at least make or proclaim a fast day. In this situation their condition became dreadful, so much so that five and twenty men, women, and children actually perished for the want of the common necessaries of life, in short, for the want of bread. The latter were ten in number, all at the time at the breasts of their mothers. The hunger was so great on board that all the bones about the ship were hunted up by them, pounded with a hammer and eaten; and what is more lamentable, some of the deceased persons, not many hours before their death, crawled on their hands and feet to the captain, and begged him, for God's sake, to give them a mouthful of bread or a drop of water to keep them from perishing, but their supplications were in vain; he most obstinately refused, and thus did they perish. The cry of the children for bread was, as I am informed, so great that it would be impossible for man to describe it, nor can the passengers believe that any other person excepting Captain Conklin would be found whose heart would not have melted with compassion to hear those little inoffensive ones cry for bread. The number of passengers, when the ship arrived at Amboy, amounted to one hundred and thirty-two. Fifty-one remain there still; the others have been disposed of.

The passengers further state that they did not receive the tobacco, the fish, nor the potatoes, as they ought to have received, and which they were entitled to as by their contract with the captain, neither did they receive their dram but four or five times during their passage, and no butter after they left the British port until within three or four days ago.

The foregoing are the principal causes of complaint, and indeed they appear very serious ones too to me. However, I having heard those complaints, and understanding

from a number of citizens of Amboy that the captain's intention was to take the ship to New York, leave her, as also the State of New York, and go to his native State, Rhode Island, I was at a loss to know how to act or what to do, as my instructions were not for New York. However, after reflection I determined to push on for New York, and there inform the German Society of his conduct. I did so, and on Sunday arrived there, when, after some little enquiry, I found the President of the society, Mr. Philip I. Arcularius.[2] To him I communicated the whole of this disagreeable affair. His feelings can be more easily conceived than described. He, however, gave directions to have the officers of the society summoned to meet the next day, which was done, and they all attended, excepting one of the assistants, and, after hearing the circumstances relative to those unfortunate people, they appointed three of their members, officers, to act in such way as they should, after taking legal advice, think best to bring the captain to that punishment which his conduct should merit.

[1] Robert Eastburn (1742–1815) was a merchant and realtor who lived in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was also a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers).

[2] Philip I. Arcularius was a tanner and currier who was also the first president of the German Society of the City of New York when it was founded in 1804.

GLOSSARY

Dram: A drink of whiskey or some other liquor equivalent to one-eighth of a liquid ounce. In popular use it can simply mean a small drink.

Flogged: To be beaten, usually on the back with a whip or stick. Aboard ship at that time it would often be done with a "cat-o'-nine-tails" which was a whip made from nine ropes fastened to a single grip.

Redemptioner: An immigrant who paid for passage to America by selling labor such as an indentured servant.

Explanation and Analysis of the Document

Upon Geyer's arrival in Perth Amboy he found some of the recently-arrived German redemptioners in jail or under order not to leave the city. This was not unusual and implied no wrong-doing on their part. It only meant that these were "free-willers" who had not yet settled their obligation and were most likely awaiting the time when their labor would be sold to find out where they would be going and for whom they would be working. In Geyer's retelling the captain left the port quickly to avoid criticism, but this might also have been a routine departure to load a new cargo. If captains could not quickly arrange for the placement of "free-willers" they often engaged an agent to handle the process for them so that they could continue on their voyage.

Geyer reported finding a very "miserable" group of people who had apparently suffered greatly during the ocean voyage through no small fault of the ship's captain. Chief among the immigrants' complaints was that Captain Conklin had breached the contract they had signed with him by not providing the amount or type of food promised, instead providing them with a greatly reduced ration of biscuit, a small amount of meat, and water. The survivors of the ordeal claimed that twenty-five of their number perished from hunger on the voyage, but one wonders if this might have been an exaggeration or if the deaths might rather have come from disease because the ship's captain would be losing money on every passenger whose labor he could not sell when the vessel reached port.

Another passenger complaint was that when the vessel stopped in England the captain allowed British recruiting officers to come aboard to enlist men from among the group into the British army. Some who refused were punished by being deprived of their food allowance. British "impressment gangs" were a very real threat at that time, especially in seaports. These groups of roving recruiters attempted to sign men up for the British armed

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