

The Flow and the Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727-1775

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY German immigration to mainland British America was the only large influx of free white political aliens unfamiliar with the English language.¹ The German settlers arrived relatively late in the colonial period, long after the diversity of seventeenth-century mainland settlements had coalesced into British dominance. Despite its singularity, German migration has remained a relatively unexplored topic, and the sources for such inquiry have not been adequately surveyed and analyzed.

Like other pre-Revolutionary migrations, German immigration affected some colonies more than others. Settlement projects in New England and Nova Scotia created clusters of Germans in these places, as did the residue of early though unfortunate German settlement in New York. Many Germans went directly or indirectly to the Carolinas. While backcountry counties of Maryland and Virginia acquired substantial German populations in the colonial era, most of these people had entered through Pennsylvania and then moved south.² Clearly

¹ 'German' is used here synonymously with German-speaking and 'Germany' refers primarily to that part of southwestern Germany from which most pre-Revolutionary German-speaking immigrants came—Cologne to the Swiss Cantons south of Basel

² The literature on German immigration to the American colonies is neither well defined nor easily accessible, rather, pertinent materials have to be culled from a large number of often obscure publications dealing in one way or another with German settlements in British America. As a general starting point, Emil Meynen, *Bibliography on German Settlers in Colonial North America, Especially on the Pennsylvania Germans and Their Descendants, 1683-1933* (Leipzig, 1937) is still indispensable because of its listing of the older, often purely descriptive, literature which includes much valuable information even though much of the explanation and interpretation is now dated. A typical example of such a source for the study of German immigration to New England is H. A. Rattermann, "Geschichte des deutschen Elements im Staate Maine," *Der deutsche Pionier. Erinnerungen aus dem Pionier-Leben der Deutschen in Amerika* 14-16 (1882-

Pennsylvania was the most popular destination for German immigrants. Philadelphia and its subsidiary ports on the Delaware received the core of the German migration to America before the Revolution. This essay will analyze the principal sources available for a study of the German immigration to colonial Philadelphia, providing a systematic account of the migration and also an introduction to an under-utilized set of passenger lists in early American history.³

1884) The unpopularity of the colony of New York was to a large extent the result of the miserable experience of the Palatines settled along the Hudson in 1710 as described in Walter Allen Knittle, *The Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration: A British Government Redemptioner Project to Manufacture Naval Stores* (Philadelphia, 1936) Klaus German Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, 1969), and in parts also Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville, 1977) are two recent studies which depend on and build upon older, largely filopietistic, work on the Germans settling mainly in the Shenandoah Valley for their own analyses

Harald Lancour, 3rd, ed., *Ship Passenger Lists: A Bibliography of [Ship Passenger Lists], 1538-1825: Being a Guide to Published Lists of Early Immigrants to North America*, rev. and enlarged by Richard J. Wolfe (New York, 1978, [or publ. 1963]) in conjunction with Carl Boyer, 3rd, ed., *Ship Passenger Lists: National and New England (1600-1825)* (Newhall, Ca. 1977), *Ship Passenger Lists: New York and New Jersey (1600-1825)* (Newhall, Ca., 1978), *Ship Passenger Lists: Pennsylvania and Delaware (1641-1825)* (Newhall, Ca., 1980), *Ship Passenger Lists: The South (1538-1825)* (Newhall, Ca., 1979) and Michael Tepper, ed., *New World Immigrants: A Consolidation of Ship Passenger Lists and Associated Data from Periodical Literature*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1980), *Immigrants to the Middle Colonies: A Consolidation of Ship Passenger Lists and Associated Data from the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* (Baltimore, 1978 [or publ. 1879-1970]), *Emigrants to Pennsylvania, 1614-1819: A Consolidation of Ship Passenger Lists from the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (1877-1934)* (Baltimore, 1979) cite or even reprint many of the surviving ship passenger lists. Unfortunately, most of the lists, like Albert B. Faust and Gaius M. Brumbaugh, eds., *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies*, 2 vols. in one (Baltimore, 1976, repr. with Leo Schelbert's "Notes on Swiss Emigrants" [or publ. 1920, 1925]) and the recent compilation of the year-long effort by Don Yoder, ed., *Pennsylvania German Immigrants, 1709-1786: Lists Consolidated from Yearbooks of The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* (Baltimore, 1980 [or publ. 1936, 1947, 1948, 1953]), *Rhineland Emigrants: Lists of German Settlers in Colonial America* (Baltimore, 1981 [excerpted and repr. from *Pennsylvania Folklife*]) are emigration lists culled from administrative—secular or ecclesiastical—records in Germany which usually list the emigrants' destination only very vaguely, if at all. In other words, positive identification of those who left Germany as settlers in America is extremely difficult and has been a challenge to many a serious genealogist. P. William Filby, ed. with Mary K. Meyer, *Passenger and Immigration Lists Index: A Guide to Published Archival Records of about 500,000 Passengers Who Came to the United States and Canada in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries*, 3 vols. (Detroit, 1981) is the latest tool in this endeavor. To date, historians have not been able to utilize those sources systematically.

³ The immigration lists which survive for the port of Philadelphia allow identification of Germans as they arrived in Pennsylvania, thereby establishing the crucial link for any matches between a German settler's appearance in colonial American records and his mention in an

The response of the English to the immigration of aliens provided records for the German migration. When foreign Protestants began to arrive by the hundreds in 1717, Governor William Keith suggested a qualification procedure for registering aliens. That entry process became law in 1727 and remained in force for the rest of the colonial

emigration listing or other records in Germany. Yet it is important to remember that the journey from the emigrants' former places of residence to Philadelphia was long and arduous, so that a sizeable proportion of those who set out for the New World never reached their goal, because they died *en route*, changed their destination along the way, or simply returned.

The importance of the lists of German immigrants has long been recognized, with the result that three major editions compiled with varying degrees of care and accuracy exist today. Israel D. Rupp, *A Collection of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727-1776* (Baltimore, 1966 [or publ 1856, rev ed 1875, 1931]) is also the basis for the revised edition of W. H. Egle in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Ser., XVII. Rupp's presentation and reading of the lists show serious shortcomings, in particular in the rearrangement of list headings and the order of names and the incorrect deciphering of many of the names. Ralph B. Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers: A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727-1808*, ed. by William J. Hinke, 3 vols (Baltimore, 1966 [or publ 1934]) is the only complete and reliable edition of the lists and should supersede all other editions for scholarly use. Vol. I *Introduction and Lists, 1727-1775*, vol. II *Facsimile of Signatures* (the original lists are in the state library in Harrisburg, Pa.), vol. III *Lists 1785-1808 and Indices*. The second volume was not included in the reprinted version, which is used for citation—abbreviated as Strassburger/Hinke—here. Historians have used the lists so little and uncritically that the superiority of Strassburger/Hinke has not yet become common knowledge. Two recent scholars, Stephanie G. Wolf, *Urban Village Population, Community and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683-1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1976), 146, and James H. Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608-1870* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978), 108, worked from the inferior edition.

Historians interested in utilizing the immigration lists can be divided in two major groups. One is concerned about aspects of the people of America and assessing of how settlers of foreign origins fared in the New World. Scholars in this group differ widely in focus. Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (Cleveland, rev ed 1964 [or publ 1939]), Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States with Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence* (New York, rev ed 1927 [or publ 1909]), Henry E. Jacobs, *The German Emigration to America, 1709-1740* (Lancaster, Pa., 1898), Fritz Trautz, *Die Pfälzische Auswanderung nach Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1959), Frank R. Diefenderfer, *The German Immigration into Pennsylvania through the Port of Philadelphia from 1700-1775* (Lancaster, Pa., 1900), Oscar L. Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York, 1901), William T. Parsons, *The Pennsylvania Dutch: A Persistent Minority* (Boston, 1976), James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1972), Wolf, *Urban Village*, Jerome H. Wood, Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730-1790* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1979).

The interest of the other group of historians dealing with questions concerning the German immigration to Pennsylvania is focused on the contribution of the Germans to the colonial labor force, in particular Abbot E. Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947), Cheeseman A. Herrick, *White Servitude in Pennsylvania*

period. Since the statute required that every white male over 16 years of age entering the province sign the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, 'ship lists' survive from 1727 to the Revolution.⁴ Only German immigrants, however, seem to have been registered with some degree of regularity.⁵ Even for Germans lists survive only for those who entered Pennsylvania through the port of Philadelphia on ships whose captains complied with the prescribed procedure.⁶

The importance of the ship lists as a data source for answering questions about immigration becomes particularly apparent in surveying the literature on English and Irish immigration to colonial America. The size and composition of the groups of earliest English settlers of most colonies is fairly well known; but subsequent, larger waves of immigrants from the British Isles generally became visible only on tax lists, rent rolls or similar sources, unless the migrants were easily distinguishable by particular religious adherence like the Quakers or received notice in the records because they had special legal status as servants or convicts. In particular, lists of bound laborers—those with indentures obtained prior to embarkation in England as well as those with obligations contracted or renegotiated in the colonies—have provided valuable information on the composition and flow of this one

Indentured and Redemptioner Labor in Colony and Commonwealth (Philadelphia, 1926), Gary B Nash, "Urban Wealth and Poverty in Pre-Revolutionary America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, VI (1976), 545-584, *The Urban Crucible Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), Billy G. Smith, "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750 to 1800," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., XXXVIII (1981), 163-202

⁴ The label 'ship' list reflects the organizing principle by which the names of the immigrants are arranged in a list below the name of the ship on which they arrived

⁵ Only occasional lists for other, non-German-speaking, immigrants from Europe survived. Most important of those is the "Passenger List, with duties, August 29, 1768-August 13, 1772" among the Philadelphia Customs House records, Cadwalader Collection, Thomas Cadwalader Sec., Box 15T at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The German ship lists include some non-German names (for example a number of French immigrants on the ship *Princess Augusta*, September 1736) but there were so few that those names were subsumed under Germans, especially since some of the cases are clearly the result of the way in which the list was compiled, such as the "Spanish" names on ship *Patty & Peggy*, Oct. 1774

⁶ Usually some form of registration and qualification was required of German settlers in each colony before they could legally acquire property and pass it on to their children. The extant records of those registration procedures allow us today to determine with some accuracy the number of Germans who settled in a given colony and the approximate date of their arrival. Kettner, *American Citizenship*, chapters 4 and 5 discusses the legal aspects and implications of the registration procedures for each of the colonies

type of immigration and its effect on the development of colonial society.⁷ But such detailed sources only exist for selected British ports of embarkation for occasional periods of time, or in early court records in a few places in the colonies. In contrast, the surviving ship lists give the names of all immigrant men on the vast majority of ships that arrived with German settlers, and often provide additional information that allows us to estimate both the number and make-up of German migration to colonial Philadelphia. Despite these advantages, before any questions concerning the ebb and flow of this immigration over time or the peculiarities of its composition can be answered and their implications discussed, a careful analysis of the data source is essential.

The first step must be to understand what the ship lists were, and why and how they were compiled. The lists originated in the concern of Pennsylvania's Englishmen that so many continentals, ignorant of the English language and the law of the land, were being admitted to the colony. The qualification for alien immigrants that the leaders of Pennsylvania imposed, however, served two purposes simultaneously. The first was to appease the Englishmen's traditional xenophobia to keep track of "different" peoples coming to live alongside them. The second was to establish a genuinely constructive, regulated first step towards eventual full citizenship for non-British immigrants by permitting settlers from places not under British rule to acquire, hold, and sell property. Specifically, the law passed in 1727 required all ship captains who imported foreigners to draw up and report to the magistrates a complete list of all their passengers. The same law mandated that

⁷ Timothy Breen and Stephen Foster, "Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., XXX (1973), 189-222; Mildred Campbell, "English Emigration on the Eve of the American Revolution," *American Historical Review*, 61 (1955), 1-20; Henry A. Gemery, "Emigration from the British Isles to the New World, 1630-1700: Inferences from Colonial Populations," *Research in Economic History*, 5 (1980), 179-321; and James Horn, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, ed. by Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 51-95 are a few examples of the literature on emigration from the British Isles.

Recent estimates of the magnitude and direction of Irish immigration to the American colonies have depended overwhelmingly on newspaper reports, advertisements, and custom office returns—sources which lack precision and contain strong biases. Robert J. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775* (London, 1966); Audrey Lockhart, *Some Aspects of Emigration from Ireland to the North American Colonies between 1660 and 1775* (New York, 1976).

all continentals arriving on these ships in Pennsylvania take the oath or affirmation of allegiance to the British crown. Two years later, the immigrants were also required to sign a declaration of abjuration against the Pope and the Stuarts and a declaration of fidelity to the proprietor and the laws of the province.⁸

As a result of these requirements three different kinds of lists came into being.⁹ Ideally, the name of every foreign passenger brought into Pennsylvania appeared on the captain's list (marked A after the number assigned in chronological order to each ship in Strassburger/Hinke); and the name of every man over sixteen should have shown up as signer of the oath of allegiance (marked B) and the declaration of abjuration (marked C).¹⁰ Unfortunately, the required procedures were not always

⁸ For the first motion toward a qualification procedure by Governor W. Keith in 1717 see *Colonial Records* (Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, 1851-1853 edition), II, 29; for the 1727 and 1729 registration and qualification procedures see J. T. Mitchell and H. Flanders, comps., *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1688-1808* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1896-1915), IV, 135-140, 168-171; *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Ser., XVII, 3-4; *Colonial Records*, III, 282-283. For the text of the oaths (or affirmations) see Strassburger/Hinke, I, xxvi, 3-6.

⁹ Whether the emphasis is on the overall development of the province or on parts of its population or on particular places in Pennsylvania, all of those studies have to deal to some extent, directly or indirectly, with the question of how to assess the size and type of German immigration to colonial Pennsylvania. In most cases, scholars have relied on the immigration lists for such an estimate—often relying on a cursory reading of those records or depending on the work of earlier historians. The result of this repeated procedure is a number of estimates about the size of the German immigration, all of which basically agree on a total of about 70,000 immigrants with a margin of error of 5,000 more rather than less, but with little, if any, agreement and even knowledge about the flow and composition of the migration.

¹⁰ The same system of labelling has been used here for easy reference to Strassburger/Hinke. Information on additional ships arriving with German immigrants is given in chronological order, beginning with ships before the start of the ship lists in 1727. August 20, 1683, *America*: Marion Balderston, "Pennsylvania's 1683 Ships and Some of Their Passengers," *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, 24 (1965), 69-114; October 6, 1683, *Concord*: *ibid*; June 23, 1684, *Sarah Maria Hopewell*: Julius F. Sachse, *German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania, 1694-1708* (Philadelphia, 1895), 12-27; September 23, 1710, *Mary Hope*: William J. Hinke, "Diary of the Rev. Samuel Guldin, Relating to His Journey to Pennsylvania, June to September, 1710," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, 14 (1930/31), 28-41, 64-73; September [19], 1717, three unnamed ships under captains Richmond, Tower, and Evers: *Colonial Records*, III, 29; August 29, 1720, *Laurel*: *American Weekly Mercury* (Sept. 1, 1720); October 1, 1724, unnamed ship mentioned in Christopher Sauer's letter (Dec. 1, 1724), published in *PMHB*, 45 (1921), 243-254, 244; ship #66a: wrecked December 26, 1738, Block Island near Rhode Island: *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Feb. 1-8, 1738/9); ship #104a (1743) *Mary*: Louis F. Middlebrook, "The Ship *Mary* of Philadelphia, 1740" *PMHB*, 58 (1934), 127-151; ship #109a (Feb. 1745): *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, 55 (Feb. 16, 1745); ship #109b (Sept. 1745): John W. Jordan, "Moravian Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1734-1765,"

followed closely. Furthermore, not all of the lists have survived for use by modern scholars.

The captains' lists (A lists) were to include a complete listing of persons imported, their occupations, and their former place of residence. Out of 324 listed ships from 1727 to 1775, however, merely 25 captains gave a list of all men, women, and children. Three of the captains named all adults. On the other hand, 64 captains added the ages of their passengers to the list although the law did not require this. In two instances the totals in each family or household group were given (ship lists 1A and 2A) and sometimes the totals of the women and children, or the total number of persons, souls or 'freights' were recorded.¹¹ Only one captain (list 30A) stated the occupations of his adult male passengers in accordance with the requirements of the Provincial Council, although a handful of immigrants occasionally added their occupation as part of their identification.¹² Equally deficient was the compliance of the captains with the request to indicate from where on the continent their passengers had emigrated.¹³

In the period 1727 to 1740 (lists 1A-80A), when the captains were required to attest the correctness of the records with an affidavit, lists

PMHB, 3 (1909), 228-248, 234, ship #109C (1744/5), *Argyle* captured by two Spanish men-of-war, *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, 55 (Feb 16, 1745) and 60 (July 16, 1745), ship #109d (1744/5), *St Andra* [*St Andrew*?] misrouted to South Carolina, *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, 55 (Feb 16, 1745), ship #111a, *John Galley* (Dec 28, 1746) *PMHB*, 33 (1909), 228-248, 235, ship #123a (1748) *Der deutsche Pionier*, 14 (1882), 143, ship #134a, *Francis & Elisabeth*, and #1134b, *Rachel*, (1749) Strasburger/Hinke I, 409, ship #176a (June 5, 1752 *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, 145 (June 16, 1752), ship 176b (Aug 25, 1752) *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, 148 (Sept 16, 1752), ship #195 (1752) Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania*, ed and transl by Oscar Handlin and John Clive (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 25, ship #214a (1754), wrecked *ibid*, 24, ship #214b, *Britannia*, ran aground and capsized (Nov 1753) *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, [no #] (Feb 1, 1754), ship #232a, *Flamingsche Hund*, wrecked (July 1754) letter of H J Schmitt to Amtskeller Heyler *et al*, Nov 21, 1754, publ in Friedrich Krebs, "Emigrants from Baden-Durlach to Pennsylvania, 1749-1755," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 45 (1957), 32, ship #236a (1758) *PMHB*, 33 (1909), 501, ship #274a, *Britannia* (Sept 6, 1769) Passenger List, 1768-1772, Philadelphia Custom House records, HSP, ship #232a, *Pennsylvania Packet* (Dec 1774), inferred from tracking the ship's sailing pattern through the Philadelphia port arrivals and departures published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (see also "Redemptioners, 1750-1803," Soc Misc Coll., Box 7a, Folder 7, HSP), ship #322b, *London Packet* (Dec 1774) *Philadelphische Staatsbote*, 676 (Jan 3, 1775)

¹¹ 'Freight' stands for any passenger or number of passengers paying full fare

¹² For example Johannes Ernst Kaps, "Apoticaire," in list 254C

¹³ A few signers included their former places of residence as part of their signature, such as Matthias Zollikoffer from Alten Klingen, Switzerland, in list 20B

were more detailed and more carefully compiled than in later years. Unfortunately, almost two-thirds of all the captains' lists for the 1727-1775 period as a whole (186 out of 324) were lost, because after October 19, 1736 (list 43), the signatures of the immigrants were no longer appended in the presence of the Provincial Council and incorporated in their minutes. Instead lists were handed on large loose sheets to the magistrate sitting as a Court at Philadelphia. Since he could be the governor, the mayor, or the recorder of the city, the captains' registers and the oaths that accompanied them were scattered and apparently lost.¹⁴

The records of the signers of the oath of allegiance (B lists) were also written on large loose sheets, with the result that over half of them disappeared (186 out of 324).¹⁵ When both captains' lists and the oaths of allegiance survived one would expect all male immigrants over sixteen to appear on the B lists but the discrepancies between men on the A lists and those appearing on the corresponding B lists are in some cases substantial. (For example, 109 men in list 1A and only 51 in list 1B). Those who were unable or unwilling to sign, or who simply were absent when the oath was administered, never came to be formally qualified, although some immigrants sought to rectify their lapse at a later time when they completed naturalization procedures.¹⁶

The third set of lists (C lists) is by far the most complete of all the registers (314 out of 324 recorded ships are covered). What at first glance appears to be a duplicate of the B lists, is actually a set of signatures under the declaration of abjuration and fidelity which differed from the oath of allegiance, although both lists apparently were signed at the same location. Comparison of the corresponding B and C lists shows few discrepancies in arrangement and number of names, but the handwriting of the clerk who made out the headings of the lists and

¹⁴ The law regulating the importation of servants and foreign-born passengers was intended to be applied regardless of means of transportation into Pennsylvania, but only captains and merchants importing Germans into Philadelphia seem to have complied with the regulations. *Statutes at Large*, IV, 135-140, 168-171. There were, however, a few exceptions, like the ship *Recovery* (229A), whose passengers were landed in Wilmington and a few immigrants who were left off the boat somewhere along the Delaware and walked to Philadelphia such as J.C. Brammerel (on ship #149C).

¹⁵ The 138 extant A lists are not the same as the 138 surviving B lists.

¹⁶ Some such individual "late" oaths were inserted between lists, such as the case of Francis Caspar Hasenclever, Strassburger/Hinke, I, 745.

wrote in names of those immigrants who signed with their marks differs between the two rolls. Variant execution of the signatures themselves corroborates the existence of two different lists rather than one set and its duplicate (as I.D. Rupp assumed).¹⁷ Beginning with the ship *Mortonhouse* (#9) through the ship *King of Prussia* (#324), from August 1729 to October 1775, the lists of abjuration (C lists) run continuously with but two omissions (229C and 233C). These records provide the backbone of information about German-born arrivals in the port of Philadelphia.

While information beyond the mere signatures in these abjuration lists exists, the amount varies and displays little consistency over time. The C list headings state the name and often the type of vessel, the captain's name, the port of embarkation, the harbor of final provisioning, and furthermore the place of the administration of the oaths, the names of the magistrates present, and the date on which the oaths were signed.¹⁸ Some lists give the total number of persons or souls on board (20 ships), others state the number of 'freights' carried (77 ships).¹⁹ Many (169) include the total number of "men in list" to be qualified. In forty instances, the clerk added the former regions of settlers' residence to the heading (20 of those appear in 1749; 17 in 1754), sometimes presenting a breakdown of the denominational adherence of the

¹⁷ Discrepancies by one name per list occurred 24 times, by two names three times, and by five and six names once each. These discrepancies seem to be the result of unintentional oversight or confusion during the qualification procedure itself.

¹⁸ Twenty-four headings are incomplete. 80C has no heading at all, 90C omits the captain's name, 102C lists only the ship's name and her captain, on list 112C the exact date of qualification is not given, the ship's name in 116C remains unknown, 174C and 184C fail to state what magistrates were present, 13 C list headings omit the name of the last provisioning port (80, 85, 168, 185, 240, 242, 245, 247, 257, 265, 268, 277), and four state no port of embarkation (154, 167, 313, 318). The additional information contained in the ship list headings and endorsements form the basis of a substantial part of my dissertation ("A Tide of Alien Tongues: The Flow and the Ebb of the German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1683-1775") dealing with the sailing patterns of vessels engaged in the German immigrant trade, the relationship of merchants in Philadelphia with their counterparts in European ports involved in the transatlantic transportation of human cargo for profit, and the experience of passengers participating in this type of mass transportation from Europe to Philadelphia.

¹⁹ As 'freights' mean the number of full fares, the number of persons and freights differ. Only 11 lists give both the number of persons and freights. Altogether, the total number of persons or freights is listed in 108 C list headings. This means that the totals for almost half of the ships (159) are known when the A lists, which include all the passengers' names, are added to these C list summaries.

immigrants as well (8 in 1751; 13 in 1754).²⁰ After 1764, C list headings contained remarks concerning the registration fee of one shilling and six pence for every male immigrant over sixteen, often in conjunction with a statement indicating the merchant to whom the ship was consigned in Philadelphia. From 1739, the clerk signed in the names of the sick and those "on board" or absent, but whenever comparison with the corresponding list is possible (45 cases), discrepancies remain which are difficult to explain. Evidently, different clerks interpreted their responsibilities differently; and because the captains understood the requirement to list their passengers differently, their lists varied considerably.

The distribution of the three sets of lists is not uniform. The C lists exist for 1729 through 1775, recording that no German immigrant ships arrived in 1745, 1757 to 1760, and 1762. Lists A and B extend from 1727 to 1743 and from 1753 to 1755. There are some additional A lists for 1748 and further B lists for the years 1744 and 1746 to 1748. Still, despite the unevenness of the distribution of particular registers and the peculiarities within the different sets, the flow of German-born immigrant men arriving by ship in the port of Philadelphia can be described fairly accurately. Additional information derived from numbers of ships and men allows even more general conclusions about the overall flow and composition of German immigration through Philadelphia before the Revolution.

The first step in an analysis of the ebb and flow of German immigrants to Philadelphia is to survey the annual number of ships arriving with German passengers. These figures are given by year in Table 1. Including the number of German immigrant ships known to have landed prior to the beginning of the ship lists, German immigration to colonial Pennsylvania can be divided into three periods. The first lasted from 1683 until the mid-1720's. During this time ships brought

²⁰ In particular, the number of Catholics being imported is stated in those headings. Comparison of the names on the C lists with those on the corresponding A lists reveals that the Catholic immigrants signed the oath of abjuration, suggesting that by then the oath was considered little more than an administrative formality at least by the magistrates present, posing no real obstacle to immigrating Catholics. Whether the Catholics signed the oaths out of ignorance about its content or knowingly to secure qualification could not be established. But in light of later efforts to engage the services of an interpreter for the benefit of the immigrants, the former explanation seems more likely.

relatively few German immigrants to the Delaware Valley.²¹ Toward the end of this era a small peak occurred in 1717, when three ships with 363 passengers arrived, triggering the administration's first attempt to insure proper integration of the foreigners into Pennsylvania's society. The second significant segment of time stretches from the beginning of the lists in 1727 to the extended peak years of 1749-1754, an era during which the numbers of both ships and immigrants grew rapidly. The third period runs from the mid-1750s to the Revolution. While during some of the years of that era the quantity of German immigrant ships regained the levels of the 1730s and 1740s, total migration generally declined over the two decades. In looking at features of the passenger trade and at the kinds and numbers of people involved, it is essential to remember the implications of this upward then downward pattern.²²

The exponential trend of the German immigrant ships (Figure 1:c) clearly shows that the pattern of ship arrivals fell into two distinct periods after registration became systematic.²³ During the first era, 1727 to 1754, the number of ships increased at a rate of about 3.8%. Then, however, the trend remained almost constant at a rate of 0.3% from the mid-1750s to the Revolution.

Short-term fluctuations in the distribution of immigrant vessels

²¹ Reliable figures do not exist for this period. I agree with Kuhns' summary assessment of the various estimates available for those years and think that a population of about 20,000 settlers of German descent in Pennsylvania by 1727 seems reasonable, Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Elements*, 52-55. This figure would include around 5,000 immigrants, their American-born offspring, and those migrants entering Pennsylvania from New York. Wolf's study of Germantown (p. 43) and Lemon's analysis of the advancement of settlements in southeastern Pennsylvania, based on the number of taxables (pp. 42-49), corroborate the notion of relatively few German immigrants arriving in Philadelphia prior to 1727.

²² Chapter 4 ("Passengers and Promoters: The German Immigrant Trade, 1727-1775") of my dissertation explores these implications more fully.

²³ The exponential trend was calculated by the method of least squares. This logarithmic expression of the numbers of permits us to think in terms of the proportional rate of increase or decline in ships (or, later, in number of German immigrant men and total passengers). Accordingly, Figure 1:c shows the number of ships logarithmically.

Years with extreme values, 1756-1762, have been omitted from the calculation of this trend. The decision whether to include or exclude the years 1755 and 1775 (marked with asterisks in Figures 1 and 2) was based on the slightly better fit of the one trend line over the other—the general proportional rate of change remained unaffected in either case. In the calculations of the trend lines shown in Figures 1 and 2 the values for the year 1755 were omitted while those for the year 1775 were included because this procedure allows a reasonable hypothetical fit for the few scattered cases prior to 1727 and reflects best the actual change of the trend, theoretically the intersection of the two trend lines, in the early 1750s.

TABLE 1: Number of German Passenger ships; immigrant men, women and children; and total passengers, 1683-1775

| Year(s) | Number of ships | Number of men* | Number of women & children** | Total passengers |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1683-1726 | 9 ^a | - | - | 798 ^b |
| 1727 | 5 | 326 | 872 | 1,198 |
| 1728 | 3 | 153 | 242 | 395 |
| 1729 | 2 | 135 | 165 | 300 |
| 1730 | 3 | 146 | 301 | 447 |
| 1731 | 4 | 235 | 393 | 628 |
| 1732 | 11 | 816 | 1,279 | 2,095 |
| 1773 | 7 | 428 | 834 | 1,262 |
| 1734 | 2 | 140 | 252 | 392 |
| 1735 | 3 | 92 | 176 | 268 |
| 1736 | 3 | 307 | 429 | 736 |
| 1737 | 7 | 620 | 928 | 1,528 |
| 1738 | 16 | 1,213 | 2,101 | 3,314 |
| 1739 | 8 | 532 | 933 | 1,463 |
| 1740 | 6 | 404 | 699 | 1,103 |
| 1741 | 10 | 639 | 1,103 | 1,742 |
| 1742 | 5 | 371 | 520 | 891 |
| 1743 | 10 | 629 ^c | 1,086 ^c | 1,715 ^c |
| 1744 | 5 | 378 | 649 | 1,027 |
| 1745 | 2 | .. ^d | .. ^d | 54 |
| 1746 | 3 | 163 | 276 | 439 |
| 1747 | 5 | 343 | 591 | 934 |
| 1748 | 8 | 582 ^e | 1,003 ^e | 1,585 ^e |
| 1749 | 24 | 2,654 | 4,926 | 7,580 |
| 1750 | 15 | 1,708 | 2,985 | 4,693 |
| 1751 | 16 | 1,882 | 3,221 | 5,103 |
| 1752 | 22 | 2,147 ^f | 3,942 ^f | 6,129 ^g |
| 1753 | 19 | 1,825 | 3,395 | 5,220 |
| 1754 | 19 | 2,086 | 3,720 | 5,806 |
| 1755 | 2 | 110 | 214 | 324 |
| 1756 | 1 | 43 | 95 | 138 |
| 1757 | - | - | - | - |
| 1758 | 1 | .. ^h | .. ^h | .. ^h |
| 1759 | - | - | - | - |
| 1760 | - | - | - | - |
| 1761 | 1 | 30 | 46 | 76 |
| 1762 | - | - | - | - |
| 1763 | 4 | 256 | 466 | 722 |
| 1764 | 11 | 1,030 | 1,867 | 2,897 |
| 1765 | 5 | 320 | 504 | 824 |

TABLE 1: Number of German Passenger ships; immigrant men, women and children; and total passengers, 1683-1775

| Year(s) | Number of ships | Number of men* | Number of women & children** | Total passengers |
|---------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1766 | 6 | 281 | 356 | 637 |
| 1767 | 7 | 461 | 584 | 1 045 |
| 1768 | 4 | 350 | 394 | 744 |
| 1769 | 5 | 151 | 158 | 309 |
| 1770 | 7 | 233 | 272 | 505 |
| 1771 | 9 | 374 | 615 | 989 |
| 1772 | 8 | 410 | 453 | 863 |
| 1773 | 15 | 854 | 841 | 1,695 |
| 1774 | 8 | 252 ¹ | 248 ¹ | 500 ¹ |
| 1775 | 2 | 79 | 78 | 157 |
| Total | 348 ^j | 26,188 | 44,222 | 70,492 ^k |

Source Strassburger/Hinke, Passenger List, 1768-1772, for information on additional ships not in Strassburger/Hinke see note 10

* excludes men listed in Strassburger/Hinke as dead or British, or with any other clear non-immigrant designation

** for a description of the procedure for estimating women and children see pages 264-265

a) the nine ships known to have arrived with German immigrants prior to 1727 are unlikely to be the total of German passenger ship arrivals during the years 1683-1726

b) data for the number of passengers on two ships (arriving 1710 and 1724) are not available

c) data for the number of passengers on one ship (# 104a) are not available

d) only data for the total number of passengers are available for the two ships in 1745 (# 109a+b)

e) data for the number of passengers on one ship (# 123a) are not available

f) data for the number of men and women and children on three ships (# 176a+b, 195a) are not available

g) data for the number of passengers on one ship (# 176b) are not available

h) data for the number of passengers on one ship (# 236a) are not available

i) data for the number of passengers on two ships (# 322a+b) are not available

j) includes nine ships known to have arrived prior to 1727, excludes six ships reported wrecked, capsized, or misrouted (# 66a, 109c+d, 214a+b, 232a)

k) the total number of passengers is *not* the sum of the columns of the number of men and that of women and children, because several ships for which only the total number of passengers (their composition was not available) were included

within these trends reflect immigrants' demand for transatlantic passage and the availability of transportation.²⁴ Yet these fluctuations should be viewed as secondary movements around the principal upward then downward trend of German immigration to Pennsylvania.

Computation of the number and temporal distribution of arriving ships is a rather crude measure for estimating the number of German immigrants entering Philadelphia because it fails to detect changes in the size of vessels as well as in the number of passengers per ship. Fortunately, the lists allow a reliable count of adult men reaching Philadelphia. From such data on men one can also estimate the total number of German passengers.

For such an analysis, the number of men for each ship must be counted as accurately as possible. The names in the surviving lists form the basis for all calculation, but additional useful information is contained in the headings or endorsements of those lists, or derived from letters, newspapers, and other records pertaining to the number of passengers on a particular ship.²⁵ Calculation is easy when only one list survived. But even then, the number of men given in the heading or endorsement, and at the bottom of the list often diverges from the actual count of the names.

In cases with more than one inventory per ship, all names on each list were compared with each other in order to count the number of men present on all records and those appearing on only one or two. Matching the names on corresponding A, B, and C lists was often difficult for three reasons: many of those who drew up the captain's lists were unfamiliar with the sounds and spellings of German names, the signers themselves often verged on illiteracy and could barely sign their names, and the considerable variation in the competence of clerks filling in the names of those who could not write at all or who were absent.²⁶ Despite

²⁴ The fluctuations in the distribution of arriving German immigrant ships reflect the changing pattern of war and peace in both Europe and America rather closely

²⁵ Differences between my count of German immigrant men and that of Hinke are primarily due to a different emphasis on priorities. Hinke's main goal was the accurate transcription of the *names* in the lists for easy perusal by modern English-speaking readers. Therefore his summary total of the lists (Strassburger/Hinke, I, 768-776, columns A, B, and C) represent the number of different names on the various lists available while I focused on the number of men identified on each ship and took steps to resolve apparent variations in spelling of the same name among the three versions of lists on which the men appeared

²⁶ Hinke doubted that the captains themselves drew up the lists (Strasburger/Hinke, II, xx-xxi). Yet in the one case where we know that the mate compiled the list because of the captain's

the sometimes fantastic (and amusingly ethnocentric) spellings, such as MacInterfer for Meckendorfer, and vast variations—Marti Tienod, Martin Oats, Martin Ott all stand for the same person—most matches could be accomplished by developing a keen ear as to how German names in their high-German as well as their dialect forms probably sounded to English ears, and how these sounds could then be rendered into the orthographic system of the English language. In cases of doubt, the order in which the names appeared on the lists offered hints as to their correct matching.²⁷

The number of German immigrant men arriving on each ship was determined by counting all the names on the list or set of records which presented different men.²⁸ The general patterns of the numbers are shown in Table 1 and Figure 2:b. The average annual rate of increase for the number of German immigrant men entering Philadelphia up to the middle of the eighteenth century was an impressive 8.5% from 160 men in 1727 to 1,588 men in 1754. German immigration gained strength not only because of the growing number of immigrant vessels per year but also because of additional men per ship, due either to increased size of ships or to greater utilization of passenger carrying

illness (50A), the spelling is so poor that the argument that the captains usually had to write the lists becomes more persuasive. Also, captains were likely to have a listing of their passengers either based on some form of transportation contract or kept to maintain a record of accounts of debts incurred by their passengers. See for example the accounts in the "Society Miscellaneous Collection" Box 7a, Folder 7 (Redemptioners, Philadelphia, 1750-1803), HSP.

Comparisons of the signatures of the B and C lists provides ample evidence that persons signed the oath of allegiance and the declaration of abjuration rather differently on each list. Likewise, the different hands of the clerks show varying familiarity with writing in general and the transcription of German names into English in particular.

²⁷ For people with little or not knowledge of German, Hinke's index (Strassburger/Hinke, II, 257-709) with its listing and cross-index of variant spellings, provides the only way of establishing matches between all three lists. A number of the lists were checked by both methods with the result that most matches can be made with the help of the index, except in the case of distinguishing between father and son with identical first and last names arriving on the same ship. Hinke's introduction concerning the principles applied in establishing the index will prove most helpful to those not familiar with German (Strassburger/Hinke, II, xix-xxii).

²⁸ Men whose names had been crossed out, those with distinct non-immigrant designations, such as Britons, resident Pennsylvania Germans or "newlanders", and those who had died were not included. Boys who had signed but were under sixteen years of age were also omitted. Based on evidence from the early lists I had assumed that the state of health of the arriving passengers could be gauged by counting the number of German immigrant men in the lists with designations "sick" or "on board." However, the unevenness with which this information is provided in later lists does not allow this kind of measurement.

capacity in existing ships.²⁹ From the 1750s to the Revolution, a surprisingly symmetrically decline at the rate of 8.0% occurred. It resulted from a marked decrease in the number of men carried per ship even as the number of ships held steady (Figure 1:c shows a 0.3% increase in ships). In spite of occasional annual peaks as in 1764 and 1773, the trend in the number of German immigrant men had clearly changed by mid-century.

To what degree were the men representative of the overall numbers of German immigrants arriving in Philadelphia? Did women and children fill the unused carrying capacity on immigrant ships in the years leading to the Revolution? The number of women and children on arriving vessels can only be estimated because precise information is scarce. The most complete data are available for 1727-1738, followed by a decade of no information at all. From 1749 on, most figures for the number of women and children are given only indirectly as part of a ship's total number of 'freights', with only 11 cases stating both the total number of persons or souls and the corresponding number of freights.³⁰ A suitable conversion factor is requisite to translate the total number of passengers expressed as freight into reliable estimates for men, women, and children.³¹ Although the appropriate multicator of

²⁹ The trend for the average annual number of German immigrant men per ship (not shown) increased at a rate of 2.4% from 1727 to 1754 and decreased by 5.2% during the years 1763-1775. In fact both measures accounted for the growing number of men per ship during the peak years of German immigration. The average tonnage of immigrant vessels rose steadily from 110 registered tons in 1727 to 138 tons in 1775 and at the height of the passenger trade there is ample evidence for crowding passengers into ships of limited carrying capacity. For details see chapter 4 of my dissertation.

³⁰ Previous estimates have failed to account adequately for the large variation in the provision of information on the number of women and children. Any constant multiplier based simply on the relationship between the number of signers and the unadjusted totals given in the ship lists may result in a reasonable overall estimate but misses the qualitative change from year to year on at least two accounts: 1) Total passenger reporting rates are disproportionately better for the early years of the immigration lists whereby inferences drawn from those years of growing immigration become increasingly unrepresentative when the inflow of German settlers declined after 1754. 2) Failure to translate the total number of 'freights' into the number of passengers obscures the significant changes in the composition of the German immigration to Philadelphia. Diffenderfer (102), Kuhns (52-58), and Strassburger/Hinke (I, xxxi, 776) all applied some kind of constant multiplier to derive at the annual rate of German immigration; yet their results hide many basic changes that characterized the immigration.

³¹ Establishing an appropriate way to convert freight into women and children involved several steps. First, the number of women and children combined (expressed in freight) was determined by subtracting the number of men, who each counted as one freight because they

1.43 converted much previously noncomparable information into useful data, it could shed no light on the years 1739-1748, 1752-3 and 1774-5, because here no totals for either passengers or freights were given.³² A reliable estimate over the remaining gaps could be obtained, however, by projecting the number of women and children for these times according to the chronologically nearest average ratio of the number of men to women and children.³³

Looking at the total number of women and children arriving in Philadelphia according to the calculations described (Table 1, Figure 2:a), the parallel increase between the number of men and that for women and children until the 1750s is striking (9.2% and 8.5% respectively; see Figure 2:b). In the two decades prior to the Revolution, however, the trends of the two groups diverge: the number of women and children declined faster at a rate of 10.1% compared to a

were charged full fare, from the total number of freights. Then, the relationship of the number of freights to that of women and children had to be established wherever possible. Fortunately, fifteen captains listed not only the names but also the ages of the women and children on their ships. This made it possible to calculate the relationship of their fares or freights to the number of women and children they carried. As the ratio between the known number of freights and that of women and children in fact remained stable after 1749, wherever they could be ascertained, the women and children's freights for the period before 1749 were calculated on the basis of an average fare structure that tended to pertain through the half-century before the Revolution: half fares for children between 5 and 12 years of age and full fare for women and children above 12 years old. Children under five were not counted because no fares were charged for them. (Different fare scales existed, ranging from those in which full fare was charged for children age ten and older to those in which adolescents paid half fares.) The ratio of freights charged for women and children (when this comparison could be made) remained almost level at about .69 (with a virtually flat linear slope of only $-.0003$) throughout the whole period 1727-1775. This justifies using a conversion factor of 1.0/.69 or 1.43 to translate the known number of freights into the probable number of women and children on a ship.

³² Hinke listed additional totals that he thought were the number of passengers in the years 1738-1748 (A lists: 55, 60, 61, 64, 77, 84, 85, 86, 88, 94, 99, 106, 114, 115, 123). Unfortunately, these figures—in most cases appearing as part of the captain's endorsement—represent instead the calculations and totals for the required registration fee of 1 shilling/6 pence for every man above sixteen.

³³ The ratio of the number of men to women and children was established whenever all needed numbers were given per ship. It increased only slightly during the period 1727-1754; but then decreased significantly thereafter. (During 1727-1754, the least squares trend for the ratio of women and children combined to men increased at a rate of 0.6% from 1.6 to 1.0 up to 1.8 to 1.0, while the trend declined after 1754 at a rate of 4.4% from 1.8 to 1.0 until the number of men equalled the number of women and children). Then, the number of men on the lists which contained no information at all on the number of women and children or total freight was converted by the average ratio for cases known in that year or by the average of the preceding and succeeding years if no observation was available for that particular year. (Three ships (# 187,

decreasing trend of 8.5% in the number of men.

When the estimates of the number of women and children are combined with those of men, the migration pattern appears even more dramatic (Table 1, Figure 1:a). During the expanding and peak years, 1727-1754, not only did the number of arriving immigrant vessels grow steadily, but their passenger carrying capacity increased (see Figure 1:b). The result was an even more rapidly expanding flow of immigrants than the number of arriving ships suggests. The yearly influx of Germans started in the late 1720s at an average of 439 persons and rose steadily to 4,332 until immigration was temporarily halted during the Seven Years War. By the early 1750s a total of 58,000 had arrived in Philadelphia. When German immigration resumed in 1763 the annual average number of immigrants was 1,174, and this average declined to 447 by 1775 (see Figure 1:a). As a result, the total immigration of the two decades prior to the Revolution reached just over one fifth of the pre-1755 total (or about 12,000). For the whole period of legislation, over half a century, 26,175 German immigrant men are enumerated in the ship lists. By using the previously described formula for calculations, the resulting total is at least 70,492 German immigrants arriving in Philadelphia between 1727 and 1775.³⁴

192, 220) carried an exceptionally large number of men. In these cases a conversion factor of 1.3 to 1.0 was used instead.) Because of this estimating procedure, the projected number of women and children for the years 1739-1748 and 1752-3 parallels the number of men closely.

³⁴ This estimate of the total number of German immigrants is not significantly different from a variety of earlier estimates (however, see note 30), especially in light of an uncertain amount of underregistration (for example, immigrants arriving on vessels from other colonies which could easily result in a margin of error of about 5,000 more immigrants). Hinke (Strassburger/Hinke, I, xxxi, 776) calculated the grand total of the ship lists to be 65,040, which A. E. Smith (321-322) correctly believed to be too low, partly because Hinke failed to distinguish between freights and persons and partly because contemporary yearly totals from "A List of the Number of Palatines Arrived in the Port of Philadelphia from the Commencement of the Year 1740 to 19th November 1750" are consistently higher than Hinke's in corresponding years. Since it is not known by whom the "list" was drawn up or for what purpose, it is impossible to establish a reasonable context for evaluating its accuracy. My own estimate for the same years is 13% below that of the "List", probably because of the rounding in the "List", my slight underestimation of the number of women and children, and a difference between the number of men actually arriving in Philadelphia and those appearing in the ship lists. Yet Smith's own estimate of a total of nearly 75,000 German immigrants is by no means too high, because not all Germans arrived on ships whose captains or merchants complied with the registration requirement and outside the port of Philadelphia qualification procedures were never implemented. Kuhn's estimated total (57) is closest to my own figure of total German immigration. Comparison of my estimates of yearly totals (see Table 1) with eighteenth-century figures on German immigrants show them

The more reliable estimate of the total number of German immigrants entering the port of Philadelphia derived from ship lists is less significant than the calculation of the yearly number of women and children and the pattern of that immigration flow over time. The vast majority of the Germans (about 58,000) arrived before the middle of the eighteenth century, and well over half of those (close to 35,000) during just the peak years of 1749-1754. The individual maximum year of 1749 probably reflects the end of the Austrian War of Succession, when German immigration could flow freely for the first time in almost a decade. The practical peak of the migration and the turning point for the trend, on the other hand, is half a dozen years 1749-1754. Previous interpreters have based their estimates mainly on the number and size of ships multiplied by an average number of immigrants. This procedure has led to the hypothesis that the Seven Years War temporarily dammed the flow of immigration which became substantial again from the peace until a few years before the Revolution.³⁵ A more careful analysis shows how fewer men, and still fewer women and children, arrived per ship from the mid-1750s through to the 1770s, despite little or no decline in the number or carrying capacity of immigrant vessels. The peak of German immigration passed in the early 1750s, and the decline thereafter was an underlying trend, not just the impact of the Seven Years War.

well within reasonable limits (For a convenient listing of those figures see A. E. Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, Appendix, 314-323.) The *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that 243 Germans arrived in 1729, while 249 names appear in lists 9A and 10A. As the children's names were omitted in list 9A, I have estimated the total number of passengers to be 300 for that year. The author of the newspaper reported evidently based his figures on the lists without realizing that some persons were omitted from the count. H. M. Muhlenberg noted that 7,049 Germans arrived alive in Philadelphia in the fall of 1749. My estimated figure of 7,580 is considerably larger than Muhlenberg's estimate but when subtracting those passengers who remained sick on board, some of whom died soon after arrival, as well as others who may have missed registration for other reasons, my projected figure of 7,004 is very close. The manuscript volume "Records of Servants & Apprentices Bound & Assign'd before John Gibson Esq., Mayor, Dec. 5, 1772 to May 21, 1773, HSP, partly published in A. E. Smith, 318) records the number of immigrants imported on vessels making harbor in Philadelphia between May 12 and October 4, 1773. During this period 3,516 persons arrived, of whom 1,132 were German, which is very close to my estimate of 1,140 German migrants on those ships.

³⁵ Diffenderfer (45), whose work on German immigration to colonial Philadelphia has been used by many historians, gives this impression. Recently, Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the Atlantic Economy* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1973), 138, relying on the general flow and magnitude of shipping between England and her American colonies, suggested that the only time of significant European immigration occurred after the end of the Seven Years War.

FIGURE 1

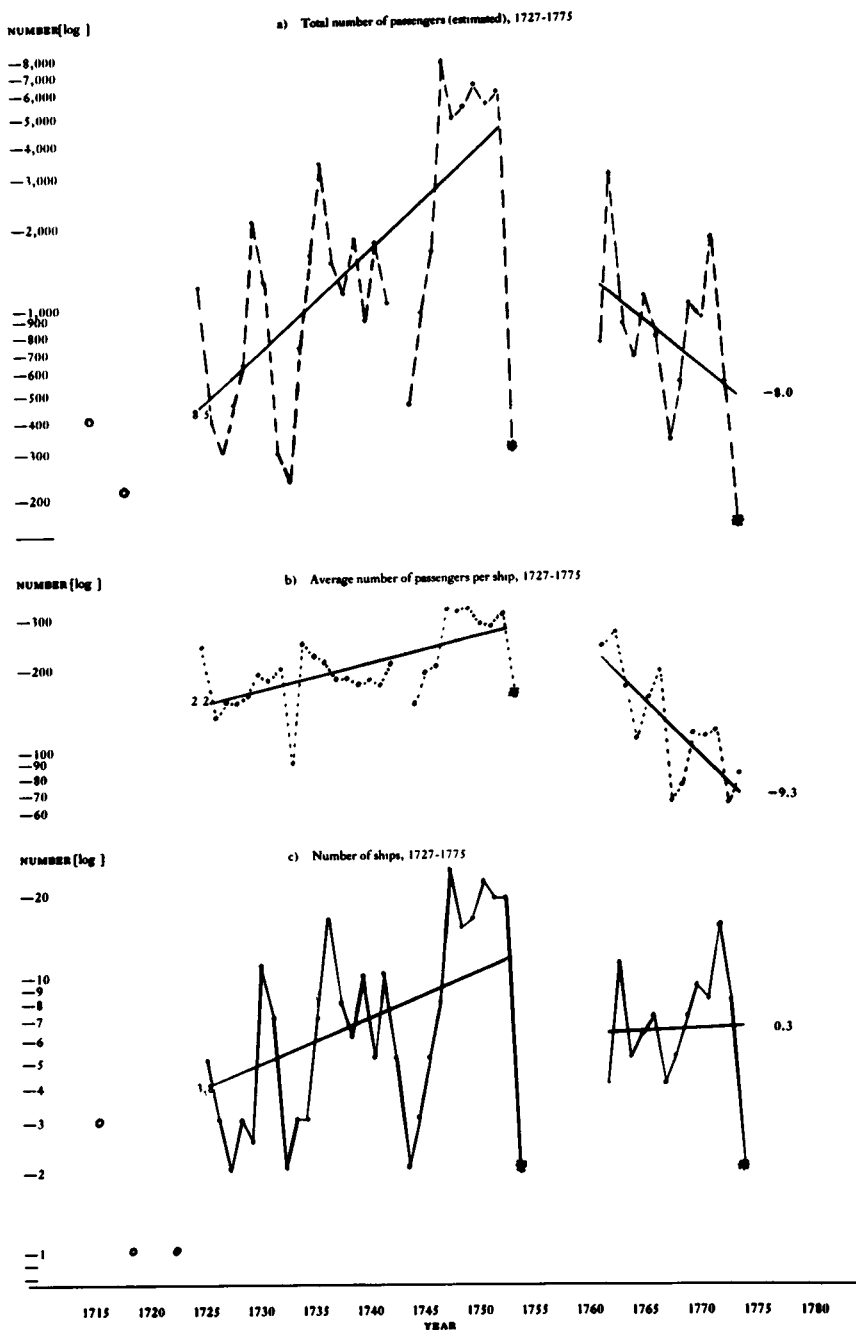
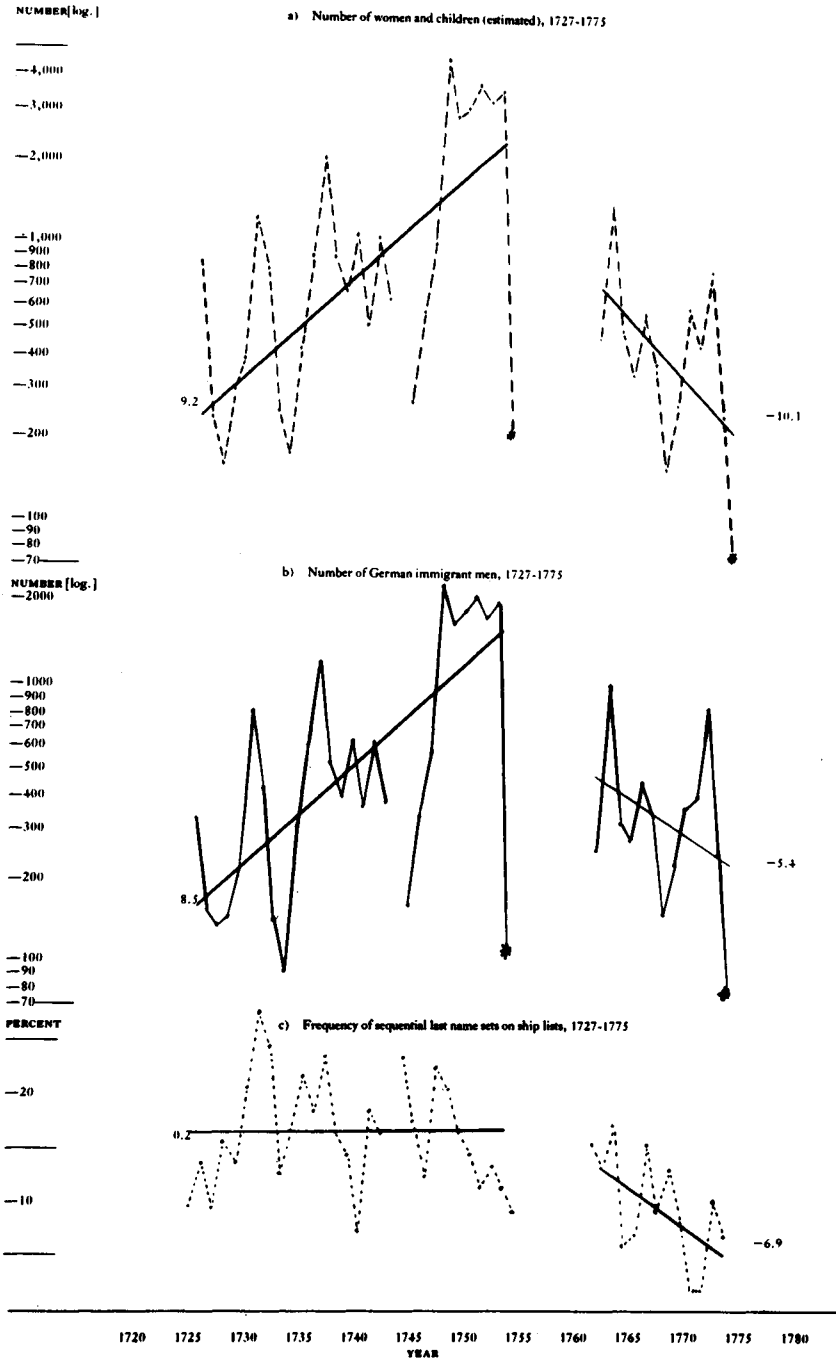


FIGURE 2:



Given the changes in the size and composition of the flow of German immigration to colonial Pennsylvania one would expect alteration in the proportions of settlers who came in families, as single persons, and changes in the age structure. Indeed, the age distribution of the German immigrant men did alter significantly over time. Sixty-three ship lists included the ages of their male passengers over sixteen, while thirteen of these gave the ages of all their passengers. The information is most abundant for the years 1730-1743, while some additional lists survive with this detail for 1748 and 1753/4. A survey of the ages given for the passengers of each of those ships reveals considerable fluctuation and variety from ship to ship throughout the period. The age profiles on almost all lists display clustering around ten-year intervals (20, 30, 40, etc.)—an “age-heaping” familiar to scholars of early censuses as well.³⁶ Furthermore, men in their early and mid-twenties always outnumber those in their late twenties and older.

There were also, however, important trends over time that provide insights into how the flow of Germans into Pennsylvania declined. The age distribution was relatively more balanced in the 1730s, when both proportionally and absolutely more men over fifty immigrated than in the 1740s, when few men in that age group arrived; but it became especially lopsided in the 1750s when hardly any man older than fifty appears in the lists. This observation supports descriptions of the German immigration to Pennsylvania which characterize the earlier arrivals as belonging substantially to sectarian minorities, like the Mennonites and Schwenkfelders, who tended to emigrate in congregational groups and extended families.³⁷ But these tightly-knit groups with middle-aged leadership must not have been very numerous relative to the carrying capacity of most ships, because their numbers were augmented by young men between twenty and twenty-five years of age and also by some men about thirty who headed very young families (for examples see ships #41 and 42).

The relative increase of younger men occurred noticeably during the

³⁶ T. Lynn Smith, *Demography: Principles and Methods* (Philadelphia, 1970), 152-157.

³⁷ C.H. Smith, “The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century,” Pennsylvania German Society, *Proceedings and Addresses*, 35 (1929), 1-412; Samuel Kriebel Brecht, *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families. Seekers of Religious Liberty Who Fled from Silesia to Saxony and Thence to Pennsylvania in the Years 1731-1737*, 2 vols., (New York and Chicago, 1923).

early peak years of 1732 and 1738, when the largest or most crowded ships transported disproportionately high numbers of twenty-year-old men. Yet increasing proportions of young men combined with a decline in the number of men over fifty also became more typical in the 1740s. In this same period of German immigration, the number of eighteen-year-olds increased significantly, quite unlike at any other time in the migration. The reason for this phenomenon was a new conscription law in the Palatinate that did away with the traditional exemption from military service for men engaged to be married or newly wed and allowing only rich young men to buy out of the draft.³⁸

The surviving age pattern for 1753-4, on the other hand, differs from that of both the previous decades, significantly so if the ten ships which listed the ages of their male passengers are representative for this peak period of migration. The age profile of men at the point when German immigration to Pennsylvania reached its pre-Revolutionary peak showed a high proportion of men in their early twenties, but the group of men twenty-five to thirty years old gained proportionally while the distribution of men over forty is only comparable to that of men in their fifties in the preceding decade. Evidence derived from individual ships suggests that by the 1750s a few vessels specialized in transporting large numbers of men between twenty and thirty, while others continued to carry immigrant men whose ages were more evenly balanced.

The shifts in the age structure of arriving German immigrant men give important insights into the process of change in the overall composition of the immigration and the way numbers increased to the 1750s. Unfortunately, the only complementary data concerning the ages of women and children are available in the period 1730-1735 (and one additional ship in 1738), when the age structure of the men was most balanced and atypical compared to the pattern prevailing during the later peak years. The distribution of the ages for women in the early 1730s parallels that of men on corresponding ships, though the general level of the women's ages is slightly below that of the men. In particular, most of the names of women in the twenty to twenty-five year age group can be matched with at least one other man's name in the same list. This indicates that many young women travelled as members of family groups, although nothing more specific can be said about the

³⁸ *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, 89 (Dec. 16, 1747).

nature of those family ties—whether they were with husbands, fathers, or brothers, for example.

The distribution of the recorded ages for children shows high clustering in the one to four year age group and a pronounced low at five years. This is most likely a result of shipping policies requiring half fare at that age. The highest clustering occurs at age eight, with a steady decline until thirteen. The very few names in the fourteen to eighteen year age group are mostly girls, because boys over sixteen appear as signers in a different category of passengers.

If, after 1735, the age distribution of women continued to parallel that of men, the range of the women's ages would have contracted significantly, the number of middle-aged women would have declined while that of young women in their twenties would have risen proportionally. It seems reasonable to assume that many of the women in the migration up to the early 1750s were wives and mothers of children. What happened was that, along with middle-aged men, middle-aged women and their children became a less integral part of the migration between the 1730s and 1750s.

The decreasing ratio of women and children to men indicates that as the size of the total immigration fell, its composition shifted significantly. The change in the age structure helps establish why the numbers declined: immigrants first became younger, and then they were more likely to be single men. Middle-aged couples became less important and less numerous as the tide of Germans coming to Pennsylvania crested in the 1740s and early 1750s. Then as the immigration ebbed, it was probably increasingly difficult to attract families, even young families, to the colony.³⁹

About 17% of all men who immigrated between 1730 and 1750 shared their last name at least with one other man placed next to them on the lists of the same ship. Although the frequency of such relatedness varied considerably from ship to ship and fluctuated from year to year, the trend declined only gradually from its peak in the early 1730s before 1750 (Figure 2:c). If we relate this finding to what is known about the increasingly young age structure of men in the 1740s it becomes possible to be more specific about changes in the dynamics of migration

³⁹ This can be inferred from the declining ratio of the number of women and children to that of men, because no data on ages are available for the time after 1754.

that were taking place. While the proportion of men who were related to each other remained relatively stable from the early 1730s through the end of the 1740s, the character of those relationships changed from intergenerational to intragenerational ties; while early on fathers and sons had predominated, later on as the flow of Germans approached its crest around mid-century the connected males were younger, more likely to be brothers or cousins. The years after 1750, on the other hand, when no ages were recorded, show a different pattern: a marked decline in the relatedness of German immigrant men to each other. This suggests further a changing composition of the immigration toward young, single, relatively unconnected people gathered independently to form an immigrant cargo. From about 1750 on, families and middle-aged people from German-speaking parts of Europe were no longer immigrating to Pennsylvania in increasing numbers as they had done in the boom era of the 1730s and 1740s. What immigration remained depended on younger single persons.

The ship lists are a unique data source for examining what kinds of Germans came and when they came to colonial Pennsylvania. There is no comparable information on any other major group of immigrants to any other colony. The lists first of all allow a reasonably accurate count of all German immigrant men arriving on that vast majority of ships whose captains complied with the required registration procedure. Furthermore, probable estimates of the number of women and children accompanying the men can also be made. Combining the different segments of the migration allows us to calculate the total number of German immigrants rather accurately. The estimate of about 70,000 passengers arriving on those ships is more firmly grounded than previous work has been.

That revised total alone, however, is less useful than the insight that can be gained from this analysis concerning how German immigration first rose and then fell during the eighteenth century. The number of total immigrants per year and of passengers per ship followed the same basic pattern: increase from the beginning of the ship lists around 1730 until the mid-1750s, then subsequent decline. As the numbers rose, even onto the crest in the early 1750s, women and children were plentiful enough to sustain a relatively constant ratio to men on the registered ships; and at least one third of all immigrants were related to

somebody else on the same vessel. To a considerable degree the flow was composed of settlers coming in families, not just single persons adding to the labor force of the New World. At the beginning, intergenerational families ties—between parents, their grown children, and grandchildren—existed more often than during the peak years of German migration through Philadelphia in the 1740s and 1750s. Then that pattern gave way to family bonds within the same generation or between younger parents and their children. When the number of immigrants was largest the number of young men and women in their twenties was highest. Thereafter, unrelated single men became a more dominant part of the migration.

The patterns that can be culled from the ship lists delineate a migratory group that “discovered” Pennsylvania in the early 1700s, but then became relatively less attracted to this part of the New World after mid-century. Indeed, over 80% of all German immigrants coming by ship through Philadelphia arrived prior to 1755, about 50% of them just during the peak years of 1740–1754. Yet the basic qualitative changes apparent in those who continued to come after this time show that war was not the determinate factor in the slowed pace of arrival in Philadelphia. Instead, we see an immigration that because of more long-term processes in Europe and America came to a peak in a relatively narrow period of time in the middle of the eighteenth century. Yet the observed pattern in the number of incoming Germans, like their changing composition, also means the origin of migration and experience of establishing a new life in the New World changed substantially from the beginning years to the peak of immigration in mid-century, and then to the waning period over the two decades before the Revolution.

The forces shaping these distinct patterns of German immigration to colonial Pennsylvania are complex. Neither the timing nor the factors generating the migration of more or less German-speaking peoples across the Atlantic to the Delaware in the eighteenth century are as yet fully explored and understood in spite of numerous writings on the topic. However, the conclusions of this article about the shape and composition of the immigration flow emphasizes the importance of certain developments in Europe and America that predisposed people to emigrate to Pennsylvania, rather than some place else.

The “push” factors in Germany were many and interrelated. The

principal areas of outmigration along the Rhine and its tributaries had long experienced almost constant population shifts.⁴⁰ Economic, political, and religious upheavals in any of the several interconnected regions had prompted many inhabitants of southwestern Germany or their families and friends to move temporarily or permanently well before the migration to North America from this part of Europe began. Significant numbers of newcomers had recently settled in places with decimated populations. Migration as a reaction to increasing pressures, whether real or perceived, was not unfamiliar to peoples in these regions who either had moved before or knew others close by who had done so. Also they lived in areas with easy access to major international trade routes and lines of communication. Information about places of interest to prospective emigrants was available. Indeed colonization was promoted in many different forms, ranging from personal letters and visits to widely distributed pamphlets and systematic advertising campaigns in newspapers.⁴¹ Throughout the eighteenth century, emigrants could choose from a variety of destinations for future settlement. Pennsylvania attracted the attention of many Germans after migration links to the colonies of Carolina and New York had already, though not always successfully, been established. As the eighteenth century wore on, other American provinces competed with varying results for German settlers. Furthermore, especially after the Seven Years War, many different parts of Europe opened up for settlement and gained in importance relative to the previously forged links of migration.⁴²

⁴⁰ Beginning with the Thirty Years War, extensive movements of various populations, ranging from seasonal workers to religious refugees, in and out of southwestern Germany took place. These are surveyed and analyzed in chapter 2 of my dissertation.

⁴¹ The mechanisms of the various information flows that stimulated and channeled emigration are also more fully explored in chapter 2 of my dissertation.

⁴² Combining direct German immigration into the southern colonies with the rate of settlement in the newly opened backcountry of those provinces underscores Pennsylvania's waning attractiveness to German immigrants at the direct expense of those regions as the eighteenth century progressed.

In Europe, Prussia had tried to attract settlers for its newly gained lands in eastern Europe even before Russia and Austria offered generous terms to immigrants willing to settle in their vast underpopulated territories after 1763. (Similarly, though on a much smaller scale, Spain was interested in settling Germans at her borders. Some of them, however, eventually landed in Pennsylvania.) The literature on these streams of eastward migration—emigrants from Catholic areas generally preferred settlement opportunities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire while Protestants were more likely to choose Prussia or Russia—is vast, scattered and

The popularity of one destination over another for Protestant Germanic settlers depended on a number of factors. The kinds of opportunities open to newcomers determined not only what type of immigrants were most likely to be attracted but also what the chances were that they would be successfully integrated. When in the 1720s and 1730s Germans first began to arrive in Pennsylvania in significant numbers, toleration for Protestants of different backgrounds and lifestyles was generally accepted, land could be obtained at relatively low cost, wages as well as prices for certain commodities were considered to be high, and the cost of relocation had to be paid largely by cash in advance.⁴³ Given these conditions, Pennsylvania particularly attracted settlers who could arrange to arrive with some starting capital (mostly in the form of European goods brought over for resale) and avoid costs for labor by bringing family members along with them. These early circumstances also favored immigrants who could sell skills and labor profitably to acquire the means to purchase a farm or set up shop after a few years. Thus it is understandable why passengers in the period of expansion of the migration were frequently of middle age and brought families with them.

As such favorable conditions became more widely known in Germany, Pennsylvania lured relatives, friends, and neighbors of those already settled here who were often willing and able to help others make the transition. The province also drew in large numbers of people with lesser means who paid their way by accepting various forms of credit extended to them by enterprising merchants with interests in transatlantic shipping or in speculative settlement schemes.⁴⁴ The

varied in quality and character, Werner Hacker, *Auswanderer vom Oberen Neckar nach Sudosteuroopa im 18. Jahrhundert* (München, 1970), *Auswanderung aus dem südöstlichen Schwarzwald zwischen Hochrhein, Baar und Kinzig insbesondere nach Sudosteuroopa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (München, 1975), *Auswanderungen aus Oberschwaben im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert archivalisch dokumentiert* (Stuttgart und Aalen, 1977), Karl-Friedrich Huttig, *Die Pfälzische Auswanderung nach Ost-Mitteleuropa im Zeitalter der Aufklärung, Napoleons und der Restauration* (Marburg/Lahn, 1958), Karl Stumpp, *Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland nach Russland in den Jahren 1763 bis 1862* (Tübingen, n.d. [1972]).

⁴³ The price for transatlantic passage and the modes of payment open to emigrants are discussed in detail in chapter 5 of my dissertation.

⁴⁴ The importance of letters home should not be underestimated. Christopher Sauer's reference to that fact is but one famous example. C. Sauer to Governor Morris, March 15, 1755, published in Diffenderfer, 240. The role of promoters in the German passenger trade is discussed in chapter 4 of my dissertation.

communication among new and former migrants plus credit extension and profit making by merchants who provided transportation produced the brief but massive inflow of immigration in the late 1740s and early 1750s in which large proportions of young men and women as well as young families were evident.

As Pennsylvania's opportunities became more attractive, and as the number of immigrants to the region increased, the immediate return on promises of cheap farms and high wages became more elusive. Land was taken up at a rapid rate, driving up prices of farms surrounding the areas near Philadelphia. Settlers had to go farther out. Increasingly they even left Pennsylvania in search of farms at affordable terms, encouraged by land speculators of more southern colonies. At the same time growing financial dependence of later migrants on those merchants who channeled the emigration flow to Philadelphia decreased the options for newly arrived settlers who had to compete in ever larger numbers to pay off their passage debts and to accumulate enough capital to start out on their own. And by the mid-century years they tried to do this at a time when inequality was becoming more pronounced and political tensions rose.⁴⁵ News of serious troubles with the Indians in 1754 further undermined Pennsylvania's already waning reputation as the "best poor man's country." Thereafter the declining inflow of German settlers that has been observed was probably composed of

⁴⁵ The processes by which new settlements first advanced rapidly then filled up has been demonstrated repeatedly. Involved in these dynamics were less opportunity for German and other settlers because of population growth, the amount of land already taken up and increasingly cultivated, and decreasing chances to marry in or to market skills. Urban places, like Germantown, Lancaster, and Reading developed along similar lines as the rural areas. Also, apparently declining opportunities for the growing labor force of Philadelphia might be viewed as one indicator as to how easy or difficult it was for a newly arrived German immigrant to establish himself independently and "with decency" in southeastern Pennsylvania. Lemon, chapter 2; John Florin, "The Advance of Frontier Settlement in Pennsylvania, 1638-1850: A Geographical Interpretation," (M.S. thesis, Penn State University, 1966), 43-75; Duane Eugene Ball, "The Process of Settlement in 18th Century Chester County, Pennsylvania: A Social and Economic History" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1973), 45-64, 102-114, 123-137; George William Franz, "Paxton: A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1974), 258-262, 315-333; Wolf, *Urban Village*, 43; Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads*, 47-51; Laura L. Becker, "The American Revolution as a Community Experience: A Case Study of Reading, Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1978), chapters 2 and 3; Billy G. Smith, "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750-1800," Gary B. Nash, "Up From the Bottom in Franklin's Philadelphia," *Past and Present*, No. 77 (Nov. 1977), 57-83.

immigrants with personal ties to the province and newcomers of limited means who had been channeled there by long standing lines of communication, shipping, and credit uniting merchants involved in the transatlantic transportation of German passengers. Particularly evident in this period were single, probably young, men oriented to the labor market rather than to the chance of forming new farms in southeastern Pennsylvania. The onset of the American Revolution virtually finished off substantative German migration to Pennsylvania. Not only was Pennsylvania comparatively less attractive for German immigrants, but changes taking place in continental Europe involved heavy recruitment of settlers for the East. The combination of American warfare and East European redevelopment practically stopped German immigration to the newly formed Republic. When, years later, the migration resumed, Pennsylvania received only a small portion.

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