BOUND FOR A NEW WORLD: EMIGRATION OF INDENTURED SERVANTS VIA LIVERPOOL TO AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES, 1697–1707

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The world of the indentured servant bound for the English colonies in North America and the West Indies around the year 1700 was a hard one. Men, women, families, and young people of both sexes gave up everything they had at home and made their way to a port, where they signed or marked indentures which bound them to enforced service for a period of years in the New World. The prospect for some was of freedom to practise their religion, for others of freedom from hunger and poverty, but they ran high risks. At best they faced a perilous voyage on a small merchant ship carrying manufactured goods to be traded for colonial produce, followed, at least for those without a skilled trade, by a hard, uncertain future in the New World. Many did not reach their intended destination, or died of fever after only a few days in their new home. One educated emigrant later in the century described what must have been a typical death at sea on Sunday 27 February 1774, while his ship was lying off Portsmouth:

> At 4 AM. . . . the man who was bade with the flux was found dead in his hammock. At 8 he was sewed up in it and at 9 AM. he was burried in the sea after reading the service of the Dead over him, which was done by the Mate.[1]

1 *The journal of John Harrower, an indentured servant in the colony of Virginia, 1773–1776*, ed. E. M. Riley (Williamsburg, Va, 1963), p. 23.

Liverpool was one of the main ports for the emigration of indentured servants in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The subjects of this study are the 1,479 indentured servants whose names were listed at the back of volumes five and seven of the Liverpool Town Books between 1697 and 1707.[2] The Liverpool lists have been known to historians and available in a published transcript since the early years of this century.[3] Some historians interested in indentured servants have noticed them,[4] the fullest use being that made by Galenson,[5] but they are still relatively unknown.

The lists clearly establish the importance of Liverpool as a port for emigration around 1700, when it rivalled London, Bristol, Weymouth, and Plymouth, the earlier popular gateways to the New World. By the end of the seventeenth century Liverpool was poised for an economic boom. Ships jostled for position in the Mersey.[6] The town's population had doubled to about 6,000 in the previous quarter century, and, according to Celia Fiennes in 1698, it had 'grown to a large fine town . . . London in miniature'.[7] By 1702, during the period covered by the emigrant lists, it has been reckoned that Liverpool was the third largest port in England (table 1).[8]

2 Liv. R.O., Liverpool Town Books, V and VII (352 MIN/COU 1 1/5 and 1/7).

3 J. Elton, 'Liverpool lists of emigrants, 1697–1706', *T.H.S.L.C.* XVII (1902), pp. 179–188. They were transcribed by E. French, 'Lists of emigrants to America from Liverpool, 1697–1707', *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXIV (1910) and LXV (1911); reprinted as *Lists of emigrants to America from Liverpool, 1697–1707* (Baltimore, Md, 1969).

4 A. E. Smith, *Colonists in bondage; white servitude and convict labor in America, 1607–1776* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1947); *Passengers to America: a consolidation of ship passenger lists from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, ed. M. Tepper (Baltimore, Md, 1977); and *Passenger and Immigrants Lists Index*, ed. P. W. Filby and M. K. Meyer, I–III (Detroit, Mi, 1982–8).

5 D. W. Galenson, *White servitude in colonial America: an economic analysis* (Cambridge, 1981).

6 G. Collins, *Survey of the River Dee and Chester* (1689).

7 *The journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. C. Morris (revised edn, London, 1947), pp. 183–184.

8 T. Baines, *History of the commerce and town of Liverpool, and of the rise of the manufacturing industry in the adjoining counties* (London, 1852), pp. 395–396.

TABLE 1 *Shipping in London, Bristol, and Liverpool, 1702*

Port	*Vessels*	*Average burden*	*Total tonnage*	*Seamen*
London	560	150 tons	84,000 tons	10,065
Bristol	165	105 tons	17,325 tons	2,359
Liverpool	102	84 tons	8,568 tons	1,101

Liverpool's rise was built on the export of Lancashire textiles and Staffordshire ironware, and the import of tobacco, sugar, and other produce from the transatlantic colonies.[9] The port's earlier trading links had been with Ireland, but they had declined in relative terms for a variety of reasons: the Navigation Acts of 1663, high import duties, and the Cattle Acts which diverted Irish trade to France, Spain, and the Netherlands have all been cited. Liverpool merchants turned instead to the West Indies and North America, encouraged by the fact that when England was at war their port was much safer for Atlantic shipping than those in the south.[10] Imports of tobacco and sugar through Liverpool increased greatly between the two periods 1689–96 and 1703–12: tobacco from 1.49 million pounds to 2.86 million pounds, sugar from 8,000 hundredweight to 21,100 hundredweight.[11]

The Liverpool emigrant lists are comparable to those for the seventeenth century in the Public Record Office,[12] and to the local registers for Bristol (which contain over 10,000 names of emigrating servants between 1654 and 1686),[13] Middlesex (742 names for 1683–4), and London (covering

9 Ibid., p. 12.

10 C. N. Parkinson, *The rise of the port of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1952), pp. 57–59.

11 P. G. E. Clemens, 'The rise of Liverpool, 1665–1750', *Econ. H.R.* XXIX (1976), p. 212.

12 J. C. Hotten, *The original lists of persons of quality and others who went from Great Britain to the American plantations, 1600–1700* (London, 1874).

13 *Bristol and America*, ed. N. W. Harding and W. D. Bowman (London, 1929); *The Bristol registers of servants sent to foreign plantations, 1654–1686*, ed. P. W. Coldham (Baltimore, Md, 1988).

1718–59 and 1773–5).[14] Although they are little more than scribbled notes of a very informal character they give enough information about the emigrants themselves (their ages, terms of indentured service, and places of origin, with some information on occupations), the masters to whom they were bound, and the ships in which they sailed (names, captains, and destinations) for a new analysis to be well worth while. The statistics should never be allowed to obscure the human dimension: hundreds came to Liverpool from nearby counties, scores from all parts of the British Isles, men, women, and children intent on sailing to a new and better future. Imagine Robert and Isabel Turner leaving their home at Tarleton on the Lancashire plain and coming to Liverpool in 1699 with their four-year-old daughter and little Thomas, only nine months old, binding the baby to indentured servitude until his twenty-first birthday, and sailing for Virginia in a party of eighty servants under Gilbert Livesay in the *Elizabeth of Liverpool*.[15] Imagine the oldest emigrant in the Liverpool lists, William Philips, an Irishman of forty-eight, originally from Cork, after who knows what adventures in his life agreeing at Liverpool in 1702 to serve John Lancaster for the usual four years.[16]

The indentures of the Liverpool emigrants do not survive, though there are several references in the Town Books to payments for drawing them up.[17] They would have been similar in form and content to the ones from other ports.

14 C. D. P. Nicholson, 'Some early emigrants to America, 1683–1684', *Genealogists' Magazine*, XII (1) (Mar. 1955); XIII (5) (Mar. 1960); reprinted as *Some early emigrants to America* (Baltimore, Md, 1965); Galenson, *White servitude*, Appendix A and p. 275, n. 8, now abstracted in J. Wareing, 'Some early emigrants to America, 1683–1684; a supplementary list', *Genealogists' Magazine*, XVIII (5) (Mar. 1976), pp. 239–246; M. Ghirelli, *A list of emigrants from England to America, 1682–1692* (Baltimore, Md, 1968); J. and M. Kaminkow, *A list of emigrants from England to America, 1718–1759* (Baltimore, Md, 1964); D. Galenson, 'Agreements to serve in America and the West Indies, 1727–1731', *Genealogists' Magazine*, XIX (2) (June 1977), pp. 40–44.

15 Liv. R.O., Liverpool Town Books, V, p. 45.

16 Ibid., p. 70.

17 e.g. ibid., pp. 16, 26; VII, p. 29 numbered from back of book.

They were drawn up in duplicate, one copy being kept by the person sending the servant and the other taken with the emigrant to his new home. They provided for the emigrant to be carried to America or the West Indies and to serve his master for a stated term of years, receiving food, clothing, and shelter in return. The Middlesex indentures of the 1680s were either entered on printed forms which had blank spaces for names and other details, or written out longhand. One of 1683, for example, stipulated that the master, a London merchant, should provide his servant, a blacksmith, with 'Meat, Drink, apparrell and Lodging with other necessaryes' during his term of four years' service in New Jersey, and at the end set him up with 25 acres of land, 'One breeding Sow & Corn Sufficient to Sow Two acres of Land'.[18] A Bristol emigrant of 1654 to Barbados was to receive the usual free passage, food, clothing, and lodging during his service, and at the end of it 'as much good and merchantable Tobacco Indigo goods or cotton . . . according to the Custome of the Country'. Another of the same year to Virginia was to receive 20 acres of land 'according to the Custome of the country'.[19] The 'custom of the country' varied between colonies but often involved a grant of land. In addition those who were responsible for sending indentured servants to the colonies were commonly entitled to land under the 'headright system'. In Virginia and Maryland the practice was to grant 50 acres for each servant brought to the colony, though the system was widely abused by claims for fictitious servants or multiple claims for the same servant (for instance by both the ship's captain and the master who had put up the money for the passage).[20]

Government regulation of the trade in indentured servants began in 1635 in response to impressment and kidnapping. Parliament continued to intervene in the trade during the Civil War,[21] and the Bristol lists of indentured servants owe

18 Greater London Record Office, Middlesex Sessions Records, Pl. 196 original 453 and Pl. 654 original 912.

19 Bristol City Archives, Tolzey Book, p. 1.

20 *English colonization of North America*, ed. L. B. Wright and E. W. Fowler (London, 1968), pp. 107–108.

21 S. C. Johnson, *A history of emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763–1912* (London, 1913), p. 180; Smith, *Colonists in bondage*, p. 71, nn. 7–8.

their origin to an ordinance of the city council in 1654 which required the names of all departing servants to be registered, together with their destinations and the terms of their indentures. The intention of Bristol corporation, like that of the government, was to prevent 'Inveigling, purloining, carrying and Stealing away Boys Maidens and other persons and transporting them beyond Seas and there selling or otherwise disposing them for private gaine and proffitt'.[22] In 1682 the government issued an Order in Council, which made four stipulations. Indentures were to be drawn up in duplicate before a magistrate, one part to be signed by the servant and one by the magistrate, with the document being filed and registered by the Clerk of the Peace. All servants over twenty-one years of age had to satisfy a magistrate at the port of departure that they were taking service voluntarily. Those under twenty-one were to be bound before two magistrates with the consent of their parents or masters. Those under fourteen could only be bound in the presence of their parents, or the churchwardens or overseers of their home parish, and could not be embarked on a ship until a fortnight after the indenture was completed. The order was renewed in 1686.[23] The Liverpool lists of 1697–1707 may have been compiled in accordance with a municipal ordinance like that at Bristol, or to conform with the 1686 order.[24]

There was, of course, emigration from Liverpool to the New World before the period of the emigrant lists under consideration here. In 1648, for example, the borough council decided to round up poor children and beggars from the streets and send them to Barbados.[25] The earliest record of indentured service from Liverpool so far discovered is that of Mary Smith, transported in 1674 by Joseph Smith of Liverpool, who proved rights to 50 acres for her passage. Soon

22 Bristol City Archives, Tolzey Book, frontispiece of emigrant lists, 29 Sept. 1654.

23 *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, 1681–5*, XI, pp. 317, 350.

24 Smith, *Colonists in bondage*, p. 355, n. 30.

25 *Liverpool under Charles I*, ed. G. Chandler (Liverpool, 1965), pp. 411–412.

afterwards the Liverpool merchant Richard Moyle proved rights to 650 acres for sending thirteen people to Maryland on the *Freeman*. The records then come thick and fast. In 1679 another Liverpool merchant, Thomas Pemberton, transported forty-four people on board the *Mary* and earned headrights to 2,400 acres, of which he assigned 1,200 acres to Captain Thomas Walker and 1,000 acres to Lieutenant John Winder, both of Somerset County, Maryland, 'for a valuable consideration'.[26] In 1682 a Liverpool ship called the *Submission*, carrying twenty-five indentured servants, was blown off course en route for Philadelphia and arrived in the Choptank River on the eastern shore of Maryland after a passage of fifty-eight days. Some of the servants had been indentured by free passengers and some by the master, James Settle.[27] In 1686 a list of indentured servants was drawn up for the mayor of Liverpool, apparently in response to the renewal of the Order in Council. Some had been bound to ships' captains (Gilbert Livesay, Edward Tarleton, James Hornby, Edmund Croston, and John Bankes), others to merchants (Richard Radcliffe, Thomas Sandiford junior, and Richard Houghton). They mostly came from Lancashire, Cheshire, and Denbighshire, though Staffordshire, Shropshire, Hampshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Cumberland, the Isle of Man, and Belfast were also represented. Their occupations included blacksmiths, a miller, butchers, a painter, a bricklayer, a weaver, and a joiner.[28] In all these particulars the 1686 emigrants resemble those of the fuller lists of 1697–1707.

The reasons for emigration included a strong pull factor from the other side of the Atlantic. Simply, there was a link between the price of tobacco and the need for indentured servants. When prices were high, as between 1662 and 1680,

26 J. G. Read, 'Did Liverpool's earliest emigrants really sail to Maryland?', *Family Tree*, Jan. 1989, p. 12.

27 *New World immigrants*, ed. M. Tepper (Baltimore, Md, 1980), I, pp. 235–241.

28 Lancs. R.O., QSP/625/2, 2088, transcribed in R. Sharpe France, 'Early emigrants to America from Liverpool', *Genealogists' Magazine*, XII (7) (Sept. 1956), pp. 234–235.

TABLE 2 *Number of indentured servants leaving Liverpool for America and the West Indies, 1697–1707*

Year	*Number*
1697	131
1698	406
1699	405
1700	173
1701	54
1702	65
1703	54
1704	31
1705	89
1706	55
1707	16
Total	1,479

large numbers of servants were wanted by the growers in Maryland and Virginia in order to increase production. That tended to flood the market and drive down the price, and with it the demand for cheap labour. Tobacco prices were generally depressed from 1680 to 1706, except for rises in 1685–6 and 1697–1702, when the numbers of servants also rose sharply.[29] That model fits the Liverpool figures, which start when the level of emigration was already fairly high in 1697, rise to a peak in 1698 and 1699, fall back to the 1697 level in 1700, and have a run of rather small numbers each year from 1701 to the end of the series in 1707. The one exception to a probable link was 1705, when the price of tobacco was low but the number of Liverpool emigrants rose, though not to anything like the level of the high-price years (table 2).

However, a contrary factor was that towards the end of the seventeenth century it was becoming less easy for former indentured servants to prosper in the New World; more had to settle as tenants rather than landowners after their period of

29 R. R. Menard, 'Immigration to the Chesapeake colonies in the seventeenth century: a review essay', *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXVIII (3) (1973), pp. 326–329.

service was completed, and indentured service was correspondingly less attractive.[30]

A further factor was the rise of Liverpool itself, though the town's growing prosperity was in part dependent on shuttling men and money to the colonies, and especially to the Chesapeake Bay area, which included both Maryland and Virginia. By the 1690s Chesapeake farmers could no longer secure as many servants from Bristol and London as they had been used to, but the demand for white field hands had risen enormously because of the steady increase in the free farming population, the settlement of South Carolina and Pennsylvania, and the cultivation of previously virgin land in Jamaica. The number of servants shipped by Liverpool merchants ran at only thirty or forty a year in the 1670s and 1680s but peaked at over 400 a year during the boom in the tobacco trade at the turn of the century. In comparison, Bristol ships were carrying over 500 servants a year to Maryland and Virginia in the 1660s but only 100 a year in the last two decades of the century, while London merchants were taking three or four times the Bristol numbers. Liverpool traders facilitated their negotiations by establishing stores and factors at St Mary's, Maryland, and by operating chiefly in the northern Chesapeake, a less developed region where it was more difficult for the planters to buy slaves and where they were therefore more dependent on white field hands.[31]

Other factors which caused the upsurge in numbers were the bad harvests of the 1690s in the British Isles and the war with France, both of which disrupted normal patterns of employment. The peak years of emigration from Liverpool, 1697–1700, were ones of depressed trade and high food prices.[32] The Act of 1697 which allowed people to seek work outside their own parish if they carried a certificate made the poor more mobile and very likely drew them to the ports.[33]

30 R. R. Menard, 'From servant to freeholder: status, mobility and property accumulation in seventeenth-century Maryland', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. XXX (1) (1973), p. 64.

31 Clemens, 'Rise of Liverpool', pp. 212–214.

32 Smith, *Colonists in bondage*, p. 44.

33 J. J. Bagley, *A history of Lancashire* (London, 1956), p. 45.

Once peace with France came in 1697, not only were many poorer people ready to travel to the Chesapeake area, but tobacco planters, once again able to get their crop safely to market, were eager to contract for labourers. From 1697 to 1701 more servants arrived in the Chesapeake colonies, especially the eastern shore of Maryland, than during any similar period in the seventeenth century. However, the resumption of war in 1702 brought another depression in the tobacco trade, not least because the seas were much less safe for merchant ships, and thus reduced servant numbers.[34]

About half of the Liverpool emigrants between 1697 and 1707 (718 out of 1,479) have a known destination, and of them the great majority were bound for Virginia or Maryland, with relatively few travelling to New England, Pennsylvania, Newfoundland, or the West Indies (table 3). The pattern shows that emigration from Liverpool was tied to the trends which have been found from the American evidence.

The decline in the number of indentured servants going from England to North America in the early eighteenth century was also connected with the rising number of slaves being transported from Africa. The Royal African Company's monopoly of the English slave trade from West Africa was officially breached in 1698. At first, London retained the ascendancy, sending thirty-nine slave ships to Virginia between 1699 and 1708, to Bristol's five and Liverpool's two. After 1710 Bristol won a lead which it did not lose until the 1740s, between 1710 and 1718 sending twenty-one vessels to London's twenty, Liverpool's eleven, and twelve from other English ports.[35]

The most important month for Chesapeake registration in the Liverpool lists was October, when 32% of the emigrants

34 P. G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic economy and colonial Maryland's eastern shore: from tobacco to grain* (Ithaca, NY, 1980), p. 55.

35 W. E. Minchinton, 'The slave trade of Bristol with the British mainland colonies in North America, 1699–1770', *Liverpool, the African slave trade and abolition*, ed. R. Anstey and P. E. H. Hair (Historic Society of Lancs. and Ches. Occasional Series, II, Liverpool, 1976), p. 39; D. Richardson, 'The eighteenth century British slave trade', *Research in Economic History*, XII (1989), p. 170.

TABLE 3 *Destination of indentured servants leaving from Liverpool, 1697–1707*

Destination	*Number*		*Percentage*
Chesapeake colonies		**594**	**40**
Virginia	431		
Virginia/Maryland	158		
Maryland	5		
Northern colonies		**61**	**4**
New England	44		
Newfoundland	14		
Pennsylvania	3		
West Indies		**45**	**3**
Barbados/Caribbean	16		
Barbados	9		
Montserrat	9		
West Indies	5		
St Kitts	4		
Antigua	2		
Uncertain		**18**	**1**
Pennsylvania/Maryland/Caribbean	16		
Virginia/Caribbean	1		
sloop/Caribbean	1		
Not recorded		**761**	**51**
Total		**1,479**	**100**

were indentured. The period from October to January accounted for 78% of all Chesapeake registrations.[36] There were several factors behind the concentration in one season of the year. The first was the pattern of the tobacco trade. English merchants trading for tobacco normally wanted their ships to arrive in the Chesapeake late in the autumn, after the tobacco had been harvested, cured, and packed for shipment. The two- or three-month voyage from England would require

36 Galenson, *White servitude*, pp. 87–88.

a departure in late July, August, or September to arrive in port in Maryland or Virginia by October or November, which does not fit the Liverpool registrations. Other merchants, however, sent their ships to the Chesapeake somewhat later and bought the tobacco that had not been ready for shipment earlier in the autumn. William Bullock in 1649 described their return to England in or about December.[37] Another factor may have been the preference among the Virginia planters for hiring servants who arrived in the autumn or early winter, in order to 'season' them over the winter and spring before the greatest health risks of the summer months.[38]

Most of those who bound themselves to serve in the New World came to Liverpool singly, but there are several cases of whole families, like John Jones of Wrexham, his wife Hannah, and their child, who emigrated on one indenture for four years in 1698,[39] or Matthew Stabbs of Rushton (Staffs.), aged forty-four, who bound himself for six years to the master of a ship travelling to Virginia or Maryland in 1699, taking with him his sons Matthew and Edward, aged fifteen and sixteen, whom he bound for nine and eight years respectively.[40] Many widows travelled alone or with young children, like Hannah Cooper of Darwen (Lancs.), aged twenty-four, who indentured herself for five years and her six-year-old son James for seventeen to Alderman Thomas Tyrer in January 1705.[41] John Woods and Joshua Taylor, orphans from Aughton (Lancs.), were bound for seven and ten years respectively to Captain Clayton in 1699, with the consent of the overseers of their parish.[42]

Terms of servitude started not from the signing of the indenture in Liverpool but from the date of starting service in the New World. Before this happened the servants had

37 Ibid., p. 89 and nn. 4–5; P. A. Bruce, *Economic history of Virginia in the seventeenth century* (New York, 1896), I, p. 623; W. Bullock, *Virginia impartially examined and left to publick view* (1649), p. 46. On seasonality see also Ralph Davis, *The rise of the English shipping industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London, 1962).

38 Galenson, *White servitude*, p. 89 and nn. 6–7.

39 Liv. R.O., Liverpool Town Books, V, p. 6.

40 Ibid., p. 36.

41 Ibid., p. 76.

42 Ibid., p. 41.

endured a passage of several months, often in winter with very little comfort and in crowded conditions. At the end of the voyage, unless they were already committed to a master in the colonies, they were sold almost as if they were slaves.

The life of one Liverpool emigrant is well documented. In 1704 the landowner Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby sent a young man called John Blundell, the twenty-year-old son of a tailor in his township, to serve his brother Richard in Virginia for seven years. He sailed in the charge of William Parr on the *Laurel*, captained by Edward Tarleton. Nicholas personally put the young man on board and paid the captain £5 for his passage.[43] Captain Tarleton had taken the *Yorkshire Laurel* to Newfoundland in 1700, and had already been responsible for twenty-seven servants going to the New World.[44] Tarleton was in Virginia in 1705, when he was among a group of sixty-five masters of merchant ships who signed a vote of thanks to Governor Nicholson for his help in ensuring safe convoy home.[45] Among his fellow captains in the James River were eight from Liverpool (Bryan Blundell, Henry Browne, Cavaleiro Christian, William Everedd, John Lancaster, Thomas Leckonby, William Williamson, and Augustine Woodward), all connected with the trade in indentured servants. Meanwhile John Blundell's master Richard Blundell married a widow, Mrs Dorothy Tawny, and left Virginia to live at her home in Battle Town, Maryland. He died there on 30 November 1704. When Nicholas heard of this nearly a year later he wrote to his widowed sister-in-law; part of the letter refers to John Blundell:

> I should be glad to hear how you like John Blundell, I hope you will be kind to him, my Bargain was that he should not be sold so hope you will keep him, and in your Next let me hear how he carryeth himself, he is Son to one of my Tennants & he went over purely out of Love to my Brother and me.[46]

43 Ibid., p. 74; *The great diurnall of Nicholas Blundell, 1702–1711*, ed. J. J. Bagley and F. Tyrer (R.S.L.C., 1968), I, p. 66.

44 Liv. R.O., Liverpool Town Books, V, p. 28.

45 *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* [hereafter *V.M.H.B.*], IX (Jan. 1902), p. 255.

46 F. Tyrer, 'Richard Blundell in Virginia and Maryland', *V.M.H.B.* LVIII (4) (Oct. 1960), p. 445.

Other colonists also had servants dispatched to them. Henry Scholfield of Potomac, Maryland, sent for two emigrants in 1705, and had sent out to him John Lucas of Eccles (Lancs.), a seventeen-year-old weaver indentured for five years, and thirty-year-old Thomas Hayes from Huddersfield (Yorks.), a chandler, who was to serve for four years.[47]

For those who were indentured to ships' captains, merchants, senior crew, or speculators, the arrival of the ship in the North American or West Indian colonies meant being paraded on deck for the inspection of prospective masters and their agents, who would buy the indenture entrusted to the ship's captain for tobacco, sugar, or other colonial produce.

Most emigrants came from Liverpool's hinterland in Lancashire, Cheshire, and north Wales, though many other parts of England were represented by small numbers (table 4). Ireland contributed thirty-one servants and Scotland sent nineteen. They were joined by a Virginian who indentured himself to go back to his native colony in 1698, and by a Frenchman in 1700.[48] As many as 162 servants did not give their place of origin and some did not even start the voyage, as there are several marginal notes of 'Runn' beside the names.

Two few occupations are given to allow statistical treatment, but they included a wide enough range to substantiate Mildred Campbell's view that 'all kinds came', rather than only labourers and undesirables.[49] Husbandmen and tailors were the only occupations to be recorded in double figures. Craftsmen included shoemakers, weavers and other clothworkers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and such specialists as a nailer, a tanner, a millwright, and a watchmaker. Other emigrants had been involved in retail trades, including a Lincolnshire stationer, a grocer, a chandler, and a tobacconist from Warrington, besides a couple of chapmen. Towards the

47 Liv. R.O., Liverpool Town Books, VII, p. 2.

48 Ibid., V, pp. 20, 55.

49 M. Campbell, 'Social origins of some early Americans', *Seventeenth-century America: essays in colonial history*, ed. J. M. Smith (Chapel Hill, NC, 1959), p. 71.

TABLE 4 *Places of origin of indentured servants, 1697–1707*

Place		*Number of emigrants*	*Percentage*
Lancashire		450	30
Manchester	29		
Bolton	21		
Liverpool	21		
Rochdale	13		
Wigan	12		
Preston	10		
Warrington	8		
other places	336		
Cheshire		219	15
Macclesfield	28		
Chester	22		
Nantwich	5		
other places	164		
Elsewhere in North-West		31	2
North-East		90	6
Midlands and East		85	6
South-East		58	4
South-West		24	2
Wales		308	21
Denbighshire	146		
Flintshire	46		
Caernarvonshire	37		
Anglesey	21		
other counties	58		
Ireland		31	2
Scotland		19	1
France		1	
Virginia		1	
Not given		162	11
Total		1,479	100

TABLE 5 *Period of indenture*

Years	*Number indentured*	*Percentage*
3	3	
4	552	37
$4^{1}/_{2}$	1	
5	334	23
6	90	6
7	243	16
8	50	3
9	63	4
13	1	
14	1	
15	1	
17	1	
$20^{1}/_{4}$	1	
Unknown	138	9
Total	1,479	100

top of the social scale represented were a clothier and a surgeon.

Most emigrants were indentured for four, five, or seven years (table 5). Age was usually the criterion for determining the length of service, since those under twenty-one would be indentured at least until they reached legal majority. Indeed large numbers of young people, especially young men, were among the emigrants (table 6). Men and boys outnumbered women and girls in every age group, and it was rare for anyone older than his or her mid-twenties to make the journey.

Twenty-eight ships are known to have sailed from Liverpool carrying indentured servants between 1697 and 1707. One of them, the *Britannia*, which went to Virginia in 1703,[50] had taken a party of Lancaster Quakers to Philadelphia in 1698. That voyage was a bad one. According to William Stout of Lancaster, 'She was a large ship and a dull sailer, and had

50 Liv. R.O., Liverpool Town Books, V, p. 71.

TABLE 6 *Ages of indentured servants (where known)*

Age	*Males*	*Percentage*	*Females*	*Percentage*
Under 11	10	2	2	1
11–15	161	26	17	6
16–20	218	36	137	46
21–25	137	22	105	35
26–30	60	10	34	11
Over 30	27	4	6	2
Total	613	100	301	100

about 140 passengers on board, and a hot and dry season, in which an infectious distemper seized them, of which at least one half of the passengers died'.[51]

Of the merchants, masters, and other agents who transported servants, the most notable were Henry Browne, the master of the *Loyalty*, who took seventy-nine between 1698 and 1703; Peter Atherton, who took seventy-five, all but three on one voyage in 1699; Gilbert Livesay, master of the *Elizabeth*, who took ninety-eight in 1698 and ten in 1705; and Ezekiel Parr, who sent forty-nine in 1698, two in 1704, and five in 1706. Bryan Blundell sent ones and twos during most of the period. Most of the 141 people involved in sending indentured servants from Liverpool sent only a few at a time.

Any attempt to trace the Liverpool emigrants in the colonies is fraught with difficulties: like fishing, it takes luck as well as patience. The invaluable *Virginia Historical Index*[52] is only the starting point of a search for the names in other Virginian records, and even when the same name is found it can be difficult to prove that it was the same person.

For this study, the thirty-six passengers who sailed from Liverpool for Virginia on board the *Loyalty* in October 1698 have been taken as a sample. Sixteen of them do not appear in the *Index* at all (though even this absence does not mean

51 W. Giles Howson, *Lancaster Friends and North America, 1652–1865* (Lancaster, 1952), pp. [3–4].

52 Earl G. Swem, *Virginia Historical Index* (2 vols, Gloucester, Ma, 1965).

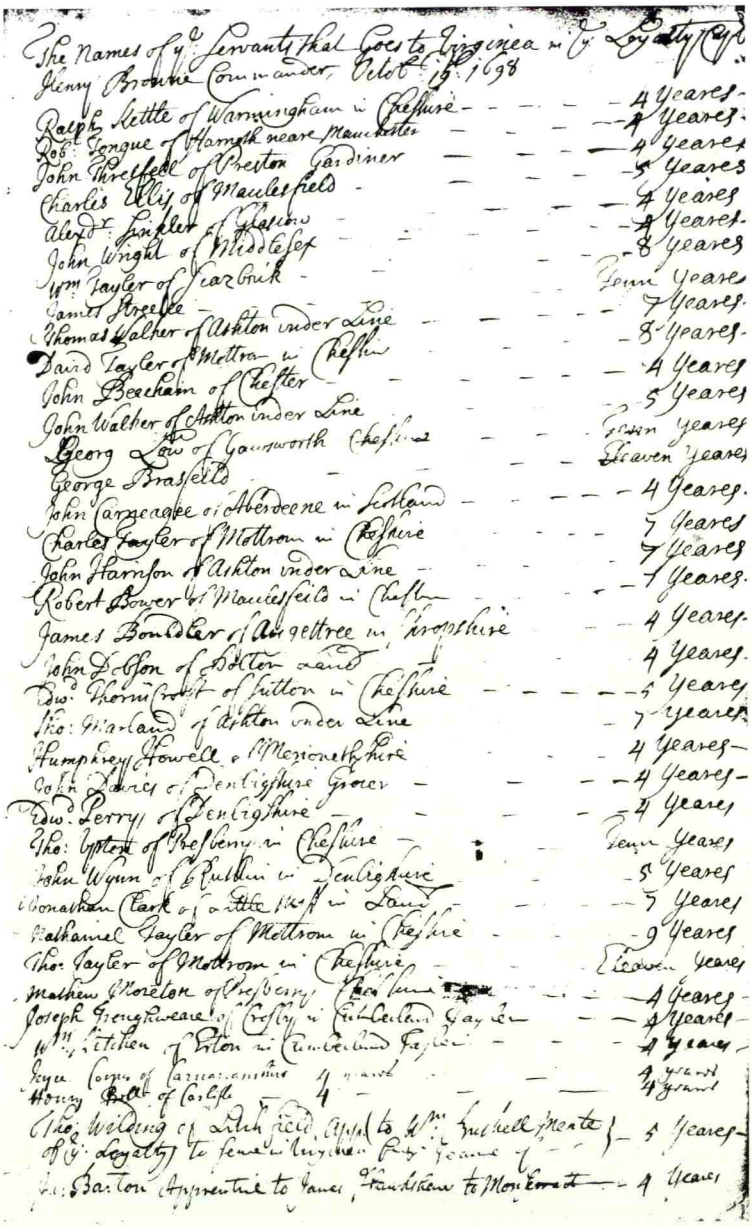

Figure 16 *List of servants travelling on the Loyalty, 19 October 1698 (reproduced by courtesy of Liverpool Record Office)*

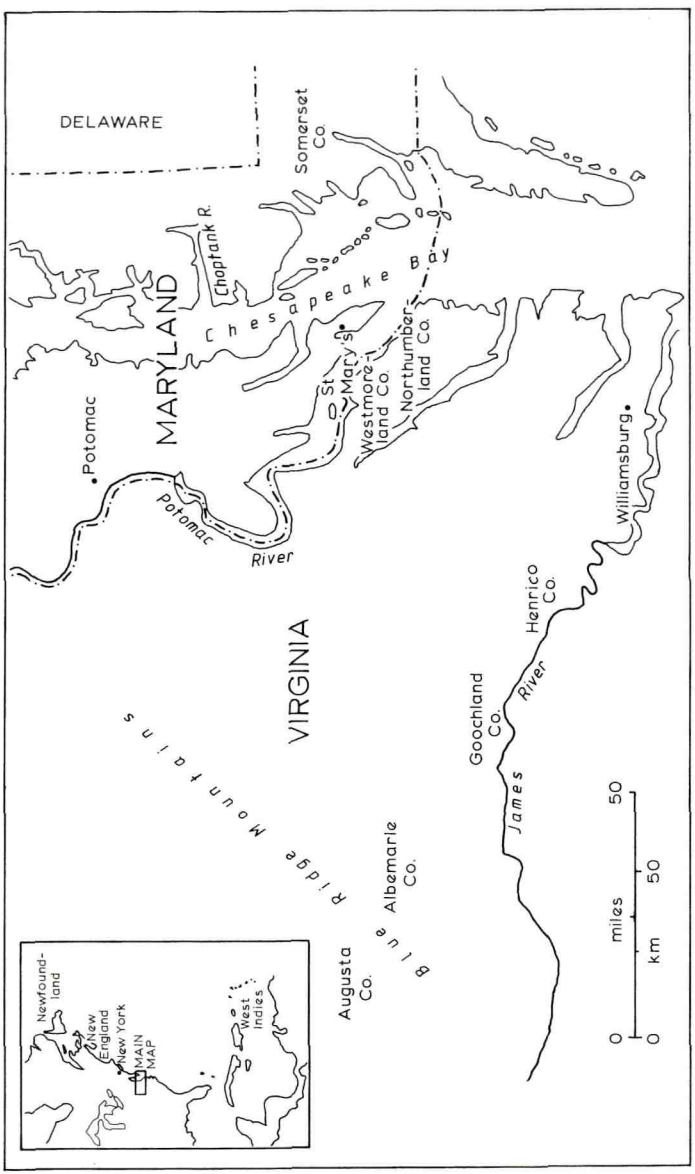

Figure 17 *Places in the New World mentioned in the text*

that they did not arrive). Of the other twenty, only seven left any possible trace in Virginia after 1699, and none of them is a conclusive example. The search for their names was extended to 1776, though by then any surviving emigrant of 1698 would have been very old indeed. Alexander Sinclair and David Taylor, who occur in the 1770s,[53] and William Kitchen, whose daughter married a man born in 1742,[54] are most unlikely to be the same men as those who reached Virginia in 1698.

The best candidates among the 1698 emigrants for documentation in the Virginia records are Thomas Walker and John Wright, though both had common names and indeed in both cases there is more than one possible identification. A Thomas Walker of Westmoreland County was made guardian of the posthumous son of a local blacksmith in 1713, and himself died in 1716.[55] Another Thomas Walker was a sub-sheriff of Goochland County in 1733, when he undertook a grisly commission to escort six black slaves to their trial for murder in Williamsburg. At the end of the trial Walker and his fellow sub-sheriff hanged two of the slaves, dismembered their bodies, and set up the ghastly remains 'at the places mentioned by the Court'. They were rewarded handsomely, with 3,450 lbs of tobacco.[56] One John Wright occurred in Northumberland County in 1700, with a Middlesex connection,[57] and another as a blacksmith in Westmoreland County in 1713.[58]

Probably too old to be the Liverpool emigrants of 1698 were Charles Ellis, who married into an established farming family in Henrico County in 1740, followed the frontier west to Albemarle County in 1754, and died there in 1760, after which his widow remarried;[59] and John Harrison, an active

53 Sinkler/Sinclair: *V.M.H.B.* XIV, p. 81; XV, p. 88; XVI, pp. 148–150; XXVI, p. 400; Taylor: ibid., XV, p. 89; *William and Mary College Quarterly* [hereafter *W.M.C.Q.*], 1st ser. XXVI (July 1917), p. 105.

54 *V.M.H.B.*, X, p. 107.

55 *Tyler's Quarterly*, I, pp. 187–188.

56 Ibid., III, pp. 61, 63–64.

57 Ibid., I, p. 129.

58 Ibid., I, pp. 186–189.

59 *W.M.C.Q.* 1st ser. X (Oct. 1901), pp. 128–130; 2nd ser. IX (3) (1929), p. 203; *Hening's statutes at large*, VI, p. 375; VII, pp. 202, 204; *V.M.H.B.* X, p. 391.

member of the Augusta County militia from 1742 to 1751 and still living in 1758.[60]

Further comparison of the names in the Liverpool lists with colonial sources may yield more rewarding evidence for the lives which the emigrants made for themselves in the New World once their terms of indentured service were completed. They were the brave pioneers of emigration through Liverpool, which became one of the main gateways for Irish and European emigration in the nineteenth century. It is to be hoped that many of them achieved the success in the New World for which they gave up their homes in the Old.

60 *V.M.H.B.* VIII, p. 280; *Virginia Historical Register*, III, p. 75; *Hening's statutes at large*, VII, p. 188.