

AGENCIES FOR THE PROMOTION OR FACILITATION  
OF EMIGRATION FROM ENGLAND TO THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1815-1861

By  
M. D. Wainwright

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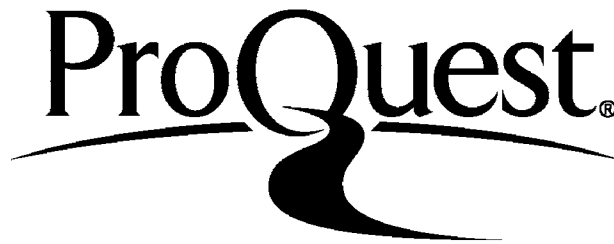
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### Abstract of Thesis

Agencies for the promotion or facilitation of  
emigration from England to the United States of America,  
1845 to 1861.

When emigrants began to leave England for the United States in numbers after 1845 there grew up various agencies to facilitate their passage, or to promote the emigration of others. An important part was played by those engaged in the emigrant trade, particularly the passenger brokers. It was in their interest to induce as many as possible to emigrate, and by making the arrangements for the journey they performed a valuable service for the emigrant. But the great numbers leaving the country led to the growth of abuses, especially in Liverpool, and to check the impositions on emigrants government agents were placed in the chief ports.

Emigration was promoted by several groups of people who expected to secure some personal advantage from the departure of the emigrants. The disproportion to number of numbers in the population of the agricultural counties of southern England under the old Poor Law caused some parish authorities to finance the emigration of their surplus labourers. The system broke in the depression after 1845, and died away after the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act. In the 1840s and 1850s some of the trade societies which were suffering from a surplus of workmen made provision for their emigration, only to abandon the emigration benefit when it proved ineffectual. The continued interest in emigration encouraged the formation of societies and

companies, either self-help, philanthropic or speculative, to help the emigrant, or to direct him to some particular location. Many emigrant guide books appeared, the majority written by persons interested in promoting emigration. Some attempts were made by individual employers of labour in the United States to import skilled workers from England, and towards the end of the period the states and emigrant railroads were just beginning to promote immigration, although their major efforts were not made until after the Civil War.

G. D. Swinwright.



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## INTRODUCTION

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The story of the emigration of the English to the United States of America from the close of the Napoleonic wars to the outbreak of the American Civil War has not received the detailed attention accorded to the migrations of other peoples. When considered as a part of the general emigration movement from England it has taken a secondary place to an account of the peopling of the British colonies. On the other hand the English contribution to the Atlantic migration has been neglected in favour of other, more obviously foreign, groups. The arrival of the English in America created no special problems, and aroused no undue interest. There was no language or religious difficulty, and the immigrants were quickly absorbed into the American life. Moreover, unlike the Welsh and the Scots, the English did not often form national societies to keep alive an interest in the old country.

Another factor which has hindered the study of English emigration to the United States is that it was very largely an individual movement, enlivened by no dramatic incidents comparable to the flight of the Irish from the famine. Men left the country because they were dissatisfied with conditions

in England, the majority made their own arrangements, decided upon their own destination, and were dependant only upon their own exertions. A statement made in 1862 expressed the general opinion on English emigration: 'As far as England was concerned, the overflow has been allowed to take its own course, it flowed where it listed, unshackled by restrictions, unaided by the rich and uncared for by any.'<sup>1</sup> But, although there was no obvious organization of the overflow, there were many people very much interested in increasing its volume and varying its direction.

Parish authorities during the last years of the old poor law thought it worth while to send to America those paupers who were willing to go. The trade societies in the 'forties and 'fifties provided emigration benefits as one way of removing the surplus labourers. Out of the emigration movement itself there arose agencies, first to facilitate and later to promote emigration. The men engaged in the transportation of emigrants and the reputable emigration societies were joined by speculative agencies and writers of guidebooks in the exploitation of the economic unrest and the current interest in emigration. Almost all this activity was organized in England. The arrivals were received in the United States with cordiality or protest according to their condition, but, apart from those made by a number of land

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1. Emigration from the British Islands ..., (London, 1862), p.4.

speculators and employers of labour, there were no direct attempts in America to promote emigration from England. Just before the outbreak of the Civil War one or two states and railroads began to promote the immigration of settlers but their effect on English emigration was negligible.<sup>1</sup>

The influence of the agencies interested in the promotion of emigration was not confined to those emigrants with whom they came into direct contact. Agents travelling up and down the country talked with the local inhabitants and posted handbills in public places. Lectures and public meetings were arranged, and advertisements inserted in the newspapers. Guidebooks, collections of letters, and other propaganda reached many who were impressed by the favourable picture of life in America. Always from 1815 to 1861 some men, somewhere, were working to persuade Englishmen to emigrate to the United States, either because they wanted to remove them from England, attract them to America, or merely make a profit out of their departure. Whatever their individual successes, their collective effect was to make everyone familiar with the idea of 'going to America', until in the words of a French writer, '... au premier moment d'embarras ou

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1. No attempt has been made to deal with Mormon emigration from England, which is the subject of a Cambridge Ph.D. thesis by Philip Taylor.

d'entraînement, tout le monde se tourne vers l'émigration  
comme vers une porte de salut toujours ouverte au  
courage .....<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. Duval, Histoire de l'Emigration européenne,  
asiatique et africaine au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle ....., (Paris,  
1862, p.24.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE EMIGRANT TRADE

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During the years between the ending of the Napoleonic wars and the outbreak of the American Civil War the transportation of emigrants across the Atlantic developed from an incidental accompaniment of ordinary commercial intercourse to an important branch of trade in its own right. Immediately after 1815 the handling of emigrants was completely disorganized, for there had been little emigration since the beginning of the century. Ship captains advertised for passengers in such seaport newspapers as the Liverpool Mercury, and made their own terms. The emigrants, following the routes established by ordinary commerce, travelled to New York, where English manufacturers were taking advantage of the shortage of textiles to flood the market with their surplus goods. This tendency of transatlantic trade to gravitate towards New York was confirmed in 1818 with the establishment of the Black Ball line of sailing packets. The emigrant became a profitable sideline to shipping firms primarily interested in the import of cotton. This was still so with British ships in 1851, when the Select Committee considering the Passengers' Act was told that ships went to America, not to take out



passengers, but to make a return cargo.<sup>1</sup> Because of the greater facilities offered by New York, the majority of the emigrants continued to go to that port.

Other merchants to profit from the carriage of emigrants were those engaged in the timber trade with Canada. Every spring large fleets were sent to Canada without any outward freight, but the large space between decks, used for storing the timber, could easily, and with very little expense, be converted for the use of emigrants. These ships provided the cheapest passage, and therefore the poorest emigrants would often sail to Quebec rather than New York, unless the captains of the timber ships agreed to land their passengers at Staten Island.<sup>2</sup> In time the emigrant became an integral part of the Atlantic trade, until, in 1854, it was claimed that the receipts from passage money paid to American ships exceeded the amount received for freights on all the exports of the United States.<sup>3</sup> As a result, American shipowners

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1. Report from the Select Committee on the Passengers' Act. H.C.632, pp.65, 424 (1851). XIX, 1.
  2. C.O. 384/78. Anon. to Sir James Graham, 28 March 1846. Emigration Commissioners to Stephen, 1 May 1846. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Seventh General Report. [809] p.2. H.C. (1847). XXXIII, 131. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.65.
  3. Annual Report of the New York Commissioners of Emigration, 1854, Appendix, p.74.

attacked any attempts to restrict the entrance of immigrants,<sup>1</sup> and English shipowners protested against the provisions of the Passengers' acts.<sup>2</sup> The different shipping lines competed with each other to secure the emigrant traffic,<sup>3</sup> but the organization of the traffic was left to others.

Emigration was not controlled by the shipping companies until the development of the steamship, although one or two early shipowners helped to raise the emigrant trade to the level of big business. Francis Thompson of New York founded the 'Old Established Emigrant Office' in 1829, and was succeeded by his nephew Samuel, who owned several large emigrant ships.<sup>4</sup> A later shipowner who concentrated on the carriage of emigrants was Enoch Train of Boston. Train established his line of packets in 1844, offered through rates to American cities, and did an important business in remittances. The development of steamships forced other lines of sailing packets to turn to the carriage of emigrants, as they lost the cabin and fine freight trade,

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1. Niles' Register, LXXII, 155, 8 May 1847.  
Boston Board of Trade, Second Annual Report, 1856, p.3.  
 O. Handlin, Boston's Immigrants 1790-1865, (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), p.191.  
 M.L. Hansen, The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860, (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), p.260.
  2. American Chamber of Commerce, Liverpool, Minute Books.
  3. Report on the Passengers' Act, pp.520, 564.
  4. R.G. Albion, Rise of New York Port, (New York, 1939), pp.238, 339-340.



and in later years many lines, such as the Black Star from Liverpool to New York, were advertised for emigrants. The entry of these ships into the trade greatly increased the competition.<sup>1</sup> Steam vessels were introduced into the emigrant trade in 1850, when William Inman founded the 'Liverpool and Philadelphia Steam Ship Company' for the express purpose of cultivating the steerage trade.<sup>2</sup> In 1857 he extended the service to New York. Inman persistently advocated the improvement of the emigration service, and, to experience the conditions under which most of the emigrants lived, he and his wife crossed the Atlantic as steerage passengers. Other steamships began to cater for steerage passengers, although Cunard's ships did not become emigrant carriers until 1863.<sup>3</sup> In the 1850s most of the ships in the trade had been built for the purpose.<sup>4</sup>

The transportation of emigrants to America was organized by passenger brokers, or agents, who operated in all the ports of the United Kingdom, but were most numerous in Liverpool. These men gained complete control over the emigration business. In 1837 Alderman Eyre Evans of Liverpool

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1. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.2.
  2. D.B. Tyler, Steam Conquers the Atlantic, (New York, 1939), pp.197, 243.
  3. Ibid. pp.195, 281.
  4. C.O. 384/92. Emigration Commissioners to Fitzroy, 10 Jan. 1854.

complained that he had been unable to obtain passengers for his ship until he 'lumped her', at a very low rate, with one of the agents.<sup>1</sup> Fourteen years later, the chairman of the Ship Owners' Association, Robert Rankin, was unable to give details of the passenger trade, because, when the ships carried passengers, he hired out the between decks to the brokers.<sup>2</sup> A passenger broker was a man who kept an office 'for shipping passengers across the sea, to our colonies, the United States, etc.'<sup>3</sup> This wide definition covered many men of doubtful character, with no financial backing of any kind, so that, in the words of a successful broker 'a respectable man hardly likes to say he is a passenger-broker.'<sup>4</sup>

The passenger brokers carried on their business in one of two ways. They either undertook to supply vessels with a certain number of passengers on commission, or, a much commoner practice was to charter the whole between decks of a ship for a fixed sum, and fill it with as many passengers as possible, or as the law allowed, at prices arranged with the emigrants according to the state of the trade. Sometimes passengers booked when rates were high and travelled when they

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1. Liverpool Mercury, 8 Sept. 1837.
  2. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.506.
  3. Liverpool Mercury, 9 March 1838, p.74.
  4. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.291.

had fallen, and less often the opposite would happen. It was common for prices to be raised or lowered at the last minute according to the demand for passages, so that emigrants on the same ship would have paid different amounts for the same accommodation. But whatever arrangements the brokers made with the shipowners, it was to their interest to induce as many persons as possible to emigrate, for the more ships they could fill the greater would be their profit. Advertisements were inserted in the newspapers, posters and handbills distributed to inns and other places of public meeting, and there were agents placed throughout the country to procure passengers on a commission basis,<sup>1</sup> all active in persuading the dissatisfied to begin life anew in a new world. An early critic complained, 'they paint and extol America just as a quack doctor does his box of pills.'<sup>2</sup>

Once he had made his arrangements with an agent, the prospective emigrant was told to reach the port by a certain date, and left to make his own arrangements for that part of the journey. If a large party were to be shipped from a particular neighbourhood the passenger agent might arrange the transport, but this was not common. Although many emigrants, especially the Irish, only booked their passage after their arrival at the port, among the English the general plan was

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1. Ibid. p.158.

2. A Clear and Concise Statement of New York, (Belper, 1819), p.6.

to contract beforehand with the nearest agent of the brokers.<sup>1</sup> It was usual to secure a berth on a particular ship by paying part of the passage money, often one pound, as a deposit, the rest being paid on the completion of the contract at the port of embarkation.<sup>2</sup> The passenger was given a contract ticket<sup>3</sup> and allotted a berth, by the berthing clerk, whose office could be made very profitable, if he were willing to sell the best berths for a bribe. Emigrants could, however, change their berths among themselves after leaving port. The brokers' duties included seeing the passengers through the necessary forms required by the various Passengers' Act, and settling many matters of minor detail which had to be dealt with before the ship could sail.<sup>4</sup> As the Emigration Commissioners remarked in a report containing a long list of impositions, in respectable hands the activities of passenger brokers could be of great assistance to emigration, and a convenience to the poorer classes.<sup>5</sup>

Closely connected with the passenger brokers were the emigrant runners, a large group of men with a vital stake in

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1. Report on the Passengers' Act, pp.186-187.
  2. See any shipping advertisement.
  3. Second Report on Emigrant Ships. H.C. 349, p.167 (1854). XIII, 187.
  4. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.319.
  5. C.O. 384/78. Commissioners to Stephen, 11 March 1846.



the emigration business.<sup>1</sup> They awaited the arrival of coaches, boats and other vehicles,<sup>2</sup> steamboats and railway trains, approached any emigrants, seized their luggage, and took them to some cheap lodging house. The majority of the runners in Liverpool waiting at the quaysides were Irish, but those awaiting the arrival of coaches and trains were English.<sup>3</sup> Many were lodging house keepers or their servants. The charge for the night was cheap, varying from twopence to sixpence, including fire for cooking but no food.<sup>4</sup> It was from their other activities that the lodging house keepers made their profit. If the emigrants had not already engaged their passage, they were recommended to an agent, who paid a commission for the introduction. The commission varied from five to seven and a half per cent,<sup>5</sup> and the brokers dared not refuse it even if the runners were not in their employ.<sup>6</sup> They could not afford to antagonize the lodging house keepers. Mary Cox, a witness in the case of *Hirst v. Beckett and Co.* told the court that 'she always took a commission on passage money when her friends wished it.'<sup>7</sup> For introducing Hirst

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1. Report on the Passengers' Act, pp.39-40, 300-306.

2. Liverpool Mercury, 19 February 1819, p.269.

3. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.356.

4. Ibid. pp.287, 301-302.

5. Ibid. pp.353, 729.

6. Ibid. pp.353, 768.

7. Liverpool Mercury, XVII, 87. (1827).

to Beckett she received ten shillings. Runners received another commission, varying from five to ten per cent,<sup>1</sup> from the shop keepers, to whom the emigrants were sent for their provisions and other necessities for the voyage. As many of the runners were householders they had a considerable influence in local affairs. It was impossible to control their activities, although the Passengers' Act of 1855 ordered that runners should be licensed and provided with badges.<sup>2</sup> In 1857 there were two hundred and twenty-two licensed runners in Liverpool,<sup>3</sup> but the difficulty then arose of preventing unlicensed men from acting.<sup>4</sup>

The number of well-established houses in the passenger broker business in Liverpool was not large. A member of a family of brokers which had always had good reports from the Government agents, W.H. Fitzhugh, stated in 1851 that he did not think they numbered more than thirteen or fourteen, but many men acted as passenger brokers to cover some other trade, such as provision dealer.<sup>5</sup> And when the act of 1842<sup>6</sup> required

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1. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.289.
  2. 18 & 19 Vic. c. 119.
  3. C.O. 384/98. 25 May 1857.
  4. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, Eighteenth General Report. [2395] pp.24-25. H.C. (1857-58). XXIV, 401.
  5. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.652.
  6. 5 & 6 Vic. c. 107.

the licensing of brokers by the magistrates, the number so licensed was much greater than Fitzhugh's estimate. In 1857<sup>1</sup> there were fifty-one licensed passenger brokers in Liverpool. A number of firms had agents in New York, but Fitzhugh spoke for the majority when he said, 'the moment we have given them [the emigrants] a contract ticket we have nothing more to do with them.'<sup>2</sup> Names in the shipping advertisements appeared and disappeared, and partnerships were formed and dissolved, but a few names stand out as belonging to reputable and long-established agents, such as W.S. and W.H. Fitzhugh,<sup>3</sup> C. Grimshaw,<sup>4</sup> W. Tapscott and Co., Brown, Shipley and Co., and Harnden and Co.<sup>5</sup> This last house was an American firm originally formed by W.F. Harnden in 1839 as an express carriage service between Boston and New York. In 1841 branches were established in Europe, and the company also entered the emigration trade with an office in Liverpool. Arrangements were made with lines of packet ships sailing between Liverpool and New York or Boston, and with steamboat, railroad and canal companies in the United States, so that emigrants could book

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1. C.O. 384/98. 25 May 1857.
  2. Report on Passengers' Act, p.661.
  3. Varying partnerships. W.S. Fitzhugh gave evidence before the Select Committee on Emigration, 1826-1827, and W.H. Fitzhugh before the Select Committee on the Passengers' Act, 1851.
  4. Fitzhugh and C. Grimshaw, and later C. Grimshaw and Co.
  5. R.G. Albion, Rise of New York port, p.340.  
D.B. Tyler, Steam Conquers the Atlantic, p.186.

right through from Liverpool to the western states. On arrival at New York or Boston the emigrants were met and assisted on the next stage of the journey. In addition to the usual newspaper advertising, and the employment of agents, the firm sent a circular to the clergy and poor law guardians of the United Kingdom, outlining its activities and requesting their recommendation to any parties in their districts who intended to emigrate. The house of Harnden and Co. also advertised in Wiley and Putnam's popular emigrant's guide.<sup>1</sup>

Other long established passenger brokers were less reputable, and the Government agents made many complaints against them for defrauding emigrants, and infringing the provisions of the Passengers' acts.<sup>2</sup> Among firms of this type were Becket and Co., Robinson Brothers, P.W. Byrnes and Co., George Saul and his partners, and a host of minor agents. Many complaints were made against the Robinsons, and their activities may be taken as an example of the methods employed by the less scrupulous of the passenger brokers.

The firm of Robinson Brothers, or J. and W. Robinson as it later became, had its head office in Liverpool, and was connected with the house of Douglas Robinson and Co. of New York. The sole interest of the partners was to make a profit from emigration. The welfare of the emigrants did not

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1. Wiley and Putnam's Emigrant's Guide..... (London, 1845.)
  2. See C.O. 384 and the General Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.



concern them. Agents were employed in the country to sell passages, but their engagements were not always honoured to the full by the Liverpool office. In September 1833 John Davis arrived in Liverpool with his wife and seven children, having arranged a passage with the Robinsons' Belfast agent, for the ship Cumberland, sailing from Liverpool to New York in a few days' time. He paid the remainder of the passage money and was given a contract ticket, but the departure of the ship was delayed for several weeks, and the Davis family was not allowed on board. Only the intervention of the Government emigration agent, after three weeks, persuaded the brokers to allow the family subsistence money.<sup>1</sup> William Bannister was in an even worse situation. He also booked his passage with the Belfast agent, Charles Allen, to sail to New York in the Endeavour, but when he arrived in Liverpool he discovered that the ship was not in port. Only after being summoned before the magistrates would the brokers agree to find the emigrants another passage in the Eleanor.<sup>2</sup> These agents in the country were supplemented by runners in Liverpool, who were employed to take emigrants to the office of the Robinsons. The runners were no more scrupulous than their employers in their methods of obtaining emigrants, or in

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1. C.O. 384/35. Low to Hay [List of frauds. This case was entered on 1 October 1833].
  2. Ibid. [21 October 1833]. For similar cases see C.O.384/35. Low to Hay, 3 March 1833. [7 January, 10 March 1834].

their treatment of them. Hugh Macarthy asked William Salmon, one of the Robinsons' men, to direct him to the office of Fitzhugh and Grimshaw, but was taken instead to that of Robinson Brothers, and only learnt his mistake after he had booked his passage. His brothers, who were in charge of the provisions, had already booked by a different ship, but only after the intervention of the Government agent was Macarthy's money returned.<sup>1</sup>

In their efforts to secure large numbers of passengers the firm of Robinson Brothers would sometimes sell more passages than the ship would hold, or book emigrants on vessels sailing to the wrong port, or even issue tickets for ships which they had not chartered. And often emigrants were kept in Liverpool long past the day fixed for sailing, without any compensation from the charterers. One example will serve to illustrate their methods. An emigrant who had booked a passage in a ship bound for New York arrived in Liverpool only to find that the Robinsons had no ship chartered for New York. After he had complained to the Government agent he was given a ticket for a passage by the ship Mersey, P. Donovan agent, but, when he went to the ship, he found that the charterers were Fitzhugh and Grimshaw, and

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1. C.O.384/32 Low to Hay. [List of complaints. 21 May 1833]. See also the frauds entered under 6 June 1833, 2 July 1833 in the same report, and the fraud entered under 11 October 1833 in C.O.384/35.

neither the Robinsons nor Donovan had any right to book passengers by that vessel. The price of passage was at last returned to the emigrant.<sup>1</sup> Many similar frauds were reported by the Government emigration agent,<sup>2</sup> and it is certain that many more never came to his notice. Emigrants who went alone to the charterers' office to complain were treated roughly. They were stormed at and threatened, and even the Government agent was treated with insolence.

The ships chartered by Robinson Brothers for the carriage of emigrants were often old, unseaworthy, and over-filled with a heavy cargo. The steerage passengers were crowded together in a very small space with all their belongings, and yet if these conditions led to disaster, as happened on several occasions, the firm refused to be held responsible for the perils of the seas, and refused to pay any compensation. The British brig General Brown, 350 tons register, bound for New York, was filled with ninety emigrants. Fifty four were put in a space twenty-six feet by seventeen, and five feet seven inches high, with their luggage, stores and provisions. The other forty-six passengers were in another compartment of about the same size, twenty-five feet six inches by nineteen feet three inches. The rest of the between

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1. C.O. 384/35. Low to Hay, 31 March 1834. [7 Jan. 1834].
  2. C.O. 384/32. Complaints entered under 25 May 1833, 4 June 1833, 6 June 1833.  
C.O. 384/35. Complaints entered under 21 October 1833, 7 Jan. 1834, 10 March 1834, 31 March 1834.

decks, and the hold, were filled with cargo. The longboat and two spare topmasts were stowed directly over the main hatchway so that there was insufficient light or air, and it was necessary to crawl on hands and knees to get down.<sup>1</sup> This was not an isolated example. In March 1834 the British barque Herald, 357 tons register, was chartered to carry one hundred and forty-two emigrants to New York. The vessel also carried three hundred tons of salt. It was thirty-four years old, and had not had any considerable repairs since 1816.<sup>2</sup> The same year the ship Henry, 336 tons register, was chartered to carry one hundred and thirty-four emigrants to New York, and loaded with iron, coals, crates and other merchandise. This vessel had to be abandoned off Newfoundland, and the survivors returned to Liverpool.<sup>3</sup>

The Liverpool house carried on a business in pre-paid passage tickets and remittances, in connection with Douglas Robinson and Co. of New York.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes bills drawn by the New York house on the Liverpool firm were repudiated, and the British consul in New York was instructed to warn emigrants against dealing with the two firms of passenger brokers.<sup>5</sup>

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1. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 5 June 1833.
  2. C.O. 384/35. Low to Hay, 24 March 1834.
  3. C.O. 384/35. Low to Hay, 23 October 1834.  
C.O. 384/38. Low to Hay, 17 Jan. 1835; 24 Jan. 1835.
  4. C.O. 384/35. Low to Hay, 7 July 1834.
  5. C.O. 386/20. Elliott to Low, 21 Nov. 1837.  
Elliott to Hodder, 21 Nov. 1837.  
C.O. 386/21. Elliott to Low, 30 Nov. 1837.  
Elliott to James Buchanan, 30 Nov. 1837.  
Elliott to Hodder, 1 December 1837.



But in spite of numerous complaints made against the Robinsons they continued to participate in the emigration trade, and as late as 1845 J.W. Robinson was prosecuted for falsifying a list of passengers.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most successful firms of passenger brokers was that of William Tapscott and Co., of Liverpool. William Tapscott was an American citizen living in Liverpool, and a partner in the house of W. and J.T. Tapscott of New York.<sup>2</sup> His advertisements began to appear in the Liverpool press in the early 1840s, at first in association with George Rippard and Son. The partnership was dissolved, and by 1847 Tapscott was advertising 'Tapscott's American Emigration Office'. The house was very successful and was reported to have sent out almost one fifth, about twenty-eight thousand, of the emigrants from Liverpool to America in 1849, in one hundred and forty-five ships.<sup>3</sup> Tapscott claimed to have sent out about twenty thousand emigrants from January to June, 1851.<sup>4</sup>

The house maintained a large establishment costing about sixty pounds a week.<sup>5</sup> The expenses included the payment of commission on passengers to agents in the principal towns, and to runners in Liverpool. Tapscott's agent in Manchester

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1. C.O. 384/78. Commissioners to Stephen, 11 March 1846.
  2. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.291.
  3. Liverpool Mercury, 12 Feb. 1850, p.100.
  4. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.255.
  5. Ibid. p.285.

was Samuel Saunders, who was also agent for the United States Land and Emigration Society.<sup>1</sup> In his office in Old Millgate, Saunders gave free information, booked passages, and sold land. From twelve to twenty runners were employed in Liverpool at ten shillings a week, plus a commission of from five to seven and a half per cent on each emigrant. The commission was also paid to any other runners who took passengers to Tapscott's office.<sup>2</sup> In addition to other types of propaganda, an emigrant's guide book was published and distributed to any applicant on the receipt of four postage stamps. Tapscott claimed that about fifty thousand copies had been sold in seven or eight years.<sup>3</sup> The pamphlet of twenty-four pages gave information on all aspects of emigration, rates of passage, and routes from New York inland.<sup>4</sup> The Liverpool house made arrangements with its partners in New York to forward emigrants to any part of the United States or Canada, 'on very reasonable terms'.<sup>5</sup> A private poor house and hospital was maintained in Williamsburg across the East River, to avoid forfeiting the bond money, which would have become due if any of their emigrants became chargeable. The

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1. See below, Chapter IV.

2. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.286.

3. Ibid. p.288.

4. Tapscott's Emigrant's Travelling Guide . . . . ., (Liverpool, 1848 ed.)

5. See advertisements. E.g. Liverpool Mercury 1844, p.244.

conditions in these private poor houses was bad, and that controlled by the Tapscotts was one of the worst.<sup>1</sup>

Half the business of the firm was done on commission, and the other half by chartering ships. The commission for procuring passengers was ten, twelve and a half, or fifteen per cent, and Tapscott estimated that he made five or six thousand pounds a year in this way. The broker had to 'advertize for and obtain the passengers, issue the contract tickets, clear the ship, muster the passengers, and see that the provisions of the Act are properly carried out.'<sup>2</sup> Other expenditure included the payment of runners, but even after deducting all such expenses, the business, conducted on a large scale was very profitable. Another source of profit was the provisions store, where passengers bought their supplies for the voyage, and which was situated conveniently near to the emigration office.<sup>3</sup> More money was made by the sale of pre-paid passage tickets, and the transference of remittances from America to the United Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> In 1850 the firm arranged for about seven thousand five hundred pre-paid passages, and five thousand in the six months from December 1850 to May 1851. The average price for a pre-paid passage was just over three

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1. R. Ernst, Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-63, (New York, 1949), p.26.

2. Report on the Passengers' Act, pp.285-6.

3. Ibid. p.289.

4. Ibid. pp.291-3.

pounds, so that in 1850 they brought in about twenty-five thousand pounds. The money was paid to the New York house, which sent an advice list to Liverpool. When the emigrant's passage had been arranged he was sent a circular telling him that he would be required to sail on a certain date. Between seventy and eighty thousand pounds were transferred from America as remittances in 1850, and W. Tapscott and Co., also issued drafts<sup>1</sup> in Liverpool payable on sight in New York,<sup>2</sup> or any part of the United States.<sup>3</sup>

The work of one Liverpool passenger broker fell outside the main activities of English emigration agents. Frederick Sabel concentrated on the shipment of Germans to the United States through England. There was no need for a special provision for Germans travelling via London, as many made arrangements in Germany for the complete journey to New York, and during their stay in London needed only to change from one ship to another. But a more elaborate organization was necessary for those German emigrants travelling through Liverpool. They crossed the North Sea from Hamburg to Hull, travelled across England to Liverpool, and there embarked for New York.

German emigration through England did not begin on a large scale until the late 1840s, but as early as 1817 it

1. Ibid. pp.288-9.

2. Advertisements, 1844.

3. Advertisements, 1850.



was reported that about seven hundred poor Germans had arrived in London from Holland on their way to America.<sup>1</sup> This, however, was an isolated instance, and the route followed was not a common one. Twenty years later the "Hull route" to the United States was being advertised in German newspapers, as an improvement on the direct route from Hamburg to New York. In 1838 steamers were crossing from Hamburg to Hull several times each week, taking three days for the journey. The journey across England to Liverpool took another three days, but, even so, this route effected a saving in both time and money. Through tickets to New York were sold in Hamburg, the emigrants were met at Hull by English-speaking German guides, who conducted them to Liverpool by canal, and there they embarked for America.<sup>2</sup> But apparently the route did not become very popular at that time. The flood of Germans pouring into England on their way to America really began in 1846. In that year the Emigration Commissioners reported as an entirely new occurrence, that over four thousand Germans had embarked from London for the United States, most of them having paid for the whole journey in Germany.<sup>3</sup> The only mention of the Hamburg to Hull route was that one hundred and forty-four Germans sailed from Hull to Quebec, having been

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1. Liverpool Mercury, 4 July 1817, p.3.

2. M.L. Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, p.194.

3. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Seventh General Report, pp.5, 41.

unable to procure a vessel direct from Hamburg.<sup>1</sup> German emigrants continued to pour into London<sup>2</sup> and provided easy victims for the less scrupulous of the emigration agents. Even the severe sentences passed on agents who defrauded German emigrants did not have the salutary effect anticipated by the Emigration Commissioners.<sup>3</sup> The German authorities always attempted to discourage emigration through England because of the extensive frauds practised.<sup>4</sup> But the numbers continued to increase, until, in 1852, it was estimated that nearly one fifth of the German emigration, about thirty-one thousand, travelled from English ports, chiefly London and Liverpool.<sup>5</sup> In 1853, 31,459 foreigners emigrated from the United Kingdom, 21,781 from Liverpool, and 9461 from London. Most of these were Germans who had contracted with shipowners to be conveyed from German ports to America, through the United Kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

To deal with this new German exodus the Hull route was revived. Agents were appointed in Germany to arrange the

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1. Ibid. p.150.
  2. C.O. 384/80. Commissioners to Stephen, 19 April 1847.
  3. Ibid. Lieut. Lean to Walcott, 3 June 1847.
  4. Liverpool Mercury, 10 May 1850, p.302.  
C.O. 384/86. 'Copy of an Ordinance ...', Hamburg, 30 July 1851.
  5. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Thirteenth General Report. [1847] pp.104-6. H.C. (1852-3). XL, 65.
  6. Ibid. Fourteenth General Report. [1833] p.13. H.C. (1854). XXVIII, 1.

contracts, advertisements appeared in the newspapers, and handbills in the public meeting places.<sup>1</sup> The journey was by steamer across the North Sea from Hamburg to Hull, and then by rail to Liverpool. Frederick Sabel, a London and Liverpool merchant of German origin, was very extensively engaged in this traffic. Until 1849 nearly all the German emigrants travelled through London, but in that year Sabel began to organize the service from Hull.<sup>2</sup> He had to combat a strong prejudice against Liverpool, which had acquired a very bad reputation for gross frauds on emigrants, and from the thousands of poverty-stricken Irish fleeing from the famine. According to his own statement, German emigration was not carried on via Hull to any great extent,<sup>3</sup> although as late as 1857, nearly three thousand emigrants were forwarded from Hamburg via Hull and Liverpool.<sup>4</sup>

Frederick Sabel was associated with Messrs. Rieger and Doctor of Frankfort-on-Main, and the firm operated in Frankfort, the North Sea ports, Hull and Liverpool. Contracts were made with steamers sailing to Hull from Antwerp, Rotterdam, Bremen and Hamburg, to carry the emigrants at a certain uniform

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1. M.L. Hansen, op.cit., pp.293-4.

2. Report on the Passengers' Act, pp.407-435. Evidence of F. Sabel.

3. Ibid. p.432.

4. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Eighteenth General Report. [2395] pp.257-9. H.C. (1857-8). XXIV, 401.

cheap rate.<sup>1</sup> In 1849 a similar contract was made with the Directors of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, and the Midland Railway Company. Each emigrant was to be carried from Goole to Liverpool for eight shillings and fourpence, about half the usual fare.<sup>2</sup> Because of these cheap rates Sabel's company could take passengers from Rotterdam to New York for £3.17s.6d. At first there was some complaint from the Germans because their customable luggage was separated from them on arrival in England until their embarkation at Liverpool, but the problem was solved by an agreement between the railway companies, the Customs and the Treasury. The Directors of the railway companies gave a general bond to the Customs in £2000 and provided lock-up vans distinguished by the Royal Arms. These vans started from the quay rails at Hull or Goole, occupied by the emigrants and their luggage, and on arrival in Liverpool were transferred from the truck to a frame on wheels, and then dragged down to the customs depôt, some bonded warehouse, or the ship.<sup>3</sup>

Messrs. Sabel and Co. controlled all stages of the journey from the time when the intending emigrants contracted

1. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.432.
2. Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. Proceedings of Traffic Committee, Vol.3, 1847-1851, p.110. 22 October 1849.
3. The Emigrant's Messenger, 3 August 1850, p.6.  
Mark Lane Express, 3 May 1852, p.6. Notes the arrival of 500 Germans in Liverpool by special train from Goole.



with agents in their own village or town, until their arrival in New York. One payment was made to cover all expenses. The emigrants were collected in the European ports, put on the steamers and carried across the North Sea to Hull or Goole. On arrival in England they and their baggage were transferred to the railway vans and conducted across country to Liverpool. At Liverpool they were again met and taken to an Emigrant's Home in Moorfields, only a few minutes from the station, and here they stayed until the ship sailed. Usually their passage was arranged with the Black Star line of packets, although the emigrants were free to make their own arrangements if they wished. When they had arrived in New York the emigrants were recommended to go to the British Emigrant Protective Society for help and advice.<sup>1</sup>

Sabel's activities were not confined to German emigrants alone, although the organization was established for their convenience. Agents were also stationed in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and any English emigrants who contracted with the company proceeded to Hull and then followed the usual route to New York.<sup>2</sup> The Emigrant's Home also was not exclusively for the use of the Germans. This Home was the first of its kind to be opened. It was established in May 1850 in an abandoned hotel in Moorfields, very near the new Lancashire and Yorkshire station in Tithebarn Street,<sup>3</sup> so

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1. Report on the Passengers' Act, pp.430-431.

2. Ibid. pp.430, 433.

3. Now Exchange Station. It was opened in May 1850.

that the danger of the foreign emigrants being enticed away by the numerous runners waiting at the station was reduced. The Home, which was used almost entirely by Germans, English and some Scots,<sup>1</sup> was licensed to hold three hundred emigrants,<sup>2</sup> but was reported to be capable of holding almost one thousand at a time. Most of the accommodation was for steerage passengers, although there was some provision made for cabin passengers.<sup>3</sup> The charge was one shilling for a bed, but no bedding, and three meals, or two shillings for the better class of emigrant whom Sabel had agreed to convey right through to New York.<sup>4</sup> The single men, single women, and married people were put into separate rooms, a large room holding about seventy people being usually allotted to the married couples.<sup>5</sup> The Emigration Commissioners gave their approval to the establishment, and appointed an additional medical inspector to supervise such Homes.<sup>6</sup> But the lodging house keepers, and others interested in the emigration trade,

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1. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.415.
  2. Ibid. p.407.
  3. Liverpool Mercury, 3 May 1850, p.286.  
Emigrant's Messenger, 25 May 1850, p.8.
  4. Report on the Passengers' Act, pp.411-412.
  5. Ibid. pp.413-414.
  6. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Eleventh General Report. [1383] pp.2-3. H.C. (1851). XXII, 333.

were hostile. Sometimes emigrants going to the Home were forcibly prevented from reaching it by 'man-catchers',<sup>1</sup> and, even if force were not used, the emigrants were waylaid and persuaded to go to some lodging house instead of the Home.<sup>2</sup> The lodging house keepers enrolled themselves into the 'Liverpool Emigrants' and Householders' Protective Society', which pledged itself to do everything possible to break the monopoly of the Emigrants' Homes.<sup>3</sup> The Home was also unpopular with other passenger brokers, who complained that the emigrants staying in Sabel's Home had to book by one line,<sup>4</sup> the Black Star. Sabel denied that there was any compulsion, and he was supported by W.H. Fitzhugh, a member of the firm of Crook and Guion, which controlled the Black Star line.<sup>5</sup>

For a time Sabel and Co. worked in conjunction with the 'Universal Emigration and Colonization Company'.<sup>6</sup> Sabel made all the arrangements for forwarding the first party of emigrants sent out by the Company to Texas. He saw to the fitting and provisioning of the vessel, and the emigrants stayed at his Home in Moorfields, while waiting to embark.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Liverpool Mercury, 17 June 1851, p.472; 20 January 1852, p.56.
  2. Report on the Passengers' Act, pp.407-8, 434.
  3. Ibid. pp.714-745. Evidence of M. Dalton, innkeeper.
  4. Ibid. pp.293-296. Evidence of William Tapscott.
  5. Ibid. p.662.
  6. The Emigrant's Messenger, 16 June 1850, p.1. See below, Chapter IV.
  7. Ibid. 14 September 1850, pp.2, 3.

The association had been broken, however, by the end of 1850. In 1853 Frederick Sabel was advertising the 'Washington Line of Packets', and at the end of the year was acting as a partner in the firm of 'Sabel and Cortis'<sup>1</sup>. He still continued to organize German emigration through England, and in 1855 wrote to the Emigration Commissioners expressing concern at the effect of the Foreign Enlistment Bill on the trade. Germans believed that they would be compelled to serve in the British army, and he requested an assurance that this was not so.<sup>2</sup> Sabel still held a licence to act as a passenger broker in 1857,<sup>3</sup> and a year later was accused of a fraud on an emigrant to New York. On investigation it was proved that the cause of complaint was due to carelessness by his clerk.<sup>4</sup>

Passenger brokers did much to facilitate the journey of the emigrants by the sale of 'inland passage tickets', that is tickets which would be valid from the port of embarkation to the emigrant's destination, over railroad or canal from New York. Advertisements of the sale of inland passage tickets were common. For example, Robinson Brothers

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1. Mark Lane Express, 4 July 1853, p.16, and foll. numbers.

2. C.O. 384/94. (Sabel and Cortis to Commissioners, 11 Jan. 1855)  
 (Commissioners to Sabel and Cortis, 15 Jan. 1855)  
 in, Commissioners to Merivale, 20 Jan. 1855.

3. C.O. 384/98. 7 March 1857.

4. C.O. 386/84. Commissioners to Merivale, 11 Jan. 1858.



agreed to convey emigrants from Boston to Albany, or to towns in the British colonies.<sup>1</sup> In 1849 C. Hill of Liverpool announced that he had been appointed sole agent in Great Britain for forwarding emigrant passengers by railway and steamers to all parts of the interior of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa, and to Canada West.<sup>2</sup> Four years later Eleazor Jones, formerly agent in Liverpool of the Philadelphia Emigrant's Friend Society, announced that he had made arrangements with the agents of the New York and Erie Railroad to convey emigrants from New York to all parts of the United States and Canada. The arrangement was approved by the Government emigration agent, and by a number of passenger brokers.<sup>3</sup> A London passenger agent in 1856 issued railway tickets to any town in the interior of America.<sup>4</sup>

Many complaints were made in the United States that tickets sold in England proved to be worthless, or if not worthless, they had been sold at an exorbitant price. In 1857 the New York Commissioners of Emigration approached the Secretary of State on the fraud. Representations were made to the Foreign Secretary by the United States Minister in

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1. Emigration Gazette, 14 May 1842.
  2. Manchester Examiner and Times, 14 July 1849, p.8.
  3. Liverpool Mercury, 25 March 1853, p.229.
  4. Emigration Record and Colonial Journal, 15 July 1856, p.1.

London, and through the Foreign Office to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. The United States consul in London reported that the system prevailed so universally in England and on the Continent that it would be difficult to abolish the practice of issuing inland passage tickets.<sup>1</sup> The English Emigration Commissioners were not convinced of the fraudulent nature of the practice. There had been no official complaint about the abuse of inland passage tickets before 1856. In that year a Liverpool agent was accused of issuing a ticket on a house in New Orleans without authority, but the Commissioners were reluctant to issue a warning against the purchase of the tickets without more evidence, 'as an arrangement which enables an Emigrant in this Country to provide by a single contract for conveyance to his ultimate destination would generally be advantageous to him.'<sup>2</sup> But at the representation of the United States Minister it was decided to display a warning notice in the docks.<sup>3</sup> Later, when specific cases of fraud were brought to the notice of the Emigration Commissioners, they opposed the renewal of the guilty broker's licence, but not always successfully, as the local magistrates were responsible for the granting of licences.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Message on Contracts for Emigrants' Passage, Senate Doc. No.26, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.VII.

2. C.O. 386/83. Commissioners to Merivale, 27 May 1856.

3. C.O. 386/84. Commissioners to Merivale, 11 March 1857.

4. C.O. 386/84, Murdoch to Elliott, 30 November, 6 December, 17 December 1858; 14 Jan., 8 April, 1859.

An important service provided by the passenger brokers helped to facilitate the emigration of the poorer classes. The brokers arranged to remit money from emigrants in America to their friends at home, and also sold pre-paid passage tickets. The greater part of the money sent back in remittances or as pre-paid tickets was from the Irish, but many English also sent for their friends and relations. The emigrant in the United States paid for the ticket to an agent of an English firm, and in return received a certificate, which he sent direct to his friend at home. The American agent sent an advice list to the firm in Liverpool, and as soon as a passage had been arranged for him, the intending emigrant received a circular telling him that he would be required to sail on a certain date. The certificate sent to the emigrant was in the form of an order to a certain agent to give the bearer, and a number of others, a passage to New York, probably by the first ship. Most of the firms concerned with emigration on a large scale arranged for the sale of pre-paid passage tickets. In 1850 William Tapscott dealt with about seven thousand, and the house of Crook and

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1. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.64.  
Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Thirteenth General Report, p.10.
  2. For an example see C.O. 384/41, Certificate from Douglas Robinson and Co. re passage of James Sweeney, enclosed in Shuttleworth to Grey, 10 May 1836.
  3. Report on the Passengers' Act, pp.291-3.
  4. Ibid. p.59.
  5. Ibid. pp.292-3.

Guion sold about two thousand five hundred pre-paid tickets each year.<sup>1</sup> They also traded in remittances, as did other firms, such as Brown, Shipley and Co., and, from the end of 1851, Baring Brothers.<sup>2</sup> Some of the recipients of pre-paid tickets, especially the Irish, were so poor that the brokers had to provide them with food and lodging, and sometimes clothes, while waiting for the ship to sail.<sup>3</sup>

The trade in remittances and pre-paid passages was marked by the perpetration of frauds, by such firms as Robinson Brothers of Liverpool and their New York partners,<sup>4</sup> but the system was of great service in facilitating the emigration of the poor. The Emigration Commissioners issued a notice giving advice on pre-paid passages,<sup>5</sup> and in 1851 paid a tribute to those sending remittances, expressing

'the highest admiration for the generosity and good feeling of those who are capable of such sacrifices and so much self-denial for the sake of the friends whom they had left behind them.'<sup>6</sup>

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1. Ibid. p.667.
  2. Liverpool Mercury, 30 December 1851, p.1028.
  3. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.294.
  4. C.O. 386/20. Elliot to Low, 21 November 1837.  
Elliot to Hodder, 21 November 1837.  
C.O. 386/21. Elliot to Low, 30 November 1837.  
Elliot to James Buchanan, 30 November 1837.  
Elliot to Hodder, 1 December 1837.  
See also the dispatches from Lieut. Low in C.O. 384/32, 35, 39, and from Lieut. Shuttleworth in C.O. 384/41.
  5. Colonization Circular, March 1847, No.7, p.22.
  6. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Eleventh General Report, p.2.



From the beginning, emigrants, especially those travelling from Liverpool, were subject to gross imposition and fraud from the multitude of persons who made a living from the transportation of passengers to America - passenger brokers and their agents, runners and porters, boatmen, lodging house keepers and shopkeepers. Their methods were described, and prospective emigrants were warned, in newspapers and journals, guide books and published letters, and in official reports. The comparatively few cases which reached the courts were given full publicity in the local newspapers,<sup>1</sup> but through the years the chorus of complaint increased rather than abated. The practices described in 1817 were still flourishing forty years later, and to a greater extent with the increase in the numbers of the emigrants. A correspondent of the Liverpool Mercury in 1819 described the 'villany' of those engaged in the emigrant trade,<sup>2</sup> and almost thirty years later they were called 'a swarm .... of unclean things'.<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant Hodder, the Government emigration agent at Liverpool 'characterised the emigration system as one vast combination of fraud, with the most extensive ramifications.'<sup>4</sup> And Sir George Stephen, a prominent citizen

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1. Eg. Thos. Magee v. P. O'Neill. Detailed account in Lieut. Low's dispatches in C.O. 384/32 and the Liverpool Mercury, Vol. XXIII (1833).
  2. Liverpool Mercury, 19 February 1819, p.269.
  3. Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, Vol.1, No.4, p.26. (1848).
  4. Liverpool Mercury, 10 May 1850, p.302.

of Liverpool summed up general opinion when he said,

'...the emigrant is exposed to fraud at every one of these stages. The first is, that which precedes his arrival at Liverpool. I date the second from his arrival at Liverpool to his embarkation, and the third during the passage....'<sup>1</sup>

The evidence given before the Select Committee on the Passengers' Act in 1851 details the type of imposition to which emigrants were subjected during the period of great emigration in the late 1840s and early fifties. This evidence, plus a number of reports prepared by responsible persons in a position to know the true facts, confirms the statements commonly made about the emigration business. Gross misrepresentations were made by interested parties to induce people to emigrate, money was extorted during the preparations for the voyage, and conditions on board ship were often very bad. In 1822 the Liverpool merchants composing the American Chamber of Commerce set up a committee to enquire into the impositions practised on emigrants, and its report was presented early in 1823.<sup>2</sup> Ten years later Lieutenant Robert Low, the first of the Government Emigration Agents, submitted a report to the Colonial Office, entitled 'An Exposition of Frauds upon Emigrants.'<sup>3</sup> A third account of frauds on emigrants was issued by the firm of Brown, Shipley and Co. of Liverpool and London, to persons making enquiries about

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1. Report on the Passengers' Act, p.299.
  2. American Chamber of Commerce, Liverpool. Minute Book, Vol.1, pp.278-281. 18 February 1823.
  3. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 19 December 1833.

a passage.<sup>1</sup> The earliest report described some of the 'iniquitous practices of a number of persons styling themselves Passenger Brokers', and William Brown said in 1842, 'The schemes attempted to get hold of the Money by designing parties are so various it is impossible to expose them all.' Common complaints were of the excess over-loading of the vessels, of emigrants being detained in port for days or even weeks after the advertised time of sailing, of the chartering of unseaworthy ships, of inadequate water supply and bad provisions, of emigrants being induced to sail to ports far distant from their destination, and of the collusion between all the people in the business for the sake of extortion. Charges were made for every minor service, and English money changed for American at a great loss to the emigrant.

These conditions in the principal ports of the United Kingdom led to the appointment of Government Agents to assist the emigrants.<sup>2</sup> The first official government body to deal with emigration had been set up in 1831, when five commissioners were appointed, to collect and diffuse information on each colony, and to make contracts with shipowners on behalf of the guardians of the poor. The Commissioners were dismissed in August 1832, and for several years there was no body dealing specifically with emigration.<sup>3</sup> But in January 1833 Charles

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1. C.O. 384/73. Brown, Shipley & Co. to Stephen, 15 Jan. 1842.

2. F.H. Hitchins, The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, Philadelphia, 1931).

3. Ibid. pp.10-14.



Horsfall, Mayor of Liverpool, wrote to the Colonial Secretary, Viscount Goderich, suggesting

'that some respectable person should be appointed Agent here, to whom parties intending to emigrate can apply for correct information, as to their obtaining passages, and who can advise them when they reach here, as well as assist them, in taking care of their Money, and see to their proper accommodation in a seaworthy Vessel.'

The Mayor suggested that an active Naval officer should be appointed.<sup>1</sup> Goderich's successor, E.G. Stanley, agreed that the experiment should be tried at Liverpool, and, if successful, be applied to other ports.<sup>2</sup> The Treasury concurred, and arranged to pay the officer full pay, plus one hundred pounds a year for office rent and a clerk.<sup>3</sup>

Lieutenant Robert Low, R.N., was appointed agent in Liverpool, where he opened an office on May 5th 1833, at No.33 Union Street, near the docks. Low's appointment was successful, therefore in 1834 agents were also appointed to Bristol, Belfast, Greenock, Cork, Limerick, Dublin and Leith. A year later an agent was appointed to Sligo, and early in 1837 Lieutenant James S. Lean became agent in London.<sup>4</sup> These agents were under the direct supervision of the Colonial Office until 1837, when Thomas Frederick Elliot was appointed Agent-General for Emigration.<sup>5</sup> His activities were particularly

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1. C.O. 384/33. Horsfall to Goderich, 4 Jan. 1833.
  2. Ibid. Stanley to Althorp (private), 20 April 1833.
  3. Ibid. Stewart to Hay, 3 May 1833.
  4. F.H. Hitchins, op.cit., pp.16-20.
  5. Ibid. pp.21-22.

concerned with New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, but he also supervised the agents at the ports. In 1840 the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission was established with Robert Torrens, Edward Ernest Villiers, and T.F. Elliot as the first commissioners.<sup>1</sup> From then onwards the Government agents were supervised by the Commission.

The Commissioners and their predecessors were only indirectly concerned with emigration to the United States, in so far as it was their duty to enforce the provisions of the Passengers' Acts, and this they left almost entirely to the agents at the ports. But they did to a certain extent facilitate the passage of all emigrants, by the dissemination of information, both through annual reports and official publications, and by correspondence and miscellaneous notices.<sup>2</sup> The first number of the Colonization Circular was issued in May 1843. The information given related almost entirely to the colonies, but special notices were printed from time to time, and information on the passengers' acts and general advice to emigrants would be of value whatever the destination of the emigrant. The annual reports also contained only incidental information useful to the emigrant to the United States. But from time to time the authorities put out notices for the benefit of emigrants to America. In 1836 Lieutenant

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1. Ibid. pp.37 ff.

2. Ibid. pp.97 ff.

Low drafted a handbill to warn emigrants against fraud. The suggestion was adopted, although the wording was altered, and a printed handbill, 'Caution to Emigrants', was posted in the docks.<sup>1</sup> The notice was not as effective as Low hoped, because many of the emigrants were caught by the runners before reaching the docks. Another difficulty was that many of the Irish emigrants, about nine-tenths of all the emigrants sailing from Liverpool, were illiterate.<sup>2</sup> Many years later, a similar warning notice was placed in the Liverpool docks.<sup>3</sup> Information was given on the best time to sail to New Orleans,<sup>4</sup> and a caution issued against emigrating to Texas.<sup>5</sup> Other notices gave advice to emigrants arriving a New York,<sup>6</sup> and information on the routes west from Quebec.<sup>7</sup>

The agents at the ports were responsible for the enforcement of the provisions of the Passengers' Acts, but

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1. C.O. 384/41. Low to Stephen, 24 July 1836; Minutes by Murdoch and Stephen, 5 August 1836; C.O. to Low, 12 August 1836.
  2. Liverpool Mercury, 16 March 1838, p.83; 5 November 1841, p.366.
  3. Ibid. 23 January 1852, p.68.
  4. Colonization Circular, No.6, p.16, March 1846.
  5. Ibid. No.17, p.47, April 1857.  
Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Twelfth General Report. [1499]. H.C. (1852). XVIII. 161.
  6. Colonization Circular, No.7, p.22, March 1847.
  7. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Fourteenth General Report, pp.234-237.  
Fifteenth General Report. [1953] pp.139-141. H.C. (1854-55). XVII, 1.

suggestions for amendments and drafts of new bills were drawn up by the Commissioners. Other useful work was the collection of information on the laws in force in the United States concerning passenger ships and the admission of immigrants. The British Minister in Washington, and the consuls in the American ports supplied the information through the Foreign Office. But probably the most useful work of the Commission, from the point of view of emigrants to the United States, was the large amount of correspondence between the Board and individuals throughout the country, requesting information.<sup>1</sup>

Another aspect of the work of the Government authorities is illustrated by the arrangements made, on behalf of the Treasury, for the emigration of a number of Polish refugees in 1839, from Liverpool to New York. The passages were engaged and provisions found by Lieutenant Low.<sup>2</sup>

It was, however, the Government agents at the ports who most facilitated emigration to America in an official capacity. They were stationed at all the ports of the United Kingdom from which there was a considerable number of emigrants.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Examples are scattered throughout the letterbooks of the Commissioners in C.O. 386.
  2. C.O. 386/22. Elliot to Jebbs, 4, 20, 22 March 1839;  
18 April 1839.  
C.O. 386/24. Elliot to Jebbs, 14, 27 November 1839.
  3. F.H. Hitchins, The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, pp.16-20, 26-28, and Chapter VI, pp.159-179.



In England there were agents at Liverpool, Bristol, Plymouth, London and Southampton. The first office was opened in Liverpool in 1833, followed by Bristol in 1834, London in 1837, Plymouth in 1844, and Southampton in 1853. Only the Bristol office was closed before 1861. It was decided in 1840 that the amount of emigration from the port was insufficient to justify the continuance of an emigration office. The Liverpool office was held by a number of agents. On his death in 1840, Lieutenant Robert Low was succeeded by Lieutenant John Henry, who was transferred from Bristol. Henry was succeeded by Lieutenant T.E. Hodder five years later, and transferred to Dublin because of ill-health. Hodder was dismissed for neglect of duty in 1851, and Captain C.G.E. Patey was transferred to Liverpool from Glasgow. He resigned and went to Londonderry in 1853, and Captain C.F. Schomberg was transferred to Liverpool from Dublin. In 1859 Schomberg was succeeded by Commander T.H. Prior, who had been an assistant at Liverpool since 1847. The Liverpool agent had been allowed an assistant in 1838, two assistants in 1849, three in 1851, and five in 1852. The number of assistants was reduced to four in 1856, and three in 1862, although it was later increased again to five. Lieutenant Henry was the agent at Bristol from 1834 to 1840, when the office was closed and he was transferred to Liverpool. The Plymouth office was opened in 1844, when Lieutenant S.H. Hemmans was transferred from Greenock. On his dismissal in



1847, for 'want of alertness and regularity', he was succeeded by Lieutenant Carew, who resigned in 1855. Captain Patey, who had had a year in Londonderry and a year in Glasgow since resigning from Liverpool, now went to Plymouth. On his resignation three years later Commander J.L.R. Stoll was transferred to Plymouth from Sligo. Mr. E.H. Smith was in charge of the government office at Southampton throughout its existence, from 1853 to 1865. Lieutenant J.S. Lean was the chief agent in London from 1837 to 1868. He was allowed one assistant in 1840, two in 1847, and four assistants from 1852 onwards.

The duties of the Government Emigration Agents were to correspond with parish officers and others who might apply for information, to see that agreements with emigrants were duly performed, and to ensure that the provisions of the Passengers' Acts were strictly observed.<sup>1</sup> Until 1833 the enforcement of the laws had been in the hands of the customs officers at the ports, and had been easily evaded. Now the government agents examined all passenger vessels subject to the Acts, and prosecuted all those found guilty of infringements.<sup>2</sup> But many complaints brought to the notice of the agents were not punishable under the Passenger Acts, and could be remedied only by an action at civil law. This was

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1. Colonization Circular, No.1, p.2, May 1843.

2. See General Reports.

impossible for the emigrants, who had neither the time nor the money, but by their interference the agents were often able to obtain some redress. They gave free advice and information either by letter or interview, and did much to facilitate the passage of the emigrants, and to protect them from imposition.

The men appointed to the posts of Government emigration agents were zealous and hard working officials. When Lieutenant Henry at Bristol found that his office was unknown, he inserted an advertisement in the newspapers and distributed a large number of handbills for fifty or sixty miles around the city, to inform emigrants of the gratuitous assistance they could obtain from him.<sup>1</sup> The majority of the emigrants to the United States sailed from Liverpool, and the activities of Robert Low, the first agent appointed, will serve to illustrate the work undertaken to a greater or lesser degree at all the ports with Government agents. Low worked unceasingly on behalf of the emigrants leaving the port of Liverpool, earning the praise of the local authorities, and the enmity of all the dubious passenger brokers.

He deluged the Colonial Office with suggestions for the reform of the emigration trade. His first report dwelt on the inadequacy of the provisions of the Passengers' Act of 1828, and how easily they were evaded.<sup>2</sup> He constantly

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1. C.O. 384/35. Henry to Hay, 1 April, 1 July, 4 Sept. 1834.

2. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 14 May 1833.

suggested that the Government agents should have the power to give summary redress for impositions on emigrants. The majority of the cases of fraud which came before him did not come within the jurisdiction of the Mayor's court, and could only be redressed by an action at common law.<sup>1</sup> Although he frequently had offenders summoned before the magistrates and sometimes secured the return of money fraudulently obtained, there was no power of enforcing the return, if the offending parties refused, or did not appear in court. One such fraud reported by Low in 1835 induced the Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Colonial Office, W.E. Gladstone, to inquire whether a clause could not be drawn, giving summary redress before magistrates for frauds upon emigrants. James Stephen replied that he did not see how this type of fraud could be prevented by law. 'The effect of Lying, on the one hand, and Credulity, on the other, must, as it would seem, be that of a perpetual generation of frauds; nor can I perceive how you could remedy this, except by a law of so comprehensive a nature as to be productive of more and greater evils than it could cure... If you denounce Penalties against any fraud practised on an Emigrant, whatever may be the evasion under which it lurks, then you introduce a new Principle into the Law of England....'<sup>2</sup>

Low made many other suggestions to improve the lot of

1. Ibid. 'Suggestions for the consideration of the ... Secretary of State.'
2. C.O. 384/38. Low to Hay, 8 April 1835.  
Minute by W.E.G. to Mr. Stephen, 11 April.  
Reply by J.S. to Mr. Gladstone, 15 April.

the emigrant. He submitted a plan for an emigrant ship,<sup>1</sup> and suggestions for the regulation of provisions, water casks, boats, size of berths, and surgeons.<sup>2</sup> He made a list of the most respectable lodging house keepers, to whom he directed any emigrant who asked for information.<sup>3</sup> He constantly complained of the inadequacies of the Passengers' Acts, reporting how the most disreputable of the passenger brokers intended to avoid coming within the provisions of the acts, and submitted his own proposals.<sup>4</sup>

The condition of emigrant ships sailing from the port of Liverpool was also a subject of complaint in Lieutenant Low's reports to the Colonial Office. Although he remonstrated with the captains and charterers, only rarely was he able to persuade them to make any alterations. Of the many cases of bad conditions on board emigrant ships reported by Low,<sup>5</sup> the example of the ship Cumberland may be taken to illustrate the activities of the Government agents on the emigrants' behalf.

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1. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 27 November 1833.
  2. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 19 August 1833.  
C.O. 384/35. Low to Hay, 11 January 1834, 1 March 1834.
  3. C.O. 384/35. Low to Hay, 8 April 1834.
  4. See Low's despatches in C.O. 384/32, 35, 38, 44.
  5. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 14 May 1833.  
C.O. 384/35. Low to Earle, 14 Jan. 1834; 23 October 1834.  
C.O. 384/38. Low to Hay, 17 Jan., 24 Jan., 7 March, 26 March, 17 Sept. 1835.  
C.O. 384/41. Low to Stephen, 1 May, 10 May, 24 July, 30 July 1836.  
C.O. 384/52. Elliot to Stephen, 24 July 1839.  
C.O. 386/22. Elliot to James Buchanan, 8 March 1839.



On October 2nd 1833 Lieutenant Low reported that the ship Cumberland, bound from Liverpool to New York, and chartered by Robinson Brothers, had eighty-six emigrants crowded together with their belongings, in a space twenty-five feet by twenty-four feet six inches. The twenty-three year old ship was also carrying a cargo of iron, salt and earthenware, and forty-four tons of water, provisions and coals. Low did not believe that the ship could survive in bad weather, and therefore he remonstrated with the Robinsons, but without success.<sup>1</sup> The next day the Agent persuaded the Collector of Customs not to give the ship a port clearance until the charterers complied with the suggestions of Lloyd's surveyor. They agreed to some minor alterations for the comfort of the emigrants, but refused to send either the passengers or the cargo by a different vessel, therefore Lieutenant Low reluctantly allowed the ship to sail on October 4th.<sup>2</sup> On October 21st the ship returned to Liverpool having sprung a leak. It had only been saved by throwing overboard part of the cargo.<sup>3</sup> The charterers had persuaded some of the emigrants to complain about Low's interference. The day after the Cumberland sailed from Liverpool, a notice appeared in a local paper signed by the passengers, thanking Robinson

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1. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 2 October 1833.

2. Ibid. Low to Hay, 5 October 1833.

3. Ibid. Low to Hay, 22 October 1833.



Brothers for their kind treatment. The emigrants complained that if it had not been for the 'interference of a party, quite uncalled for, and altogether annoying and vexatious' the ship would have sailed three days earlier.<sup>1</sup> After their enforced return to Liverpool the emigrants signed a statement in the Government Emigration Office declaring the newspaper letter to be false, and thanking the agent for his efforts on their behalf. It is probable that the passengers signed both statements with equal willingness.

The charterers were summoned before the magistrates, who recommended that they should help to make good the emigrants' losses. But they refused, and as the magistrates had no power of compulsion, the case was dismissed.<sup>2</sup> After an examination of the ship, it was discovered that the repairs would take about two months, so Lieutenant Low opened a subscription in Liverpool to support the emigrants during the delay.<sup>3</sup> He wrote to Robinson Brothers for information as to their intentions, and requesting a list of those emigrants whose provisions and clothes had been spoiled, and who were unable to lay in another stock. The brokers replied that they could not consider themselves responsible 'for the perils of the seas', but they would cheerfully contribute towards any subscription, and if possible would make arrangements to send

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1. Liverpool Chronicle, 5 October 1833.

2. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 24 October 1833.

3. Ibid. Low to Hay, 4 November 1833.

the emigrants by another vessel.<sup>1</sup> By November 7th less than forty pounds had been subscribed, therefore Low arranged for the emigrants to be admitted into the workhouse.<sup>2</sup> Soon afterwards, they were given a passage to New York in the ship *Symmetry*, on condition that they took no legal steps against the Robinsons. Low accepted the arrangement on behalf of the emigrants, and used the subscription money to buy provisions. Fifty-two of the original eighty-six emigrants sailed in the *Symmetry*. Seven had died, some had returned home, and some had gone to America on other ships, forfeiting their original passage money.<sup>3</sup> In February, Low had to report that the *Symmetry* had been abandoned at sea and the emigrants returned to Cork. Twenty-seven of the survivors travelled to Liverpool but Low could not help them. He persuaded the Robinsons to give them five pounds to be divided amongst them, and obtained passes for those whose homes were in Ireland.<sup>4</sup>

Attempts were made to assist emigrants whose vessels had been forced to put back to port damaged. For example, the emigrant brig *Katharine*, bound from Belfast to New York, was wrecked at the mouth of the Mersey. The charterers would only repay the hospital money of one dollar for each passenger, therefore Lieutenant Low arranged for the emigrants to be

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1. Ibid. Correspondence enclosed.
  2. Ibid. Low to Hay, 7 November 1833.
  3. Ibid. Low to Hay, 14 November 1833.
  4. C.O. 384/35. Low to Hay, 20 Feb., 26 Feb., 1834.

housed in the poorhouse. He then opened a subscription for their relief among the citizens of Liverpool. Ninety pounds, seventeen shillings and sixpence was collected and distributed among the emigrants. Those who wished to return home were given passes by the parish officer.<sup>1</sup> Later the same year, on June 10th 1836, the emigrant barque Thomas of Whitehaven sailed from Liverpool for New York with one hundred and four passengers. The vessel sprang a leak and had to put back to Liverpool on June 25th. Low called for a survey of the vessel. Eighty tons of pig-iron were removed, the rest of the cargo restowed, the vessel caulked in several places and made seaworthy, so that it was able to sail again on July 5th. During the delay Low obtained one shilling a day for each passenger, and, as many of the provisions had been damaged by salt water, he persuaded the owner to put on board four hundredweight of biscuit and sixty bushels of potatoes, for the emigrants.<sup>2</sup>

An important part of Lieutenant Low's work was the protection of emigrants from the actions of fraudulent passenger brokers. Soon after his appointment he drew up 'An Exposition of Frauds upon Emigrants' outlining the growth of the emigration business in Liverpool, and making suggestions for the protection of emigrants, including the licensing of

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1. C.O. 384/41. Low to Stephen, 1 May, 10 May 1836.

2. Ibid. Low to Stephen, 24 July 1836.

passenger agents. He investigated hundreds of complaints, and by his intervention secured some redress for the complainants. Three firms of passenger brokers in particular, Beckett and Co., Robinson Brothers, and P.W. Byrnes and Co., repeatedly defrauded emigrants, but in spite of Low's interference they remained active for many years. By 1851, the firm of P.W. Byrnes and Co. was advertising as 'the oldest established and most extensive House in the Trade', and it claimed that no emigrant had ever had 'just cause of complaint'. The house shipped large numbers of emigrants across the Atlantic and had offices in Liverpool, Dublin, New York and New Orleans.<sup>1</sup>

The action taken against William Salmon illustrates the way in which Lieutenant Low attempted to control those men in the emigration business who preyed upon the unsuspecting. William Salmon was an old soldier and a pensioner, employed by Oliver Beckett and the Robinsons. Low summoned him before the magistrates several times, but as this had no effect in checking his impositions on emigrants, Low wrote to the Colonial Office requesting that Salmon should be threatened with loss of his pension, if he did not mend his ways.<sup>2</sup> Not only did he defraud emigrants, but both he and his employers were exceedingly insolent to Lieutenant Low. On a request from the Colonial Office, the Board of Ordnance warned Salmon that his pension would be stopped if there were any

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1. 1851 advertisements, e.g. in the Liverpool Mercury.

2. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 13 July 1833.



further complaints against him.<sup>1</sup> Only a month later Salmon was again summoned before the Mayor, and Low threatened him with the loss of his pension.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon Salmon wrote to the Board of Ordnance and to Lord Melbourne, asking for a copy of the charges against him and desiring not to be condemned unheard.<sup>3</sup> Complaints continued to be made against Salmon, so in November 1833 the Colonial Office again approached the Board of Ordnance. The Board's store-keeper at Chester was directed to proceed to Liverpool to inquire into the charges against Salmon.<sup>4</sup> The enquiry continued for four days, Salmon appearing each day with his legal adviser and a number of fellow passenger agents.<sup>5</sup> The store-keeper reported that the enquiry had not uncovered anything detrimental to Salmon's character. The Board of Ordnance attributed his attitude to the Government Emigration Agent to 'infirmity of temper',<sup>6</sup> and merely recommended another caution.<sup>7</sup> Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, disagreed. He believed that Salmon had been active in the system of imposition on poor and ignorant men, and he requested the Board to send a strong

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1. C.O. 384/33. Butler to Hay, 22 July 1833.  
Butler to Salmon, 22 July 1833, (copy).
  2. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 4 October 1833.
  3. C.O. 384/33. Salmon to Sec. of the Board of Ordnance,  
3 Sept. 1833.  
Salmon to Lord Melbourne, 4 Sept. 1833.
  4. C.O. 384/33. Byham to Hay, 8 November 1833.
  5. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 23 November 1833.
  6. C.O. 384/36. Byham to Hay, 6 January 1834.
  7. Ibid. Minute by Stanley, 12 January 1834.



expression of its disapprobation of Salmon's conduct. It seems that the reprimand at last had the desired effect, as Lieutenant Low made no more complaints of Salmon's conduct. On the other hand Salmon was merely an employee, and the frauds he perpetrated were on behalf of firms which continued to act in a dubious manner.

Lieutenant Low's activities in Liverpool earned him the enmity of some of the passenger brokers. A few months after his appointment he was accused by George Sherlock of favouritism.<sup>1</sup> Sherlock stated that on August 20th 1833, an emigrant engaged a passage to New York with his firm. Two hours later he was taken by Lieutenant Low to the office of Messrs. Fitzhugh and Grimshaw, where he broke his engagement with Sherlock and took a passage with Fitzhugh and Grimshaw, on the same ship. The two firms had been working together, but since they had broken the partnership Sherlock complained,

'we have been annoyed in a most vexatious manner, by being Summoned before the Mayor almost every day, on the most frivolous account - not for any benefit to the Emigrants, but to try to make us refund the money after Mr. Low had persuaded the persons about to Emigrate to go by Fitzhugh and Grimshaw's ship ....'

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Moreover no charge was ever brought against his rivals.

A copy of the accusation was sent to Lieutenant Low, whose account of the incident differed considerably from that given by Sherlock.<sup>3</sup> The emigrant, John Clapton, had been directed

1. C.O. 384/33. George Sherlock & Co. to Stanley, 19 Sept. 1833.
2. Ibid. Sherlock & Co. to Stanley, 11 October 1833.
3. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, 24 October 1833.

to Sherlock's office, but considered the price of passage too high, and therefore went to the Government agent's office for advice. When he arrived at No.33 Union Street, he was told by a man standing by the door, that Lieutenant Low no longer had an office there. Further inquiry proved the statement to be untrue. When accused of lying, the man said he had been put there by Sherlock to prevent persons reaching the Agent. Low took Clapton to Fitzhugh and Grimshaw's office, believing them to be respectable passenger brokers. Sherlock was also in the office. He answered Low's accusation with insolence, and refused to remove his man from the foot of Low's office stairs. Low's account was supported by W.S. Fitzhugh and Caleb Grimshaw,<sup>1</sup> and the explanation was accepted without further enquiry. Fitzhugh and Grimshaw had been engaged in the emigration business for a number of years without any major cause of complaint, although they had appeared before Low on a few minor charges, which had been settled satisfactorily without the necessity of appealing to the Mayor.<sup>2</sup> Sherlock on the other hand was continually being accused of defrauding emigrants,<sup>3</sup> and in 1849 he was deprived of his licence to act as a passenger broker.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid. Enclosures.

2. C.O. 384/32. Low to Hay, July 1833; 4 October 1833.

3. See Lieut. Low's despatches in C.O. 384/32, 33, 35, 78. Liverpool Mercury, 7 Hay 1841, p.154.

4. Ibid. 13 April 1849, p.238.

Others engaged in the emigration trade made attacks on Lieutenant Low. A 'shipowner' accused the Government Agent of 'an evident spirit of unnecessary interference',<sup>1</sup> but the most persistent and virulent attacks were made by Edward Walkinshaw. He sent long and frequent tirades to the Colonial Office,<sup>2</sup> accusing Low of oppression and unfair dealing, and asking for protection against the 'whims and caprice' of a public servant.<sup>3</sup> The correspondence began in 1834 and continued for several years, but as his complaints received only 'evasive replies' Walkinshaw put the controversy before the public in a pamphlet printed in 1838.<sup>4</sup> Since Low's appointment, passenger brokers had been a most persecuted people. Many of the complaints against them were frivolous or groundless. The brokers deserved sympathy as they had to deal with the 'off-scourings of the human race', many of whom went to Low's office and made unwarranted complaints, which were regularly booked. Walkinshaw accused Low of trying to obtain as many complaints as possible. Early in the correspondence Low had assured the Permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, that he would never hinder emigrants

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1. Newspaper cutting in C.O. 384/33, undated.
  2. See especially C.O. 384/36 (1834).
  3. C.O. 384/44. Walkinshaw to W. Ewart, M.P., 16 February 1837.
  4. Letter to Lieutenant Lowe R.N. . . . ., (Liverpool, 1838).  
In C.O. 384/43.  
Liverpool Mercury, 2 March 1838, p.66.

from proceeding in Walkinshaw's vessels 'except I perceive a gross dereliction from acting fairly and honestly towards emigrants.'<sup>1</sup> And this he often did perceive, as the following cases illustrate. They also show the relationship between the Liverpool broker and his agent in the country.

On July 22nd 1834 William Williams engaged berths in the ship Henry Lee, to sail from Liverpool to New York, for four adults and four children in the second cabin, and one adult in the steerage. He made the arrangements with William Browne of Bristol, and was told that he would be met at the coach-office in Liverpool and taken to the ship. But on arrival he found nobody to meet the party, therefore Williams went to the Government Agent's office. Low advised him to find Browne's partner, Edward Walkinshaw, and ask to be taken to the ship. Williams examined the Henry Lee and found that it had no second cabin and was not a liner packet ship as represented by the Bristol agent. He returned to Low's office and laid a complaint against Walkinshaw. The only remedy that Low could suggest was that Williams should return to Bristol and prosecute Browne. The emigrants did not take this advice, but made arrangements to sail on the Henry Lee, which later had to put back to port damaged.<sup>2</sup>

Another group of emigrants from Bristol sailed on

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1. C.O. 384/35. Low to Hay, 30 August 1834.  
Walkinshaw had frequently been summoned to answer complaints connected with Australian ships.
  2. C.O. 384/35. Low to Hay, 30 August 1834.  
Enclosed. 'Complaint of William Williams, 1 August 1834'.



the Henry Lee. Mrs. Hester Bidggood, her six children, and a young man named Mark Allway, engaged their passage on the Mount Hope, sailing from Liverpool to New York. They left Bristol on August 12th 1834, arriving in Liverpool three days later, with a letter addressed to Edward Walkinshaw.

'Dr. Sir

The Bearer Mark Alway is the young man that was recruited for on Wednesday to join Mrs. Bidggoods family, he leaves pr. Coach this day - your attention to him will oblige

Your Obed<sup>t</sup>

W. Browne

To

Mr. Edw<sup>d</sup>. Walkinshaw  
26 Exchange Alley North  
Liverpool

pr. Mount Hope - in the steerage, to sail 16th or to be received on board - passage exclusive of provisions & bedding.' 1

Walkinshaw directed the emigrants to the ship Henry Lee, persuading them that it was a better ship than the Mount Hope, and charging one pound extra. Walkinshaw, however, was not the charterer of either vessel, and the emigrants were not allowed on board. They spent the night and the next day surrounded by their luggage on the Brunswick Dock Quay, where they were found by Lieutenant Low. On Low's intervention Walkinshaw made arrangements with the charterers of the Henry Lee for the Bristol emigrants to be received on board.<sup>2</sup>

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1. C.O. 384/35. In Low to Hay, 30 August 1834.
  2. Ibid. Complaint of Mrs. Bidggood, 18 August 1834.

'Mr. Walkinshaw is entitled to Berths Water and Fuel for three, say 3 Passengers above 14 years and for 5 D<sup>o</sup> under 14 yrs. in the Steerage of the Henry Lee to New York, having this day paid us for the same - The Party to occupy two treble Berths. This includes the passage of Mr. Bryant paid for formerly.

Liverpool 16th August 1834

(Signed)

O. Beckett & Co.

To be occupied by Mrs. Bridgget & party.<sup>1</sup>

The charterers of the Mount Hope stated that they were not aware that Walkinshaw had any authority to book passengers for their vessel.<sup>2</sup> Walkinshaw made a handsome profit out of the transaction, as he paid only nine pounds for the passage of the whole party, whereas Browne, in Bristol, had received twenty-nine pounds ten shillings.

Lieutenant Low was anxious to prosecute either Walkinshaw or his agent. A copy of Walkinshaw's handbill was sent to the Colonial Office with numerous comments added by Low in red ink. It was being circulated round the country and was completely misleading, as Walkinshaw had never sent out a ship on his own account, yet he claimed 'to despatch a line of Magnificent Packets from Liverpool on the 1st and 16th of every month, for New York,' and other ships to other ports. Low received support from Lieutenant Hemmans at Greenock, who

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1. C.O. 384/36.

2. C.O. 384/35. Note signed by Maxwell Robinson, 18 August 1834  
In Low to Hay, 30 August 1834.

had a bill printed warning emigrants against Walkinshaw.<sup>1</sup>  
 He was not allowed to circulate it.<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Henry at  
 Bristol proposed to insert a notice in the local newspapers  
 warning emigrants in general terms against private agents.  
 This also was not allowed.<sup>3</sup> Low continued to press for the  
 prosecution of Walkinshaw,<sup>4</sup> but his suggestion was not  
 approved at the Colonial Office, and he was cautioned against  
 going to law without authority. James Stephen remarked that  
 he did not suppose that the agent was intended 'to undertake  
 the redress of those Wrongs which, in the progress  
 of their mutual dealings respecting Emigration,  
 Individuals may inflict on each other.' It was his  
 duty to enforce the law as he found it, and acquiesce in  
 the deficiencies of the law, so long as it continued  
 unremedied by Parliament.<sup>5</sup>

The protection of emigrants at the port of Liverpool  
 was not left entirely to the Government Emigration Agents.  
 Several attempts were made by local citizens to facilitate  
 the passage of the emigrants by protecting them from the  
 activities of the many fraudulent persons engaged in the  
 emigrant trade. The members of the American Chamber of

- 
1. Ibid. Hemmans to Hay, 5 July 1834.
  2. Ibid. Minute.
  3. Ibid. Henry to Hay, 4 September 1834.
  4. Ibid. Low to Hay, 20 September, 22 September 1834.
  5. Ibid. Minute by Stephen, 25 September 1834.

Commerce at Liverpool<sup>1</sup> were disturbed by the impositions on emigrants, which opposed the interests of merchant and ship-owner, as well as of emigrant. The Chamber of Commerce consisted of those merchants engaged in trade with America, and included among its members several former New Yorkers.<sup>2</sup> In 1822 W.S. Fitzhugh submitted a proposition for the establishment of a Passenger Broker Office. The proposal was considered at a general meeting in August, and it was decided to appoint a committee to draw up a report on the impositions practised on emigrants. Measures were to be taken to obtain the acquiescence of all persons connected with shipping for the establishment of a Passenger Broker Office, under the supervision of the Chamber.<sup>3</sup> The report on frauds on emigrants was read and accepted in February 1823. It was decided to establish an office to supply information about ships, and the ports nearest to the ultimate destination. Regulations were to be framed by a special committee and submitted for approval to merchants and others interested in foreign trade. A copy of the Report and regulations was to be printed and distributed to merchants, shipowners, ship brokers, and masters

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1. W.O. Henderson, 'The American Chamber of Commerce', Trans. of the Lancs. and Cheshire Hist. Soc., 85, (1933).
  2. R.G. Albion, Rise of New York Port, pp.237, 428.
  3. American Chamber of Commerce, Minute Book, Vol.1, 16 August 1822.



of vessels, in order to secure their co-operation.<sup>1</sup> The office was established in April 1823, at No.4 Cooper's Row, near the Custom House, with W.S. Fitzhugh in charge. He received a commission of five per cent on all steerage passengers, and one shilling and sixpence for each entry of luggage. The general arrangements were superintended by a committee of the Chamber of Commerce.<sup>2</sup> The office continued to function until 1829, but without accomplishing its object of reducing impositions on emigrants. It was conducted satisfactorily by W.S. Fitzhugh, but was probably just another passenger broker office, albeit a respectable one. In 1826 complaints about the conduct of the agency were made by Oliver Beckett, and referred to the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce.<sup>3</sup> Presumably the complaints were not substantiated as there was no further reference to them, whereas Beckett was prosecuted and convicted of impositions on emigrants in the next year. The expenses of the prosecutions, amounting to £130. 18s. 7d., were borne by the Association,<sup>4</sup> but no further expenditure of this kind was authorized. In January 1829 Fitzhugh's appointment as Passenger Agent to the Association was ended,<sup>5</sup> and

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1. Ibid. 18 February 1823.

2. Ibid. 10 April 1823.

3. Ibid. 27 March 1826.

4. Ibid. 26 January 1827.

5. Ibid. 27 January 1829.

although the question of reviving the office was considered in 1830, no action was taken.<sup>1</sup>

The Common Council of the city of Liverpool made some attempt to deal with the problem. At a meeting on Wednesday, 6 September 1837, Alderman Sheil described how the numerous agents scattered throughout the United Kingdom enticed poor people to Liverpool on the promise of very cheap passages, and full employment and good wages in America, and how on arrival at the port they were submitted to every type of deception. He suggested that a Committee should be formed to enquire into the frauds and impositions practised on emigrants, and to suggest measures for the prevention of such practices. The resolution was accepted and a committee of seven members set up.<sup>2</sup> The Committee, however, never submitted its report, and was heard of no more after December 1837, when a letter, from the agent to the Canada Company in New York, was referred to it.

Later, there was a movement in Liverpool to establish a depôt for the reception of emigrants, waiting for their ships to sail. The project was first discussed in 1848, when the Emigration Commissioners suggested that a large emigration depôt should be established on the Birkenhead side of the

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1. Ibid. 5 March 1830.

2. Liverpool Mercury, 8 September 1837, p.294.  
Resolution of the Common Council, 9 November 1837.

Mersey.<sup>1</sup> They were authorized to make preliminary enquiries,<sup>2</sup> and in October drew up a memorandum setting forth the proposed arrangements.<sup>3</sup> Both the Birkenhead Dock Company and the Liverpool Dock Committee offered to erect a depôt. The Commissioners were convinced of the desirability of the depôt supervised by the Government,<sup>4</sup> but Lord Grey ruled that it must be under the control of the local authorities, not the Government.<sup>5</sup> The Mayor of Liverpool, Bramley Moore, stated that the Corporation could not undertake the charge of a large depôt,<sup>6</sup> and as the Commissioners saw no reason for altering Lord Grey's opinion,<sup>7</sup> the project was abandoned. The welfare of the emigrants was left to the supervision of the Corporation, acting under its powers to license and regulate lodging houses.<sup>8</sup>

A few months later the official position was reaffirmed in a reply to a memorial of the captains of certain vessels trading between Liverpool and the United States,

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1. C.O. 384/81. Commissioners to Merivale, 30 August 1848.
  2. Ibid. C.O. to Commissioners, 9 September 1848.
  3. C.O. 386/83. Memorandum, 25 October 1848.
  4. C.O. 384/84. Commissioners to Merivale, 22 May 1849.
  5. Ibid. Minutes by T.F.E. [Elliot] 25 May 1849, B.H. [Hawes], 25 May, and G. [Grey] 29 May 1849.  
C.O. to Commissioners, 16 July 1849.  
C.O. to H. Waddington, 18 July 1849.
  6. Ibid. Mayor of Liverpool to Sir G. Grey [Home Office], 31 October 1849.
  7. Ibid. Commissioners to Merivale, 13 December 1849.
  8. C.O. 384/85. Commissioners to Merivale, 3 January 1850.

suggesting the establishment of an emigration depôt at Birkenhead. The Government would support an institution controlled by the local authorities, but could not itself undertake the management of a depôt.<sup>1</sup> In May 1850 a meeting of clergymen, merchants and other citizens of Liverpool suggested that a large building should be fitted up for the reception of emigrants.<sup>2</sup> The question was then taken up by the Liverpool Dock Committee. The Dock Trustees asked for the support of the Government in establishing a depôt, as they anticipated opposition from those members of the Common Council interested in the lodging and provision houses.<sup>3</sup> Commenting on the decision of the Dock Committee to apply for power to erect a temporary home for emigrants, the Liverpool Mercury also anticipated considerable opposition from those interested in the continuance of the existing system.<sup>4</sup> Both were proved correct. In February 1851 the lodging house keepers formed the 'Emigrants' and Householders' Protective Society', with the declared object of securing the emigrant a comfortable and cheap lodging, and of protecting him from frauds.<sup>5</sup> But their real object was to combat any suggestion

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1. Ibid. Commissioners to Merivale, 22 April 1850.  
C.O. to Capt. Knight and others, 25 April 1850.
  2. Liverpool Mercury, 10 May 1850, p.302.
  3. C.O. 384/85. Commissioners to Merivale, 4 September 1850.  
Enclosed. D. Mason to Walcott, 24 August 1850.
  4. Liverpool Mercury, 27 September 1850, p.632.
  5. Ibid. 20 June 1851, p.478.



of an emigration depôt, public or private. They declared that 'a Public Emigrants' Home ... would be ... a huge monopoly, destructive to the interests of a large and respectable class of lodging house keepers and tradesmen at the north end of the town ...'<sup>1</sup> A Home would have no advantage not exceeded by the licensed lodging houses.<sup>2</sup>

The Dock Committee appointed an Emigration sub-committee, and continued to consider the matter.<sup>3</sup> In January 1852 they received a memorial stating, that unless some strong remedy were applied, the emigration trade of the port, employing about five hundred thousand tons of shipping, would be seriously injured. The memorial was signed by one hundred and seventy-eight of the most influential firms in Liverpool, including Brown, Shipley and Co., Baring Brothers, and William Grimshaw and Co. They suggested that a large emigrants' home should be established.<sup>4</sup> The lodging house keepers countered with their own memorial, signed by eight hundred and eighty owners of property and ratepayers at the north end of Liverpool, against the proposed depôt. They accused the signatories of the first memorial of a desire to obtain control of the shipping of emigrants.<sup>5</sup> Correspondents supported the householders. Public bodies should not interfere with private

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. 24 June 1851, p.489.

3. C.O. 384/86. G.J. Duncan to Grey, 14 March 1851.  
C.O. to Duncan, 20 March 1851.

4. Liverpool Mercury, 16 January 1852, p.48.  
20 January 1852, p.56.

5. Ibid. 23 January 1852, p.68.

enterprise, but rather guard local interests.<sup>1</sup> The ratepayers and householders prevailed, and in March 1852 the Dock Committee reported, with only one dissentient, that it would have nothing to do with an emigrants' home.<sup>2</sup>

The only depôts established by any public body were those of the Emigration Commissioners to house the Government emigrants to Australia. But two private homes were opened in Liverpool, one in May 1850 by Frederick Sabel for his German emigrants,<sup>3</sup> and the other a year later by Frederick Marshall. Marshall converted his Home out of a pile of warehouse property in Vulcan Street. The building consisted of two storeys, with a large dining room, washing rooms and storage space on the ground floor, and the dormitories above.<sup>4</sup> The charge of fourpence a night for each adult included bed and bedding, fire for cooking, baths, writing paper, and the use of maps and guide books. The emigrants could buy food at the Home, which was licensed to hold six hundred and fifty persons. The majority of the emigrants using this Home were either Irish or Welsh, with very few English.<sup>5</sup> Both Sabel's and Marshall's Homes, however, were attacked by householders, runners and

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1. Ibid. 30 January 1852, p.83.

2. Ibid. 5 March 1852, p.186.

3. See above.

4. Liverpool Mercury, 27 May 1851, p.412.

5. Ibid. 3 June 1851, p.432; 13 June 1851, p.462.  
Report on the Passengers' Act, p.436-437.

passenger brokers, emigrants were kept away either by persuasion or violence, and neither was successful.<sup>1</sup>

The part played by Liverpool in the emigration trade has been emphasized, because it was from that port that the majority of emigrants to the United States sailed, and the Liverpool agents were the most active in promoting emigration. But an interesting attempt was made in the 1840s to secure for the port of Southampton some of the profitable emigration trade then monopolized by Liverpool and London. In July 1845 the 'Southampton Emigration and Shipping Company' was formed to carry on emigration and general shipping business between Southampton and Canada and 'other places'.<sup>2</sup> It was proposed to build or purchase ships for the conveyance of emigrants 'in the season', and general freight out of season, to charter ships for emigrants, and to build emigration depôts at Southampton and Plymouth.<sup>3</sup> It was hoped to persuade emigrants to sail from Southampton rather than from any other port. Southampton had many advantages, rail connection with London and all parts of the country, steamer connection with other ports in England, Ireland, the Channel Islands and France, and low port charges. The Plymouth depôt could

1. Ibid. pp.437-8.  
Liverpool Mercury, 24 June 1851, p.489; 20 January 1852, p.56.
2. Companies' Registration Office Returns of Extinct Companies. No. C.81.
3. Ibid. Deed of Settlement, in C.81/10.

receive passengers from the South West and from Ireland.<sup>1</sup>

Those interested in the Company included all those who could hope to profit from a diversion of emigrant traffic to Southampton. They included representatives of the railways, the town, the docks, and the merchants. The six directors included a director of the South-Western Railway, a London merchant, a member of the Southampton Town Council, the chairman of the Southampton Dock Company, a director of the Southampton Docks, and a Southampton shipowner and sail maker. Others interested in the Company included five members of the Town Council, the Town Clerk and Sherriff, Southampton merchants, professional men and gentlemen, four London merchants and gentlemen, a director of the Hampshire Bank, the Commissioner of the Port and Harbour of Southampton, a director of the Great Western Railway, a director of the Oxford, Newbury, Manchester and Southampton Junction-Railway, and a director and the deputy chairman of the Manchester and Southampton Railway. One of the promoters of the Company was John Marshall, whose depôt at Plymouth had been used for government emigrants since 1842.<sup>2</sup> He was appointed General Manager of the Company and agent for conducting emigration.

The Company was not a success, and in January 1849 was dissolved by order of the High Court of Chancery on the

1. Ibid. Prospectus, in C.81/4.

2. C.O. 386/29, 31.



petition of five of the contributories.<sup>1</sup> Later a Government Emigration depôt was established in Southampton, but this was for emigration to Australia, not America.<sup>2</sup>

The men engaged in the emigrant trade, especially the passenger brokers and their agents, played a great part both in the promotion and facilitation of emigration to the United States. They promoted emigration because it was in their interest to do so, and, although many preyed on the ignorant and unwary, they also rendered a valuable service by arranging the details of the passage across the Atlantic. The passenger brokers provided the background to all the schemes of emigration promotion which flourished in England; their propaganda reached the country parishes and the industrial towns, and few but the wealthy could emigrate without passing through their hands. Their activities were an essential part of emigration from England before 1861.

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1. Companies' Registration Office. C.81/12, 13.
  2. C.O. 384/86.  
C.O. 36/116, 117.

## CHAPTER II.

### PAUPER EMIGRATION

'...One of the most innocent palliatives of the evils of the present system ...'<sup>1</sup>

The economic crisis which followed the peace of 1815 revealed the inadequacies of the system of poor relief which had gradually evolved during the preceding two centuries. In rural districts, too far distant from the growing towns of the industrial areas to feel their attraction, the deficiencies of the old poor law were felt most keenly. During the prosperous war years there had been few complaints. Farmers received high prices for their crops, and the distribution of poor relief made it possible to continue paying very low wages to the agricultural labourers. Moreover, the profitable cultivation of even the poorest lands gave employment to the increasing population. But with the disappearance of abnormal war conditions there was a decline in agricultural prosperity, aggravated by a succession of bad harvests. Food prices rose, and unemployment increased. The ordinary village contained many underpaid labourers whom the parish had to keep alive.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Report from the Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners,  
H.C. 44, p.200 (1834). XXVII, 1.

2. J.L. and Barbara Hammond, The Village Labourer, 1760-1832,  
p.174.

The poor rates rose rapidly, reaching a total of almost eight millions sterling in 1818.<sup>1</sup> In many rural parishes the poor rate was twenty shillings or more in the pound, in contrast to a few shillings in the prosperous manufacturing districts.<sup>2</sup> Protest meetings were organized to complain of the increasing poor rates, and petitions poured into Parliament.<sup>3</sup>

The method of poor relief which was now under attack for its extravagant expenditure was administered by some fifteen thousand parishes and townships working in comparative isolation.<sup>4</sup> The responsible officials were concerned only to carry out a disagreeable task with the least possible effort, and therefore they adopted the easiest and most obvious way of dealing with applicants for relief. In each parish there grew up a list of pensioners, and any attempt to curtail their numbers was unsuccessful.<sup>5</sup> In addition to weekly doles it was usual to allow relief in kind, and to pay the rent of the pauper's cottage.<sup>6</sup> A further heavy call on the rates were the allowances for bastardy, which had to be paid to the

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1. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Poor Law History, Part II, The Last Hundred Years, (London, 1929), p.2.
  2. Ibid. p.3.
  3. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, xxxv, 907.  
William Cobbett, Rural Rides....., ed. G.D.H. and Margaret Cole (London, 1930), pp.54-57, 60-67.
  4. S. and B. Webb, English Poor Law History, Part I, The Old Poor Law, (London, 1927), pp.150, 156.
  5. Ibid. pp.163-6.
  6. Ibid. pp.167-8.  
Burwash Parish Records, passim.

mother by the parish, whether or not the putative father repaid the money to the Overseers.<sup>1</sup> But the most important factor in the increase of the poor rates in the period of agricultural depression after the war was the practice of giving relief in aid of wages. Between 1795, when the Speenhamland scale was adopted, and 1833, the practice of making up wages, according to a scale depending on the price of bread and number of children, spread throughout England, except for the populous urban centres, being most completely adopted in Sussex, Surrey, Kent and Berkshire.<sup>2</sup> The completely unemployed labourers were sent round the farms and, if employed, their nominal wages were made up by the parish. Even if they were not hired, the labourers still received the day's wages, less a few pence.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the farmers turned off their regular hands to employ the 'roundsmen' at nominal wages, thus increasing the number of unemployed.

After the war, when the deficiencies of the old poor law became obvious, there were continuous but unsuccessful attempts at reform. For a time the Select Vestries, authorized by the Sturges Bourne Acts<sup>4</sup> to manage all matters relating to

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1. S. and B. Webb, op.cit., pp.308-313.

2. Ibid. pp.172 ff.

3. Ibid. pp.189 ff.

4. 58 Geo. III. c. 69.  
59 Geo. III. c. 13.



the poor, secured some improvements, but they were 'apt to degenerate into compact combinations of numbers of tradesmen bound together by mutual local interest,'<sup>1</sup> although the appointment of salaried overseers, under the same act, was attended with more success. The only improvement, from the ratepayers' point of view, was a reduction in the amount of relief allowed, and in many places, a total abandonment of the sliding scale.<sup>2</sup> The rates remained high, and the depression continued. The farmers were impoverished, and the life of the labourers wretched and squalid.<sup>3</sup> Every parish had to face the problem of the 'surplus', as the unemployed labourers were called. Many were employed only at haymaking and harvest for years on end. One very common solution was to put them to work on the roads. As some Kentish men remarked to Cobbett in 1823, the parish roads had become wonderfully better within the last seven or eight years.<sup>4</sup> In these circumstances the inhabitants of rural England were willing to consider any new remedy which might be suggested.

Many farmers decided to abandon the struggle in England while they still possessed enough money to begin anew

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1. Report from the Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners, Appendix A, Part III, H.C. 44, p.8A (1834), XXIX, 253.
  2. Webb, op.cit., pp.182-3, 188-9.  
Hammond, The Village Labourer, p.184.
  3. Ibid. p.185.
  4. W. Cobbett, Rural Rides, ed. Cole, p.207.  
See also pp.160-161, 394, 548.

in the United States. The arrival of this type of emigrant was frequently noted with approval in Niles' Register, although the English newspapers viewed their departure with some concern. Morris Birkbeck shared in the general discontent. He was a substantial tenant farmer of Quaker origins leasing a farm of fifteen hundred acres at Wanborough, Surrey. As the depression continued, he determined to realise his capital and begin life afresh where there were no crippling taxes or poor rates. Being a man of republican sympathies his obvious choice was the United States, and in April 1817, accompanied by his family, he set sail from London.<sup>1</sup> The party arrived at Norfolk, Virginia, in June, and was soon joined by George Flower, a friend of Birkbeck's, who had been travelling in the United States for almost a year. Birkbeck had already decided to settle in one of the western states, where land was cheap and plentiful, therefore the friends immediately began their journey to the west,<sup>2</sup> reaching Cincinnati at the beginning of July.<sup>3</sup> At length they determined to found their settlement in Illinois, whose open prairies particularly attracted Flower. It was arranged that Birkbeck should stay

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1. The story of Birkbeck's settlement is well known, and can be followed in the writings of the two founders, and of English travellers in America. See below pp.122-124. Bibliographical Note 2.
  2. Morris Birkbeck, Notes on a Journey in America, (Philadelphia, 1817).  
George Flower, History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, Chicago Historical Society. Collections I, 1882.
  3. Liverpool Mercury, 31 October 1817, p.113.

in America to buy the land and make the necessary preparations in building, while Flower returned to England to 'bring in the people'.<sup>1</sup> Flower's first task was to see to the publication of Birkbeck's account of the journey to Illinois, both in Philadelphia and London. He was then to remit money to Birkbeck, spread information about the proposed settlement,<sup>2</sup> and prepare the first parties of emigrants.

This work occupied Flower throughout the winter of 1817-1818. Birkbeck's book produced 'an extraordinary sensation',<sup>3</sup> arousing widespread interest in the proposed English colony in Illinois. Flower claimed that he received a response from 'the farmers of England, the miners of Cornwall, the drovers of Wales, the mechanics of Scotland, the West-India planter, the inhabitants of the Channel Isles, and the "gentleman of no particular business" of the Emerald Isle'.<sup>4</sup> He was constantly applied to by individuals of all ranks, but chiefly those in moderate circumstances, for information and advice on emigration.<sup>5</sup> Richard Flower, George's father, found it necessary to post a servant at the ante-room door for the express purpose of dealing with the inquirers.<sup>6</sup> After reading Birkbeck's book, James Lawrence, a merchant tailor of Hatton

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1. G. Flower, op.cit., p.74.

2. Ibid. pp.74, 77.

3. H.B. Fearon, Sketches of America, (London, 1818), p.392.

4. G. Flower, op.cit., p.94.

5. Ibid. p.93.

6. W. Faux, Memorable Days in America, (London, 1823), p.290.

Garden, decided to go to the settlement, and early in 1818 his counting house became a 'sort of office for emigration' where George Flower attended and answered questions put by people of all classes.<sup>1</sup> These activities were successful, and in March 1818 the first party of emigrants left Bristol for Philadelphia in the ship Achilles.<sup>2</sup> Charles Trimmer, a former neighbour of Birkbeck, led a number of farm~~er~~ labourers and mechanics, many of whom had formerly been employed by Birkbeck. A second group was led by Lawrence and consisted of London mechanics and English tradesmen, who were unacquainted with Birkbeck but had been influenced by his writings. The emigrants, eighty-five men and three women, reached Philadelphia in June, crossed the mountains to Pittsburgh, descended the Ohio in flat boats to Shawneetown, and then made their way to the settlement, where log cabins had been prepared for them. It would appear that the two leaders were not completely satisfied with the change, as Lawrence returned to England within a year, and Trimmer within two or three. The labourers remained, of necessity, even if not of choice.<sup>3</sup>

In April a second party of emigrants left Liverpool in the ship Ann Maria, bound for New York. Among the emigrants were the Flowers, their friends and servants, and others who had been attracted to the settlement by the promoters' publicity,

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1. G. Flower, op.cit., p.96.

2. Ibid. pp.94 ff.

3. Ibid. p.156.



amounting in all to about sixty individuals.<sup>1</sup> They arrived at New York in June, and then broke up into small groups, each of which made its own way to Illinois.<sup>2</sup> On George Flower's return to Illinois he and Birkbeck quarrelled, and founded rival towns, Albion and Wanborough, known collectively as the English Settlement.<sup>3</sup> Settlers continued to arrive. Individuals, families, and occasionally small parties made their way on foot, on horseback, or in wagons.<sup>4</sup> The majority were small farmers or farm labourers, many of whom had had to borrow their passage money, and had at first to hire themselves out as day labourers.<sup>5</sup> The settlement did not attract the floating population, although some English families, lingering aimlessly in the eastern cities were persuaded by the publications to make their way to Illinois.<sup>6</sup> The settlers landed at every port from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. One such emigrant, who disembarked at Charleston, bought a horse, and asked the way to the English prairie, arrived safely.<sup>7</sup> In 1830 a large party emigrated from Buckinghamshire by way of New Orleans; considerable numbers went from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; and most of the other agricultural counties were

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1. Ibid. pp.100-101.
  2. Ibid. p.102.  
Niles' Register, XIV, 256. 16 June 1818.
  3. Ibid. XV, 53. 12 September 1818.  
XXII, 3 August 1822.
  4. G. Flower, op.cit., pp.124, 286.
  5. Ibid. pp.289-290.
  6. Ibid. pp.152, 191.
  7. Ibid. p.189.

represented in the population of the English Settlement. The last ship's party arrived in about 1845. Many had been assisted by George Flower's younger brother Edward, a brewer of Stratford-upon-Avon.<sup>1</sup> In 1822 it was estimated that the population was about seven hundred and sixty, one hundred and seventy in Albion, sixty-eight in Wanborough, and five hundred and twenty-two in the surrounding neighbourhood,<sup>2</sup> but by 1860 Wanborough had disappeared, and the population of Albion was less than one thousand. Birkbeck had been drowned in 1825,<sup>3</sup> and Flower and his family left Illinois in 1849.<sup>4</sup>

The English Settlement on the prairies of Illinois attracted the attention of most of the English travellers in America in its first few years. Much of the comment was critical, and these attacks in turn brought forth books in defence of colony. The resultant controversies helped to keep the scheme alive in the minds of those whose economic position made them consider seriously the possibility of emigration. One critic, William Faux, went so far as to say that no man since Columbus had done so much towards the peopling of America as Birkbeck, although all whom he had tempted to emigrate did not travel as far west as Illinois.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibid. pp.316-318.

2. Ibid. p.329.

Jay Monaghan, (ed.) 'From England to Illinois in 1821. The Journal of William Hall', Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, xxxix, (1946), 215-216.

3. G. Flower, op.cit., pp.255-256.

4. Ibid. pp.358-360.

5. W. Faux, Memorable Days in America, p.298.

Apart from the personal contacts made by George Flower in the winter of 1817 to 1818, the method of advertising the settlement was by book and pamphlet, which enjoyed a wide circulation in England. General attention was first obtained with the publication of Birkbeck's 'Notes on a Journey in America', which set forth his proposals for the establishment of an English colony. The colony would not be racial or ideological, only common interest binding the settlers together.<sup>1</sup> A cabin, garden, cow and hog would be prepared in readiness for every poor family, who would be afforded immediate employment on their arrival.<sup>2</sup> The 'Notes' were published in Philadelphia, London, Dublin, Cork, and in a German translation at Jena. This volume was followed by a series of 'Letters from Illinois', published in Boston, Philadelphia, London, and in French and German translations, and by 'An Address to the Farmers of Great Britain'. The optimistic picture of the prairies of Illinois given in these publications, proved very attractive to the burdened English farmers. All critics agreed as to the charm of Birkbeck's writing. Henry B. Fearon remarked that the author so captivated many of his readers that they began to feel the conveniences of civilized life to be a positive source of misery, rather than an advantage.<sup>3</sup> William Faux reported the conversation of one emigrant, who had

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1. Morris Birkbeck, Notes on a Journey in America, (Philadelphia, 1817), pp.160-161.

2. Ibid. pp.186-188.

3. H.B. Fearon, Sketches of America, (London, 1818), pp.417, 435.

decided to go to America after reading Birkbeck's books,

' "I was caught," said he, "by his fascinating writings; it was impossible to resist them. Who could? Did ever man write like him?" ' 1

Faux quoted American opinion that Birkbeck did not misrepresent conditions in the Illinois prairies intentionally, but from ignorance and premature judgment.<sup>2</sup> But his highly coloured accounts influenced many people. The thirty-nine English families who had deputed H.B. Fearon to find a suitable settlement for them in the United States, commissioned George Flower to buy nine thousand acres in the settlement, without waiting for Fearon's report.<sup>3</sup> As late as 1841 Birkbeck was blamed for the preference shown by emigrants for the United States rather than for Canada.<sup>4</sup>

The most important attack on the settlement was made by William Cobbett. Cobbett was not an advocate of emigration at this time, but if farmers did decide to emigrate, he considered that they should remain in the eastern states, as they were not fitted for life in the backwoods. He stated that Birkbeck had been misled by 'a warm heart, a lively imagination, and I know not what caprice about republicanism'.<sup>5</sup> This attack brought a reply from Birkbeck, who, in turn,

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1. W. Faux, op.cit., p.285. See also pp.191-6, 197, 246-7.

2. Ibid. p.250.

3. H.B. Fearon, op.cit., pp.419,422-3.

4. Emigration Gazette, 18 December 1841, p.4.

5. William Cobbett, A Year's Residence in the United States of America, (London, 1819), p.557.



accused Cobbett of being in the pay of certain land speculators, who wished to direct English emigrants to a settlement in Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> Richard Flower also defended the settlement in Illinois in two series of letters published in 1819 and 1822. But even so George Flower considered that Cobbett had checked emigration to the English prairie.<sup>2</sup> Ten years later Cobbett had changed his mind about emigration, and wrote a guide for 'persons in trade, and farmers, and manufacturers, who have some little money...'<sup>3</sup>

The departure of farmers such as Morris Birkbeck did not ease the situation for those who stayed at home. The poor rates remained high. Some turned to emigration as a possible remedy, not for themselves, but for their surplus labourers, hoping that the saving in relief would more than compensate for the cost of the emigration. There are frequent references in contemporary writings to the practice of 'shipping off the paupers', but only rarely were actual examples given. Most of the evidence for parish emigration is to be found in the reports of select committees of the House of Commons, particularly in the reports on emigration made in 1826 and 1827,<sup>4</sup> and in the reports of the poor law inquiry commissioners,

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1. M. Birkbeck, Extracts from a Supplementary Letter from the Illinois, (London, 1819), p.11.
  2. G. Flower, History of the English Settlement, p.193.
  3. W. Cobbett, The Emigrant's Guide, (London, 1829), p.29.
  4. Reports from the Select Committee on Emigration, H.C. 404 (1826). IV, 1. H.C. 88, 237, 550 (1826-1827). V, 1, 2, 223.

1832 to 1834.<sup>1</sup> These latter reports are of great value as the assistant commissioners were instructed to pay particular attention to emigration; to ascertain all the facts connected with every case of emigration, and to estimate its influence.<sup>2</sup>

The practice of helping paupers to emigrate began in the counties of Sussex and Kent a few years after the end of the Napoleonic wars. For almost two decades the parishes in the Weald of Kent and East Sussex sent out groups of labourers to try their fortunes in new lands across the seas, at first in the United States, later in the British colonies in North America and Australia. Their destination was determined by the cheapness and convenience of their transportation, and after the first departures, by the presence of friends and relatives.

In East Sussex emigration was usually one of the remedies considered in any discussion of the problem of excess labourers, and was adopted in several parishes. One hundred persons emigrated from Ewhurst after 1818,<sup>3</sup> about twenty-eight of them in 1822 or 1823 according to the curate of the parish.<sup>4</sup> It must be this group of paupers whose

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1. Report from the Poor Laws Inquiry Commissioners, H.C. 44 (1834). XXVII; Appendix A, (1834) XXVIII, XXIX; Appendix C, (1834) XXXVII.
  2. Poor Laws Report, p.254. Supplement No.3. Instructions .....V Emigration.
  3. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, p.203.
  4. Report from the Select Committee on Labourer's Wages, H.C. 392, p.43 (1824). VI, 401.

arrival in New York was noted in Niles' Register on 26 April 1823, although the name of their village was corrupted to 'Eurbarst'.<sup>1</sup> The number of persons who left the neighbouring parish of Salehurst was even greater. At a meeting of the Brighton branch of the Society for Promoting Colonization held in 1849, it was stated that two hundred and seventy-five persons had emigrated between 1824 and 1844, to 'Canada, America and New Holland'.<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Smith, writing from Robertsbridge in the parish of Salehurst, said that it had been the practice to send some of the parishioners to America 'for many years past'. He himself had paid the expenses of several families, and in 1829 and 1830 had visited the emigrants in their new homes.<sup>3</sup> Ashurst Majendie reported that ninety persons had left the parish 'within the last four years', the first parties going to the United States, and later groups going to the Swan River settlement in Australia.<sup>4</sup> About one hundred persons emigrated from Burwash, another Sussex parish, between 1828 and 1834,<sup>5</sup> and other villages sent out one or two pioneers. The emigrants were carried in wagons to the ports of London or Rye. At this time many

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1. Niles' Register, XXIV, 113, 26 April 1823.

2. Emigrant and Colonial Gazette, 9 June 1849, p.639.

3. Poor Laws Report, Appendix C, p.450.

4. Ibid. Appendix A, Part I, p.204.

5. Ibid. pp.176-177. See below, pp.96-110.

vessels sailed with emigrants from Rye to New York.<sup>1</sup> The American consul in London, reporting on the deportation of paupers from Great Britain, compiled a list of ships leaving Rye from 1829 to 1836, detailing the name of the vessel, its captain, destination, date of sailing, and number of passengers.<sup>2</sup> According to his information thirty-one ships left the port, the majority in 1829 and 1830, all but one destined for New York.<sup>3</sup> Three quarters of the passengers were paupers.

Many of these Sussex emigrants wrote home to their friends and relatives, often advising them to leave England for America if it were at all possible. The letters are full of advice and information and must have had a considerable effect on the labourers at home, making them more willing to accept emigration when it was proposed by the rate payers. Indeed, they sometimes asked to be sent to America when the parish was unwilling to incur the expense. Some of these letters were collected and published<sup>4</sup> by Benjamin Smith of Mountfield, near Robertsbridge, who hoped that others might be persuaded to follow.<sup>5</sup> Cobbett used the letters in his

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1. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, p.199.
  2. Report on the Deportation of Paupers, Sec. Levi Woodbury Senate Docs. No.5, 24 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol.I, p.22 (in No.18).
  3. One ship in 1829 sailed for Quebec.
  4. Twenty Four Letters from labourers in America to their friends in England, Sutro Branch, California State Library, Occasional Papers. Reprint Series No.I.
  5. W. Cobbett, Rural Rides, ed. Cole, p.532.



emigrant's guide,<sup>1</sup> but first visited the families who had received them, and borrowed the originals to verify their authenticity.<sup>2</sup> After examining the original letters Cobbett was satisfied that they had been published without any alteration, except in spelling and punctuation.<sup>3</sup> They had all been received by families in Sedlescombe, Ewhurst, Robertsbridge and Mountfield, between 1819 and 1829. The first emigrant had been sent to New Brunswick in 1819, but because of the severity of the winter he crossed into the United States the next year, and eventually settled in Indiana. The story of this emigrant, John Watson of Sedlescombe, is told in detail in the letters to his father. Dissatisfied with New Brunswick, he and his wife dragged their children hundreds of miles, first in a hand sleigh and later in a wagon to Kingston on Lake Ontario. They then crossed into the United States, settling for a time in Geneva, New York State, but soon continued their travels westward, until they reached Aurora, Indiana, where they settled permanently. John Watson was an exceptional man, and none of his friends and neighbours followed him so far west. They were sent to New York and all settled in New York State.

Parishes in the neighbouring districts of Kent were

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1. W. Cobbett, The Emigrant's Guide...., (London, 1829).
2. W. Cobbett, Rural Rides, ed. Cole, pp.532-548.
3. W. Cobbett, The Emigrant's Guide, p.42.

also trying to solve the problem of the surplus labourers by encouraging them to emigrate. Thomas Bradbury of Buckinghamshire told the Select Committee on emigration that a gentleman of Kent was sending labourers to the United States in wagon loads.<sup>1</sup> More specific information was given by Thomas Law Hodges, chairman of the West Kent Quarter Sessions, and later Member of Parliament for Kent. He confirmed that several parishes in the Weald of Kent were promoting the emigration of their surplus labourers. Thirteen persons had just left Hemsted, and two or three years ago fifty-two persons had gone to New York from Smarden, twenty-seven of whom had been paid for by the parish.<sup>2</sup> This information was supplemented by a letter from Smarden, received by the Committee in 1827, stating that since 1822 eighty-nine persons had emigrated, sixty-one at the expense of the parish, and eight more were preparing to leave.<sup>3</sup> Later Law Hodges organized and advanced the money for one of the largest emigrations from a Kent parish. Between 1827 and 1830 one hundred and forty-nine persons went from his parish of Benenden to America, fifty-eight in 1827, eighty-seven in 1828,

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1. Select Committee on Emigration. Second Report, H.C. 237, p.107 (1826-7). V, 2.
  2. Report on Emigration. H.C. 404, p.135 (1826). IV, 1.
  3. Select Committee on Emigration. Third Report. H.C. 550, pp.382-3 (1826-27). V, 223.

and four in 1830.<sup>1</sup> Paupers were also sent from other parishes in the neighbourhood; sixty from Marden, one hundred and thirty from Tenterden,<sup>2</sup> and eighty from Headcorn.<sup>3</sup> Lenham sent fifty persons to Quebec, but the results were not satisfactory.<sup>4</sup> Smaller numbers of labourers were sent to America from other Kent parishes; from Westerham,<sup>5</sup> Deal,<sup>6</sup> Holden, Northbourne, Mongsham, St. Lawrence,<sup>7</sup> Sevenoaks,<sup>8</sup> the Isle of Thanet,<sup>9</sup> and Chatham.

The practice of parish emigration was also widespread in Norfolk and Suffolk. Henry Stuart came to the conclusion

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1. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, p.210; Appendix C, pp.149-150.  
After 1834 Law Hodges arranged pauper emigration to Australia.  
See correspondence in C.O. 386/21.
  2. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, pp.209, 211.
  3. Select Committee on Emigration. Second Report. H.C. 237, pp.144-6 (1826-27). V, 2.
  4. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, p.215.
  5. Ibid. p.208.
  6. Report on the Deportation of Paupers, S.Doc. No.5, 24 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol.I p.23.
  7. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, p.875.
  8. Third Report on the State of Agriculture, H.C. 465, p.15 (1836). VIII, Part II, 1.
  9. Niles' Register, XLVII, 101, 18 October 1834.

that there were few parishes from which one or more persons had not emigrated, although the aggregate number was not large. The paupers could not be expected to withdraw in large numbers from the certainty of maintenance afforded by the parish pay, for an uncertain future benefit in a new country.<sup>1</sup> Only from Kettleburgh and Stradbroke in 1830, and Benhall in 1831, was the departure of comparatively large groups recorded.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Kent and Sussex emigrants those from East Anglia went to Canada, as did those from Essex. In Essex, however, emigration was not widespread. Ashurst Majendie reported only two instances of group emigration, and three isolated cases.<sup>3</sup> His opinion has been confirmed by an examination of the parish records in the Essex Record Office at Chelmsford. Nine families were sent to Canada from Steeple Bumpstead,<sup>4</sup> and twenty persons from Great Clacton,<sup>5</sup> in 1832. During the next two years ten persons were sent to York in Upper Canada, and one family to New York, from Barking, and two women and one family also emigrated.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, pp.375-378.
  2. Ibid. p.377.
  3. Ibid. pp.224, 230-231.
  4. Essex Record Office. D/P.21/18/5, 'Papers relating to 9 families wishing to emigrate to America'.
  5. Ibid. D/P 179/12/16, 'Expences for Emigrants from Great Clacton'.
  6. Barking parish records.  
 Parish Notice Book, 16 March 1833; 23 March 1833.  
 Vestry Minute Book, 21 March 1833; 28 March 1833.  
 Minute Book of the Directors of the Poor, 11 May 1833;  
 29 July 1834; 27 September 1834; 18 November 1834.



The third area of considerable parish emigration was the contiguous part of Wiltshire and Somerset. In 1830 some labourers of the parish of Corsley, near Warminster 'begged earnestly to be assisted to remove from a place where they could not earn a living and were a burden to their neighbours, to one where they understood that by honest industry they might maintain themselves and their families in comfort and independence.' <sup>1</sup>

The parish officers agreed to the removal of several families who had long been a heavy charge upon the rates, and sixty-five persons were sent to Canada. <sup>2</sup> This example was followed by neighbouring parishes. In 1831 and 1832 three hundred paupers left Westbury for Canada. <sup>3</sup> Thirty-three persons went to Canada from Trowbridge, and thirty-seven to New York; <sup>4</sup> the Frome emigrants sailed to Quebec and Montreal; <sup>5</sup> the major emigration from Warminster was also to Quebec, although seven individuals went to New York; <sup>6</sup> and a group from Shepton Mallet emigrated to Australia. <sup>7</sup> Some of the letters sent home by the emigrants from this district were collected and published by G. Poulett Scrope 'for the information of the labouring poor.' <sup>8</sup> But in other parts of Wiltshire emigration was not popular. <sup>9</sup>

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1. G.P. Scrope, Extracts of letters from poor persons who emigrated last year to Canada and the United States. (London, 1831), Introduction.
  2. Ibid.  
M.F. Davies, Life in an English Village, (London, 1909), pp.80-81.
  3. Poor Laws Report, Appendix C, pp.41, 451.
  4. Ibid. Appendix A, Part I, pp.444, 501.
  5. Ibid. pp.497.
  6. Ibid. pp.439, 444.
  7. Ibid. p.444.
  8. G.P. Scrope, op.cit.
  9. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, pp.7, 10.

Parish emigration was not generally adopted in the rest of southern England, although many parishes sent out one group of paupers consisting of one or two families only. Many farmers objected to advancing a large sum of money, for an uncertain future benefit, particularly when they held their land on short leases.<sup>1</sup> There were complaints that only the most able and industrious took advantage of emigration, leaving the parish to bear the burden of the old, the infirm, and the lazy.<sup>2</sup> Chronic paupers who were induced to emigrate, rapidly became disillusioned with the new country, and returned home as quickly as possible.<sup>3</sup> On the whole however, the parishes which experimented with emigration were satisfied with the results. Some paupers were sent from West Sussex to America, and five of their letters were quoted in the report of the Poor Laws inquiry commissioners, with the original spelling and punctuation retained. Written in 1832 and 1833, they were directed to Aldingbourne and Oving, two parishes near Chichester.<sup>4</sup> A witness giving evidence before the Select Committee on the state of agriculture in 1836 asserted that a great many people emigrated to America under the old poor law from six or seven parishes in his

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1. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, pp.15, 406, 748.

2. Ibid. pp.377, 406.  
Appendix C, pp.450-451.

3. Ibid. Appendix A, Part I, p.268; Part II, p.69.

4. Ibid. Appendix C, pp.157-9.

district. He mentioned Climping, Yapton, Warburton [Walburton?] and Feltham [Felpham?], but gave no details, except the unreliable figure of about two hundred and fifty souls.<sup>1</sup> A number of paupers were sent to Canada from Surrey, the largest shipments being thirty-four from Lingfield,<sup>2</sup> and seventy-five from Dorking.<sup>3</sup> The parishes of Hampshire were too poor to defray the cost of emigration,<sup>4</sup> and the farmers of Dorset objected to the rates being used in that way.<sup>5</sup> Pauper emigration was rare in the west country, although many farmers left north Devon for the United States, some taking their labourers with them. But the few parishes which experimented with emigration were dissatisfied with the results, as many of the labourers returned.<sup>6</sup> The only other counties to send out any large group of paupers were Oxfordshire<sup>7</sup> and Gloucestershire.<sup>8</sup>

There was no disposition whatever in the Midlands to defray the cost of emigration from the poor rates. The few

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1. Third Report on the State of Agriculture, p.193-4.
  2. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, p.175.
  3. Ibid. p.574.  
C. Barclay, (ed.) Letters of the Dorking Emigrants who went to Upper Canada in the spring of 1832, (London, 1833).
  4. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, p.297.  
Appendix C, p.11.
  5. Ibid. Appendix A, Part I, pp.15, 19.
  6. Ibid. Appendix A, Part II, pp.68-9.
  7. Ibid. Appendix A, Part I, p.2.
  8. Ibid. pp.883, 886, 889.

people sent out from Warwickshire and Worcestershire did not prosper;<sup>1</sup> the parishes of Northamptonshire were too poor;<sup>2</sup> Nottingham and Leicester were willing 'to co-operate with Government', but not to shoulder the burden themselves;<sup>3</sup> in fact the situation was not bad enough to recommend this expensive type of relief to them.<sup>4</sup> The parish officers in the north of England also showed very little inclination to assist their labourers to emigrate. Wages in rural districts were higher than in the south, and any surplus labour was attracted into the growing industrial towns.<sup>5</sup> Therefore the poor rates did not reach the heights of the south east, and there was no incentive to pay for pauper emigration. The very considerable emigration from the north was of people with sufficient money to pay their own way. The parishes of Staffordshire and Cheshire had great objections to the raising of money for emigration purposes.<sup>6</sup> Pauper emigration was unknown in Lancashire,<sup>7</sup> and almost unknown in Cumberland and Westmorland, where there was no excess of population.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Ibid. Part II, p.68.
  2. Ibid. Part I, p.406.
  3. Ibid. Part II, pp.88, 92, 99, 108.
  4. Ibid. Appendix A, Part I, p.406; Part II, pp.94, 138.  
Some examples of pauper emigration from the Midlands.
  5. A. Redford, Labour Migration in England, 1800 to 1850, (Manchester, 1926), p.58.
  6. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, pp.268, 280.
  7. Ibid. pp.909-925.
  8. Ibid. p.319.



One exception was Aldstone Moor where the lead mines were almost worked out. One hundred and twenty-four individuals were helped to the United States, but even this emigration was paid for by subscription, and not from the rates.<sup>1</sup> A few parishes in the West Riding resorted to emigration as a mode of relief, but the practice was not popular, and was restricted to a few isolated families. Often the father had emigrated alone, and had now sent for his wife and children.<sup>2</sup> A witness before the Select Committee on the state of agriculture in 1836 insisted that emigration had been general from the East Riding since about 1824,<sup>3</sup> but he did not distinguish between migration to the manufacturing areas and emigration overseas, nor between assisted and private emigration. The letters of a few pauper emigrants from the East Riding were published in 1829,<sup>4</sup> but it seems improbable that parish emigration was widespread in this district.

When a parish wished to consider a suggestion that the surplus labourers should be helped to emigrate, whether the suggestion emanated from the ratepayers as in Benenden and Barking, or from the labourers as in Burwash and Corsley,

1. Ibid. p.320.

2. Ibid. pp.739, 745, 757, 759, 763, 784, 819, 829, 833, 848.

3. Second Report on the State of Agriculture. H.C. 189, pp.53-4, 1836 (VIII, Part II), 225.

4. S.H. Collins, The Emigrant's Guide to.....the United States ..., (Hull, 1829).

the same method of procedure was followed. Notice was given in the usual manner that a general meeting of the ratepayers would be held.<sup>1</sup> At the meeting the question would be discussed and a decision taken, the arrangement of details being left to the parish officers. The most important problem was how to raise the money. Occasionally this was done by starting a subscription among the local inhabitants,<sup>2</sup> but the usual method was to borrow at interest the sum required, preferably from a wealthy resident, or from the country banks,<sup>3</sup> and to repay the loan in instalments from the poor rates. The details of repayment varied from parish to parish, but a typical example is that of Benenden in Kent.<sup>4</sup> The whole of the emigration money, amounting to £1,197. 4s. 3d. in four years, was advanced by Thomas Law Hodges, and was repaid to him at the rate of one shilling for each emigrant each week. By the end of 1830 he had been repaid £866. 3s. of the debt. The ratepayers were willing to adopt the scale of repayment proposed, because the emigrants, if they had stayed at home, would have received as relief

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1. See the Barking Parish Notice Book, 17 March 1833; 23 March 1833; and the Select Vestry Minute Book of Burwash Parish.
  2. G.P. Scrope, *op.cit.*, Introduction. The Marquis of Bath contributed £50 towards the cost of the Corsley emigration.
  3. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, p.375.
  4. Ibid. Appendix C, p.149. 'Benenden Emigration Account'.

more than one shilling per week each. Sometimes the parish attempted to raise money to repay the loan by selling property. In Corsley two houses were sold,<sup>1</sup> and in Burwash several attempts were made to dispose of parish property, apparently without much success.<sup>2</sup> Occasionally some of the ratepayers refused to allow the rates to be used for emigration and the plans had to be abandoned. But when only one or two wished to emigrate a stratagem was sometimes resorted to - the expense was charged as relief administered to the emigrants during the previous quarter or half year.<sup>3</sup> Where parish emigration was adopted to any considerable extent it was estimated that the outlay on each pauper was less than he would have cost the parish had he remained at home.

All the arrangements for the journey were made by the parish officers. They would enter into a contract with a firm of passenger agents,<sup>4</sup> who would agree to ship a certain number of paupers for a certain price, and then make their own bargain with the ship owner. Sometimes the agent also agreed to supply the provisions,<sup>5</sup> but the contract usually

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1. G.P. Scrope, op.cit., Introduction.
  2. See below p.101.
  3. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, pp.375-6.
  4. Some of the circulars sent by the emigration agents to the Overseers have survived in the Essex Record Office. See D/P, 157/18/12; 67/18/4; 194/18/12.
  5. Directors of the Poor, Barking, 16 May 1833.

went to some local trader, who would contrive a handsome profit by supplying inferior food with the connivance, one suspects, of the Overseer. The emigrants complained bitterly of the bad food provided for the journey, and urged their friends to see about their own provisions. Thomas and Hannah Boots warned their children, '...be sure to get the gentlemen to let you lay in your own provision; and not let that rogue C[hapman] get it for you.'<sup>1</sup> It was often necessary to provide the emigrants with clothes, bedding and other necessities for the voyage,<sup>2</sup> and they were always given a sum of money for use on arrival in the new country. This was usually two pounds for each adult, and one pound for each child.<sup>3</sup> S.H. Collins advised that each family should be allowed at least five pounds.<sup>4</sup> The total cost of each emigrant to the parish was variously estimated. Thomas Law Hodges told the Emigration Committee in 1826 that the expense of the recent emigration from Kent had been £13.10s.,<sup>5</sup> whereas the Corsley emigration in 1830 averaged only £6 per

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1. Twenty Four Letters..., p.46. Chapman was the Overseer. See also pp.26, 29, 32, 33, for similar complaints.
  2. Barking Vestry Minute Book, 28 March 1833. Essex Records. D/P 21/18/5 'Papers relating to 9 families wishing to emigrate to America,' 1832.
  3. E.g. Ibid. 'Memorandum of an Agreement between the Parishoners [sic] of Steeple Bumpstead and the undernamed Paupers, who wish to emigrate to America.'
  4. S.H. Collins, op.cit., p.67.
  5. Report on Emigration, H.C. 404, p.133 (1826). IV, 1.



head.<sup>1</sup> The cost varied according to the numbers of paupers, competition among the agents, the port of destination, and other similar factors, but £8.10s. was the average amount expended on each emigrant at this time.<sup>2</sup> The paupers were sent in wagons to the ports, accompanied by one of the parish officers to complete all arrangements and see them embarked.

On the whole both parties, ratepayers and paupers, were satisfied with the results of parish emigration. Wherever it was carried out on a large scale a decrease in the poor rate followed. The departure of one hundred persons from Ewhurst, Sussex, solved the problem of the surplus labourers, and was largely responsible for a reduction in the amount expended on the poor from £3,101 in 1821 to £1,719 in 1831. Yet this latter sum still amount to twenty-seven shillings per head of the population. After emigration the rates in Salehurst dropped from nineteen shillings in the pounds to ten shillings and fivepence, but the expenditure was still more than twenty shillings per head.<sup>3</sup> The experience of Benenden was similar.<sup>4</sup> Fifty-six of the surplus labourers, and their families, emigrated, and thereafter there was little

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1. G.P. Scrope, Extracts of Letters....., Introduction.
  2. See also, Twenty Four Letters....., p.2.  
Poor Laws Report, Appendix C, p.149.  
Essex Records, D/P. 170/12/16.
  3. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, pp.203, 204.
  4. Ibid. Appendix C, p.149.

unemployment in the parish. The money spent on the poor was reduced by thirty per cent but still amounted to more than twenty shillings per head of the population. Emigration was indeed only a palliative, not a remedy, in these pauperized districts. The success of the emigrants in America varied according to their ability to tackle the problems facing them on arrival. Some returned home, disillusioned and discouraged by their experiences. Stephen Watson expressed this disillusionment in his first letter, '... for if we can't get a living, here is a poor house, just the same as in England; and they will keep us till the spring, and then send us back to England,.....And if I can't support my family, I shall come back in the spring;...'<sup>1</sup>

He later settled down contentedly enough in Albany. E.J. Curteis, M.P., put the number of labourers who returned as high as one quarter, but those who settled successfully wrote home to their friends to follow them, and pay no attention to the reports of the returned emigrants. 'Don't be discouraged now because some come back. Don't do as Mr. Roof did, step on shore, and before you know anything about the place, go right back again.'<sup>2</sup>

These letters are full of detailed advice and information, and although they do not minimize, but rather lay stress upon, the necessity for hard work their message is always 'to come over to America' if the parish will send them.<sup>3</sup>

Many friends and relatives did follow, although some suspected

1. Twenty Four Letters....., p.14.

2. Ibid. pp.19-20. For mention of returned emigrants see pp.11, 14, 17, 19, 20.

3. Ibid. passim.

the letter writers of exaggeration,<sup>1</sup> and it is true that failures were passed over lightly and successes stressed.

The following account of pauper emigration from Burwash, in Sussex, illustrates in detail how certain English parishes, for their own benefit, promoted the emigration of their surplus labourers. Ashurst Majendie reported that there had been two successful emigrations from this parish in 1829<sup>2</sup> and 1832.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the story had been found in the records still kept in the parish chest.<sup>3</sup>

The management of the affairs of the poor of Burwash was in the hands of an annually elected Select Vestry, which had been established, in accordance with Sturges Bourne's Act, by a resolution carried at a general meeting of the inhabitants in May 1819. Later the same year a salaried overseer was appointed in place of the former unpaid, compulsorily serving parish officers.<sup>4</sup> A few weeks later a general meeting decided to allow one hundred and fifty pounds<sup>5</sup> to three families to emigrate to the Cape of Good Hope, although no details of this group of emigrants are given, and they are not mentioned elsewhere. Thereafter the relief and assistance afforded to the poor followed the usual pattern of

1. W. Cobbett, Rural Rides, ed. Cole, p.538.
2. Poor Laws Report, Appendix A, Part I, pp.176-177.
3. See below p.118-122 Biographical Note I.
4. Select Vestry Minute Book, 10 May 1819; 30 August 1819.
5. Ibid. 13 October 1819. [entered at the back of the book].

allowances in money and kind and rent payment, until 1828. In that year the Select Vestry agreed unanimously to allow ten pounds to John Gorham to enable him to emigrate to America. This man was not yet in receipt of parish relief, and he had made no formal request for the money, but it appeared to the Vestry that if he remained in the parish he would certainly become chargeable, and they considered it more economical to help him to America.<sup>1</sup> This was the beginning of the pauper emigration which was to continue for several years. The labourers must have been familiar with the idea of emigration, for their neighbours in Ewhurst, Salehurst, and other nearby villages had been going to America since 1819, and a number of farm labourers had been attracted to Birkbeck's settlement in Illinois, but there is nothing to indicate why they began to request that particular type of assistance at this time. Perhaps the favourable letters sent home by successful emigrants were now beginning to arrive in considerable numbers.

On 7 February 1829 Thomas Parsons' wife unsuccessfully asked the Select Vestry for twenty pounds 'to go to America'.<sup>2</sup> About six weeks later Thomas Kemp, in addition to the usual grist, asked for twenty pounds and the passage of himself, his wife and six children to America.<sup>3</sup> His request also was

1. Ibid. 14 June 1828.

2. Request Book, Vol.3, 7 February 1829.

3. Ibid. Vol.4, 21 March 1829.



refused, but it had repercussions. Six days later the Select Vestry resolved to call a general meeting of the inhabitants of the parish for Friday 3 April, at 10 o'clock in the morning. The meeting was first to elect the various parish officers, and then 'take into consideration some plan of assisting certain families to Emigrate to America.'<sup>1</sup> The meeting accordingly assembled in the Vestry, but as usual immediately adjourned to the Bell Inn, where all the parish business was conducted. After the election of the parish officers, the question of emigration was discussed. Several families and other poor persons wished to go to America, and, as the cost of sending them would be less than the amount of relief they would require during the next three years, it was decided to borrow at interest three hundred pounds for that purpose. To repay the money, a proportion of the poor's rate, not exceeding eight shillings in the pound, was to be set apart yearly for the next three years.<sup>2</sup> The names of the families wishing to emigrate and entered in the Select Vestry minutes correspond with the entries in the Request Book for the next date, 4 April, so it seems probable that the letters from the applicants were consulted at the general meeting, although not entered until the next day.<sup>3</sup> There are eleven applications in the Request Book, asking for expenses

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1. Select Vestry Minute Book, 27 March 1829.
  2. Ibid. 3 April 1829.
  3. Request Book, Vol.4, 4 April 1829.

to America plus certain lump sums varying, according to the number of children or the optimism of the writers, from five to forty pounds. The smallest amount was requested by Mrs. Parsons, who perhaps thought that such a modest sum would be more favourably received than her previous request for twenty pounds. One of the most optimistic of the families was that of Thomas Chandler, Senior. The husband asked for expenses and ten pounds, and the wife for two year's pay at four shillings a week, twenty pounds.<sup>1</sup>

The Select Vestry held a meeting on 6 May to decide which paupers should be sent to America. The meeting was adjourned for two days, and the minutes of the adjourned meeting were never entered. Therefore the rest of the story has to be pieced together from the Overseer's account books. On the 9 May two hundred pounds was borrowed from Smith, Hilder and Co., and one hundred pounds from Mr. Henty,<sup>2</sup> a member of the Select Vestry, and the next day the paupers began their journey to London, accompanied by another member of the Vestry, Mr. Hyland. A local carrier, William Manwaring, took the emigrants to the port for eight pounds, and other expenses on the journey came to £3. 5s. 6d. Mr. Hyland's expenses were seven pounds. The passage cost £145. 10s. 6d., provisions £85. 18s. 7½d., bedding £1. 18s. 4d., and the emigrants were given £51.11s. in cash. The rest of the money

1. Ibid.

2. Disbursements, 1824-1830, p.263.

was used to pay various unspecified bills, and to reward such small services as helping to move the furniture. Altogether the parish paid £320. 6s. 6d. to ship about fifty paupers from Burwash to New York by way of London.<sup>1</sup> There is nowhere a list of the labourers who actually left Burwash, therefore their names cannot be given with complete certainty. A tentative list can be made by taking the names in the Request Book, Vestry Minute Book, and accounts, and seeing whether they recur in the Pauper's Ledger after 10 May 1829. A further difficulty is that occasionally two or more men had the same name and it is not possible to distinguish between them. Bearing these limitations in mind it appears that thirty-seven of the emigrants belonged to only five families. They were Thomas Kemp, his wife and six children, James French, his wife and five children, William Buss, his wife and eight children, John Luck, his wife and four children, and Stephen Elliott, his wife and four children. These men were all labourers<sup>2</sup> and all had been receiving relief for many years - Kemp, French and Elliott since 1816, Luck since 1821, and Buss since 1822. One Thomas Chandler emigrated, but it is not possible to say whether it was Junior or Senior. The other emigrants were John Vine, with his wife, child and father, Michael Elliott, with his wife and child, Richard Buss, with his wife and two children, and William Budd, and

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1. Ibid. pp.263, 264.

2. Pauper's Ledger 1826-1829.

perhaps his family.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Parsons was not one of the  
emigrants.<sup>2</sup>

The parish was now faced with the problem of repaying the three hundred pounds borrowed for the 1829 emigrants. Captain Haviland suggested that he should pay his poor tax direct to Messrs. Smith and Co., but his suggestion was not adopted at first.<sup>3</sup> Fifty pounds was repaid in December 1829 from the poor rate,<sup>4</sup> but the next fifty pounds were paid by Captain Haviland and deducted from his poor tax.<sup>5</sup> In November 1830 the Vestry was still trying to find some way of raising the money. It was decided to sell or mortgage the real copyhold or household property belonging to the parish, except for the workhouse.<sup>6</sup> The inhabitants were probably disappointed with the results of the emigration, for only six months later the Select Vestry found it necessary to call a general meeting at the Bell Inn 'for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of employing surplus who now amount to upwards of ninety.'<sup>7</sup> This time there was no departure from the usual practice. The 'surplus' was to be

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1. There were three William Budds, Senior, Middle and Junior.
  2. She received relief in 1829 and 1831.
  3. Select Vestry Minute Book, 14 November 1829.
  4. Disbursements 1824-1830, p.299.
  5. Select Vestry Minute Book, 6 March 1830.
  6. Ibid. 2 November 1830.
  7. Ibid. 14 November 1829.



employed in repairing Willingford Lane.<sup>1</sup> In February and March, 1830, another group of labourers asked to be sent to America.<sup>2</sup> The Select Vestry called a general meeting for the 25 March, to elect the parish officers and consider some plan of emigration.<sup>3</sup> The meeting was held and the officers elected, but there was no mention of emigration.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the inhabitants viewed with disfavour the idea of incurring new debts before they had repaid the old.

One of the applicants, however, left his wife and two children in the Workhouse and crossed the Atlantic alone. When he was settled in America he wrote to his wife, who then sent the following request to the Select Vestry.

'Gentlemen of the Committee of the Parish of Burwash I Hannah Russell of this Parish have received A Letter from my Husband which is in America & he sends In his Letter wishing that I could come to him and he Could provide A liveing for me & my two Children if you will be so kind as for to send me and My two Children as I am very willing to go if you will Be so kind as to send me.

And I ever shall remain thankfull,  
And Obedient Hannah Russell.'<sup>5</sup>

The husband's letter was shown to the Overseer and enquiries were made as to the cost of the voyage. The Select Vestry decided not to pay for Mrs. Russell's emigration,<sup>6</sup> but later

1. Ibid. 23 November 1829.

2. Request Book, Vol.4, 20 February 1830. [one request].  
6 March 1830. [fourteen requests].

3. Select Vestry Minute Book, 6 March 1830.

4. Ibid. 25 March 1830.

5. Parish letters [bundle] Undated, but entered in the Request Book under 28 May 1831.

6. Request Book, 28 May 1831.

arranged that any person who was willing to pay for her passage should receive from Mr. Button, the Overseer, twenty weeks' pay at 3s. 7d. each, amounting in all to £10.15s., on producing a letter from the captain of the ship on which the emigrants sailed.<sup>1</sup> John Russell agreed to these terms, the family sailed for America, and he was repaid in February, 1832.<sup>2</sup>

There were a few other requests for assistance to emigrate in 1830 and 1831, and one or two people were given small sums of money, but not nearly sufficient to pay all the expenses. Henry Weston's widow was allowed forty shillings,<sup>3</sup> and Thomas Dann one pound,<sup>4</sup> while 'Powell's children' were fitted out with clothes and a box for their luggage, and taken as far as London by William Manwaring.<sup>5</sup> But there is no record of any large expenditure between 1829 and 1832.

A general meeting of the inhabitants of the parish was held at the Bell Inn on Friday March 9th 1832 at ten o'clock in the morning, to consider ways of raising money to enable some poor parishioners to emigrate to America. It was resolved:

'That it is very desirable that such Paupers who are desirous of going and have large families and receive steady relief of the Parish or are frequently out of employ and such as this or any future meeting or the

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1. Select Vestry Minute Book, 29 October 1831.
  2. Disbursements 1830-1834, p.126; Paupers Ledger 1831-1835, p.72.
  3. Request Book, Vol.4, 14 May 1831.
  4. Disbursements 1830-1834, p.135, 4 March 1832.
  5. Ibid. p.138, 12 March 1832; p.141, 20 March 1832.

Select Vestry shall think proper should be sent to America at the Parish expence.....<sup>1</sup>

To pay for the emigration, four hundred pounds was to be borrowed on the security of a joint note of hand, signed by the Churchwardens and Overseers elected each year, and by five of the largest occupiers living in the parish.<sup>1</sup> The money was to be repaid in instalments of one hundred pounds, in the October of each year, each of the five occupiers paying twenty pounds, which would be deducted from his poor tax. As the Reverend Mr. Gould had a large interest in the parish he was to be asked to advance the money.<sup>2</sup> It was later decided to halve the amount of money borrowed,<sup>3</sup> and it was advanced by Mr. Tilden Smith, not the Reverend Gould.<sup>4</sup>

The money was used to send five families to America, and if any of them changed their minds others could take their places. Three of the selected families had asked unsuccessfully for assistance to emigrate two years earlier. William Pennells with his wife and child, and Richard Russell with his wife and child, had to pay part of their own passage money, but the other three families had all expenses paid. These three families of Hannaniah Hilder, Henry Pilbeam, and

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1. Henry Hone Haviland, James Noakes, James Lade, David Hyland, John Newington.

2. Select Vestry Minute Book, 9 March 1832.

3. Ibid. 17 April 1832.

4. Disbursements 1830-1834, p.168, 9 June 1832.

Thomas Pennells<sup>1</sup> numbered thirty-four individuals.<sup>2</sup> The arrangements for their passage were made with Charles Pilcher. His son travelled to Burwash to make the contract, and at a meeting of the Select Vestry on April 28th 1832, all the details were arranged. Thirty-seven of the emigrants were to be taken from Rye to New York for one hundred and thirty pounds, and the other three, the Russells, for twelve pounds. All the paupers, except Hannaniah Hilder, were present and agreed to go, on being provided with provisions and a small sum of money for use on their arrival at New York.<sup>3</sup> At the conclusion of the contract all the parties to it were given refreshment.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the price of passage the biggest expense was the amount of money given to the paupers. Each emigrant above the age of fourteen years was allowed two pounds, and the children under fourteen one pound, with the exception of Henry Pilbeam's 'Idiot Boy', who received ten pounds.<sup>5</sup> Henry Pilbeam was given twenty-eight pounds, Thomas Pennells twenty-seven pounds, and Hannaniah Hilder twelve pounds ten shillings.<sup>6</sup> Another large item was the purchase of food

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1. Select Vestry Minute Book, 17 April 1832.
  2. Ibid. 28 April 1832.
  3. Ibid. 28 April 1832.
  4. Disbursements 1830-1834, p.154, 28 April 1832.  
The refreshments and beer cost 6s.11d.
  5. Select Vestry Minute Book, 18 May 1832.
  6. Disbursements 1830-1834, p.169, 11 June 1832.



for the voyage. Over twenty pounds was spent on beef, and other bills, not specified, came to over forty-three pounds. Two smaller payments were made to a Mr. Vidler.<sup>1</sup> According to the report of the American consul in London, Samuel Vidler, or Vedler, was Master of the ship William, which carried emigrants from Rye to New York.<sup>2</sup> Other expenses besides the price of passage, provisions and allowances, included money to buy clothes for the three large pauper families,<sup>3</sup> and incidental expenses at the Bell.<sup>4</sup> All the emigrants were allowed money 'for subsistence to Rye', and the Overseer carefully made a note of his own expenditure on the journey - his refreshments and those of his horse, the cost of stamps on settling the contract with Mr. Pilcher, and 'Beer for Sailors'.<sup>5</sup>

The party of emigrants left Burwash on May 26th, 1832, in Manwaring's wagons. They stayed at the Red Lion Inn, Rye, until June 11th, when the parish officers completed all the arrangements, paid for the provisions, paid the first instalment of the passage money, seventy-two pounds, to Charles Pilcher, gave the emigrants their allowances, and watched them set sail for New York. Two other men, who must

1. Ibid.

2. Report on the Deportation of Paupers, Senate Doc. No. 5, 24 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. I, p. 22.

3. Disbursements 1830-1834, 9, 13, 26 May 1832.

4. Ibid. 21, 26 May 1832.

5. Ibid. 26 May 1832.

have joined the party later, were allowed ten shillings each.  
The balance of the passage money was paid on November 30th.<sup>1</sup>

The parish officers received a few small sums of money towards the cost of the emigration from sources other than the rates. Richard Russell and William Pennells paid one pound and three pounds respectively towards the cost of their own emigration,<sup>2</sup> although they had agreed to pay four pounds and five pounds. John Halloway paid six pounds 'on

1. Note. The dates of the emigrants' leaving Burwash and sailing from Rye have been calculated from the entries in the Overseers' Disbursement Book, under 26 May and 11 June 1832. It is almost certain that they sailed in the William, of which Samuel Vidler was Master, although according to the American Consul's list the ship sailed on 28 May with only fifteen passengers. This is not an insuperable difficulty, however, as emigrant carriers were notorious for delaying their departure until long after the advertised date. The fact that the emigrants left Burwash on 26 May supports the argument that they sailed in the William. Two days would be ample time to reach Rye and make arrangements to go on board. If the passage for the Burwash emigrants was only arranged at the last minute it would account for the discrepancy in the number of passengers.

In the Paupers' Ledger, 1831-1835, there is an entry under the names of Pilbeam, Hilder, and Thomas Pennells for 6 October 1832. This is the only entry in each case after the conjectural date of sailing, whereas previous to it they were all in regular receipt of relief, and on June 9, 1832 Thomas Pennell's cottage had been relet.

2. Disbursements 1830-1834, p.168, 9 June 1832.

Acct. Hannaniah Hilder's Child going to America', and the Iden parish officers paid three pounds for the emigration of Mary Pennells.<sup>1</sup> Sophia Pennells was only allowed to go if John Fairway would give security to the parish for a sum of money adequate for the maintenance of his bastard child for four years.<sup>2</sup> Sophia, aged nineteen years, was the eldest child of Thomas Pennells.<sup>3</sup>

Doubtless the parish considered itself well-rid of its three large pauper families. Hannaniah Hilder had received relief since 1822. There are occasional months without any entries, and others with only one, but by 1831 at the latest he was receiving regular weekly pay.<sup>4</sup> Henry Pilbeam had been receiving relief since 1816, when he had five children. In 1822 he had eight children, and four years later seven of them were still under the age of fourteen years. For years he received weekly pay, and for a time was in the poorhouse. In 1832 he was employed constantly on the highways at the wages of ten shillings a week, except in harvest and hop-picking. Thomas Pennells also appeared regularly in the Paupers' Ledgers from 1816 onwards; he received weekly pay, and the rent for his cottage, for years. Those emigrants who received only partial aid had never been in regular receipt of relief.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibid. p.162, 25 May 1832; p.168, 9 June 1832.

2. Select Vestry Minute Book, 18 May 1832.

3. Paupers' Ledger 1826-9.

4. There is no Paupers' Ledger between 1829 and 1831.

5. Richard Russell received only two grants, both in 1824. There were four William Pennells, but all received only casual, not regular, relief.

The parish of Burwash continued to help individuals to emigrate to America. In 1833 John Shoesmith was allowed ten pounds.<sup>1</sup> The money was advanced by a Mr. Stevenson, who was later repaid by the Overseer.<sup>2</sup> A year later, the parish officers arranged and paid for the emigration of John Bishop and Arthur Watson, both of whom had been receiving casual relief, and their families. The same method of raising the money was followed as in the previous emigrations, that is, money was borrowed at interest to be repaid later by the parish. But on this occasion the entire loan, principal and interest, was repaid within a few months, not in instalments as before. Forty pounds was borrowed from Thomas Abel Evans, and thirty-two pounds from John Henty, both of Burwash parish. Of this money forty-five pounds was paid to Charles Rayner for the passage, plus an extra pound for baggage, twenty-two pounds was given to the emigrants, William Manwaring charged three pounds for carrying them to the port, and the remainder<sup>3</sup> of the money went in incidental expenses. Evans and Henty were repaid on October 20th and November 3rd, respectively.

The departure of Bishop and Watson ends the story of the Burwash emigration as recorded in the surviving documents. A brief note in the Disbursements Book, 1832 to 1836, states that on November 7th 1835, the parish had still

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1. Select Vestry Minute Book, 3 March 1833.
  2. Disbursements 1830-1834, p.235, 31 May 1833.
  3. Disbursements 1834-1836, p.33, 3 July 1834.



to repay two hundred pounds of the money borrowed to assist poor persons to emigrate. But it seems that the ratepayers did not abandon the idea of helping the surplus labourers to emigrate, although their destination changed. An emigration handbill, circulated through the parishes of East Sussex in the late 1830s, consisted of extracts from two letters written by emigrants to Australia. The second letter, dated August 27th 1838, was written by William and Elizabeth Russell,<sup>1</sup> late of Burwash.

The change in the destination of the Burwash emigrants<sup>2</sup> was the result of the Poor Law Amendment Act. From 1815 onwards it had become increasingly obvious that the task of dealing with the poor had outgrown the parochial machinery.<sup>3</sup> The attempts at Poor Law reform between 1817 and 1830 failed to remedy the situation, so that the Government took the matter in hand, withdrew poor relief from the parish, set up a new local authority, and introduced a central executive supervision and control.<sup>4</sup> The result was a steady decline in parish emigration generally, and its almost complete cessation to the United States, although some emigrants sent to Canada continued to cross into the United States. The sixty-second section of the Act made it lawful for the ratepayers

1. This handbill is in the possession of Mr. C.W. Parish of Batemans, Burwash.
2. 4 & 5 Will. IV, c.76.
3. S. & B. Webb, The Old Poor Law, p.426.
4. S. & B. Webb, The Parish and the County, p.171.

in any parish to convene a meeting to consider the emigration of poor persons. Sums of money, not exceeding half the average yearly rate for the three preceding years, could be raised to defray the expenses of such emigration, but could only be applied with the permission, and according to the instructions, of the Poor Law Commissioners. The money borrowed had to be repaid within five years. With the consent of the Poor Law Commissioners application for a loan could be made to the Commissioners of Exchequer Bills upon the security of the poor rates.<sup>1</sup> Detailed instructions were prepared and circulated to the parishes.<sup>2</sup> When a meeting had been called, after due notice, and a resolution to raise money for emigration purposes adopted, copies of the Notice and Resolution and a Certificate signed by the Minister, Churchwardens and Overseers, were to be sent to the Board. In addition, a list and description of the prospective emigrants, showing the relief they had received from the parish and their proposed destination, had to be enclosed. If the Board approved the application it would send further forms, and the regulations under which the money had to be applied.<sup>3</sup> The first of these

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1. 4 & 5 Will IV. C.76, Section 63.
  2. M.H. 10/7. Circular Letters.  
First Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, Appendix A, No.8. H.C. 500, pp.55-9 (1835). xxxv, 107.
  3. E.g. Essex Record Office, D/P. 12/12. Parish of Widdington. See also M.H. 1, Minutes of the Poor Law Commissioners, for examples of applications for permission to raise money for emigration.

regulations was, that 'the parties emigrating shall go to some British Colony'.

At first the Commissioners sanctioned emigration to the United States where circumstances, such as the previous emigration of relatives to that country, rendered it expedient,<sup>1</sup> but the emigration of groups of paupers to New York, as in the old days, was not allowed. Some paupers of Yapton, Sussex, wished to join their friends in the United States, but the Poor Law Commissioners refused to sanction the emigration unless they went to Canada, which many of them refused to do.<sup>2</sup> Out of three hundred and twenty persons who had emigrated according to the provisions of the Act up to August 1835, only fifty, from two parishes, went to the United States.<sup>3</sup> During the next year there was a much larger emigration of more than five thousand paupers (5,141), the great majority (3,855) going from Norfolk and Suffolk, all except nine of them to Canada, Only two hundred and nineteen persons went to the United States, including one hundred and four from Sussex, and forty-seven from Kent.<sup>4</sup> From 1836 to 1837 only a few families were sent to the United States, out of a total parish

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1. Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, Appendix C, No.6. H.C. 546, p.126-7 (1837). xxxi, 127.
  2. Third Report on the State of Agriculture, p.194.
  3. First Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, p.24. 23 from Stalbridge, Dorset, and 27 from Shipley, Sussex.
  4. Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners. H.C. 595, pp.571-4. (1836). xxix Part I, 1.

emigration of nine hundred and eighty-two.<sup>1</sup> Again in the next year only a few families from four parishes, thirty-nine persons in all, were allowed to proceed to the United States.<sup>2</sup> From 1838 to 1841 no paupers were assisted to the States, and from then onwards only five persons were recorded as having sailed to New York, although the destination of a few was given as 'North America'. In 1842 the Poor Law Commissioners gave the reasons for their policy:

'We have objected to sanction the emigration to the United States, not only upon what may be considered as grounds of national policy, but also upon the ground of our not possessing sufficient guarantees as to the mode of treatment which such emigrants are likely to receive in countries over which our Government has no control.'<sup>3</sup>

At first the Commissioners had allowed paupers to join their relatives in the United States, but now it became policy not to help families who had been left in the care of the parish, while the father went off to America.<sup>4</sup> This regulation particularly affected emigration to the United States, but also applied to the British colonies.<sup>5</sup> It became accepted policy

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1. Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, pp.126-7.
  2. Fourth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, p.219. H.C. (1838). xxviii, 145.
  3. Eighth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners. [389] p.23. H.C. (1842). xix, 1.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Eleventh Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners. [624] pp.20-21. H.C. (1845). xxvii, 247.  
M.H. 4/2, 28 May, 27 August, 13 September, 9 November 1841.  
Official Circular, 8 January 1840, p.13.



not to authorize any emigration unless it was to a British colony, nor to sanction the emigration of women to join their husbands who had deserted them.

Out of the 25,852 persons who had been authorized to emigrate up to the end of 1860,<sup>1</sup> less than four hundred had been sent to the United States. There is no record of the number of persons assisted by subscription, and occasionally assistance was given illegally without consulting the Board,<sup>2</sup> but only when two or three persons wished to emigrate. Then the inhabitants would be able to raise the money required without applying for a loan, but cases of this kind were not numerous.

The arrival of English paupers was not viewed with complacency in the United States, but rather brought forth continuous protests in newspapers, State legislatures, and in Congress, out of all proportion to the actual numbers arriving at the ports. From 1819 onwards vigorous complaints appeared regularly in Niles' Register. At the height of the parish emigration Niles exclaimed, 'Liberality! The British deluge our cities with paupers - many of them being transported at the cost of the parishes, and dropped down among us to be fed by our labor, ... This foul business requires a strong corrective .....' 3

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1. Thirteenth Report of the Poor Law Board. [2820] p.287. H.C. (1861). xxviii, 1.
  2. Twelfth Report of the Poor Law Board. [2675] p.19. H.C. (1860). xxxvii, 1.
  3. Niles' Register, XL, 130, 23 April 1831.

The emigrant agent at Quebec reported in 1828 that the American authorities were exasperated at the influx of paupers.<sup>1</sup> The passage of the Poor Law Amendment Act confirmed American suspicions that it was the policy of the English government to pour its paupers into the United States.

A Select Committee of the House reported that, 'Notwithstanding the friendly relations which exist between the Government of the United States and that of Great Britain.... the Committee have observed with regret that a system of legislation has been adopted in that country, which has for its object the deportation of their immense pauper population to America....' 2

The legislature of Massachusetts was much concerned over the introduction of paupers, and in 1836 requested its State delegation in Congress to use its influence to prevent such introduction. It believed that English statesmen were determined to relieve the country of its burden of pauperism, by helping the paupers to the United States.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the year the Secretary of the Treasury laid before the Senate a report on the deportation of paupers from Great Britain 'and other places'.<sup>4</sup> The information contained in the Report should have reassured Congress that America was not acting the part of unwilling host to thousands of former inmates of

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1. C.O. 42/220. Buchanan to Hay, 14 August 1828.
  2. Report from the Select Committee on Foreign Paupers . . . ., House Report, No.1040, 25 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol.IV, p.10.
  3. Resolution of the Massachusetts House of Representatives on the Introduction of Paupers, House Doc. No.219, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.VI.
  4. Report on the Deportation of Paupers, Senate Doc. No.5, 24 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol.I.

English poorhouses. The American consul in Liverpool said that parish emigration to New York was common, but enclosed a table proving the contrary. According to his figures parish emigration through Liverpool had decreased from six hundred in 1830 to one hundred and fifty in 1835.<sup>1</sup> The Consul in Hull stated that the numbers had greatly diminished,<sup>2</sup> and the result of inquiries instituted by his colleague in London pointed to the same conclusion.<sup>3</sup> The Philadelphia Board of Guardians considered that parish emigration from England was quite general, but could not ascertain its extent.<sup>4</sup> The Baltimore Collector of Customs was certain that no paupers had arrived from Great Britain,<sup>5</sup> and the Boston Collector reported very few emigrants of any kind from Great Britain.<sup>6</sup> But Memorials and Resolutions continued to be submitted to Congress, resulting in Presidential Messages in 1838 and 1847. The first Message was reported on by a Select Committee of the House, a report full of complaints against the British Government, but not producing any new evidence.<sup>7</sup> As late as

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1. Ibid. Enclosure No.12.

2. Ibid. Enclosure No.13.

3. Ibid. Enclosure No.18.

4. Ibid. Enclosure No.17.

5. Ibid. Enclosure No.16.

6. Ibid. Enclosure No.15.

O. Handlin, Boston's Immigrants, p.55.

7. Report from the Select Committee on Foreign Paupers ..., House Report No.1040, 25 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol.IV.

1856, Section 62 of the Poor Law Amendment Act was considered to be a plot of the English Government against the American people.<sup>1</sup> The fact that it was the policy of the Poor Law authorities only to assist emigrants to the British colonies, did not lessen suspicion of the Act. The Massachusetts legislature asked in 1836, 'Can it be for a moment supposed that England intends thus to burden her colonies...?'<sup>2</sup> And twenty years later John Davis replied, 'They do not, it is true, propose to send them to the United States... but it seems they have no objection to their finding their way hither...'<sup>3</sup> As a contrast to these protests may be quoted the opinion of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York:

'It is doubtless an evil to have either convicts or pauper emigrants introduced into the country; but your Committee submits that the advantages which the city derives from emigration to this port greatly overbalance that evil...'<sup>4</sup>

The chorus of protest against the introduction of paupers, particularly from England, in spite of evidence that such emigration was only a very small proportion of the total emigration, may be explained by the suggestion that Americans

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1. Report on Foreign Criminals and Paupers, House Report No.359, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.III.
  2. Resolution ... on the Introduction of Paupers, House Doc. No.219, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.I.
  3. Report on Foreign Criminals and Paupers, House Report No.359, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.III, pp.32-3.
  4. Annual Report of the New York Commissioners of Emigration, 1854, pp.73-4.



failed to differentiate between the true 'paupers' and the hordes of poor persons who managed to scrape together a few pounds, sufficient to see them across the Atlantic. The poorest emigrants in later years travelled to Quebec and then crossed into the United States, and this fact explains American suspicion of the Poor Law Amendment Act. Although very few had, in fact, been assisted by the Poor Law authorities, to the American they would be 'paupers'.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

##### 1. PARISH RECORDS.

Three groups of records were used - those deposited in the Essex Record Office at Chelmsford, those kept in the Town Hall, Barking, and the records still kept in the parish chest in the village of Burwash, Sussex.

The Essex parish records are catalogued under the press mark D/P. Each parish is numbered and its papers listed separately under headings. For example, the parish of Great Dunmow is D/P. 11, and its records are entered under the general headings of incumbent, churchwardens, vestry, constables, overseers, surveyors, lighting and watching inspectors, charities, miscellaneous. Some of the general headings are also subdivided.

Emigration circulars were found in the following:

D/P. 67/18/4; 157/18/12; 164/18/7;  
166/18/2; 185/18/5; 194/18/12.

Other papers dealing with emigration were:

Papers relating to 9 families wishing to emigrate to America.

Steeple Bumpstead Parish. D/P. 21/18/5.

Expences for Emigrants sent from Gt. Clacton, 18 June 1832.

D/P. 179/12/16.

Agreement to send 15 persons to Upper Canada, April 1835.

Widdington Parish. D/P. 12/12.

Chelmsford Union. Expenditure 1851 and 1852. D/P. 114/19.

Orsett Union. Quarterly Abstract. D/P. 157/19/2.

The following Barking records were used:

Parish Notice Books, 2 vols., 1819-32; 1832-39.

Vestry Minute Books, 2 vols., 1803-1832; 1832-1867.

Directors of the Poor. Minute Books, 1786-1854.

Half Hundred of Becontree, Ilford Bench. Minute Book, 1830-1836.

Select Vestry. Account Book, 1825-1830.

Barking Town Ward. Account Book of the Poor Rate, 1834.

The Burwash parish chest contains eighteenth and nineteenth century records. The eighteenth century volumes and papers have been examined and labelled by H.W. Fielden, and in the following short list of records not used in this study, the numbers he attached to each volume are given in brackets.

Assessments and Disbursements by the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor. 1701-1717. (2)

Ledger with receipted accounts of the Overseers. 1737-1744. (3)

Disbursements by the Overseers. 1737-1760.	(4)
Ledger with receipted accounts of the Overseers. 1760-1775.	(5)
Assessments. 1767-1787.	(6)
Disbursements and receipted accounts of the Overseers. 1774-1789.	(7)
Assessments. 1788-1798.	(8)
Disbursements and receipted accounts of the Overseers. 1789-1803.	(9)
Overseers' Accounts. 1802-1810.	(10)
Disbursements. 1810-1814.	(11)
Parcel containing bundles, packets and loose papers, eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The contents are usually noted by 'H.W.F.'	

The following records were issued for the account of the Burwash emigrations.

1. Request Books, 1820-1831. Four volumes.
  - a) 4 November 1820 to 3 April 1824.
  - b) 7 May 1824 to 19 June 1826.
  - c) 30 June 1826 to 21 February 1829.
  - d) 7 March 1829 to 9 July 1831.

These books contain requests to the Select Vestry for assistance - the name of the applicant, the nature of the request, and what was granted.

2. Select Vestry Minute Book, 1819-1833.
3. Poor Law Account Books, or, Paupers' Ledgers, 1816-1835. Five volumes.
  - a) 1816-1822.
  - b) 1822-1824.
  - c) 1824-1826.
  - d) 1826-1829.
  - e) 1831-1835.

These volumes give the name of a pauper at the head of each page, and the dates and amounts of relief allowed to him. The 1826-1829 ledger is much larger and more elaborate than the other volumes, having provision for the pauper's name, his trade and residence, the number of his family including the names and ages of his children, and the amount of relief allowed, whether weekly or casual. The details were not always entered.

- f) Bundle of double foolscap sheets - rough drafts of the paupers' ledgers, c. 1822-1830.  
The entries were made under dates not names.

4. Overseers' Account Books, or, Disbursements, 1815-1836.

Six volumes.

- (a) 1815-1818.  
(b) 1817-1818. This volume is a small rough cash book recording disbursements only.  
(c) 1821-1824.                      (d) 1824-1830.  
(e) 1830-1834.                      (f) 1834-1836.

These books detail the cash received, and the cash disbursed.

5. Bundle of 'Burwash Parish Letters', c. 1820-1835.  
Miscellaneous - the majority are letters asking for relief and allowances.
6. Three parcels containing bundles of receipted bills.  
The bills cover the 1820s and 1830s.
7. Assessment for the Poor Tax, 1828-1835.  
Poor Tax Account Book, 1826-1835.
8. Bill Book Accounts, 1824-1826.
9. Burwash Poor House. Account of Goods Delivered Weekly, 1824-1830.



10. Rough account book, about the size of an exercise book. It deals with the work done by the paupers, and provisions.
11. Churchwardens' Account Book, 1852-1872.

2. THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN ILLINOIS.

The story of the English Settlement is well-known, and can be followed in the writings of the founders, Birkbeck and Flower, and in the accounts given by English travellers in America.

- Morris Birkbeck : Notes on a Journey in America, from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois. (Philadelphia, 1817).
- M. Birkbeck : Letters from Illinois. (Philadelphia, 1818).
- M. Birkbeck : Extracts from a Supplementary Letter from the Illinois. (London, 1819).
- M. Birkbeck : An Address to the Farmers of Great Britain. (London, 1822).
- [W.N. Blane] : An Excursion through the United States and Canada during the years 1822 to 1823. (London, 1824).
- W. Cobbett : A Year's Residence in the United States of America. (London, 1819).
- W. Faux : Memorable Days in America. (London, 1823).
- [Reprinted in, R.B. Thwaites (ed.): Early Western Travels, 1748-1846. 32 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1905). Vols. XI and XII.]
- H.B. Fearon : Sketches of America. (London, 1818).
- George Flower : History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois. Chicago Historical Society, Collections, I, 1882.

Richard Flower : Letters from Lexington and the Illinois.  
(London, 1819).

R. Flower : Letters from the Illinois, 1820, 1821.  
(London, 1822).

[Both volumes reprinted in, Thwaites, Vol.X].

W.T. Harris : Remarks made during a Tour through the  
United States of America, in the years  
1817, 1818, and 1819. (Liverpool, 1819).

T. Hulme : A Journal Made during a Tour in the  
Western Countries of America, 1818-1819.  
[Printed in, Cobbett, A Year's Residence,  
Part III and reprinted in, Thwaites,  
Vol.X.]

J. Monaghan (ed.) : 'From England to Illinois in 1821.  
The Journal of William Hall.'  
Journal of the Illinois State Historical  
Society, xxxix, (1946).

F.A. Ogg (ed.) : Personal Narrative of Travels ... and  
of a residence in the Illinois  
Territory, 1817-1818, by Elias Pym  
Fordham. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1906).

E.E. Sparks (ed.) : The English Settlement in the Illinois.  
(London, and Cedar Rapids, 1907).

[Includes reprints of Birkbeck's 'Extracts', and  
both series of letters by R. Flower.]

A. Welby : A Visit to North America and the  
English Settlements in Illinois.  
(London, 1821).

[Reprinted in Thwaites, Vol.XII.]

J. Woods : Two Years' Residence in the Settlement  
on the English Prairie. (London, 1822).

[Reprinted in Thwaites, Vol.X.]

An account of the English Settlement is given in the  
two following articles:

- Jane Rodman : 'The English Settlement in Southern Illinois, 1815-1825.' Indiana Mag. of Hist., 43, (1947).
- Jane Rodman : 'The English Settlement in Southern Illinois as Viewed by English Travelers, 1815-1825.' Indiana Mag. of Hist., 44, (1948).

### CHAPTER III.

#### TRADE UNION EMIGRATION

From the beginning of the nineteenth century emigration of artizans and mechanics to the United States was common, particularly in such times of depression as the years after 1815 and 1825, and during the long period of bad trade in the late 'thirties and early 'forties. It was an individual movement, undertaken by the artizans themselves in an attempt to improve their conditions. They paid their own way, and made their own arrangements.<sup>1</sup> They saved, borrowed, joined emigration societies, sold their belongings, and when the passage money had been raised, joined the stream of emigrants leaving the English ports, confident that a much better life lay before them.<sup>2</sup>

During the early part of the century the emigration of artizans attracted considerable attention because of the fear of the growth of foreign industrial competition. Until 1824 it was illegal for mechanics to emigrate to foreign countries, and even in times of unemployment, when petitions

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1. See below, Chapter VI, for a discussion of American efforts to import skilled workmen.
  2. M.M. Quaife, ed., 'An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin', Wisconsin Historical Publications, Collections, Vol. XXV. This volume prints the letters of one such emigrant, Edwin Bottomley.



were presented to Parliament asking for the waiving of the restrictive acts, they were not granted.<sup>1</sup> Many artizans, however, succeeded in evading the restrictions and obtained employment abroad, either on the Continent or in the United States.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes passenger vessels cleared out for a port in British North America, although their true destination was the United States,<sup>3</sup> and others sailed from remote parts of the coast to avoid the customs officials. Some mechanics bought, or otherwise obtained, false certificates stating that they were common labourers.<sup>4</sup> Others crossed the Channel to France and embarked for the United States from Le Havre, and still others proceeded to some port of British North America and then crossed into the United States.<sup>5</sup>

The agitation for the repeal of the Combination laws also included a demand for free emigration,<sup>6</sup> and after the

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1. A. Redford, Labour Migration in England, pp.153-4.
  2. Reports from the Select Committee on Artizans and Machinery. H.C. 51, p.590. (1824). V.1.  
F.O.5/172. Consul Robertson to F.O., 22 January 1822.
  3. F.O.5/135. Consul Manners to Castlereagh, 7 November 1818.  
F.O.5/144. Brit. Consul at Philadelphia to Collector of Customs, Cork, 26 July 1819.
  4. F.O.5/125. Rev. W. Geoffre to Castlereagh, January 1817.
  5. Niles' Register, XVI, 239, 286, 29 May 1819; 19 June 1819.
  6. E.g. The Gorgon, No.25, 7 November 1818; No.26, 14 November 1818; No.44, 20 March 1819.

repeal of the restrictive laws in 1824<sup>1</sup> the emigration of artizans continued at an increased rate, but was less than that of agricultural labourers for many years to come.<sup>2</sup> Some representative of almost every trade in England made his way to the United States. The highly skilled were in great demand, until they had trained their American successors, but the greatest numbers of emigrants came from the declining trades. In later years the most depressed class of labourers, the hand loom weavers, were much too poor to pay for a passage across the Atlantic, but immediately after the close of the Napoleonic wars many weavers settled in the Eastern cities of the United States.<sup>3</sup> Members of other declining industries also made their way to America, for example, textile workers from the West of England,<sup>4</sup> and lead miners from Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cumberland, Durham and Yorkshire.<sup>5</sup> There was also a considerable emigration of Cornish miners to the United States,<sup>6</sup> and the dissatisfied of many trades looked to America as their

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1. 5 Geo. IV. C.97.
  2. A. Redford, op.cit., pp.106-7.
  3. John Knight, Important Extracts ... from Letters..., First and Second Series, (Manchester, 1818).  
Liverpool Mercury, 18 April 1828, p.122.
  4. G.P. Scrope, Extracts of Letters...., 1832.
  5. A. Redford, op.cit., pp.49-50.
  6. Sidney's Emigrants Journal, Vol.I, No.2, p.12.  
L.A. Copeland, 'The Cornish in Southwest Wisconsin',  
Wisconsin Historical Publications, Collections Vol.XIV,  
pp.301-334.

promised land. Emigrant journals and guidebooks included advice to mechanics as well as to other emigrating classes. Their questions were answered in the correspondence columns, and some of their letters were published. At least one guide was directed exclusively to mechanics,<sup>1</sup> and the question was discussed in the radical press.<sup>2</sup> The majority of the emigrant mechanics settled in the Eastern cities of the United States, where some found that they could suffer as much from unemployment as in England. A few were persuaded to join settlements in the West, but they proved utterly unsuited for the pioneering work of the backwoods.

There was no direct attempt made in England to promote the emigration of industrial workers as such, until the trade societies abandoned revolutionary unionism in the early 1840s, and instead attempted to reduce the number of labourers. Then for a few years the flow of independent industrial emigrants was reinforced by the emigration of Union members, financed by Union funds.

From about 1845 the Executive Committees of the Trade Societies, realising that strikes did not help in the struggle for higher wages and better conditions, as long as the supply of workers was greater than the demand, began to advocate various methods of restricting the supply. Strikes were

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1. The British Mechanics . . . . Handbook . . ., (London, 1840).
  2. E.g. The Struggle, (Preston, 1842).

denounced, and in their place schemes were put forward to limit the number of apprentices, to abolish overtime, and to provide an emigration fund.<sup>1</sup> Many Trade Societies in the late 1840s and 1850s believed that they could solve their problem of surplus labour by helping members overseas. Only when it was discovered that the numbers who could be assisted to emigrate were too small to affect the position at home, were the Emigration Funds abolished, or allowed to lapse.

Apart from the general belief that emigration would help to relieve the overstocked labour market, it was sometimes resorted to after a strike, by those strikers whose activities had made them 'marked men'. Societies often gave assistance to one or two such individuals, for example, a certain Bradshaw received five pounds from the Ovenmen's Branch of the Potters' Union, to emigrate to the United States, because his work in their behalf had made him 'an object of persecution'.<sup>2</sup> The Provincial Typographical Association laid it down as a general rule that any member on strike could use his strike money to emigrate.<sup>3</sup> But on the whole strikers who wished to emigrate had to rely on their own resources, or on subscriptions from well-wishers. In 1847

1. S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 2nd ed., (London, 1920), pp.201-202.
2. Potters' Examiner, II, 148. 5 October 1844.
3. The Typographical Association: a fifty years record, 1849-1899, (Manchester, 1899), p.19.



many of the factory workers at Ashton, Dukinfield, and Mosley sold all their household furniture to pay their fares to the United States, after a general turn-out in their district.<sup>1</sup> The Engineers who emigrated to Australia after the strike and lock-out of 1851 and 1852 borrowed the money for their passage out, £1050 being advanced by one man, E. Vansittart Neale.<sup>2</sup> And during the Preston strike of 1853 to 1854 subscriptions were solicited for an emigration fund 'to emigrate all operatives who are willing to leave a land of oppression for one of freedom'.<sup>3</sup>

The strike in the cotton trade at Preston began when the operatives agitated for the restoration of the ten per cent reduction in wages which had been made in 1847. All but four of the Preston mills gave the advance, and in August 1853, the operatives at those four mills went on strike. In September the Masters' Association issued a manifesto expressing their determination to close their mills until the strikers were prepared to return to work. By the end of October, forty-seven firms had stopped working, and about eighteen thousand hands, many of them women and young people,

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1. Mark Lane Express, 15 November 1847, p.6.
  2. Liverpool Mercury, 20 February 1852, pp.150-151.  
National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Trade Societies and Strikes, (London, 1860), p.186.  
S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, p.215.
  3. Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, p.232.

were rendered inactive. Only fifteen firms continued running throughout the lock-out, which ended in April 1854.<sup>1</sup> On January 28th the delegates of the weavers, by far the largest branch of the trade, held a meeting at the Temperance Hall and, after resolving to send no more deputations to wait upon the employers, decided to establish an emigration fund, as 'one of the safest and surest means of thinning the labour market' and as the best plan to end the present strike and prevent future strikes.<sup>2</sup> The emigration fund was separated from the ordinary relief fund, and subscriptions invited to both.<sup>3</sup> Relief flowed into Preston from trade societies and individuals throughout the country,<sup>4</sup> amounting to almost three thousand pounds each week by the middle of November,<sup>5</sup> and not declining until March.<sup>6</sup> Almost all this money went into the general relief fund. Very little support was given to the emigration scheme. In the first two weeks the weavers' committee received only £81.11s.6d. for emigration,<sup>7</sup> and a

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1. Ibid. 'An Account of the Strike in the Cotton Trade at Preston, in 1853 ... By J. Lowe.'

2. Ibid. p.232.

3. Liverpool Mercury, 14 February 1854, p.5.

4. Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, pp.218, 249-253, 260-263.

5. Ibid. p.219.

6. Ibid. p.240.

7. Liverpool Mercury, 14 February 1854, p.5.

few weeks later the amount had dropped to less than thirty shillings, from two subscriptions.<sup>1</sup> All these donations came from neighbouring cotton towns, which were interested in reducing the numbers employed in their trade, and had good reason to fear an influx of Preston workers to increase their own labour problems. Of the seven cotton unions taking part in the strike, only the two largest spent any money at all on 'emigrating and removing', the weavers almost two hundred pounds, and the spinners less than one hundred and ten pounds. These small amounts are to be contrasted with the money distributed in relief, £57,690 and £18,203 respectively.<sup>2</sup> It was stated that the number of skilled spinners and minders decreased by emigration from eight hundred and forty-seven to seven hundred and eighty-five,<sup>3</sup> but if the number of emigrants was as great as suggested, many of them must have paid their own expenses. It seems unlikely, however, that the total decrease was the result of emigration overseas, as individual workmen migrated to other centres of the cotton trade.

Emigration during and after a strike, however, was a temporary expedient, adopted as one among many schemes of relieving the sufferings of the strikers. The promotion of

1. Ibid. 7 March 1854, p.5.

2. Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, pp.254, 255.

3. Ibid. p.255.

emigration as policy can be seen in the numerous emigration funds formed from about 1840 onwards. As early as 1842, when the handmade paper trade became seriously overstocked, the Original Society of Paper Makers sent fifty of its members to America, to be followed by others during the next few years.<sup>1</sup> But the Trade Union scheme of emigration which attracted most attention, and was most successful in providing for its members, was that of the Staffordshire potters.<sup>2</sup> Established in 1844 as part of a plan to reduce the number of surplus workmen in the trade, the scheme was expanded to include all who would subscribe, not only union members. No other union obtained such support for its emigration plans, or developed them to such an extent. This was because the Potters secured as leader an energetic advocate of emigration whose enthusiasm and ability made the scheme more than an obscure off-shoot of the Union's activities, but one of its chief concerns. Other trades allowed their emigrants a few pounds, enough to pay the expenses of the journey, but the Potters' society bought land in the Western States and settled the emigrants upon it. They had a vision of a New Town arising on the beautiful prairies of America, where the potters could escape from their unhealthy trade, and live happily on their own land.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Volume XXIX, 239. [Oral account given by an old member.]
  2. G. Foreman, 'Settlement of English Potters in Wisconsin', Wisconsin Mag. of Hist., XXI, 1937-38.
  3. Potters' Examiner, I, 177-8. 4 May 1844.



In December 1843 William Evans began to publish at Shelton a weekly newspaper, the Potters' Examiner and Workman's Advocate, for the Executive of the Operative Potters. The problem of the unemployed soon occupied the attention of the paper, and in February 1844 emigration was suggested. In a long article 'Mentor' [Evans] suggested the formation of a Joint Stock Emigration Company to purchase land in the Western States of the United States of America, and to help the unemployed to emigrate.<sup>1</sup> A week later emigration was again proposed.<sup>2</sup> It should be undertaken for the benefit of the trade as a whole 'as a great safety valve for the removal of the surplus labour of the potting districts of this empire.'<sup>3</sup> Strikes were denounced<sup>4</sup> and the potters urged to set an example to the other trades of England.<sup>5</sup> Even where there were no labour problems at the moment the scheme should be supported as an insurance against bad times in the future.<sup>6</sup> The introduction of machinery increased the need for action, only emigration could combat the evils caused by it.<sup>7</sup> The subject was kept constantly before the potters by Evans in his paper,

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1. Ibid. I, 73-75.
  2. Ibid. I, 81-82.
  3. Ibid. II, 101.
  4. Ibid. II, 17-18, 107.
  5. Ibid. II, 20-21.
  6. Ibid. II, 181-2.
  7. Ibid. II, 76-7, 95-6, 186-7.

and he soon secured their support. The laws of the United Branches of Operative Potters adopted in February 1844 included a clause stating the intention of the union to enter immediately into operations for the formation of an emigration company, which would help to secure 'a fair and just remuneration for labour'.<sup>1</sup> Rhetorical articles appeared in the Examiner urging the potters to leave their poisonous workshops for the pure air of the land.<sup>2</sup> In March the Central Committee of the Trade Society approved the suggestions on emigration, the laws of the proposed company were drawn up, and approved in April.<sup>3</sup> A month later the Potters' Joint Stock Emigration Society and Savings Fund was enrolled under Act of Parliament.

The first General Meeting of the new company was held at the Talbot Inn, Hanley, on Monday May 20th 1844.<sup>4</sup> The officials were elected a fortnight later, William Evans becoming the company's agent, and at the same time a provisional committee began to enrol names.<sup>5</sup> The following Wednesday a public meeting of the Operative Potters was held in the Temperance Hall, Burslem, to explain the objects of the emigration company.<sup>6</sup> General Meetings were held every fourth

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1. Ibid. I, 102. Clause 10.

2. E.g. Ibid. I, 105.

3. Ibid. I, 121-3, 158, 164.

4. Ibid. I, 200.

5. Ibid. I, 208; II, 12-13.

6. Ibid. II, 16.

Monday, when new members were enrolled.<sup>1</sup> Working committees to visit the houses of those who had not yet taken out shares, were set up for each of the five towns.<sup>2</sup> By September 1844 the organization of the Company was so far advanced that the officials to manage the American side - the Estate Steward, his Deputy, and the Conductors - were elected, and the increasing number of members made it necessary to hold the General Meetings in a larger room.<sup>3</sup>

Propaganda in favour of the emigration plan continued to occupy much space in the Examiner. There were articles and pieces of information, letters from correspondents, extracts from guide books, letters from English immigrants in the United States, and poems and dialogues. Deputations were sent to organize the potters in other districts. Meetings were held in Glasgow, Whitehaven, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Middlesborough, Leeds and Swinton, where members were enrolled and branches formed.<sup>4</sup> Until 1848 the Emigration Society was restricted to the members of the various potting trades, but in that year its benefits were thrown open to all trades.<sup>5</sup> The prospectus of the Society was circulated among working men in the industrial towns, and forwarded to the press, where the merits

1. Ibid. II, 24, 28.

2. Ibid. I, 141-2; II, 93, 110.

3. Ibid. II, 125, 164.

4. Ibid. II, 53, 69, 93.

5. Manchester Examiner, 2 September 1848, Supplement, p.2.

of the scheme were discussed.<sup>1</sup> William Evans and W. Coates travelled round the country giving lectures, enrolling members and forming branch societies. They addressed crowded meetings in Macclesfield, Manchester, Oldham and Warrington.<sup>2</sup> Seven or eight branches were formed in Manchester and three in Warrington, and by the end of 1849 it was stated that there were one hundred and fifty branches of the Potters' Emigration Society scattered throughout the country,<sup>3</sup> with a total membership of about seven thousand.<sup>4</sup>

The potters were not at first decided upon the site of their colony in America, except that it must be somewhere in the west, preferably either in the state of Illinois or the territory of Wisconsin.<sup>5</sup> They wrote to the President of the United States, the Land Agent for the state of Illinois, George Flower, and the 'President of the Congress of the State of Illinois'.<sup>6</sup> The prairies of Illinois were favoured, and a communication from the Auditor of Public Accounts for that state contained a glowing description of the land, and an offer to buy land for the Society.<sup>7</sup> The reply from the

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1. Ibid. 22 July 1848, Supplement, p.2.  
Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, I, 73, 139.
  2. Manchester Examiner, 29 July 1848, p.7; 2 September 1848, Supplement, p.2; 30 September 1848, Supplement, p.2; 7 October 1848, Supplement, p.2.  
Mark Lane Express, 9 October 1848, p.9.
  3. Emigrant and Colonial Gazette, II, 896.
  4. Manchester Examiner, 29 July 1848, p.7.
  5. Potters' Examiner, I, 108, 110-111, 117.
  6. Ibid. II, 20, 37.
  7. Ibid. II, 63, 138-9.



General Land Office of the United States, however, advised that a member of the Society should visit America and judge for himself.<sup>1</sup> This advice was taken, and in 1846, when two thousand pounds had been raised, three agents were sent to search for a favourable locality. They purchased sixteen hundred acres in the territory of Wisconsin, later adding a further two thousand acres. The district was named Pottersville, later the town of Scott, and one hundred and thirty-four people settled there.<sup>2</sup> After the Society's expansion in 1848 and 1849, Thomas Twigg was appointed agent in America with authority to buy another fifty thousand acres. He bought a considerable amount of land in the towns of Fort Winnebago and Moundville on the banks of the Fox River, and three hundred and fifty families were sent out.<sup>3</sup>

The financing of the Potters' Emigration Society depended wholly on subscriptions from members, at the rate of sixpence per week for each share. The branch societies took out shares collectively to be allotted among their own members, and a fund was established to buy shares for the unemployed.<sup>4</sup> The successful emigrants were chosen by ballot,<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibid. II, 109, 123-4.

2. Manchester Examiner, 29 July 1848, p.7; 2 September 1848, Supplement, p.2.  
The Emigrant, II, 826-7.

3. G. Foreman, op.cit., pp.395-6. Liverpool Mercury, 4 Dec. 1849.

4. Potters' Examiner, II, 124, 161-2, 189.

5. Ibid. II, 25-7.

although any single member could claim his land and passage after subscribing for six years, and any member at any time could pay up his share and his own passage money and then enter on the Company's lands with the usual store-credit for two years.<sup>1</sup> Each settler received twenty, later forty, acres of land, five acres of which had been cultivated before his arrival, a log house, and stores and implements on credit. In return he was to pay the Society fifty pounds over a period of ten years, and give some free labour to the cultivation of the Society's reserved land, which consisted of the alternate lots.<sup>2</sup> Aaron Wedgwood, in a letter to the Potters' Examiner, suggested that the first settlers should be carefully selected, not chosen by ballot, as very few were qualified for the necessary pioneering work.<sup>3</sup> This sound advice was not taken and the ballot was adopted from the first.<sup>4</sup> Some shareholders were so eager to depart that they offered five or ten pounds for the allotments of successful shareholders who did not wish to emigrate.<sup>5</sup>

Criticism of the potters' emigration plan soon appeared, and was answered in the columns of the Examiner.<sup>6</sup> But, although one critic denounced it as 'a cold-blooded scheme' for

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1. Ibid, II, 20.

2. Emigrant, II, 896.

3. Potters' Examiner, II, 130-131.

4. Emigrant, II, 896. Description of a ballot at Hanley.

5. Potters' Examiner, II, 126, 136, 181.

6. Ibid. II, 105-7, 126-8, 137-8, 141-4, 145-8, 162-3.

transporting the unemployed to the wilds of America, on the whole comment was favourable, until the reports began coming in from the actual settlers. They had soon discovered that the American west was not the promised land of their imagination, and sent back disillusioned reports to their friends in England. A number of these letters, along with a few more favourable accounts, were printed in the Emigrant Columns of the Manchester Examiner and Times.<sup>1</sup> To counteract the reports, Twigg returned to England late in 1849, and throughout the winter he and Evans lectured before audiences up and down the country, justifying the work of the Emigration Society.<sup>2</sup> Reasons for individual failure lay with the individuals themselves. They had occupied themselves with hunting and fishing instead of cultivation, and very few had been prepared for the hardships of a pioneering life. The Society had suffered because the settlers had not paid their debts. No effort made in England, however, could save the Society now. The attempt to form a colony had been doomed to failure from the beginning. The settlers had no experience of farming, and the Society depended for its existence on the regular payment of debts, which was found to be impossible, even when the emigrants accepted their responsibilities. In 1850 a

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1. Manchester Examiner, 8 September 1849, Supplement, p.4; 3, 17, 24, 31 August 1850, Supplements.

2. E.g. Liverpool in December, Hull in January.

memorial from the Wisconsin settlers condemning the Potters' Emigration Society was circulated in England,<sup>1</sup> and by the beginning of the next year the venture had failed.<sup>2</sup> A few of the emigrants returned home, but the majority remained in Wisconsin, and eventually became successful farmers.<sup>3</sup>

The plan to build a new town in the western states of America had failed, but William Evans claimed that the emigration scheme had succeeded as far as the potting trade in England was concerned. In 1849 he stated that wages had risen twenty per cent since the emigration society was formed,<sup>4</sup> and a year later he estimated the rise as twenty-five per cent. The removal of the surplus labour had been so successful that the trade was now actually undermanned.<sup>5</sup>

Other unions followed the potters' example in helping their unemployed to emigrate, but their methods were much less elaborate. Emigration took its place among the other more usual benefits. The idea of providing an emigration benefit first appeared among the groups of skilled craftsmen, who had been organized into trade societies for many years. The different branches of the paper and printing trades early began to experiment with the removal of unemployed workmen.

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1. Manchester Examiner, 24 August 1850, Supplement.

2. Ibid. 22 March 1851, Supplement.

3. G. Foreman, op.cit., p.395.

4. Emigrant, I, 530.

5. G. Foreman, op.cit., p.387.



Between 1840 and 1850 the Bookbinders numbered an emigration benefit among its other benevolent activities,<sup>1</sup> and in 1842 the Original Society of Paper Makers sent fifty of its members to America.<sup>2</sup> There was frequent discussion of emigration among the several branches of the typographical associations, and a number of attempts to popularize it as a means of reducing unemployment were made.

After the break-up of the short-lived National Typographical Association in 1849, the provincial societies joined together in the Provincial Typographical Association, and in June thirteen delegates representing ten towns met at Sheffield to draw up the rules of the new association.<sup>3</sup> The printing trade was suffering from a surplus of hands and the delegates discussed ways of relieving the situation. An effort was made to substitute emigration for tramping, whereby out-of-work members went from branch to branch looking for work, and receiving relief if no work were available. There was a discussion of the relative merits of the two systems, and two statements were prepared giving the arguments for and against emigration. The chief argument against emigration was that an unemployed workman with a large family would find it very difficult to take them overseas with him. At last it was

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1. Bookbinders' Trade Circular, No.1, p.4. October 1850.
  2. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XXIX, 239.
  3. Ibid. Vol.XXX, 119. [Address of the Delegates at the Conference, June 4, 5, 6, 1849].

proposed that an Emigration Fund should be begun, and tramp money discontinued after one year, but the proposal was not supported by the members, and was abandoned.<sup>1</sup> For several years, however, the Liverpool branch continued to press for the benefit, and in 1851 proposed an emigration fund as an auxiliary to the tramping system, suggesting that two members should be sent to America each week, and three members to Australia each fortnight.<sup>2</sup> Their efforts were successful, and an emigration society was established towards the end of the year, but it was not received with enthusiasm by the other branches of the Association. Only eleven branches joined the emigration society, and during the year of its existence only £92. 8s. 7d. was subscribed, a large proportion<sup>3</sup> by the Liverpool branch.

The delegate meeting held at Manchester in March 1853 made a further effort to popularize emigration, and proposed the establishment of a National Typographical Emigration Society, independent of the Provincial Typographical Association, although membership was not to be compulsory. James Inman of

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1. Ibid. Vol.XXX, 119-120.
  2. Ibid. 127. [Fourth Half Yearly Report, 30 June 1851].  
The Typographical Association ..., p.10.
  3. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XXX, 127.  
[Fifth and Eighth Half Yearly Reports, Dec. 1852, June 1853].  
The Typographical Association ..., pp.14-15.

Liverpool was appointed secretary,<sup>1</sup> but the ambitious plan of removing four or five hundred workmen failed, because of the unwillingness of the men to leave the country, and the society dissolved after less than one year's existence.<sup>2</sup> The Liverpool branch, however, continued to press for an effective scheme of emigration, and at the delegate meeting held at Liverpool in September 1856 again proposed the formation of an emigration society 'granting adequate and encouraging allowance to parties willing to emigrate'. But after a discussion the proposition was withdrawn, and it was agreed that it would be unwise to revive the emigration society 'in the present state of the profession.'<sup>3</sup> The revised rules adopted at the meeting retained the emigration benefit but it was not drawn upon during the rest of the decade.<sup>4</sup>

The London printers also established an emigration fund. Late in 1852, the London Society of Compositors formed the Compositors' Emigration Aid Society with its own rules and officials. The society continued to act until 1857 when its

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. p.16.  
 London Society of Compositors. Sixth Annual Report, 1854.  
 Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, p.81.  
Provincial Typographical Circular, April 1877.

3. Typographical Societies' Monthly Circular, No.49, p.15.  
 October 1856.

4. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XXX, 141.  
 [Rules and Regulations, 1856].

affairs were wound up and the emigration benefit discontinued.<sup>1</sup>

Engineers also showed an interest in emigration. It was first aroused by William Evans, of the Potters' Society, who tried to persuade the Journeymen Steam Engine Makers and Millwrights Friendly Society to join his society. He was unsuccessful, but in 1849 the Manchester branches proposed the formation of an emigration society in connection with the mechanics' union. The Manchester proposal was adopted by the whole society in face of opposition from London. This opposition increased, and a delegate meeting in Liverpool reversed the decision. The Manchester branches then seceded and formed the Steam Engine Makers and Millwrights Mutual Reproductive Trade and Emigration Society.<sup>2</sup> The trade suffered from depression in 1849 and throughout the year this society helped about four hundred of its members to America.<sup>3</sup>

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, established on January 1st 1851, continued this interest, and in the rules adopted at Birmingham, in September 1850, provision was made for the emigration of unemployed members.<sup>4</sup> Throughout the decade emigration appeared on the agenda of the delegate meetings, and the discussion which followed resulted in slight

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1. Jubilee of the London Society of Compositors, (London, 1898), pp.71,77-80.
  2. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XV, 97-99. [Potters' Examiner, 13 October 1849].
  3. Ernest Jones, Notes to the People, (London, 1851), p.78.
  4. Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Rules, 1850. Rule XXXI.



alterations to the wording of the rule in 1852, 1854 and 1857.<sup>1</sup>  
 The emigration benefit applied only to unemployed members and was represented as the best means of disposing of the surplus members of the trade, and so promoting the interest of the Society. Many, however, thought it unfair that a few should have so much more from the funds than the average member, and in 1854, after two years of good trade, argued that it was not desirable to encourage emigration at any time, unless<sup>2</sup> a large proportion of the Society was out of employment. In spite of the interest in emigration expressed at delegate meetings, the benefit was never called upon. The Annual Reports of the Society from 1851 to 1861 give detailed statements of income and expenditure, but there is no mention of emigration, and the monthly reports also are silent on the subject. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the engineers who emigrated after the strike of 1851 to 1852 were helped by private subscribers, not the union, and a member who wished to go to New York collected money by selling a poem of his own composition at a few pence a copy.<sup>3</sup>

The problem of unemployment occupied the attention of the Ironmoulders, and from 1848 they experimented with an

1. Ibid. Propositions and Suggestions for the consideration of members, 1852, 1857.  
Minutes of Delegate Meetings, 1852, 1854, 1857.  
Rules. 1852, Rule XXIX; 1854, Rule XXII; 1857, Rule XXII.
2. Ibid. Minutes of Delegate Meeting, 1854, p.51.
3. Operative, 1852.

emigration fund. In that year the Preston and Oldham branches, supported by Staleybridge, Bradford and Dudley, proposed emigration as an alternative to the travel, or tramping, system. The next year the question was raised by Bristol, and in 1850 a Committee of Investigation, inaugurated by the Manchester branch, reported in favour of emigration. Bury, Stockport, Oldham and Staleybridge approved, but London and the other branches still opposed the suggestion, and a circular issued by the executive on January 29th 1853 affirmed that majority opinion was against an Emigration Fund. At last however, in 1854, five hundred pounds was set aside to assist members to emigrate, and from 1855 to 1857 a few iron-moulders were helped in this way. At the end of 1855 the fund was discontinued for a time following an improvement in trade, and in 1858 the emigration laws were expunged.<sup>1</sup>

The conference of delegates of the Flint Glass Makers Friendly Society, held in Manchester in 1849, discussed a scheme of reconstruction, brought forward by the Birmingham delegates. It was proposed to abolish tramps, offer superannuation to old members, establish workshops for the unemployed, and help the surplus labourers to emigrate. The

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1. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol. XIX, 187, 192, 195, 198, 199, 201, 206, 207, 210. [Reports, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851; Circular of the Executive, 29 January 1853; Monthly Reports, January 1854, August 1855, March 1856; Report of Delegate Meeting, 1858.] Friendly Society of Ironfounders. Centenary Souvenir, 1909, (Manchester, 1909), p.43.

scheme of emigration was adopted, and some of the unemployed were sent to America in 1850 in an attempt 'to thin the number of hands in the labour market and to make labour scarce.<sup>1</sup> The first experiment was not a success, but in its frequent discussions on the problem of surplus labour, the society's magazine continued to urge emigration. It would be better to spend one thousand pounds on emigration than on keeping the unemployed at home 'to be used as a whip in bad times.'<sup>2</sup> Other craftsmen held the same opinion. The Curriers added an emigration benefit in 1849;<sup>3</sup> the London Morocco Leather Finishers agreed to assist four members to emigrate each year;<sup>4</sup> the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners included an emigration benefit on its formation in 1860;<sup>5</sup> and the Liverpool lodge of the Operative Stonemasons, whose funds were being exhausted by strikes, urged emigration in 1849, but received no support from the other lodges.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XLIII, 39. [Report to the Trade, September 1849].
  2. Ibid. 27, 36, 39, 41, 44, 50, 52, 62. [Flint Glass Makers' Magazine; Rules; Report to the Trade, 1849.]
  3. Ibid. Vol.XXIV, 16. [Rules.]
  4. Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, p.145.
  5. Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. Rules, 1860. Rule XX.
  6. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XIII, 186-7. [Fortnightly Circular.]

The only other union to experiment with emigration at this time was that of the Bolton cotton spinners. Suffering from 'declining trade, commercial disaster, sinking wages, and increasing taxation',<sup>1</sup> they formed a fund early in 1848 to promote emigration to the United States. After a brief trial of four months the scheme was abandoned, although the emigration benefit remained in the rules of the society.<sup>2</sup>

Two methods of raising the money for an emigration benefit were adopted by the trade societies. When a separate emigration society was established, members paid a weekly subscription to the fund, but when the benefit was administered in the same way as the other benefits, the money came from general union funds. In some cases it was a loan only, to be repaid in instalments when the emigrant had settled in his new home. The first emigration society formed by the Provincial Typographical Association required a weekly contribution of one half-penny from all members of branches supporting the scheme.<sup>3</sup> The National Typographical Emigration Society adopted a more complicated system by which contributions were graduated according to earnings.<sup>4</sup> Each branch was to contribute one shilling a month for every member earning more

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1. Manchester Examiner, 25 April 1848, p.5.
  2. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XXXV, 57-82. [Extracts from old minute books, 1848-1854; Rules.]
  3. The Typographical Association: a fifty years' record, p.10.
  4. Ibid. pp.14-15.



than two-thirds full wages, eightpence for those earning less than two-thirds, and fourpence<sup>1</sup> for any members receiving less than one-third full wages. Each member of the London Compositors' Emigration Aid Society paid threepence each week, and in addition the society received a grant from the trade society.<sup>2</sup> The Flint Glass Makers raised a levy of sixpence per member to pay the emigration expenses,<sup>3</sup> and the Morocco Leather Finishers a levy of one shilling per member.<sup>4</sup> The Bolton spinners contributed twopence, threepence or fourpence a week towards emigration.<sup>5</sup> Other unions paid for their emigration benefits from their general funds. For example, the Carriers' Society allocated one-sixth of all contributions to the emigration fund, in addition to the five shillings paid by each prospective emigrant,<sup>6</sup> and the Ironmoulders set apart five hundred pounds for their emigration fund.<sup>7</sup>

The successful emigrants were chosen from amongst the applicants by holding a ballot, unless the money in hand

1. Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, p.81.
2. See below
3. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XLIII, 27.
4. Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, p.145.
5. Manchester Examiner, 25 April 1848, p.5.
6. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XXIV, 16.
7. Friendly Society of Iron Founders... Centenary Souvenir, p.43.

was sufficient to pay the expenses of all who had applied. The National Typographical Emigration Society arranged for the allocation of chances to the separate branches of the association in proportion to their subscriptions. Each branch was to hold a ballot every three months. The emigrants had to agree to repay the money if they returned to the United Kingdom within three years.<sup>1</sup> The London Society of Compositors held a drawing whenever the number of applicants warranted it, but if the funds were sufficient all applications, if eligible, were allowed.<sup>2</sup> The ballot was also used by the Ironmoulders, although they restricted the applicants to five year members who had deposited one-fifth of passage money in their own branch.<sup>3</sup> The Carriers held a ballot as often as the funds allowed. The Bolton cotton spinners arranged to hold a drawing whenever the funds amounted to twenty pounds, every member being eligible who had paid his contribution for the four preceding weeks. The emigrant must leave within four weeks of the ballot, on pain of forfeiture.<sup>4</sup> The Amalgamated Society of Engineers did not at first adopt the

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1. Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, p.81.  
The Typographical Association: a fifty years' record, pp.14-15.  
Jubilee of the London Society of Compositors, (London, 1898), p.65.
  2. See below
  3. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XIX, 207.  
Friendly Society of Iron Founders ... Centenary Souvenir, p.43.
  4. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XXXV, 58.  
Manchester Examiner, 25 April 1848, p.5.

ballot system. The emigration benefit was restricted to the unemployed, and could not be called upon until the funds of the Society amounted to at least two pounds for each member. Then, unemployed members wishing to emigrate, having first received the consent of their branch, sent their names to the district committee, which investigated each application. The numbers were then sent to the Executive Council which decided how many emigrants could be sent from each district. In 1852 however, it was decided that the district committees should select the emigrants by ballot, not at their own discretion. Still later, the minimum funds necessary before the benefit could be granted were raised to four pounds per member and then lowered to three pounds. And in 1857 more detailed conditions were laid down. At least seven and a half per cent of the members must be unemployed, and any applicant for the emigration benefit must have been a member of the Society for at least five years.<sup>1</sup> The Engineers' rule was adopted almost without alteration by the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in 1860.

The amount of money given to each successful application for the emigration benefit varied among the different societies, and within the individual unions there were sometimes different scales, dependant on destination or the amount subscribed. The Bookbinders allowed five pounds.<sup>2</sup> The first

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1. Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Rules, 1850, 1852, 1854, 1857.

2. Bookbinders' Trade Circular, No.1, p.4. October 1850.

benefit established by the Typographical Association was seven pounds for emigrants to America and ten pounds for those going to Australia.<sup>1</sup> The more detailed plan of the National Emigration Society divided the fund into six pound shares, an emigrant to America being allowed one share and an emigrant to Australia three shares.<sup>2</sup> The Compositors loaned thirty pounds to a married man and fifteen pounds to a bachelor going to Australia, and the price of passage to those going to America. The benefit provided by the Engineers and Carpenters was fixed at six pounds, but the amount allowed by the Iron-moulders varied according to the number of applicants. A more generous allowance for emigrants to the United States, twelve pounds ten shillings, was made by the Flint Glass Makers in 1849, although the benefit was later reduced by four pounds.<sup>3</sup> The Curriers allowed a uniform benefit of eight pounds.<sup>4</sup> The Bolton Spinners' benefit decreased from five pounds in 1848 to two pounds a year later. In 1855 a graduated scale was introduced, by which twelvemonth members received five pounds, unless they intended to abandon spinning in America, in which case they were given only three pounds.<sup>5</sup> Wherever the amount

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1. The Typographical Association: a fifty years' record, p.10.

2. Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, p.81.

3. Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, Vol.XLIII, 27.

4. Ibid. Vol.XXIV, 16.

5. Ibid. Vol.XXXV, 57 ff.



of the benefit was not fixed it depended on the state of the funds and the number of the applicants.

The trade societies laid down no rules as to the destination of members who received money from the emigration benefits. Some provided two scales, one for Australia and the other for America. Where there was a uniform scale, usually less than ten pounds, it is extremely probable that the recipients sailed to New York, or some other American port. The amount of the benefit would not pay for a passage to Australia, and it would be unlikely that the emigrant, an unemployed workman, could find the remainder. Even when alternative scales were provided the figures available suggest that the lower scale, to America, was the one most used. Two or three men could be sent to New York for the cost of one to Australia, so it is possible that the local branches exerted some pressure on applicants for the benefit. On the other hand, the discovery of gold in Australia in 1851 increased the emigration to that country, and attracted many of the engineers and compositors. Apart from these two groups, however, the evidence suggests that almost all the members assisted to emigrate by their trade societies went to America, and by 'America' they meant the United States.

Many of the schemes for trade union emigration established in the 1840s and 1850s had been abandoned or allowed to lapse by 1860, although some were revived in the latter part of the century. It was realised that emigration

had been ineffective in diminishing the amount of surplus labour. The response of union members had been disappointing. There were few applicants, and those who did agree to emigrate were often the vigorous and energetic workers whom the trade did not wish to lose. If the idle unemployed could be persuaded to go they were only too prone to return to England. But in any event the amount of money available was much too small to affect conditions at home, and with improved trade interest waned. The Flint Glass Makers were already describing their scheme of emigration as a failure in 1850, because the men who had been sent to America were 'no good' and many of them had returned to England.<sup>1</sup> The Ironmoulders discontinued their fund as soon as trade improved, and in 1858 expunged the laws because they had not served their purpose of taking off the unemployed.<sup>2</sup> The National Typographical Emigration Society failed through lack of support, and the Compositors' Society was deemed a failure because it had not benefited the trade at home, and very few of the loans had been repaid.<sup>3</sup>

All the trade societies which adopted emigration schemes had hoped to remove enough of their members to send up the wages of those who remained behind. But this was not achieved,

1. Ibid. Vol.XLIII, 44, 52.

2. Ibid. Vol.XIX, 207, 210.

3. Typographical Circular, No.49, p.15. October 1856.

and emigration was too expensive a form of relief to be administered for the individual's benefit alone. The numbers assisted to emigrate had been too small. Nine bookbinders went to America between 1840 and 1850, fifty paper makers in 1842, sixteen Bolton spinners in 1848,<sup>1</sup> four hundred and sixty Manchester mechanics in 1849, and forty-eight compositors went to Australia and America between 1853 and 1857. Of the £92. 8s. 7d. raised by the first typographical emigration society only sixty-three pounds was used to send nine members to America.<sup>2</sup> The National Typographical Emigration Society collected only one hundred and ten pounds. Seven Manchester members and five Liverpool members received six pound shares to proceed to America, and the remaining money, even if used,<sup>3</sup> would have provided for but six more emigrants. Of the five hundred pounds set aside by the Ironmoulders in 1854 less than three hundred and seventy pounds was spent on emigration.<sup>4</sup> There is no record of any member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers receiving a grant from the emigration benefit, and none of the other societies gave more than occasional help of this kind. The numerous tradesmen and mechanics who left England found their passage money elsewhere, and made their own

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1. Manchester Examiner, 25 April 1848, p.5.

2. The Typographical Association: a fifty years' record, pp.12, 13-14.

3. Ibid. p.16.  
Jubilee of the London Society of Compositors, p.73.

4. Friendly Society of Iron Founders ... Centenary Souvenir, p.43.

arrangements. They were not dependent on the state of the union funds and the luck of the ballot, but upon their own exertions.

The career of the Compositors' Emigration Aid Society illustrates these early attempts of trade societies to solve the problem of excess labourers by promoting their emigration. The experience of this society was paralleled in all others which experimented with emigration.

In 1852 a special meeting of the London Society of Compositors, a trade society with about two thousand members, alarmed at the constant picture of unemployment, appointed a committee to devise an emigration scheme to remove the surplus labour, and prevent the employers from encroaching on the wages scale.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of the year the committee began enrolling members at a weekly subscription of threepence. Its report was read to the fifth annual general meeting in February 1853, and an Emigration Aid Society was formed, and its own rules and officials.<sup>2</sup> Three preliminary meetings were held in February to appoint the officials and draw up the rules, but thereafter meetings were held monthly on the third Saturday.<sup>3</sup> Half yearly reports were submitted to the trade society,<sup>4</sup> and the activities of the emigration society

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1. London Society of Compositors. Seventh Annual Report, 1855.

2. Jubilee of the London Society of Compositors, p.71.

3. Emigration Aid Committee. Minute Book, 1853-1857.

The entries were not dated with the year until 1856.

4. London Society of Compositors. Special Reports, 1847-1856.

Only the fifth and sixth half yearly reports are extant.



were mentioned in the annual reports of the London Society of Compositors. The funds of the emigration society consisted of a loan of five hundred pounds, and a yearly grant of one hundred pounds, from the trade society, and subscriptions from members. But on two occasions attempts were made to raise money by arranging theatrical performances. In March 1853, the committee of the Emigration Aid Society accepted an offer by the Printers' Dramatic Society to perform for their benefit.<sup>1</sup> The entertainment was given on Saturday June 11th at the Sadlers Wells Theatre, and consisted of a comedy entitled 'The Wonder', a varied list of entertainments, and a drama, 'Mary Queen of Scots'.<sup>2</sup> The performance realised thirty-four pounds and threepence for the society,<sup>3</sup> and the money was used to meet general expenses.<sup>4</sup> A year later a similar offer by the Jerrold Dramatic Club was accepted.<sup>5</sup> Nothing more was heard. Either the performance was not given, or it realised no profits. No other dramatic ventures were undertaken.

During the first few months of its existence three hundred and thirty-three members were enrolled in the

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1. Emigration Aid Committee. Minute Book, 19 March [1853].
  2. Liverpool Mercury, 14 June 1853, p.463.
  3. L.S.C. Annual Financial Circular, February 1856.
  4. L.S.C. Special Reports 1857-60. Account of the Receipts and Expenses of the Emigration Aid Society.
  5. Emigration Aid Committee. Minute Book, 17 June [1854].

Compositors' Emigration Aid Society,<sup>1</sup> and the emigrants began to depart in May 1853. Interest continued strong throughout 1854, but the next year was a period of slack trade and subscriptions fell off, being reduced even more in 1856 when the last emigrant embarked. The total subscriptions amounted to £552. 1s. 1d. As in the other trade union emigration schemes it was decided to choose the emigrants by holding a ballot among the applicants, in this case once every three months. A month's notice of the ballot was given, and applications invited. The first was held on April 30th 1853.<sup>2</sup> There had been sixteen applications, eight from married men and eight from single men, and five of each were chosen. No more ballots were held until June 1854, as the applications received between the two dates were too few to necessitate them, and all were granted.<sup>3</sup> But in June a 'Public Drawing for Advances'<sup>4</sup> was held in the Falcon Tavern. All applications received from then until April 1855 were allowed. In April 1855 eight members applied for an emigration grant, and as the funds only amounted to eighty pounds a ballot was held on May 5th. The money was divided between two emigrants, one receiving fifteen and the other sixty pounds. The last

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1. Ibid. 16 July [1853].

2. Ibid. 30 April [1853].

3. 7 in July, 8 in October 1853.  
5 in January, 7 in March, 1 in April 1854.

4. Jubilee of the London Society of Compositors, p.73.

drawing was held on July 28th 1855 to divide seventy pounds among four applicants. Few were assisted after that date, the last sailing in September 1856.

All the applicants who were granted loans did not take advantage of them, although the society tried to prevent persons applying unless they really wished to emigrate. After the first ballot it was decided that in future applicants must make a deposit of ten shillings or one pound, according to the amount requested. The deposit would be returned at once to the unsuccessful, but forfeited by the successful who did not avail themselves of the benefit.<sup>1</sup> This ruling was strictly adhered to. For example, in July 1853 Archibald Johnstone was allowed money to proceed to America, but he did not go. In September the committee received a letter from the father of the chapel of Johnstone's shop requesting the return of the deposit, as Johnstone had been injured and needed the money.<sup>2</sup> As a further safeguard it was later decided that the names of applicants should be posted in a conspicuous place in the society house for a fortnight.<sup>3</sup> Apparently these efforts were successful in preventing undesirable applications, for only thirty shillings was forfeited. The Committee also found it necessary to make certain regulations concerning the emigration of married members. All men applying for the

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1. Emigration Aid Committee. Minute Book, 21 May [1853].

2. Ibid. 16 July, 17 September [1853].

3. Ibid. 20 October [1855].

marriage benefit had first to produce their wedding certificates,<sup>1</sup> and no advance was made to married men emigrating without their wives and families.<sup>2</sup> In October 1853 William Henry Guy was refused a loan on the ground that he intended to leave his wife behind, but when he agreed to take her, he was allowed thirty-eight pounds and sailed for Melbourne in November.<sup>3</sup>

The grants made to members of the Emigration Aid Society were loans, not gifts, to be repaid when the emigrant had settled in his new home. The rules laid down that a married man wishing to go to Australia should receive thirty pounds, and a single man fifteen pounds, while those intending to settle in America would be entitled to the cost of the journey to their destination. In practice, however, grants were made in accordance with the number of applicants, the funds in hand, and individual circumstances. The amounts varied from the five pounds allowed to H.D. Smith in June 1853 to supplement his own money,<sup>4</sup> to the sixty-seven pounds ten shillings loaned to J.M. Baillie who sailed for Melbourne in July 1856. Only two men received less than ten pounds, Smith

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1. Ibid. 16 April [1853].

2. Ibid. 17 December [1853], 17 June [1854].  
Jubilee of the London Society of Compositors, p.73.

3. Emigration Aid Committee. Minute Book, 15 October, 19 November [1853].

4. Ibid. 18 June [1853].



and John Carroll who was allowed eight pounds to go to New York in April 1854.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the emigrants were given less money than they had requested, if the committee considered the lesser amount sufficient. Soon after the formation of the society Mr. Pickburn applied for fifteen pounds to go to America, but was told that he must abide by the rules limiting the advance to the passage money of himself and his wife.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand when it was discovered that fifteen pounds was insufficient to pay for the passage of James Robertson's family to Quebec, he was given an extra pound.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Kenny applied for thirty pounds to take himself and two children to Quebec but was only granted the equivalent of two adult passages. He later applied for an additional two pounds, and was given three, making a total of twenty-two pounds.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes the amount of the loan depended on the funds in hand, as in October 1854 when two men, each with four children, applied for sixty pounds. The funds only amounted to one hundred pounds so they were given the option of taking fifty pounds each or balloting for the larger sum. They decided to share the money evenly.<sup>5</sup>

In December 1856 the Emigration Aid Committee decided

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1. L.S.C. Special Reports, 1857-60. Tabular Statement of Loans Granted.
  2. Emigration Aid Committee. Minute Book, 30 April [1853].
  3. Ibid. 21 May [1853].
  4. Ibid. 4 March, 15 April [1854].
  5. Ibid. 20 October [1854].

not to grant further loans, and in July of the next year the Quarterly Delegate Meeting decided that the business of the Emigration Society should be transferred to the Trade Committee, in spite of protests.<sup>1</sup> The Emigration Aid Fund was closed in March 1858. It was arranged that subscriptions, amounting to three hundred and sixty-eight pounds should be returned to members, a fortnight after the announcement. The delay was necessary because stock to the value of eighty-two pounds had to be sold to make up the amount.<sup>2</sup> All the subscriptions, except for a little less than twenty pounds, had been claimed and repaid by the beginning of 1859.<sup>3</sup>

After the dissolution of the Emigration Aid Society a sub-committee of the London Society of Compositors was appointed to investigate and make a full statement of the accounts of the late society. The report was submitted by William White and G. Footman on December 12th 1859. It appeared that the work of the Emigration Aid Committee had been conducted in a very unbusiness-like manner. The members of the sub-committee complained that there was no book detailing the operations of the society, either in the shape of money granted or loans received, and the absence of dates from the Minute Book provided further difficulties. But from

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1. Ibid. 15 November, 20 December 1856; 15 July 1857; and the last entry.
  2. L.S.C. Tenth Annual Report, 3 March 1858.
  3. Ibid. Eleventh Annual Report, 1859.

an examination of the file of receipts, possibly incomplete, the ledger, very loosely kept, the minute book, and the half yearly balance sheets of the trade society, they had been able to prepare a balance sheet giving an account of receipts and expenditure from 1853 to 1857, and also a statement of the men to whom loans had been granted, with the amounts repaid, or still owing.<sup>1</sup>

The result of the enquiry was to show that out of the eight hundred pounds granted or loaned to the emigration society, only £47. 17s. 11d. had been repaid to the trade society. Eleven hundred and twenty pounds had been loaned to emigrants, and seven hundred and two pounds ten shillings was still owing. All subscriptions had been repaid except the twenty pounds which had been unclaimed. This money, with the forfeited deposits and the proceeds of the theatrical benefit, went towards the general expenses of the society. These amounted to £104. 3s. 9d., and included committee expenses, the Secretary's salary of eight pounds per annum, stationery, printing, advertising, postage, and auditing. The problem of securing the return of loans had occupied the attention of the Emigration Committee from the first.<sup>2</sup> Agents

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1. L.S.C. Special Reports, 1857-60.  
'Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to investigate... the Accounts ... [of] the Emigration Aid Society'.  
12 December 1859.
  2. L.S.C. Seventh and Eighth Annual Reports.  
Special Reports, 1847-56. Fifth and Sixth Reports  
of the Emigration Aid Society.  
Emigration Aid Committee. Minute Book. Passim.

were appointed in Australia to collect the money, and advertisements placed in the Australian newspapers giving instructions, but the results were disappointing. No special arrangements were made to secure the return of loans from American emigrants, and not one of them repaid one penny.

From 1853 to 1856 forty-eight members of the Compositors' Emigration Aid Society and their families emigrated, fourteen in 1853, twenty-one in 1854, nine in 1855, and four in 1856. The following details support the complaint made by opponents of union emigration, that those who took advantage of the emigration benefits were the young, energetic and good workmen, not the unemployed or the unemployable. Only five of the emigrants were over forty years of age, seven were over thirty, and thirty-four were young men between twenty and thirty years of age. Three were unemployed, two were casual workers, and all the rest left good situations. The majority, attracted by the extraordinary conditions created by the discovery of gold, sailed for Australia, but eight members went to America, and several of the unsuccessful applicants named that continent as their destination. In May 1853 James Robertson, aged twenty-seven years, sailed for Quebec with an allowance of sixteen pounds. He was followed a year later by Joseph Kenny, who was forty-one years old and had been granted twenty-two pounds. In that same year, 1854, three young men went to the United States. Christopher Hurnell and John William Potter sailed to Philadelphia in



March, with ten pounds each, and a month later John Carroll embarked for New York, having received eight pounds for his passage. Of the thirteen members who received loans in 1855 and 1856 three emigrated to the United States. In September 1855 J.S. Hopkins was allowed thirty pounds, and sailed for New York, and a year later Benjamin Brett began his journey to Indiana, and Richard Yeomans his to Cincinnati, having been granted fifteen and thirty pounds respectively. In all, the American emigrants received one hundred and forty-one pounds, none of which was repaid.<sup>1</sup> Another young man had intended to settle in the United States, but later changed his mind and sailed to Sydney with a friend from the same shop, who had perhaps persuaded him to alter his destination.<sup>2</sup>

One, at least, of the settlers in the United States, James S. Hopkins, corresponded with the Emigration Aid Committee,<sup>3</sup> even though he did not include a remittance.

After the first two years of the Society's existence the number of assisted emigrants, never very great, grew less and less. Conditions in Australia had become more normal, trade was slack in England, and these two causes combined to cut down subscriptions and reduce the number of applicants for

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1. L.S.C. Special Reports, 1857-60. Tabular Statement of Loans Granted.
  2. Ibid. Emigration Aid Committee. Minute Book, 21 January, 18 February [1854].
  3. Ibid. 18 October 1856.

loans. In any event it had become obvious that the Emigration Aid Society had not been able to help sufficient members overseas to affect the problem of surplus labour at home. The comparative generosity of the loans, however, made it probable that the individuals concerned would have a fair chance of prospering in their new homes. No member of the London Society of Compositors was assisted to emigrate from the dissolution of the Emigration Aid Society until the emigration benefit was revived in 1871.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The most important collection of material used in this study is to be found in the Webb Trade Union Collection in the British Library of Political and Economic Science, London School of Economics, University of London. The collection consists of five sections:

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| Section A. | Manuscript items.   |
| Section B. | Non-serial printed matter,<br>excluding rules.                  |
| Section C. | Printed rules.  |
| Section D. | Printed reports and periodical material.                        |
| Section E. | Additional material acquired since<br>the death of Sidney Webb. |

Section A contains the manuscript notes, summaries, and extracts collected by the Webbs for their History of Trade Unionism. All the volumes were examined and those containing information on emigration may be found in the footnotes. The

trade union sources from which the extracts or notes were made are added in brackets. The printed material will be found in the general bibliography, under the name of the appropriate trade society.

The London Society of Compositors possesses an extensive collection of records, and the following were used in the study of the Emigration Aid Society.

1. Minute Book of the Emigration Aid Committee, 1853-1857.
2. Annual Reports of the London Society of Compositors, 1848-1863.
3. Special Reports of the London Society of Compositors, 1847-1857. This volume includes the Fifth and Sixth Half Yearly Reports of the London Compositors' Emigration Aid Society, October 1855, April 1856.
4. Special Reports of the London Society of Compositors, 1857-1860. This volume includes the 'Report of the Sub Committee appointed to investigate and make a full statement of the Accounts relating to the Emigration Aid Society', 12 December 1859.

## CHAPTER IV.

### SOCIETIES AND COMPANIES

As the number of emigrants leaving British ports increased, many associations were formed to serve them, to supply them with information, help them choose their locations, assist them to provide the money, and make arrangements for the journey. These societies were particularly common in England in the 'forties and 'fifties, during the time of the greatest exodus. Many were still-born and many more very short-lived. These disappeared, leaving no trace beyond an occasional notice or advertisement in a newspaper, but a few, conceived on a grander scale, left more extensive records.

There was constant discussion of the emigration societies in newspaper and magazine. The principle of association was approved, but readers were warned against the many plausible schemes which were being promoted. Long articles were written stressing the advantages of mutual assistance and giving advice on the formation of sound societies.<sup>1</sup> The

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1. E.g. Times, 15 February 1847, p.6.  
Emigrant and Colonial Gazette, 14 April 1849, p.546;  
20 October 1849, pp.894-5.  
Emigrant's Messenger, 7 October 1850, pp.1-2.  
Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, I, 10, 32; New Series,  
11-15.



Emigrant and Colonial Advocate offered to form an emigration society, if five hundred persons would forward their names,<sup>1</sup> but in March 1849 a correspondent was still being warned that 'no scheme of Association for the purposes of promoting Emigration has come under our notice, worth a straw.'<sup>2</sup> A frequent suggestion was that the government should sponsor societies to promote emigration on a national scale.<sup>3</sup> Although the government did not act on these suggestions, the Emigration Commissioners claimed that their system of diffusing information had saved many British subjects from becoming victims of fraudulent schemes of foreign colonization.<sup>4</sup> But neither the warnings of newspapers nor official cautions prevented the formation of the many emigration schemes which were put before the public.

The plans of emigration which flourished in England may be divided into self-help, philanthropic, and speculative societies. The self-help societies fall into two distinct groups, associations of individuals with some capital emigrating together for the sake of convenience, and societies through

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1. Emigrant, 19 August 1848, p.36.
  2. Ibid. 3 March 1849, p.448; 17 March 1849, p.480.
  3. Potters' Examiner, I, 117, 121, 159-160.  
Liverpool Mercury, 22 June 1848, p.405.  
Emigrant, 12 August 1848, p.30; 26 August 1848, p.46.
  4. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Seventh General Report. [809]. H.C. (1847). XXXIII, 131.

which members saved the money for their emigration by weekly or other regular contributions. The British Temperance Emigration Society and Savings Fund is used as an illustration of the latter group, and supplemented by two variants of the same type of organization, the Halifax Emigration Society, and the London and New York Self Effecting Transit Society. Purely philanthropic emigration societies were rare, but a number of utopian plans are illustrated by Dr. Edward King's triform system of colonization in Virginia, and the Owenite colony of Equity in Wisconsin. The Philadelphia Emigrants' Friend Society shows the extension of the activities of American philanthropic societies to England. Of the many speculative societies the Mutual Guarantee Emigration Association is taken as an example. Land speculators were active in the promotion of emigration companies, and they are represented by the Georgian Emigration Company, the Western Virginia Land Company, the British Mutual Emigration Association, a Derby society, and the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company.

The simplest form of association was that between individuals with some capital who had already determined to emigrate. The advantages of co-operation were considerable. A large party was in a better bargaining position than one person or family, and could arrange cheaper passages. Provisions and land could be bought in bulk, and then shared among the members. But perhaps the most important consideration was

that of making the great change in company. The location of such groups of settlers was frequently noted in contemporary writings. In 1819 it was reported that one hundred wealthy and cultured persons had formed an association with an aggregate capital of one hundred thousand pounds, and planned to remove in a body to the United States.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the period small groups of farmers from the agricultural counties sailed for America in company,<sup>2</sup> and during the gold rush similar parties were observed on their way to California.<sup>3</sup> The settlement of small colonies of English in America is noted in state and county histories, but these were usually the results of individual enterprise. The original pioneers encouraged friends and relations to follow, but were not otherwise concerned with the promotion of emigration. Occasionally, however, the promoters of co-operative enterprises advertised their intentions. In March 1845 a body of small capitalists and farmers formed the Co-operative Emigration Society in Sheffield, and issued a prospectus. They proposed to emigrate and settle in Wisconsin as soon as they numbered one hundred

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1. Niles' Register, XVI, p.109, 3 April 1819.
  2. E.g. Liverpool Mercury, 16 March 1821, p.310; 2 August 1850, p.494.  
Niles' Register, XXII, p.225. 8 June 1822;  
LIX, p.160. 7 November 1840.  
Emigration Gazette, 30 April 1842, p.4.  
Emigrant, 21 April 1849, p.557.
  3. Mark Lane Express, 12 February 1849, p.6.

families, each with a capital of at least one hundred pounds.<sup>1</sup> Four years later a similar plan for the emigration of families in association was proposed by P.L. Simmonds, of Simmonds' Colonial Magazine.<sup>2</sup> At the same time a Dr. Smith of Woolwich, proposed to take out a number of persons, each with a capital of one hundred pounds, to settle in Ohio, or one of the other western states.<sup>3</sup> It is impossible to estimate the results of these co-operative plans, but it is very probable that the less ambitious were the more successful, and the small groups of friends and neighbours were the more likely to prosper.

A common form of self-help society was established for the benefit of the better class of workman. It was similar in organization to a friendly society, and each member contributed a small sum each week for the express purpose of financing his emigration. These societies began to appear in numbers in the 1840s, although as early as 1834 the Central Emigration Society had been formed in Leamington. It was concerned almost entirely with sending its members to the British colonies, but at least one member went to New York.<sup>4</sup> The most ambitious of the emigration societies of the friendly

1. Ibid. 7 April 1845, p.7; 26 May 1845, p.9. Simmonds' Colonial Magazine, IV, 497 (1845).
2. Emigrant, 19 May 1849, p.577.
3. Ibid. 19 May 1849, p.584; 26 May 1849, p.600.
4. C.O. 384/36. 24 June 1834. 'Articles of the ..... Society' sent by William Carey.



society type was established in 1842 by a few Liverpool mechanics. The plan originated with Robert Gorst, Charles Wilson, and Charles Reeves, who were employed in the making of nautical instruments and apparatus. The British Temperance Emigration Society and Savings Fund was formed at a meeting at Samuel Roberts' Temperance Coffee-House, Whitechapel, Liverpool, on December 26th 1842.<sup>1</sup> An elaborate set of rules<sup>2</sup> was drawn up and approved by Tidd Pratt, the barrister appointed to examine the rules of friendly societies, and later, under the act of 1846,<sup>3</sup> the first Registrar of Friendly Societies. Three respected citizens of Liverpool, Lawrence Heyworth, P.G. Heyworth and John Thompson, became trustees, and Robert Gorst was appointed secretary.

The object of the society was to raise a fund, by weekly subscriptions of one shilling for each share held by each member, to buy land in the territory of Wisconsin. One share entitled a settler to eighty acres, five acres to be cultivated and sown with wheat before his arrival, plus a house and goods, all not to exceed forty pounds in value. The society was

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1. Potters' Examiner, I, 196-7. First Annual Report of the British Temperance Emigration Society.  
W. Kittle, History of the Township and Village of Mazomanie, (Madison, Wisconsin, 1900).
  2. British Temperance Emigration Society . . . ., Rules. Copy in the Friendly Societies' Registry Office.  
Potters' Examiner, I, 196-8.
  3. 9 & 10 Vic. c 27.

calculated to run ten years, at the end of which time all the members would have been assisted to emigrate, and all debts should have been repaid. Entrance money was two shillings and sixpence for each share, and members who neglected to pay their subscriptions were fined. Subscriptions could be withdrawn three years after the establishment of the society, provided that three months' notice were given. The business of the society was carried on by the officials and a committee of five members, and meetings were held on the fourth Monday in each month at eight o'clock in the evening at Samuel Roberts' coffee house. Ballots for priority in the taking up of land in Wisconsin were held whenever sufficient funds were available. In practice the ballot was held once a year in October, and the emigrants sailed the following spring.<sup>1</sup> An agent in Liverpool made the arrangements for the passage, and another met them at the port of debarkation and conducted them to the settlement, where their land had been prepared for them. Once settled in Wisconsin the members were to continue payments on their shares, and in addition pay a rent of five pounds a year until the society dissolved.

Arrangements were made to advertise the society in England. Sub-agents could be appointed in other towns and branch societies formed, and a lecturer would be sent to any place which would agree to pay his expenses. In addition the

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1. Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, I, 122.

society published a guide book of twenty pages,<sup>1</sup> which was attacked by a correspondent of the Liverpool Mercury as misrepresenting the facts.<sup>2</sup> It is not possible to trace the activities of the society's agents in England or discover how many branches were formed,<sup>3</sup> although it is known that there was an active branch in Sheffield and the majority of the members lived in the north and the midlands. But the society's propaganda was effective, and during the first three years it was very successful,<sup>4</sup> selling one thousand shares.<sup>5</sup>

Soon after the formation of the society Charles Wilson was sent to America to select the lands, build the log houses, and begin the cultivation of five acres of land in each eighty acre lot. He travelled on horseback through Wisconsin and finally decided to locate about one hundred and twenty miles west of Racine.<sup>6</sup> With two companions, Wilson arrived in December 1843 in what was almost unbroken wilderness, later to

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1. British Temperance Emigration Society and Savings Fund, Description of the Wisconsin Territory ..., (Liverpool, 1843).
  2. Liverpool Mercury, 16 February 1844, p.60; 23 February 1844, p.63.
  3. Returns made to the Friendly Societies' Registry Office were destroyed, except for the rules, after ten years. The papers of the society in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society consist mainly of land grants and legal papers. There are only a very few isolated references to members in England.
  4. Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, I, 122.
  5. W. Kittle, op.cit., p.26.
  6. Liverpool Mercury, 23 February 1844, p.63.

become the township of Mazomanie. He bought the land for one dollar and a quarter per acre from the United States land office at Mineral Point, and began to lay the foundations of the society's settlement, which was called Gorstville, and comprised the later townships of Mazomanie, Berry and Black Earth.<sup>1</sup> Wilson, with four helpers, began to prepare for the first arrivals, building the log houses and making improvements. The first annual report of the society in January 1844 paid tribute to Wilson's 'undaunted perseverance, indefatigable labours, and judicious choice'<sup>2</sup> and announced that fourteen shares of the society's land had already been sold. These fourteen families, seventy-nine persons in all, arrived at the settlement in the spring of 1844.<sup>3</sup> They had sailed from Liverpool to Boston, travelled through Albany to Buffalo, round the lakes to Milwaukee, and thence by oxteams to Gorstville. This was the usual route taken by the emigrants. An American paper reported that arrangements for the whole journey from Liverpool to Wisconsin had been made with 'Harding and Co.'<sup>4</sup> This was probably the firm of Harnden and Co., an American company which arranged cheap passages for emigrants on a Boston line of packets and on the Hudson River and Erie Canal boats.

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1. W. Kittle, op.cit., pp. 17, 19, 28-31.

2. Potters' Examiner, I, 196-7.

3. W. Kittle, op.cit., pp.18-19.

4. Niles' Register, LXVIII, 178. 24 May 1845.



The second group of settlers, numbering seventy families, left Liverpool in March 1845 on the St. Petersburg, and arrived in Boston in May,<sup>1</sup> although not all the families travelled as far as the settlement.<sup>2</sup> A third group left Liverpool in the spring of 1846 and travelled in two parties, each taking a different route. One lot of emigrants sailed to New Orleans, by river to Galena, and from there by wagon to Gorstville, while the others sailed to New York, by canal and lake to Milwaukee, and thence by wagon. The New Orleans route proved the cheaper by about two pounds, the total cost being eight pounds each.<sup>3</sup> The emigrants had to pay their own passage money, although the society made the arrangements and so was able to obtain cheaper rates.<sup>4</sup> Five more families emigrated in 1847. In the three years from 1845 to 1847, eighty-two members of the society and their families, making a total of three hundred and twenty individuals, arrived at the settlement in Wisconsin. Other emigrants, two hundred and eighty-nine in all, arrived from England during the same period, but did not enter land under the society. Altogether six hundred and ninety-one persons left England for the settlement of the British Temperance Emigration Society between 1843 and 1850. They were scattered throughout what later became the townships

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1. Ibid.

2. W. Kittle, op.cit., p.20.

3. Ibid. pp.39-42.

4. British Temperance Emigration Society, Rules. Rule XIII, No.33.

of Mazomanie, Black Earth, Arena, Berry, Springfield, Dane, and Vienna. Very few arrived after 1847, and none after 1850.<sup>1</sup> Some survivors of the original settlers still living in Mazomanie in 1900 were able to tell William Kittle the native counties of almost five hundred of the emigrants. About two-thirds came from Lancashire and Yorkshire, a few families each from Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, Lincolnshire, Berkshire, and Wales, and one or two individuals, probably one family each, from Nottinghamshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, London, Kent, the Isle of Man, and Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Even if the memories of the survivors, who were children during the emigration, cannot be wholly trusted, the general impression that the majority of the members lived in the north and the midlands can be accepted. The headquarters of the society were in Liverpool, and the most flourishing branch in Sheffield.

Charles Wilson was joined in Wisconsin by the two other founders of the Society, Charles Reeves in 1844 and Robert Gorst the following year, and the three men acted as agents. Apart from buying land and preparing for the arrival of the settlers, it was their task to pay all taxes, collect the rent and subscriptions and enforce all ejectments for non-payment.<sup>3</sup> It was also proposed to build a town, the City of Heyworth, and a corn and saw mill. The town was laid out on the south bank

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1. W. Kittle, op.cit., pp.20-26.

2. Ibid. p.27.

3. British Temperance Emigration Society, Rules, XIII, No.24.

of the Wisconsin river but never completed, and the mill was never even begun.<sup>1</sup> The agents found their job of rent-collecting an unenviable one. Money was scarce, markets distant, many fell sick soon after arrival, and the majority were entirely ignorant of farming. They could not even pay their debts in produce as arranged in the rules. Whether or not the settlers became imbued with 'the lawless habits of the Western States', as one critic believed,<sup>2</sup> they could not pay their rent, and on these regular payments the existence of the society depended. Some abandoned their farms, while those who remained threatened the agents with injury if they should attempt to evict them. News of the discontent reached England and caused a withdrawal of subscriptions, which in turn increased the financial embarrassment of the society. It was obvious that the society had failed, and the only remedy was dissolution.

The decision to wind up the affairs of the society was taken after the receipt of numerous letters from the agents in America complaining of the great difficulty they found in carrying out the orders of the society.<sup>3</sup> The officials were also facing criticism at home. Some discontented settlers returned to England and spread complaints about the settlement. As early as 1844 a disappointed emigrant, who had just returned

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1. W. Kittle, op.cit., pp.31-2.

2. Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, I, 122.

3. W. Kittle, op.cit., pp.34-6.

from Wisconsin, warned the readers of the Liverpool Mercury that the society's guide misrepresented the facts and the territory was not suitable for English emigrants, other than<sup>1</sup> hardworking farmers with a capital of several hundred pounds. A year later Edwin Bottomley, who had settled in Racine County, Wisconsin, in 1842, wrote to his father that many of those who had gone out as members of the society had been disappointed. A few months afterwards he reported that his cousins, John and Betty Dyson, who had arrived with the second group of settlers, had abandoned their farm. Bottomley labelled the society a swindling concern and its officials rascals, and advised his 'Uncle Edward' and all his relations and friends to withdraw<sup>2</sup> from it. Letters such as these, and the reports of returned emigrants were responsible for the large number of withdrawals<sup>3</sup> in 1846 and 1847.

A general meeting of the British Temperance Emigration Society was held in May 1848, and it was resolved to wind up its affairs as soon as possible.<sup>4</sup> This decision was taken because reports from agents and members in America, and 'other

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1. Liverpool Mercury, 16 February 1844, p.60; 23 February 1844, p.63; 8 March 1844, p.79.
  2. M.M. Quaife, ed. 'An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin', Wisconsin Historical Publications, Collections, XXV, 93, 94, 99-100.
  3. W. Kittle, op.cit., pp.33, 34, 39-45.
  4. British Temperance Emigration Society, Additions and Amendments .... to the Rules .... [Approved by the Registrar of Friendly Societies, 22 May 1848].



causes', proved the impracticability of carrying out the original objects of the society. The property was to be sold to members at cost price, less the amount of the contributions paid. Those in America were to pay the balance due to the society at five per cent interest, but no more rent would be collected. Subscriptions would be returned to those members who had not emigrated, and any surplus funds would be divided among all subscribing members in England or America. The office of general agent in England was abolished, but the American agents were to remain to wind up the affairs of the society in Wisconsin. This proved difficult, and from 1847 to 1861 the agents found it necessary to institute court actions against certain of the settlers.<sup>1</sup>

The British Temperance Emigration Society had failed in the same way and for the same reasons, as the potters' society was soon to fail.<sup>2</sup> Neither the societies nor the emigrants were wholly to blame. The fault lay with their ignorance of conditions in the American west. On paper the plans were sound and there was no speculation, but they were entirely dependent on the prompt payment of rent and subscriptions by the settlers in Wisconsin, as well as by the subscribers in England. But the emigrants found it very difficult even to wrest a living from the soil. Their difficulties were increased because the majority had been mechanics and tradesmen, entirely

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1. W. Kittle, op.cit., pp.36-7.

2. See above, Chapter III.

ignorant of farming of any sort. Edwin Bottomley's cousins, the Dysons, were typical. In their cousin's opinion they were fit only for town life, and they eventually settled in Milwaukee, where John Dyson became a baker.<sup>1</sup> Naturally the settlers were bitterly disappointed, after their dreams of becoming well-to-do landowners, and they accused the society of fraud and misrepresentation, while the officials of the society considered them to be lawless repudiators.

Two other variants of the savings fund type of emigration society might be noted. The Halifax Emigration Society was formed in March 1849 to help the depressed handloom weavers and wool-combers.<sup>2</sup> The minimum subscription was a penny each week, and it was hoped that philanthropists would become honorary members, and help the society with subscriptions, donations or loans. The society's sole concern was to provide the money for the passage, and as soon as he had settled in the country of the choice the emigrant was expected to repay whatever money he had received, above his own subscription. The London and New York Self Effecting Transit Society was also concerned with the passage of emigrants.<sup>3</sup> It proposed to charter a ship and lay in provisions to take a large party of artizans to New York. The society was to be limited to three

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1. M.M. Quaife, ed., op.cit., pp.158, 192.
  2. Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, I, 302.
  3. Ibid. pp.181, 189, 195.

hundred adult subscribers, who were to pay one shilling a week, and sixpence each for any children, for seventy-one weeks. The funds would then be sufficient to arrange for the passage at three pounds ten shillings for each emigrant. It was hoped that wealthy persons would subscribe for the benefit of the poor. The officials of the society intended to enrol it as a friendly society, but this was never done. Perhaps there were not enough applicants to fill a ship, and unless a whole ship were chartered it would be impossible to arrange passages at the low rate proposed, including provisions.

A number of people employed their time in drawing up plans for emigration societies, which they submitted to a possible patron, usually the Government. In 1834 F. Bradley proposed A Plan for the Establishment of a Parochial Colony in America.<sup>1</sup> Fourteen years later R.J. Grant sent a scheme, entitled the Grand National Emigration Fund Distribution, to the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey.<sup>2</sup> He was closely followed by George Walter<sup>3</sup> and William Bridges.<sup>4</sup> None of the plans received any support from the Emigration Commissioners, and in

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1. Poor Laws Report, Appendix C.

2. C.O. 384/82. R.J. Grant to Earl Grey<sup>m</sup> 18 August 1848.  
Commissioners to Merivale, 22 Sept. 1848.

3. C.O. 384/85. Geo. Walter to C.O., 12 November 1850.

4. C.O. 384/89. Wm. Bridges to Sir J. Pakington, 5 May 1852.  
Commissioners to Merivale, 9 July 1852.  
C.O. 384/91. Bridges to Duke of Newcastle, 7 Feb. 1853.

the majority of cases no more action was taken. Bridges however made a determined attempt to establish his society. He contributed a long article to the Emigrant's Messenger, which appeared in serial form for four months, from October 1850 to January 1851.<sup>1</sup> The proposed plan was to encourage the formation of Benefit Emigration and Colonization Societies throughout the country. The societies were not to assist the actual emigration of members, but to help them purchase lands or houses in the United Kingdom, the British Colonies, or the United States, and supply seed, farming implements and other necessities. A Central Committee was formed in London, and included five of the six directors of the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company, three clergymen, Thomas M. Gladstone of Liverpool, and Erasmus Wilson F.R.S.<sup>2</sup> But their efforts to establish local societies were unsuccessful.

The long manuscript dissertations submitted to the Colonial Office, explaining the authors' complicated and impractical schemes for curing the country's ills by large scale assisted emigration, suggest the activities of cranks obsessed by one idea. Emigration was promoted by a few men of this sort, endowed with more than the usual share of perseverance, who formulated utopian schemes, and attempted to carry them out in the unsettled lands of the world. Such a man was Dr. Edward King of Blackthorn, Bicester, Oxfordshire.

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1. Emigrant's Messenger, No.6, pp.2-5; No.7, pp.2-4; No.8, pp.2-3; No.9, pp.4-8.
  2. Ibid. No.11, p.16.



In 1825 he published a pamphlet describing the 'Tri-Form System'.<sup>1</sup> This was followed, according to his own account, by numerous essays on the same subject, all of which were rejected or ignored by the journals to which they were offered, until at last, almost twenty years after the first pamphlet appeared, he had a second printed at his own expense.<sup>2</sup> He proposed to establish a colony in South Africa, and his aim was to root self-interest from human society and replace it by Christian love. The basis of King's plan was that the surplus produced by each colony, after the ordinary wants of the members had been satisfied, should be divided into three parts. One third would be paid as rent, one third as interest, and the remainder, the profit, would be divided among the inhabitants, according to age. No member would be able, by any means, to increase his share of the profit, so that the only inducement to hard work would be the good of the community. The dread of want as a stimulus to action would be replaced by a desire for pleasures and joys, and, after providing for the wants of the body, it would be the colony's task to 'foster and promote the more delightful sympathies of the soul',<sup>3</sup> to render perfect both body and mind. Accordingly the profit would be used to supply 'works of taste, instruments

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1. Edward King, An Essay on the Creation & Advantages of A Cultural or Commercial Triform Stock . . . ., (London, 1825).
  2. Edward King, On the Advantages of a Triform System of Colonization in South Africa . . . ., (Bicester, 1844).
  3. Ibid. p.9.

of scientific amusement, implements of arts, literary novelties',<sup>1</sup> according to the varying fancies of the individual members. To satisfy these needs of the colonists, clergymen, doctors and teachers would be needed. In fact, 'Each Establishment must be a permanent College; and each inhabitant may be a student, through his whole life.'<sup>2</sup>

It might be imagined that the nucleus round which King proposed to establish his various colonies would be prejudicial to the success of the system. The first settlers were to be taken from the most destitute, the most abject and criminal of the unemployed labourers of the United Kingdom,<sup>3</sup> but through the working of the system they would become a highly educated and perfectly happy race.<sup>4</sup> Each labourer who emigrated would receive his passage expenses, clothes, land, stock, implements, and other necessities to the exact value of himself, which King reckoned at two hundred pounds a head.<sup>5</sup> The great expense of this initial outlay and the uncertainty of any return, may have been responsible for the unresponsiveness of the public to King's appeal, or perhaps, as he feared, they doubted his sanity,<sup>6</sup> but in any event capitalists were not interested in the tri-form system of colonization, and the South African plan had to be abandoned.

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1. Ibid. p.18.

2. Ibid. p.19.

3. Ibid. pp.16, 17.

4. Ibid. p.18.

5. Ibid. pp.27-8.

6. Ibid. p.27.

Dr. King, however, did not lose faith in his system, and in February 1846 he established at his sole expense two colonies in Virginia, near Brontsville, naming them Alphaville<sup>1</sup> and Betaville. The experiment was not a success. The utopia of his dreams did not spring up in the new world. Out of twenty Oxfordshire labourers sent to Alphaville in 1848, nine left after only one winter, so that local labour had to be hired to carry out the preliminary work. And of six Englishmen whose expenses were paid, one absconded at Baltimore, one left at the end of a month, two after six weeks, and the other two at the end of the second month. The editor of the Emigrant remarked, 'The destitute, for whose benefit this effort is being made, seem strangely deficient in discernment, in perseverance, and in sympathy for their fellow-sufferers.'<sup>2</sup>

A different type of utopian settlement was that of the Owenite community in Wisconsin. There was no direct promotion of emigration by the followers of Robert Owen, but there was talk of emigrating to America, and one or two small groups<sup>3</sup> actually set sail. One such group, organized in England and supported by several associations, established the colony of Equality in Waukesha County, Wisconsin.<sup>4</sup> The plan was

1. Emigrant, 25 August 1849, p.807.

2. Ibid.

3. A.E. Bestor, Backwoods Utopias. The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663-1829, (Philadelphia, 1950), pp.89-90.

4. Ibid. pp.50, note 38, 240.

proposed by Thomas Hunt, because an establishment in Hampshire, named Harmony, was not progressing satisfactorily. Hunt compared it unfavourably with the Rappite community in America. He believed that a colony of one hundred, on a farm of two hundred acres in the western territories of America, could be made self-supporting within three years. The hundred members were to be made up from twenty families, who would go out gradually over two years. The first party, of about twenty persons, would buy the land in Wisconsin and make all arrangements.<sup>1</sup> Each emigrant was to pay his own travelling expenses,<sup>2</sup> and take with him tools and implements, clothes and bed linen. Hunt led a party of thirty-one men and women to Wisconsin in 1843, and bought one hundred and sixty acres of land bordering upon Spring Lake, Mukwonago township. The settlers, however, were nearly all mechanics, and unfitted for frontier life. Their lack of success in farming was aggravated by a number of petty differences and jealousies among the members of the community. After one year's trial it was decided to abandon the experiment, and all the remaining property was divided equally among the members, both those in England and those in Wisconsin.<sup>3</sup> A similar Owenite colony in Michigan also failed.<sup>4</sup>

The great time for the flowering of emigration schemes

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1. T. Hunt, Report to a Meeting of Intending Emigrants . . . ., (London, 1843).
  2. Ibid. p.19.
  3. History of Waukesha County, Wisconsin, (Chicago, 1880), pp.385, 421.
  4. G.N. Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan, (Lansing, Michigan, 1916), p.242.



of all kinds was in the late 'forties and early 'fifties, and during these years many associations were formed to promote emigration as a speculation. Their plans were often similar to those of the self-help societies, but their aim was to make a profit for the promoters, by inducing as many emigrants as possible to join the associations. A few were provisionally registered as joint stock companies, the rest inserted their prospectuses in the newspapers and advertised their existence in other ways. Typical of the societies which made their brief appearance at this time was the Mutual Guarantee Emigration Association, one of the still-born companies provisionally registered in 1848.<sup>1</sup> A comprehensive sketch of the plan was issued in pamphlet form.<sup>2</sup> The association planned to help great numbers to emigrate who had been unable to do so previously through lack of funds, in the same way as a building society helped its members to buy a house. Each member would be permitted to choose his own destination, but as it was hoped to obtain power to borrow money on Government guarantee, it was assumed that the majority of the emigrants would go to some British colony. The members were to be divided into five classes, subscribing for shares valued at £240, £120, £60, or £40, to be paid for in monthly instalments over five years. The society would remain in existence until all its members had been assisted to emigrate and had paid

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1. Companies' Registration Office. Returns of Extinct Companies, No.3183.

2. Mutual Guarantee Emigration Association. Sketch of a Proposed Plan . . . ., (London, 1848).

their full subscriptions, and the borrowed money had been repaid. Priority in going out would be determined by ballot, and each member's share would be laid out according to his instructions, but not paid over in cash. During their first twelve months in the new land the emigrants would not be required to pay their subscriptions, but thereafter the amount would be doubled. The members were also to pay the expenses of the society. These included the fees for fifty country agents, sixteen agents abroad, five senior and fifteen junior clerks, ten shipping clerks, and for the directors and promoters. Optimistically reckoning the number of subscribers at thirty-five thousand, the promoters stated that the expenses would amount to less than one pound a head. The plan was conceived on much too large a scale. Unless large numbers of emigrants were persuaded to join, it could not function, and was bound to fail, and the expenses account would not be attractive to any bona fide emigrant.

Some similar unsuccessful societies were the National Emigration Society, 1848, the British Universal Emigration Company, 1852 to 1853, and the Emigrants' Own Shipping and Emigration Company, 1852.<sup>1</sup>

In 1849 the usual inducements to emigrate were supplemented by the attraction of Californian gold. Early in the

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1. Companies' Registration Office. Returns of Extinct Companies, Nos. 2345, 3971, 3986.  
The many societies formed to promote emigration exclusively to the British colonies have not been mentioned.

year James Fleming advertised a plan for the facilitation of emigration to California, which he named the California (Free Passage) Emigration Association.<sup>1</sup> The society was to consist of one hundred thousand members paying one pound each. They were to emigrate in groups of one hundred, selected by ballot from every five thousand members and would be provided with a passage, outfit, implements, and maintenance for one month after arrival. The settlers would then pay their debt to the society in monthly instalments. The first ballot was arranged for February 19th 1849, but before that date the Association had ceased to advertise.<sup>2</sup> A very similar plan for emigration to California was drawn up by Robert Williams, at about the same time.<sup>3</sup> After the failure of his California scheme James Fleming established the General Emigration Society,<sup>4</sup> to promote emigration to all parts of the world including the United States. But apparently this venture was no more successful than the first. They were both too ambitious, and depended on an initial large membership.

There were very few societies formed to help emigrants to the United States for purely philanthropic reasons, although

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1. Emigrant, 27 January 1849, p.376.  
Manchester Examiner, 6 February 1849.
  2. Emigrant, 10 February 1849. Last advertisement.
  3. Ibid. p.406. California Emigration Association.
  4. Ibid. 31 March 1849, p.520 [wrongly numbered p.504].

many of the self-help and speculative societies invited the co-operation of humanitarians. Most philanthropic societies confined their activities to the British Colonies. Two exceptions to this general rule appeared in the forties. In 1842 and 1843 a subscription was opened in Newcastle-upon-Tyne to relieve the distress in the town by helping the working classes to emigrate to any suitable colony or country, but the parties sent out went to Brazil, New Zealand, and Canada.<sup>1</sup> A few years later, in 1848, a similar subscription was opened in London, and supported by Lord Ashley, to provide a free passage to New York for a number of destitute reformed criminals. A group was sent out, but the plan received unfavourable publicity when the wives of two of the emigrants appeared before the magistrates, complaining that they and their children had been left destitute. The case was closed when the agent of the society agreed to assist them to join their husbands.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to discover how much help was given to individual emigrants by patrons and benefactors, as only isolated and incidental references to such assistance have survived, but there was very little organized philanthropic assistance given to emigrants to the United States. Humanitarians were more concerned with conditions in the ports and

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1. Emigration Gazette, 31 December 1842, p.1.

2. Emigrant, 16 September 1848, p.67; 23 September 1848, p.76; 7 October 1848, pp.117-118; 21 October 1848, p.140.



on board the emigrant ships, but even in this field there was more organized, as distinct from individual, assistance given by American societies than by English societies.

The American ports which received the greatest numbers of immigrants, New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore, formed emigrant protective societies to give free advice and assistance, and help in obtaining employment. Before leaving England emigrants were usually advised by guides and journals, and, officially, by the Emigration Commissioners,<sup>1</sup> to apply to one of these societies on arrival. It was frequently suggested that corresponding English societies should be formed, but this was never done. A great effort was made in Liverpool from 1848 to 1851 to form a society to protect emigrants from fraud.<sup>2</sup> One of the promoters was William Brown M.P., founder of the firm of Brown, Shipley and Co., one of the respectable houses in the emigration business. The concern shown by influential and respected Liverpool merchants was not entirely disinterested, as they suffered from the activities of their less scrupulous rivals and the consequent bad name acquired by the port of Liverpool. They were as unsuccessful, however, in establishing the protective society as in their other

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1. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Twelfth General Report [1499] H.C. (1852). XVIII, 161.
  2. Liverpool Mercury, 12 December 1848, p.790; 19 December 1848, p.808; 26 December 1848, p.821; 16 January 1849, p.38; 9 October 1849, p.648; 31 January 1851, p.90; 4 February 1851, p.96.  
Emigrant's Messenger, No.9, pp.8-9, 9-10.

attempted reforms of a central booking office and an emigrant's depôt controlled by the local authorities.<sup>1</sup>

One of the American societies extended its activities to England. The Philadelphia Emigrant's Friend Society was supported by voluntary contributions and had been formed to give advice and protection to all foreign immigrants, to assist them in obtaining employment, and direct them to suitable places of settlement. Circulars were distributed throughout the United States soliciting information about local demands for labour, and asking those in need of workmen to apply at the office. It was claimed that the response from American employers was so great that the number of immigrants available fell far short of the demand, and the society had been compelled to comb all the emigrant boarding houses in Philadelphia.<sup>2</sup> It was then decided to send an agent to the United Kingdom to establish corresponding societies, which would collect the names, ages and occupations of intending emigrants and forward the lists to Philadelphia. The emigrants would be helped with advice, information and loans, by agents at the ports of embarkation,<sup>3</sup> and by the parent society in America. William Dilkes was sent over as agent, and in 1847 Eleazor Jones was appointed the society's emigration agent in Liverpool.<sup>4</sup>

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1. See above, Chapter I.

2. Emigrant, 19 May 1849, p.579.

3. Ibid. 18 November 1848, p.212.

4. Ibid. 18 November 1848, p.201.

The secretary of the society, the Rev. D.R. Thomason, wrote a guide in its behalf which was published in 1848 in both Philadelphia and London.<sup>1</sup> Accounts of the work of the society appeared in emigrant journals and the Liverpool press for several years from 1848, the guide was favourably reviewed, and in his advertisements Eleazor Jones mentioned his connection with the society. He also supplied copies of the guide and a weekly paper published in Philadelphia, the Emigrant and American Citizen.<sup>2</sup> But the society never became well-known in England, and no corresponding societies were established. The difficulty was still to provide enough emigrants for the prospective employers.<sup>3</sup> About three thousand immigrants obtained employment during 1849 through the office in Philadelphia,<sup>4</sup> but how many had received help from the society before sailing, it is impossible to determine. Those who emigrated under the auspices of the society were all procured by the emigration agent, Eleazor Jones, who worked almost entirely among the Welsh,<sup>5</sup> and who continued to arrange the emigration

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1. D.R. Thomason, Hints to Emigrants; or to those who may contemplate emigrating to the United States ..., (London, 1848).

For reviews and extracts see:

- Emigrant, 18 November 1848, p.212; 25 August 1849, pp.810-811.  
Liverpool Mercury, 16 January 1849, p.38.  
Emigrant's Messenger, No.12, p.12. April, 1851.
2. Liverpool Mercury, 16 January 1849, p.38.
3. Emigrant, 17 February 1849, p.418.  
 19 May 1849, p.579.
4. Liverpool Mercury, 23 July 1850, p.476; 31 January 1851, p.90.
5. Ibid. 7 May 1850, p.292.

of his countrymen for several years after the Philadelphia Emigrant's Friend Society had ceased its activities in Great Britain.<sup>1</sup>

An active group of associations to promote emigration was composed of those whose primary purpose was the sale of land in the United States. There were general complaints about the activities of American land agents throughout the period, and emigrants were continually warned against buying land without first examining it.<sup>2</sup> The majority of English emigrants either remained in or near the ports, or, following the advice of guide and journal, travelled to the new lands of the west. But speculators in lands in these western states were not very active in England, although the western states and territories received a great deal of favourable publicity. Interested parties depended more on literature than organizations to induce emigrants to proceed to a particular destination, and the majority of those who bought land in the west did so after their arrival in the United States. There were a few exceptions, as in 1841 when Colonel Oakley of Illinois travelled round England and persuaded a number of emigrants to settle on his lands,<sup>3</sup> but the most active speculators were those

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1. Emigrant's Messenger, No.12, p.12. April 1851.  
Liverpool Mercury, 25 March 1853; 12 December 1854, p.15.
  2. E.g. C.F. Grece, Facts and Observations respecting Canada, and the United States of America..., (London, 1819), p.18.  
Vere Foster, Work and Wages..., (London, 1855), p.4.
  3. Niles Register, LXI, 304. 8 January 1842.  
R.M. Robbins, Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776-1936, (Princeton, 1942), p.135.  
For other examples see Niles' Register, XL, 273; LVII, 165.  
Emigrant's Messenger, No.2, p.4. June 1850.



with lands in the older but sparsely settled regions of the south, which did not attract the westward moving native population. Efforts were made to persuade English emigrants to buy land in Kentucky,<sup>1</sup> Florida,<sup>2</sup> Tennessee,<sup>3</sup> Virginia,<sup>4</sup> and especially in Georgia, Western Virginia and Texas. As early as 1836 it was reported that Virginia and Georgia lands were being advertised in England, and that one thousand acres of Georgia land had been sold for fifty pounds.<sup>5</sup>

An agent for the sale of Georgia lands appeared in England in 1848. Richard Keily had been appointed by Bishop Reynolds of Charleston to sell the lands along the route of a proposed railroad, which had discovered, as did the later land grant railroads of the west, that before it could function as a railroad it must first be a land company. The lands were situated in Irwin County, Georgia, and the railroad was to connect the Ocmulgee and Flint rivers, and so open a transit for freight and passengers from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1827 a charter had been issued to Thomas Spalding authorizing him to cut a canal, or build a wooden railroad between the two rivers,<sup>6</sup> but although he had the route

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1. Niles' Register, XIV, 380. 1 August 1818.
  2. Liverpool Mercury, 15 April 1842, p.121.
  3. Emigrant, 19 May 1849, p.584.  
Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, I, 317.
  4. Emigrant's Messenger, No.2, p.8. June 1850.
  5. Niles' Register, LI, 160. 5 November 1836.
  6. C.E. MacGill, Transportation in the United States before 1860, (Washington, 1917), p.259.

surveyed<sup>1</sup> no other progress was made. A company to build the road was formed by General A.H. Brisbane<sup>2</sup> in 1840, and work began on grading the road a year later. After two years' work the state of Georgia brought her vacant lands on the market, and Brisbane bought those through which the railroad passed. A year later the company was in financial difficulties, so it was decided to sell the lands to pay for the construction of the road. A colonization company was organized in Philadelphia, but it broke up before anything was accomplished, and all the work on the railroad had to be suspended. About two-thirds of the grading had been done, but not a single rail laid. Brisbane persuaded the Bishop of Charleston to buy the lands and settle the property on the church. Bishop Reynolds appointed Richard Kelly agent in England for the sale of the lands to bona fide settlers.<sup>3</sup>

Kelly set about his task with energy. He placed advertisements in the emigrant newspapers, and in the provincial press, offering for sale one hundred and twenty thousand acres of freehold lands in lots of four hundred and ninety acres.<sup>4</sup>

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1. L.O. Reynolds, Report of a Survey for a railroad from the Ockmulgee to Flint River . . . ., (Savannah, 1835).
  2. A military engineer who had been employed on preliminary surveying work for the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston railroad in 1836, and the Western and Atlantic railroad of Georgia in 1837. From 1848-1853 he held the chair of belles-lettres and ethics at the South Carolina Military Academy.
  3. R. Kelly, A Brief Description . . . of Georgia . . . ., (London, 1849), pp.20-30.  
C.E. MacGill, op.cit., p.446.
  4. E.g. Emigrant, 26 August 1848, p.41.  
Liverpool Mercury, 2 March 1849.

At first his proposal received editorial support. A correspondent living at Wexford was assured that 'with reference to the State of Georgia ..., he may live as comfortably in the town of Augusta as in any town of Ireland...'<sup>1</sup> The Liverpool Mercury exclaimed, 'Good land, with good means of communication at five shillings an acre! In good sooth we are almost inclined to be off ourselves.'<sup>2</sup> But others were more cautious, and warned intending purchasers that the climate of Georgia was not favourable to Europeans, that the land might be exhausted, that the allotments were too small to be worked by slave labour, and that the price was too high.<sup>3</sup> Keily attempted to arouse interest in his plan by arranging public lectures. For example, on November 24th 1848, a meeting was held in the large schoolroom George Street, Hampstead Road, to consider the relative merits of emigration to Texas and Georgia. The chairman referred to the advantages of Keily's plan, and the speaker, a Mr. O'Rorke, gave a general account of the state of Georgia, and a particular account of the lands in Irwin county. Apart from the excellence of the lands, there was a further attraction in the railway, which would be certain to give employment to a great number of mechanics and labourers. The speaker affirmed that Keily had no desire to interfere with other schemes of emigration, and answered a

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1. Emigrant, 21 October 1849, p.144.
  2. Liverpool Mercury, 2 March 1849, p.142.
  3. Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, I, 107.

number of questions before the meeting closed.<sup>1</sup>

An attempt was also made to bring the scheme to the notice of persons unlikely to read the newspapers or attend public meetings, that is the numerous able-bodied paupers. A circular was prepared to be sent to all the Boards of Guardians throughout the kingdom, stating that Kelly was willing to take out from one hundred to one thousand able-bodied men to Savannah, Georgia. Each settler would be provided with twenty-five acres of land in Irwin county, and there would be work for all on the railway at two shillings per day. The outlay proposed was twenty-five pounds for each emigrant, to include passage, provisions, land and cost of location, but Kelly suggested that the settlers should repay the Boards of Guardians from their railway earnings. No doubt the paupers would have agreed that the suggestion presented a pleasing alternative to 'bone-grubbing in the Poor Law Unions',<sup>2</sup> but it was extremely unlikely that the Boards of Guardians would consider an outlay of twenty-five pounds for each pauper, with only a very slight chance of repayment, and there is no record of the plan's being adopted.

After this preliminary work Kelly organized a company, the Georgian Land and Railway Company, afterwards known as the Georgian Emigration Company, which was provisionally registered

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1. Emigrant, 25 November 1848, p.231.

2. Ibid. 11 November 1848, pp.188, 195.



at the joint stock companies' registration office on April 30th 1849.<sup>1</sup> Richard Keily was alone in its promotion, although O'Dempsey Keily acted as secretary. The declared business of the company was to sell lands and make a railroad in the United States. The proposed amount of capital was five hundred thousand pounds, to be realised by the sale of five pound shares. Later the capital was reduced to one hundred and five thousand pounds, and the shares to two pounds. The company was advertised in the newspapers throughout the year,<sup>2</sup> and Keily wrote a pamphlet describing the lands for sale.<sup>3</sup> This pamphlet of thirty-two pages and a map was sold for one shilling a copy, and appeared in two editions. It disputed the commonly held opinion that Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia were unhealthy states, and not attractive to European settlers. The state of Georgia was then described, and the rest of the pamphlet was concerned with the lands for sale in Irwin County. They were favourably described, and the reasons given why they had been put on the market. It was proposed that Irwin County should become the white workshop of Georgia, using English, Scottish, and Irish factory labourers to manufacture the cotton grown on the surrounding

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1. Companies' Registration Office. Returns of Extinct Companies, No.3313.
  2. E.g. Emigrant, 13 October 1849, p.890.  
Manchester Examiner, 12 December 1849, p.1.
  3. R. Keily, op.cit.

plantations into cloth, and to run sugar and turpentine factories.

Some individual emigrants were persuaded to buy the Georgian lands, and the first purchasers set sail from Liverpool for Savannah on February 22nd 1849.<sup>1</sup> Later in the year, news of their fate reached England. The Savannah Republican reported that the English purchasers had found it impossible to settle on their lands, and added that the lots of four hundred and ninety acres being sold at six shillings per acre, could be bought at Milledgeville, Georgia, for the nominal sum of five dollars per lot.<sup>2</sup> A similar statement, quoted from the New York Journal of Commerce, declared the English agency to be a complete swindle.<sup>3</sup> Kelly explained the criticisms of the Irwin County lands appearing in Savannah newspapers, as being the result of jealousy. The Ocmulgee and Flint railroad would be in direct competition with the Georgian railroad, in which many citizens of Savannah had invested.<sup>4</sup> But he admitted that the location of a few isolated families had not proved successful, and proposed that, in future, colonies of fifty or one hundred families should locate together, and found a township or village.<sup>5</sup> It

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1. Emigrant, 18 November 1848, p.213; 24 February 1849, p.434.
  2. Manchester Examiner, 8 September 1849, Supplement p.4.
  3. Emigrant, 6 October 1849, p.827.
  4. R. Kelly, op.cit., pp.27, 31 note.
  5. Ibid. pp. 31, 32.

is doubtful whether Kelly managed to sell much more of the Georgian lands, and by the end of 1849 his activities in England had ceased.

Owners of lands in the western part of Virginia also appointed agents to act for them in England. Virginia lands had been on the English market since 1836,<sup>1</sup> and in 1843 the Emigration Commissioners had been obliged to refuse to purchase on behalf of the government, a property in that state.<sup>2</sup> But it was in the late 'forties and early 'fifties that the most determined attempts were made to dispose of tracts of Virginia land to English emigrants. In 1846 readers of the Liverpool Mercury were informed of the arrival of Mr. Thomas Rawlings, formerly editor of the New York paper Old Countryman and Emigrant's Friend, to establish a land agency, having been entrusted with two million acres for settlement.<sup>3</sup> Earlier in the year, while still in New York, Rawlings had published a pamphlet on the condition of the working classes in the United Kingdom, suggesting emigration as a remedy. On his arrival in England he brought out a second edition, containing information on the lands for sale in western Virginia.<sup>4</sup> Since

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1. Niles' Register, LI, 160. 5 November 1836.

2. C.O. 386/34. Walpole to J.F. Levrat, 3 August 1843.

3. Liverpool Mercury, 29 May 1846, p.258.

4. T. Rawlings, Emigration. An Address to the Clergy . . . ., 2nd ed., (Liverpool, 1846).

the appearance of the first edition the author had been brought into contact with several influential and philanthropic men, who owned vast tracts of land in the United States, and therefore he had 'at great personal inconvenience' arrived in England to settle more than nine hundred thousand acres.<sup>1</sup> Copies of correspondence authorising Rawlings to dispose of the lands were printed in the pamphlet. Peter Clark of New York appointed Rawlings his agent to sell fifty thousand acres in western Virginia in farms of one hundred and fifty acres to 'industrious and virtuous settlers' for one hundred and twelve and a half dollars, twelve and a half dollars to be paid in advance, and the balance in five annual payments of twenty dollars. William O'Conner of Jersey City offered his lands in western Virginia and Kentucky on the same terms. Both stipulated that the farms must be dispersed, or the land sold in alternate sections, so that the improvements would increase the value of the remaining lots.<sup>2</sup> Clark enclosed a detailed description of his property,<sup>3</sup> and his favourable account was supported by several influential residents of western Virginia, and by men who had examined the land with a view to settling there.<sup>4</sup> The pamphlet was supplied free to all applicants.

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1. Ibid. Preface, and p.15.

2. Ibid. pp.15, 15-16.

3. Ibid. pp.16-17.

4. Ibid. pp.17-18.



After his arrival in England Rawlings began the preliminary work necessary for the establishment of his agency. He opened an office in Liverpool, and advertised the lands, selling a few lots to individual emigrants. After a few months he began to plan a company as a more effective means of selling the lands. The proposed company received an initial set-back when, in July 1847, Peter Clark terminated Rawlings' agency.<sup>1</sup> Rawlings hastened to explain that Clark had no interest in the land purchased for the company,<sup>2</sup> and that emigrants who had already bought Clark's land would be recognized as the legal owners.<sup>3</sup> The Western Virginia Land Company was provisionally registered on July 9th 1847 with a proposed capital of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be raised by the sale of six thousand twenty-five pound shares.<sup>4</sup> The promoters were Rawlings, John Taylor-Crook, a well-known shipping and emigrant agent,<sup>5</sup> Charles Willmer,<sup>6</sup>

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1. Liverpool Mercury, 6 July 1847, p.378.

2. Ibid. 9 July 1847.

3. Ibid. 13 July 1847, 16 July 1847.

4. Companies' Registration Office. Returns of Extinct Companies, No.3074.

5. J.T. Crook was connected at various times with the Black Star line of packets, Frederick Sabel, Universal Emigration and Colonization Company, Crook and Guion.

6. Publishers of Willmer's American News Letter.

stationer and newsagent with whom Rawlings was lodging, and Edward Bretherton, a Liverpool solicitor. Two well-known residents of Liverpool were secured as trustees, Sir Arnold James Knight, M.D., and Charles Edward Rawlins, Junr., merchant. Crook became the shipping agent for the company.

A prospectus was issued to the press and to prospective shareholders,<sup>1</sup> and a long list of testimonials was added.<sup>2</sup> The business of the company was to sell land in western Virginia to emigrants and others, in lots of from eighty acres upwards. The purchaser was to deposit sixpence for each acre, but need not select the land until his arrival in western Virginia. The remaining money was to be paid within five years, with interest at the rate of six per cent per annum. It was calculated that all the company's lands would be sold within five years, and therefore its operations would cease ten years from its establishment. Apart from selling the lands the company would arrange for the emigration of the settlers, and for the transfer of any money entrusted to it. The list of testimonials included a letter from Richard Armstrong, American consul in Liverpool. Rawlings claimed that he had been successful in promoting emigration for the last few years, and he included letters from emigrants on their way to take

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1. Liverpool Mercury, 13 July 1847.  
Companies' Registration Office. 3074/6.  
Niles' Register, LXXIII, 71. 2 October 1847.
  2. Companies' Registration Office. 3074/7. 'To Capitalists ...'

up their lands in western Virginia. These included a group of Welshmen, a late resident of Wednesbury, and the agent of a Liverpool resident.<sup>1</sup> But whatever may have been Rawlings' success as an individual land agent, he was not successful<sup>2</sup> in promoting his company.

Lands in western Virginia, however, continued to be advertised in small lots to attract prospective emigrants,<sup>3</sup> but those who bought were doomed to disappointment. In 1848 Samuel Saunders set up an office in Manchester to act as a land and emigration agent. He had just returned from a visit to America where he had been appointed agent for the sale of its lands in western Virginia by the United States Land and Emigration Society of New York. It seems that the same William O'Conner who had appointed Thomas Rawlings as his agent,<sup>4</sup> was now a member of the New York Society. The society published a pamphlet in Manchester which was sold by Saunders for twopence a copy.<sup>5</sup> Early in 1849 Saunders was charged at

1. Ibid.
2. Rawlings retained his interest in emigration, and in the 1860s published pamphlets advocating emigration to Minnesota and British Columbia, British North America, and the Hudson's Bay Territory.
3. E.g. Emigrant, 3 March 1849, p.455; 24 March 1849, p.504. Emigrant's Messenger, No.1, p.8. May 1850.
4. Manchester Examiner, 24 November 1849, p.6.
5. The Emigrant's Directory: by the United States Land and Emigration Society . . . ., (Manchester, 1849). Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, I, 97. Liverpool Mercury, 4 February 1851, p.96; 28 March 1851, p.346.

the Salford police office with the desertion of his family, and it was then stated in evidence that he had already sold tracts of land to two or three hundred persons.<sup>1</sup> Archibald Prentice of Manchester, 'in spite of threats', warned emigrants against buying the land,<sup>2</sup> and Joseph Barker, editor of a weekly penny paper, The People, stated on his return from a tour of America that the Virginia lands were not fit for cultivation. Barker gave two lectures on emigration to the United States at the Mechanics' Institution, Manchester, on November 27th and 29th 1849. Prentice took the chair at the first lecture, and Saunders was invited to attend, to answer the criticisms of the western Virginia lands. Barker gave a very favourable account of life in America, but not of the lands in Virginia. Saunders' reply consisted of violent and irrelevant personal attacks on the speaker, whom he accused of acting from interested and sinister motives. The meeting ended amid scenes of great disorder.<sup>3</sup>

Saunders continued his activities in Manchester until June 1851, when he was committed for trial at the assizes on the charge of a man named Booth. In 1849 Booth had bought from Saunders more than two hundred acres of land in Virginia,

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1. Emigrant, 17 February 1849, p.422.

2. Manchester Examiner, 24 November 1849, p.6.  
Prentice was author of, A Tour in the United States . . . .,  
(London, 1848).

3. Manchester Examiner, 1 December 1849, Supplement p.1.



and paid a deposit of six pounds fifteen shillings. The land was described as fertile, undulating, and well-watered. Booth found it to be so mountainous that he could only climb it by pulling himself up by the branches of trees. There was no river or stream, and the whole district was miserable and deserted. Booth found work in the United States, until he had earned sufficient money to return to Manchester, when he immediately went to visit the land agent, charging him with printing and circulating lies. Saunders, coolly remarking that lies suited some people better than the truth, sent for a police officer to remove him. Booth then applied to the police and the charge was investigated by the Manchester magistrates, who committed Saunders to the assizes for trial. He, however, broke his bail, and sailed for America.<sup>1</sup>

Many attempts were made to attract emigrants to Texas both before and after its annexation to the United States. It was reported that a considerable English immigration was expected in the season 1839 to 1840.<sup>2</sup> These were presumably the emigrants who were defrauded by John Woodward, the Texan consul at New York. Woodward sold large quantities of land to an English capitalist, who resold it to the settlers. On arrival at Galveston in the ship *Agnes* they found that Woodward had had no title to the land.<sup>3</sup> This was the first of a long

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1. Liverpool Mercury, 10 June 1851, p.453; 27 June 1851, p.504.
  2. Niles' Register, LVII, 193. 23 November 1839.
  3. Ibid. p.370. 8 February 1840.  
Liverpool Mercury, 28 February 1840, p.72.

series of disappointments which English emigrants were to receive in Texas. The Emigration Gazette continually warned its readers against Texas,<sup>1</sup> but nevertheless some continued to invest their savings in small tracts of land.<sup>2</sup> In 1841 ninety-seven Englishmen were induced to emigrate. Only three survived.<sup>3</sup> Two years later the Texan Emigration and Land Company offered three hundred and sixty acres to each family, and one hundred and sixty acres to each single man, who would settle in Texas before July 1st 1846.<sup>4</sup> The Texas Colonization and Railway Company, however, was not successful in persuading Englishmen to emigrate, although one of its officials made six journeys to England.<sup>5</sup>

The activities of land speculators continued after the annexation of the Republic in 1845. One of the most active, and fraudulent, agencies was the British Mutual Emigration Association, formed late in 1846 by Richard Rowed, with offices in London and Birmingham.<sup>6</sup> The prospectus stated that

1. Emigration Gazette, 3 October 1841, pp. 3, 6, 7, 8.
2. Ibid. 4 December 1841, p.7.
3. Ibid. 18 June 1842, p.1.
4. The Texan Emigration and Land Company. Emigration to Texas . . . ., (London, 1843). Niles' Register, LXVIII, 354. 9 August 1845.
5. Emigrant, 21 October 1848, p.143. Companies' Registration Office. Returns of Extinct Companies, No.2299.
6. There is a copy in C.O. 384/80.

many Texas landholders had agreed with the association to give the freehold of forty acres of land to every male emigrant over fifteen years old, who would undertake to fence in fifteen acres and build a house within two years of taking possession. The association would provide each emigrant with a loan of twenty-five pounds to be repaid in three years at five per cent interest. It was intended to charter a vessel as soon as one hundred members had applied. The prospectus contained a highly coloured account of Texas, and this was supplemented by the issue of a guide, Advice to Emigrants.

A copy of the prospectus was sent to the British consul at Galveston with a letter requesting government sanction for the project. The acting vice-consul immediately sent a strong letter to the British Minister in Washington, denouncing the scheme, and asserting that the statements in the prospectus were false, the advantages of Texas to emigrants grossly exaggerated, and the promoters of the association 'men without character or influence, and to most of them a dishonourable stigma is attached'. He prophesied sickness and destitution for any emigrant who went to Texas under the plan. The consul's letter was forwarded from Washington to the Foreign Office, and then to the Emigration Commissioners, who sent it to the Colonial Office with a proposal to issue a public

caution against the association.<sup>1</sup> The Colonial Secretary, Lord Gray, ruled that no caution could be published which mentioned the association or its promoters by name, and suggested the issuing of a general warning against exaggerated statements about Texas.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly the Emigration Commissioners placed a 'caution respecting emigration to Texas' in its Colonization Circular,<sup>3</sup> and the warning also appeared in the press.<sup>4</sup> Such a general caution, however, did not hinder Richard Rowed, who removed his Birmingham office to Liverpool, and continued to offer fifty acres of land to each settler, as the agent of Colonel Power of Texas,<sup>5</sup> with some success.

In May 1849 Consul Lynn of Galveston reported to the Foreign Office that his prophesies concerning the British Mutual Emigration Association had been realised. By 'his false representations and culpable perseverance' Rowed had induced a party of one hundred and thirty-eight to emigrate to Texas.<sup>6</sup> The land promised them was situated on the Trinity

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1. C.O. 384/80. Commissioners to Stephen, 20 February 1847.  
Enclosed:- Lynn [Galveston] to Pakenham, 6 Jan. 1847.  
Pakenham to Palmerston, 28 Jan. 1847.  
Addington to Walcott, 17 Feb. 1847.  
Prospectus of the Association.
  2. Ibid. C.O. to Commissioners, 26 February 1847.
  3. Colonization Circular, No.6, p.22. March 1847.
  4. Liverpool Mercury, 5 March 1847, p.112.
  5. Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, I, 42. 9 November 1848.
  6. F.O. 5/504. Lynn to F.O., 10 May 1849.  
Ed. Smith, Account of a journey through north-eastern Texas ..., (London, 1849), p.116.



river, near Fort Houston, but was not, in fact, owned by the association. The emigrants had sailed from Torquay, Devon, on the Isabella, and had a passage of fifty days to Galveston, where they had expected to be transferred to steamers and conveyed to their destination, and provided with the necessary stores and implements. The settlers included rural mechanics such as blacksmiths and carpenters, farmers and labourers, the majority of whom were left destitute in Galveston. A few migrated to different parts of Texas, and some went to New Orleans.<sup>1</sup> A letter from one of the unfortunate emigrants was published in the Manchester Examiner.<sup>2</sup> He was a mechanic and found it almost impossible to obtain employment in Galveston, having had only one day's work in a month. The consul warned the Foreign Office that the association was now planning to take advantage of the gold rush, and arrange to convey emigrants to California via Galveston. This time stronger action was taken, and Lynn's story of the fraud appeared in the newspapers. The association was named, and a general warning against similar schemes added.<sup>3</sup> Richard Rowed admitted that some of his emigrants had not had their lands, but denied that he had been a party to the fraud, and claimed that he had sent out many settlers who had been quite satisfied.<sup>4</sup>

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1. F.O. 5/504. Lynn to F.O., 31 August 1849.
  2. Manchester Examiner, 21 July 1849, Supplement, p.3.
  3. Liverpool Mercury, 31 July 1849, p.488.
  4. Emigrant, 21 July 1849, p.731.

The activities of the British Mutual Emigration Association came to an end, but the official warning against Texas did not hinder the work of other speculators in Texas lands.<sup>1</sup> Notices of the sale, or free grant, of lands continued to appear in the newspapers,<sup>2</sup> and various colonization schemes were promoted.<sup>3</sup> The United States and Canadian Emigration Society, formed at the beginning of 1849, practically confined its operations to colonizing a tract of land in eastern Texas.<sup>4</sup> Its purpose was to sell land to the emigrant of small means, as the agent of American landowners. In common with other societies, a free pamphlet was published describing the lands acquired in Texas. Offices were established in London and Dublin, and agents appointed in Liverpool and Glasgow, but it is impossible to say how many emigrants were persuaded to proceed to the society's settlement. Its advertisements ceased to appear towards the end of 1849.

Early in 1849 an association was formed in Derby to arrange the colonization of one hundred families on a tract

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1. Ibid. 16 June 1849, p.648.
  2. Ibid. 19 August 1848, p.33.  
Manchester Examiner, 29 April 1848, p.1.  
Mark Lane Express, 8 March 1847, p.6; 20 June 1853, p.16.
  3. Emigrant, 2 September 1848, p.54.  
Manchester Examiner, 21 July 1849; 25 August 1849,  
 Supplement, p.3.  
 Ed. Smith, op.cit., p.8.
  4. Emigrant, 17 March 1849, p.488; 24 March 1849, pp.491-2.  
Manchester Examiner, 3 April 1849, p.1.

of land, two hundred miles square, in Texas, which had been offered to the promoters by the owner.<sup>1</sup> A thousand articulated labourers and mechanics were to accompany the settlers, and two agents would be sent out to examine the land. The scheme was particularly addressed to farmers, who were told that there would be 'company, respectability, civilization, religion, and all our comforts to be had almost at once.'<sup>2</sup> Edward Smith M.D., and John Barrow, a civil engineer, were appointed agents to examine the land. Before they left England they learnt that the tract of land had been sold to others, and they therefore determined to make a more extended survey of Texas to find an alternative site for the colony.<sup>3</sup> They left Liverpool on April 10th 1849 and were away from England until July 27th.<sup>4</sup> During these months they travelled from New York to New Orleans, up the river to Shreveport, and then made an extensive tour on horseback through north eastern Texas. On their return to England Smith made a comprehensive report to the society in accordance with instructions,<sup>5</sup> and Barrow wrote a more general narrative of the journey.<sup>6</sup> The

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1. John Barrow, Facts relating to North Eastern Texas....., (London, 1849). Introduction.
  2. Mark Lane Express, 22 January 1849, p.3.
  3. John Barrow, op.cit., Introduction.
  4. Ed. Smith, Account of a Journey ....., pp.5, 10.
  5. Ibid. pp.iii-iv, 'Instructions to Inspectors'.
  6. J. Barrow, op.cit.

report was an honest account and emphasised that the agents could only speak for the districts which they themselves had examined. They realised that much of the secondhand information which had been given to them came from interested parties. Smith suggested four possible locations for the colony in north east Texas. He also included a letter from Jacob De Cordova<sup>1</sup> of Houston, who stated that the only large tracts he knew were those of James Reily, a Texas lawyer, on Cowhouse Creek, Milam County, and of Richard B. Kimball, of New York, on the Brazos River. Nothing came of the agents' journey, but Colonel Reily's lands in Milam County, Texas, were bought by Melvil Wilson for another company, the United States Land Company, which also intended to colonize the tract. The company had been promoted by Wilson and Ambrose Moore at the beginning of 1849 as the Western Land and Land Agency. In August the name was changed to the Rio Del Norte Land and Mining Company, and in March 1850 to the United States Land Company.<sup>2</sup> The undertaking was abandoned the following month,<sup>3</sup> and later the company was taken over by the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company.

The Universal Emigration and Colonization Company was the most ambitious of the companies formed to promote emigration to the United States by the sale of lands. In 1847

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1. Agent in Texas for Richard B. Kimball. He later wrote guides for emigrants, and in 1858 lectured in Manchester.
  2. Companies' Registration Office. Returns of Extinct Companies, No.3261.
  3. Ibid. 3261/10. Letter to the Registrar, 15 July 1851.



David Hoffman, a prominent member of the Maryland bar, and formerly professor of law in the University of Maryland, travelled to Europe 'to spend a few years in the actual observation of the thousand things, known to me chiefly through books, but which have challenged my ardent admiration.....'<sup>1</sup>

A year later he published a pamphlet suggesting the establishment of a land and emigration company and an American newspaper in London.<sup>2</sup> The pamphlet was supplied free to anyone interested in the proposed scheme. Assuming that all would agree that emigration was desirable, and the United States the most inviting field, Hoffman suggested the establishment of a company for the purchase of American lands, the regulation of emigration, the settlement of the lands, and the impartation of reliable information to the prospective emigrant. He argued that the investment of British capital in American lands would be safe and profitable, but suggested that the purchases should be, not of government lands in the new states, but of lands in the western portions of old states, such as Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, or in the eastern parts of comparatively new states, such as Tennessee. The frontier conditions in the new states necessitated a pioneer life to which European emigrants were not suited, and the present inhabitants of lands in the older states were often willing

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1. D. Hoffman, Views on the Formation of a British and American Land and Emigration Company, (London, 1848), p.2.

2. Ibid.

to part with them at a great sacrifice. Any prospective investor was assured that there would be no risk in regard to land titles.<sup>1</sup>

A year after the appearance of the pamphlet a company was provisionally registered in London bearing almost the same name as that proposed by Hoffman. The British and American Colonization, Emigration and Land Company was formed by William Saint Clair Trotter, to promote emigration to the United States and the colonies, to buy and sell lands, and to colonize one or more tracts of land.<sup>2</sup> During the next few months Trotter secured the support of a number of influential men, and in February 1850 the company's name was changed to the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company, with offices at No.8, St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square.<sup>3</sup> An attempt was made to secure government support, and the directors asked for an interview with the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, but support was refused.<sup>4</sup>

The Universal Emigration and Colonization Company was completely registered at the Companies' Registration Office

1. Hoffman later acted as agent for American land speculators, and in 1850 was appointed agent in Europe for the leasing of Col. J.C. Fremont's California estate.  
D. Hoffman, The Fremont Estate..., (London, 1851).  
D. Hoffman, California. Fremont Estates and Gold Mines..., (London, 1852).
2. Companies' Registration Office. Returns of Extinct Companies, No. C.448/1, 2, 3, 4.
3. Ibid. C.448/6.  
A printed prospectus is in C.O. 384/85.
4. C.O. 384/85. Maltby and Robinson to Grey, 26 April 1850.  
C.O. to Maltby and Robinson, 4 May 1850.

in December 1850, having occupied the previous year in completing its arrangements. There were six directors, T.A. Attree, Solicitor, George Bailey, Merchant, Sir Edward Belcher, Naval officer, Lt. Col. Atherton Howard, Henry Kirk, and Edwin Lankester, M.D. David Hoffman was appointed one of the four trustees, and W.S. Trotter, the original promoter, became secretary. The proposed capital was fifty thousand pounds, which might be increased to a million pounds by the creation of additional shares. The six directors subscribed for five hundred shares each, and a further 5,750 shares were taken up by twenty-five other investors - ten gentlemen, three merchants, a house and estate agent, a wine cooper, a newsagent, the secretary to the East India rooms, an auctioneer, a warehouseman, a chemist, an accountant, an engraver, a commission agent, a solicitor, and a broker.<sup>1</sup>

The company, which was primarily a land company, was planned on an ambitious scale. It would buy, or act as agent for the owners of, large tracts of land in the United States or the British colonies, to be sold on commission in amounts ranging from twenty to fifty thousand acres. It was also proposed to establish colonies on a few of the tracts.

For this purpose the company would collect emigrants, and arrange for their passage to the settlement and their

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1. Companies' Registration Office. Returns of Extinct Companies, C.448/12. Names of subscribers, and numbers of shares.

reception there. Agents and referees were appointed in the towns of Great Britain and Ireland, and in the United States, and local associations to collect funds for emigration by small weekly savings were encouraged.<sup>1</sup> Existing emigration societies were invited to attach themselves to the company, and portions of land at seven shillings an acre were reserved for them.<sup>2</sup> The work of the company was divided into departments, each superintended by one or more of the officials, and dealing with different areas of settlement,<sup>3</sup> but in the event the divisions were not adhered to. It was insisted that the present enterprise could not be compared with the numerous fraudulent joint stock companies, because there was no element of risk, simply the exchange of a certain sum of money for land, which had been purchased only after careful inspection.<sup>4</sup> It was also emphasised that the company's activities were purely business transactions between the shareholders and the emigrant, not a scheme originating in 'sickly sentimentality or pseudo philanthropy'.<sup>5</sup> The plan would not tempt the wretchedly poor, but it was hoped to attract the better class of labourer with a small capital, or the industry to save

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1. Ibid. C.448/12. Deed of Settlement. Universal Emigration and Colonization Company. Prospectus. Emigrant's Messenger, No.1, pp.1-2; No.2, p.2; No.4, p.4.
  2. Ibid. No.1, p.4; No.4, p.4.
  3. Ibid. No.2, p.1.
  4. Ibid. No.1, p.2.
  5. Ibid. No.2, p.3.



week by week.<sup>1</sup> To make known the company's existence and plans, the second of David Hoffman's suggestions was adopted, and a newspaper was established in London, with the title Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger.<sup>2</sup>

In June 1850 the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company took over control of the United States Land Company, including its estate of sixty thousand acres in Milam County Texas, and agreed to continue its colonization.<sup>3</sup> George Catlin, the celebrated painter of Indians, had been engaged by the old company to lecture on Texas, and then lead a party of settlers to the estate.<sup>4</sup> He continued to work for the new company, giving lectures up and down the country on the Mississippi valley and its advantages for emigration. He laid stress upon the advantages of Texas, and gave an account of the company.<sup>5</sup> But just before the first ship load of settlers was due to sail the officials of the company and Catlin quarrelled, and C.F. Mackenzie was put in charge.<sup>6</sup> Enquirers were told that for less than twenty pounds they

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1. Ibid. No.11, p.1.
  2. Short title, the Emigrant's Messenger. It appeared monthly from May 1850 to May 1851, price twopence. Nos. 1 to 8 contained eight pages, and numbers 9 to 13 sixteen pages. It was at first intended to be a fortnightly publication.
  3. Ibid. No.2, p.1; No.10, pp.1-2.
  4. Mark Lane Express, 22 January 1849, p.3.
  5. Emigrant's Messenger, No.3, pp.1-2, 8; No.4, pp.6, 8.
  6. Ibid. No.5, p.2.

could buy twenty acres of land, and pay all the expenses of the journey.<sup>1</sup>

The first group of emigrants, one hundred and seventeen in number, left Liverpool for Galveston in the ship John Garrow, early in September 1850. They included agriculturists and artizans, mainly from Lincolnshire and London, and all had bought allotments of land. The ship had been chartered and all other arrangements made by Frederick Sabel, and the emigrants had lodged in his Home in Moorfields until the ship sailed. One of the directors of the company, Sir Edward Belcher, went out to receive the emigrants at the other end, and see them settled on their lands. He travelled by steamer from Liverpool to New York, and thence to Texas.<sup>2</sup> Colonel Reily, the original proprietor of the lands in Milam county, had arranged to meet Belcher in Houston and show him round the estate, but Reily failed to appear and Belcher was at a loss how to proceed. While in Houston he met Jacob De Cordova, agent of Richard B. Kimball, a New York land speculator, and, accompanied by two state surveyors, the two men set off to find the estate. The lands proved to be totally unsuited for the company's plan of forming a compact settlement, the few rich agricultural sections being scattered and divided by

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1. Ibid. No.11, pp.8-9.

The estimated cost via New Orleans was £18.0.10, and via Galveston £16.5.10.

2. Ibid. No.5, pp.2-3. Belcher's account.

many stony hills. Belcher then decided, on his own responsibility, to search for another more suitable tract of land. By this time, late October or early November 1850, the first emigrants had arrived at Galveston. Belcher sent a message requesting them to stay there until he should arrive, but four of the settlers joined him in his search for the new estate. They examined, with De Cordova, a tract of land on the Brazos river, known as Kimball's Bend, and determined to buy. The emigrants were informed that all holding land warrants for Cowhouse Creek, Milam County, could instead receive the same number of acres in the new estate, to be known as the City of Kent.<sup>1</sup> The majority accepted the new location although a few, already disillusioned, refused to go to either estate. Some wasted their money in Galveston and others were induced to buy land south of the settlement, but the majority bought wagons and laid in their stock at Galveston until ready to move on. They then made the difficult journey inland almost three hundred miles up the Brazos river, to the new settlement of Kent. A second party of settlers had already left England for Texas. The company had chartered the whole of the poop cabin of the ship City of Lincoln, which sailed from Liverpool for New Orleans on October 21st 1850, with a group of farmers, merchants,

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1. Dorothy W. Renick, 'The City of Kent', South Western Historical Quarterly, XXIX, (1925-26).

labourers, tradesmen and two Germans, all destined for Kent.<sup>1</sup> Reaching New Orleans on December 18th the passengers were transferred to steamers for the journey to Galveston.<sup>2</sup> A third party sailed from Liverpool in the John Garrow on March 1st 1851, for New Orleans and Galveston,<sup>3</sup> and two months later the company announced that arrangements had been made to send out parties of settlers monthly, from August to January.<sup>4</sup> They were to include not only persons with a small capital, but also labourers to be provided with employment for five years, and then placed on their own lands.<sup>5</sup>

The city of Kent remained in existence for less than one year. Many of the emigrants were discontented, because they had expected to be conveyed free from Galveston to the settlement, and they found the necessary purchase of oxen and wagons, stores and implements an unexpected expense.<sup>6</sup> Many did not attempt the long journey to the settlement, and of those who did many died and the others moved away. The failure of the colony helped to bring about the break-up of the company late in 1851, and then the land reverted to its original owners.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Emigrant's Messenger, No.6, p.8; No.7, p.6.

2. Ibid. No.10, p.5.

3. Ibid. No.11, p.11.

4. Ibid. No.13, p.12.

5. Ibid. No.10, p.7.

6. Ibid. No.10, pp.4, 9.

7. D.W. Renick, op.cit.



Attempts at colonization were not confined to Texas. The Emigrant's Messenger quoted glowing descriptions of the lands in western Virginia,<sup>1</sup> and in March 1851 announced that a colony was to be established at Richmond Creek, Mercer County, Virginia.<sup>2</sup> The scheme was organized by the manager of the company's branch in Liverpool, R.C. Gist, and T. Cooke of Liverpool was appointed superintendent of the colony.<sup>3</sup> Gist wrote a pamphlet to help to popularise the plan. Farmers and 'superior mechanics' were invited to apply. The passage was arranged by Eleazor Jones of Liverpool, amounting to seven pounds ten shillings steerage, including inland conveyance to the settlement. The first party of settlers was to leave Liverpool on April 20th 1851, but like the Texas colony this also was a failure.<sup>4</sup>

The company attempted to justify its apparent failure to live up to its title of universality.<sup>5</sup> Texas had naturally taken up much space in the newspaper because of the settlement there, and the great advantages offered by the state. There had been no applicants for lands in other parts of the world than the United States, because they did

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1. Emigrant's Messenger, No.1, pp.5, 6-7; No.2, p.4; No.9, pp.3-4; No.12, pp.1, 6-7, 7-8.
  2. Ibid. No.11, p.13.
  3. R.C. Gist, Why do you go to far distant lands....., (Liverpool, 1851). Emigrant's Messenger, No.13, pp.7-8.
  4. Ibid. No.12, p.2.
  5. Ibid. No.10, pp.1-2.

not offer equal advantages. Conditions in the colonies could not compare with those in the United States, and as long as this was so emigrants would prefer America. The company controlled lands in many states, and also in the colonies, and some individual settlers had gone out. The prospective purchaser could choose between tracts of land in New York State, Pennsylvania, western Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Tennessee, and Texas, and the company had also been offered lands in North Carolina, Georgia and the British colonies.<sup>1</sup> The extent of the tracts varied from state to state, and all, except the estates for colonization, were sold on commission for the American owners. The career of the company, however, was brief. Its newspaper ceased to appear after May 1851, and in his report to Parliament for the year 1851, the registrar of joint stock companies stated that the company had failed to make the necessary returns.<sup>2</sup> No more returns were made, and the records were placed among the files of extinct companies.

The years from about 1840 onwards saw the establishment of many societies for the promotion of emigration, some self-help, some philanthropic, some speculative, and some

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1. Ibid. No.9, pp.14-15. First appearance of the advertisement of lands for sale.
  2. Report by the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies ... for the year 1851.  
H.C. 147 (1852). LI, 531.

partaking of something of the nature of all three categories. But whatever may have been the motive for their establishment they had many points in common, the most obvious being that they were all short-lived, and all, except a few of the simplest co-operative enterprises, failed. Some failed before they had accomplished anything, simply through lack of support. Some were planned on such an ambitious scale that, unless they could secure as members every prospective emigrant in the country, they could not function. The few utopian schemes added, to the usual failings, a too optimistic view of human nature. The land companies failed when reports from settlers reached England, complaining of the lands to which they had been induced to proceed. All the societies failed which were financed by weekly subscriptions, chose their emigrants by ballot, and then expected them to continue payments in America. It was found to be impossible to control settlements in the American west from England. Perhaps the most important reason for failure was that the societies appealed to the wrong type of emigrant, the industrious worker with a little capital but no farming experience, even in England. The societies were responsible, along with other interested parties, for the misconceptions held by these emigrants, who were enticed by highly coloured accounts of life in America to imagine themselves independent landowners in a very short time. The only society which could have succeeded would have been one with a limited membership,

solely concerned with helping its members to provide enough money to begin life in America well-equipped financially. An essential part of its work would have been the provision of accurate information. Ignorance was responsible for much disillusionment.

The emigration societies did, however, have some effect on the volume of emigration to the United States. They directly promoted the emigration of a few thousand Englishmen, the majority of whom were unable to return, even if they wished to do so. Some emigrants were directed to particular states, where they were later joined by other Englishmen. Many others were indirectly influenced by the supply of information put forth by offices and agents, in newspapers and handbills, pamphlets and advertisements, letters and lectures.



## CHAPTER V.

### EMIGRANT GUIDES

Between 1815 and 1861 there was an abundance of printed material available in England for the instruction and enlightenment of the prospective emigrant. Guides, newspapers and journals supplied information of all kinds but whereas the emigrant newspapers and journals were few and short-lived, and confined to the last twenty years, the emigrant guides were many, and every year from 1816 saw a new publication. If a man could not afford to buy the guides he could consult them in the public houses and other public places, in emigration offices,<sup>1</sup> in newspapers offices,<sup>2</sup> or, it might be, in the house of some local philanthropist.

Emigrants were continually warned against putting their trust in guide books, the majority of which were said to have been written by interested parties,<sup>3</sup> but some at least were written by authors whose sole interest was the welfare of the

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1. E.g. C.O.384/39. Cameron to Hay, 14 March 1835. 'The North American Intelligence Agency'.  
Emigration Gazette, 22 April 1843, p.8. 'The London Central Emigration Office Colonial Reading Room'.
  2. The Emigrant kept a supply of all emigration tracts.
  3. E.g. Mark Lane Express, 11 February 1833.  
Emigrant, 26 May 1849, p.599.

emigrant. In 1817 the Shamrock Society of New York produced a guide, advising emigrants on their activities after their arrival in the United States.<sup>1</sup> It was claimed that anyone who was prepared to work, except clerks and literary men, could succeed in America. The political system was explained and the newcomer was told how to acquire citizenship. He learned how to keep healthy in an unaccustomed climate, where to settle, and how to spend his capital. Newcomers were advised to leave the great towns and proceed to the west, although they were warned not to retire immediately to the remote backwoods without some preparation for a pioneering life. A later guide written to provide accurate, factual information was published in 1840 by Charles Knight for mechanics and labourers.<sup>2</sup> They were given much information which had been omitted by the Shamrock Society, such as how to choose a ship, what provisions to take, and the cost of a passage. Some general information about the United States was included, and there was detailed information about trades, employment and wages. There was also much of value in the guides produced by the publishing house of Chambers of Edinburgh. The Information for the People gave many useful hints, and the Manual, published in 1851, covered all the possible emigration fields.<sup>3</sup>

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1. References to guides will be made by the numbers given to them in the list following this chapter. This guide is No.8.
  2. No.117.
  3. No.172.

Vere Foster's Work and Wages, printed in 1854, provides a good example of a guide written for philanthropic reasons.<sup>1</sup> Foster believed that the only way to improve the condition of the poor in the United Kingdom was to promote emigration. This would help both those who departed and those who remained at home. He twice crossed the Atlantic as a steerage passenger, once to New York and once to Quebec, so as to be in a better position to advise emigrants. The guide was written to provide cheap and accurate information, and two hundred and fifty thousand copies were given away. With the fifth edition a charge of a penny a copy was made, although twelve copies were sold for tenpence. The guide was published in London, but also sold in Manchester, Norwich, Newcastle, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, York, Bristol and Birmingham. It was a pamphlet of sixteen pages packed with information. Emigrants were referred to the government agents at home, and to the emigrant protective societies in America. They were given information on the extent, population, cities and railroads of the United States, on wages for workers of all grades from servant girls to teachers, the cost of board and lodging, the choice and price of land, the advantages and disadvantages of the various ports of debarkation, the cost and length of the passage and the preparation for the voyage, what to do on arrival, the routes and distances from New York to the interior, and the details of the passenger laws. The front cover of the

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1. No.181.

pamphlet showed a ragged barefoot man leaving his hovel, watched by an anxious, careworn wife. On the back cover there was an engraving showing a prosperous well-dressed family seated round a table laden with food. The first illustration was entitled, 'As I Was', and the second, 'As I Am.'

Much well-intentioned advice was given by radical writers despairing of conditions in England, and looking to America as the land of political freedom. The advantages to be found in the United States, as expounded by John Knight of Manchester, were that the legislators were really appointed by the people, there was no established church to levy tithes, no hereditary landlords, and no game laws. Knight produced three works for emigrants, all in 1818.<sup>1</sup> The first was a guide compiled from the writings of such travellers as Bradbury, Birkbeck, Hulme and Brown, whose books were too expensive for the emigrant to buy. He was told how to procure the necessary certificate and make arrangements for the voyage. Other information included the price of passage, the best ports to sail to and what to do on landing, and a description of conditions in America. This guide was followed by two series of extracts from letters written by Englishmen living in the United States. The letters naturally confirmed the favourable account of the United States given in the guide, and gave much incidental information on conditions of life in the new country. Other

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1. Nos. 17, 19, 20.



radicals, such as William Cobbett,<sup>1</sup> also gave advice to emigrants and praised the political freedom of the United States, but as a general rule they preferred their supporters to stay and fight for reform at home, and the departure of emigrants was used as one more indictment of conditions in England.

Writers such as these helped to promote emigration because they believed that it would benefit the individual emigrant, and, if on a large enough scale, those who remained behind also. They had no personal motives urging them to encourage others to emigrate. But many guides were written by people who would benefit in some way from an increased emigration. Some rate-payers in the pauperised country parishes, in an attempt to lower the poor rate, collected and published emigrant letters to persuade other labourers to follow.<sup>2</sup> Many guides were written by emigrants who had already settled in the United States, and now wished to attract more settlers to the same district. For example, in 1819 William Amphlett, formerly of London, but now living in Ohio, wrote an emigrants' directory to the western states.<sup>3</sup> He told his readers how to prepare for the voyage, and quoted extensively from his own journal written during the crossing from Liverpool to

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1. Nos. 72, 76.

2. Nos. 75, 77, 84, 93, 95.  
See above Chapter II.

3. No.24.

Philadelphia. He gave instructions on the journey to the west, described the river trip from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and the valleys of the Ohio and the Illinois. Both Birkbeck's settlement in Illinois, and Johnson's in Pennsylvania were described, but the author's greatest praise was reserved for Ohio. Twenty-seven years later a similar guide was written by J.G. Woollam of Manchester and Missouri.<sup>1</sup> Other Englishmen who had settled in America gave the benefit of their experiences to their fellow countrymen. S.H. Collins of Hull and New York wrote a book in 1829 which he claimed to be 'the most comprehensive and useful description of the United States ever published', and which appeared in several editions.<sup>2</sup> In 1856 Edward H. Hall of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Chicago wrote a handbook to Canada and the northwestern states of America, especially Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota.<sup>3</sup> He asked all those interested in emigration, especially railway and shipping companies, to assist in the circulation of the book, which would be of 'mutual interest and profit'.

Some guides were written by English travellers, who, after a few weeks or months in the United States, published accounts of their journeys and their impressions of America, adding hints to emigrants. Such a publication appeared in 1817,

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1. No.138.

2. Nos.73, 77.

3. No.190.

including extracts from the journal of Thomas Hulme.<sup>1</sup> John Palmer's journal also was directed to prospective emigrants, and provided much useful information.<sup>2</sup> A later pamphlet, however, written by Thomas Sibbald in 1846, although claiming to give hints to settlers, was purely an account of the author's travels, and would have been of little assistance to any emigrant.<sup>3</sup>

Some men, more directly interested in the promotion of emigration as a source of profit, produced guides to supplement their other forms of propaganda. These included emigration agents, such as William Tapscott of Liverpool and New York,<sup>4</sup> and emigration societies, such as the United States Land and Emigration Society of New York,<sup>5</sup> and the British Temperance Emigration Society of Liverpool.<sup>6</sup> Land speculators issued many publications to persuade emigrants to buy their lands, from C.B. Johnson in 1819,<sup>7</sup> who owned lands in Pennsylvania, to the directors of the Illinois Central Railroad in the late 1850s,<sup>8</sup> and including Georgia, Virginia, Texas,<sup>9</sup> Illinois, and

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1. Nos. 3, 23.

2. No.22.

3. No.137.

4. No.150.

5. No.163.

6. No.127.

7. No.34.

8. See below, Chapter VI, and No.191.

9. See above Chapter IV.

all the states of the northwest. It is probable that many other books which directed attention to certain districts were inspired by landowners. This was the opinion of contemporaries. In 1819 William Savage stated that the books recommending the United States in glowing terms, had generally been published by those who had purchased large tracts of land in the remote parts of the country.<sup>1</sup> The same complaint, that most hand-books were written by interested persons, was still being made in 1852.<sup>2</sup> Certainly there were many publications directing attention to a particular state, which was described in terms designed to arouse in the reader pleasurable anticipations of a wonderfully happy and prosperous life, if he should decide to settle there. Most of these highly coloured accounts were of the western states, and there were pamphlets directing attention to the peculiar advantages of Pennsylvania and Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota. Emigrants were advised not to settle in the South, because of the climate and the existence of slavery, except by land speculators with tracts in the southern states. They defended the climate and argued that the advent of white settlers would hasten the disappearance of slavery. With the discovery of gold, guides to California began to appear, such as that published in 1848, which gave the usual geographical information and advice on the journey.<sup>3</sup>

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1. No.40.
2. No.177.
3. No.142.



Many guides were written and printed in the United States, but also sold in England. An early example was John Melish's Travels,<sup>1</sup> printed in Philadelphia in 1818, and reprinted in London later the same year. Other works by Melish, although not written specifically for emigrants, enjoyed considerable popularity and were sold by the booksellers, whether reprinted in England or not. Another popular American guide was John M. Peck's new guide for emigrants to the west, written by a resident of Illinois, and published in Boston in 1836.<sup>2</sup> There were other editions in 1837, 1844 and 1848. The second edition contained three hundred and eighty-one pages and gave detailed information about the western states, most of which had been obtained from personal observation. The book was sold in London for three shillings and sixpence by R.J. Kennett.<sup>3</sup>

Many emigrant guides, some written anonymously, afford no clue as to the reason for their composition, whether disinterested or no. Some were written by authors of works of a different kind, like Eneas Mackenzie of Newcastle,<sup>4</sup> a North-umberland antiquarian, and Calvin Colton,<sup>5</sup> London correspondent of the New York Observer, or by professional men such as Robert Holditch the surgeon.<sup>6</sup> Others were produced by

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1. No.21.
  2. No.107.
  3. No.111.
  4. No.36.
  5. No.88.
  6. Nos.15, 16.

publishing firms such as Chambers of Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> and Wiley and Putnam.<sup>2</sup> Whether they had some, now undiscoverable interest in emigration, or whether they considered a book upon the subject would be profitable in consideration of the current widespread interest, or whether, indeed, they were actuated by philanthropic motives, is a matter for speculation. They were assiduous in explaining their reasons for writing, but whether the forewords asserted the whole truth may be doubted. All claimed to have been actuated by motives of humanity, to supply valuable and reliable information in a cheap form, to furnish correct information to counteract other inaccurate guides, to give others the benefit of the author's experience, or merely to answer numerous queries in the easiest way.

The type of information provided for emigrants did not vary greatly over the years. In 1819 John Noble of Boston, England, told his readers how to choose a ship, what provisions and goods to take, which ports to sail from, the best time of the year to arrive, and how to reach the west. They were informed who would best succeed in America, and given advice on money, how to buy lands and settle on them, and how to become American citizens. The prices of articles in the chief American cities were given, and a geographical sketch of the country provided. The Constitution was explained and the American

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1. No.172.

2. No.133.

character described.<sup>1</sup> The information given by 'George'<sup>2</sup> more than ten years later was of a similar kind. This guide included a great many useful facts in thirty-six pages, and was sold in London, at the principal seaports, and by the stewards of packet ships. One of the anonymous 1848 publications also told its readers how to prepare for the voyage, described the American currency, gave the prices of provisions, and gave advice to the agriculturist, the artizan, the mechanic and the labourer.<sup>3</sup> The same tradition was followed by the author of The New World in 1859.<sup>4</sup> This book was much more ambitiously produced than the majority of emigrant publications. It was divided into five parts, only the last being intended specifically for emigrants, although the other sections contained much of value. The author gave the usual sort of advice on the preparation for the voyage, the voyage itself, the arrival, the search for employment, American money, how to acquire land and farm it, and how to build a log hut, but, because of the depression in the United States, he advised only farmers with some capital to emigrate.

Although the type of information given remained the same, the details given under the general headings varied according to the length of the work, the predilections of the author,

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1. No.39.
  2. No.78.
  3. No.146.
  4. No.190.

and the changing conditions, both in England and America. Sometimes the facts were set out conveniently under headings, but in other guides they had to be extracted from a general narrative, or from a collection of letters. Generally speaking the advice given to facilitate the passage of the emigrants would be useful - the price of passage, the arrangements to be made for the voyage, and what to do on arrival. The information on American customs and character, and the description of the routes to the west, would also be of value. But the descriptions of conditions in America, of opportunities for the industrious, and of the various states and territories should have been read with caution. Advantages were emphasized, and disadvantages ignored. Also, the majority of guides, especially those published in England, relied to a very large extent upon other works for their information about America.

John Regan remarked in 1852, 'The most of the books we possess on the United States are either the cursory remarks of travellers .... or consist of mere compilations by persons who have never been in the country ...'

Regan was introducing his own guide, written from personal experience as an emigrant from Ayrshire to Illinois.<sup>1</sup>

An important source used by many compilers of emigrant guides consisted of the letters written by former emigrants. Most of the letters written home reported the success of their authors and urged friends and relatives to follow, and those printed in the guides were naturally all of this kind. Letters from discontented emigrants, if printed at all, appeared in the newspapers, but even there they were far out-numbered by the



favourable accounts. As early as 1823 William Faux stated that letters from emigrants were 'but questionable and doubtful authority',<sup>1</sup> and from then onwards the same complaint was made continually. In 1859 it was said that people at home had been 'shamefully deceived' by their friends in the United States.<sup>2</sup> Yet such letters were very influential, as those who collected and printed them realised. Gibbon Wakefield went so far as to say that the great emigration from England in 1832 had been caused mainly by the publication of letters from poor emigrants to their friends in England.<sup>3</sup> Many guides included one or two letters, and of those which consisted entirely of letters two might be mentioned as representing different parts of the country and emigrants of different occupations. John Knight wrote for 'workmen of all descriptions' and his two collections published in 1818 consisted of letters from North of England artizans, including many from Lancashire weavers.<sup>4</sup> The majority continued their former occupations in America, usually in Philadelphia, although some went west to Ohio, and a few bought land. The Sussex letters published in 1829, on the other hand, were from agricultural labourers who had been assisted to emigrate and the majority settled in New York state.<sup>5</sup>

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1. No.58, pp.116, 124.

2. No.190, Part V, p.6.

3. E.G.W., England and America, (London, 1833), II, 223.

4. Nos.19, 20.

5. No.75.

One guide book may be mentioned because the information it gave departed from the usual pattern. Tegg's handbook published in 1839 allowed only a few pages for the usual advice on the preparation for the voyage. The rest of the volume contained practical hints on home carpentry, cooking, brewing, and above all, medicine.<sup>1</sup>

The majority of emigrant guides were published in London, but a number were printed in Liverpool, Manchester and Edinburgh, one or two in other towns such as Leeds, Nottingham, Hull, Bristol, Bolton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Boston, Glasgow and Aberdeen, and a few in small places like Sudbury. Many guides were published in New York, and a number in Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, and other American cities, particularly those in the western states. These American publications were often sold by London booksellers such as R.J. Kennett, and by provincial booksellers like Abel Heywood of Manchester. As far as can be ascertained the numbers appearing each year remained fairly steady apart from three periods, in each of which there was a noticeable increase which was not maintained in the succeeding years. Guides began to reappear in 1816 after a barren period dating from the beginning of the century, and in 1818 and 1819 the output was very high. In the early and middle 1820s the number of publications was small, beginning to increase again only in 1828 and reaching a peak in 1832. The output then remained steady at a lower figure until 1848,

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1. No.116.

when there was a great increase in the number of guides published, an increase maintained in 1849. During the 1850s the number of guides published began to decline. It is difficult to relate the output of guides to the number of emigrants leaving the country, as the number of guides cannot be determined with any accuracy. Also, the British emigration figures did not distinguish between the various nationalities until 1853 and the American figures included a very large number 'not specified', many of whom were doubtless English. In 1818 and 1819 the post-war emigration reached its peak and was followed by a decline. The numbers began to rise in the late 1820s, and in 1832 there was a great increase in the number of emigrants, followed by an over-all gradual rise until 1848. In that year there was another noticeable increase in the number of English emigrants, although the great exodus of Irish had begun the preceding year. The figures then remained high until 1858. The general conclusion may be drawn that whenever there was a sudden rise in the number of emigrants, enough to attract attention, the output of guides soared in sympathy, but dropped after the first reaction, even if the number of emigrants were maintained.

The price of many of the guides cannot be determined, but in general it varied from several shillings down to a few pence, and some were distributed free. Usually the reputable guides were the more expensive. A guide to Illinois published in 1837 was sold in England for seven shillings a copy.<sup>1</sup> This

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1. No.110.

price was exceptionally high, but Holditch's guide, published in 1818 cost four shillings and sixpence,<sup>1</sup> and the mechanics' guide of 1840 four shillings.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the propaganda pamphlets were sold much more cheaply and therefore probably had a wider circulation. The United States Land and Emigration Society's publication was sold for twopence,<sup>3</sup> and William Tapscott's guide for fourpence.<sup>4</sup> Tapscott claimed to have sold about fifty thousand copies in seven or eight years.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Rawlings and other speculators distributed their pamphlets free. Many other guides were published at one shilling or less. By 1849 it was being complained that those interested in the promotion of emigration had so flooded the country with penny or gratuitous tracts that emigrants considered books for which a remunerative price was charged, too dear.<sup>6</sup>

The effect of all the guides, whether written for profit or not, was to convince the reader that emigration was advisable, and the United States the best field. They might differ on points of detail, but on the main issue they were agreed. The few publications attempting to dissuade emigrants from leaving,<sup>7</sup> or to persuade them to turn from the United States to Canada,<sup>8</sup>

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1. No.16.

2. No.117.

3. No.163.

4. No.150.

5. No.136.

6. Emigrant, 17 November 1849, p.929.

7. E.g. No.1.

8. E.g. No.31.



were too few to counteract the great numbers advocating emigration, above all to the western states of the union. These were supplemented by numerous publications, not written specifically for emigrants, but giving detailed information about the United States - gazeteers, travel books, histories and geographies - <sup>1</sup> and by pamphlets discussing the pros and cons of emigration.

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1. As these books were not written as guides for emigrants they are not included in the following list, but it is important to remember that they were available for those emigrants who wished to make a careful study of the various emigration fields before deciding on their place of settlement.

A LIST OF EMIGRANT GUIDES, 1815-1860.

Note.

Travel books are included in this list only when they were written for the use of emigrants.

The library press marks of the guides are given after each entry. The press marks of the British Museum Reading Room are given whenever possible; only when no copy has been found in the British Museum is a reference given to another library. If a copy of a guide has not been found in this country the entry is marked by an asterisk.

1816

1. ANON. The emigrant's guide; or, a picture of America: exhibiting a view of the United States, divested of democratic colouring, taken from the original now in the possession of James Madison, and his twenty-one governments. Also, a sketch of the British Provinces; delineating their native beauties & superior attractions. By an old scene painter.  
London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1816. 77pp. Price 2s. 6d.  
[B.M. 798.h.11(1).]
2. DARBY, WILLIAM. A geographical description of the state of Louisiana, presenting a view of the soil, climate, animal, vegetable, and mineral productions; illustrative of its natural physiognomy, its geographical configuration, and relative situation: with an account of the manners of the inhabitants. By William Darby. Being an accompaniment to the map of Louisiana.  
Philadelphia: John Melish. 1816. ix, 270, xvii pp.  
Sold by R.J. Kennett, London. Price 6s. 6d.  
[B.M. 980.g.30.]

1817

3. ANON. Hints to emigrants, addressed chiefly to persons contemplating an emigration to the United States of America, with copious extracts from the journal of T. Hulme, Esq., written during a tour through several of the principal cities and manufacturing districts of those states, in the summer and autumn of 1816 with instructions respecting the terms, and necessary preparations for the voyage, and an abstract of all the laws of England, relating to emigration etc. etc. Liverpool: W. Bethell. 1817. 37pp. Price 1s. 0d. [B.M. 798.h. 11(2).]
  
4. BIRKBECK, MORRIS. Notes on a journey in America, from the coast of Virginia to the territory of Illinois. With proposals for the establishment of a colony of English. By Morris Birkbeck. Philadelphia: C. Richardson. 1817. 189pp. [B.M. 792.d.33.]
  
5. BRADBURY, JOHN. Travels in the interior of America, in the years 1809, 1810 and 1811; including a description of upper Louisiana, together with the states of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Tennessee. With the Illinois and western territories, and containing remarks and observations useful to persons emigrating to those countries. By John Bradbury, F.L.S. London, corresponding member of the Liverpool Philosophical Society, and honorary member of the Literary and Philosophical Societies, New York, United States, America. London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones. 1817. xii, 364pp. [B.M. 1050. k.1.]
  
6. BROWN, SAMUEL R. The western gazetteer; or emigrant's directory, containing a geographical description of the western states and territories, viz. the states of Kentucky, Indiana, Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi: and the territories of Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Michigan, and North-Western. With an appendix, containing sketches of some of the western counties of New-York, Pennsylvania and Virginia; a description of the great northern lakes; Indian antiquities, and directions to emigrants. By Samuel R. Brown. Auburn, New York: H.C. Southwick. 1817. 366pp. [B.M. 1304. f.17.]

7. BURLEIGH, CLEMENTS. Advice to emigrants to America: addressed to merchants, farmers, mechanics, and labourers; with directions how to proceed on their arrival in that country; instructions in the purchase of land, and manner of cultivation; the price of labour; and other particulars, highly useful and interesting to those who mean to emigrate to that part of the world. By Clements Burleigh, esq. who has resided for thirty years in the United States. Manchester: A. M'Crea. 1817.  
[Manchester Central Library. 325.73. B.1.]
8. NEW YORK SHAMROCK SOCIETY. Emigration to America. Hints to emigrants from Europe, who intend to make a permanent residence in the United States, on subjects economical and political, affecting their welfare; drawn up especially for their use, in July last. London: W. Hone. 1817. 29pp. Price 1s. 0d.  
[B.M. 10411.g.34.]
9. WILSON, THOMAS. Information from the United States of America, with directions to emigrants. Containing a view of the climate, customs, and produce; analysis of the duties on imports and tonnage into the United States; their methods of counting money and comparing it with ours, with directions how to become citizens; the price of labour and provisions; their manufactories, spinning and prices of cotton yarn; price of land etc. etc. By Thomas Wilson (of Philadelphia). The whole being the result of 10 years experience in the above country. Manchester: G. Cave. 1817.  
[Manchester Central Library. 325.73. P.3404.]

1818

- \* 10. ANON. The emigrant's guide, or pocket geography of the western states and territories, containing a description of the several cities, towns, rivers, antiquities, population, manufactories, prices of land, soil, productions, and exports; compiled from the best and latest authorities. Cincinnati: Phillips & Spear. 1818. 266pp.
11. BIRKBECK, MORRIS. Letters from Illinois. By Morris Birkbeck Illustrated by a map of the United States, shewing Mr. Birkbeck's journey from Norfolk to Illinois, and a map of English Prairie and adjacent country: by John Melish. Philadelphia: M. Carey. 1818.  
[Second edition, Philadelphia. 1818. xvii, 126pp.  
B.M. 10413.aa.3.  
Second edition, London. 1818. xv, 114pp. B.M. 10411.  
dd.30.  
Third edition, London. 1818. xv, 114pp. B.M. 1052.e.3(1).]



12. BRISTED, JOHN. America and her resources; or a view of the agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, financial, political, literary, moral and religious capacity and character of the American people. By John Bristed, counsellor at law, author of Resources of the British Empire.  
London: H. Colburn. 1818. xvi, 504pp.  
[B.M. 579.d.14.]
13. DARBY, WILLIAM. The emigrant's guide to the western and south-western states and territories: comprising a geographical and statistical description of the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio; the territories of Alabama, Missouri, Illinois and Michigan, and the western parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, etc., accompanied by a map of the United States, including Louisiana, projected and engraved expressly for this work.  
By William Darby.  
New York: Kirk and Mercien. 1818. vi, 311, vii pp. 2 maps.  
[B.M. 979.1.32.]
14. FEARON, HENRY BRADSHAW. Sketches of America. A narrative of a journey of five thousand miles through the eastern and western states of America; contained in eight reports addressed to the thirty-nine English families by whom the author was deputed, in June 1817, to ascertain whether any, and what part of the United States would be suitable for their residence. With remarks on Mr. Birkbeck's 'Notes' and 'Letters'. By Henry Bradshaw Fearon. Second edition.  
London: Longman, etc. 1818. xii, 462 pp.  
[B.M. 1052. d.1.]
15. HOLDITCH, ROBERT. Observations on emigration to British America, and the United States; written expressly for the use of persons about to emigrate to those countries. By Robert Holditch, member of the Royal College of Surgeons.  
Plymouth-dock: Printed for the author. 1818. 100pp.  
[B.M. 798. h.12(5).]
16. HOLDITCH, ROBERT. The emigrant's guide to the United States of America, containing the best advice and directions respecting the voyage - preservation of health - choice of settlement etc. also the latest information concerning the climate, productions, population, manners, prices of land, labour and provisions, and other subjects, economical and political, affecting the welfare of persons about to emigrate to

the United States, and British America. By Robert Holditch, esq. of the Royal College of Surgeons. London: W. Hone. 1818. 124pp. Price 4s. 6d. [Goldsmiths Library, University of London. Lr [Holditch].]

17. KNIGHT, JOHN. The emigrant's best instructor, or, the most recent and important information respecting the United States of America, selected from the works of the latest travellers in that country: particularly Bradbury, Hulme, Brown, Birkbeck, etc. containing information on its climates and temperature, the manners and dispositions of its inhabitants. Also the prices of land, taxes, and wages of labour, soil, productions etc. etc. arts, manufactures. The English laws on emigration, and every other information needful to the emigrant. By John Knight. Manchester: M. Wilson. 1818. 72pp. [B.M. 10408. ee.8(1).]
18. KNIGHT, JOHN. The emigrant's best instructor, or, the most recent and important information respecting the United States of America, selected from the works of the latest travellers in that country: particularly Bradbury, Hulme, Brown, Birkbeck, etc. containing a topographical and statistical account of the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; with their constitution, population, climates, temperature and the manners and dispositions of their inhabitants; also the prices of land, provisions, labour and taxes, soil, productions, minerals, arts and manufactures. The English laws on emigration, together with the form of a certificate and every other information needful to the emigrant. By John Knight. Second edition. London: Souter. Manchester: J. Knight. 1818. 72pp. [B.M. 798. h.12(1).]
19. KNIGHT, JOHN. Important extracts from original and recent letters written by Englishmen in U.S. of America to their friends in England: containing unquestionable information respecting the temperature and fertility of that country; together with the price of land, labour, and provisions, the manners and dispositions of its inhabitants, etc. etc. Carefully & faithfully selected by J. Knight, author of the "Emigrant's Best Instructor". Manchester: Printed by T. Wilkinson for the author. 1818. 48pp. [B.M.798. h.12(2).]

20. KNIGHT, JOHN. Ditto. Second series. 48pp.  
[B.M. 798. h.12(3).]
21. MELISH, JOHN. Travels through the United States of America, in the years 1806 & 1807, and 1809, 1810, & 1811; including an account of the passages betwixt America and Britain, and travels through various parts of Britain, Ireland, and Canada. With corrections and improvements till 1815. Illustrated by coloured maps and plans. With an appendix, containing a letter from Clements Burleigh, esq. to Irish emigrants removing to America, and hints, by the Shamroc Society, New York, to emigrants from Europe. By John Melish. Philadelphia: Printed for the author. London: Reprinted for G. Cowie. 1818. xxiii, 648pp. [B.M. 1052. d.6.]
22. PALMER, JOHN. Journal of travels in the United States of North America, and in Lower Canada, performed in the year 1817; containing particulars relating to the prices of land and provisions, remarks on the country and people, interesting anecdotes, and an account of the commerce, trade, and present state of Washington, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Albany, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Lexington, Quebec, Montreal, etc. To which are added, a description of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and a variety of other useful information. With a new coloured map, delineating all the states and territories. London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones. 1818. vii, 456pp. map. [B.M. 1431. e.19.]
- \*23. [SMITH, THOMAS] The emigrant's guide to the United States of America; including the substance of the journal of Thomas Hulme, esq. 2nd. edn., enl. and improved of Hints to Emigrants, etc. London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1818. [Cf. No.3.]

1819

24. AMPHLETT, WILLIAM. The emigrant's directory to the western states of North America; including a voyage out from Liverpool; the geography and topography of the whole western country, according to its latest improvements; with instructions for descending the rivers Ohio and Mississippi; also, a brief account of a new British settlement on the headquarters of the Susquehanna, in Philadelphia. [!]. By William Amphlett, formerly of London, & late of the county of Salop, now resident on the banks of the Ohio river. London: Longman, etc. 1819. viii, 208pp. [B.M. 798. h.13.]

25. ANON. A reprinted copy of a pamphlet published in New York a few days before the return of an emigrant to this country, who arrived in Belper on the 10th of November, 1819. A clear and concise statement of New York and the surrounding country containing a faithful account of many of those base impositions which are so constantly and uniformly practised upon British emigrants, by crafty, designing, and unprincipled adventurers. New York.  
Reprinted in England by J. Ogle, Belper. 1819. 30pp.  
[B.M. 798. h.12(8).]
26. ANON. Things as they are; or, America in 1819. By an emigrant, just returned to England.  
Manchester: J. Wroe, 1819. 16pp.  
[B.M. 8176. e.8(2).]
27. BIRKBECK, MORRIS. Extracts from a supplementary letter from the Illinois; an address to British emigrants; and a reply to the remarks of William Cobbett, esq.  
London: J. Ridgway. 1819. 36pp.  
[B.M. 792. g.30(2).]
28. DANA, E. Description of the bounty lands in the state of Illinois: also the principal roads and routes, by land and water, through the territory of the United States; extending from the province of New-Brunswic, in Nova Scotia, to the Pacific Ocean; embracing the main interior and cross roads between the towns and places of most note. By E. Dana.  
Cincinnati: Looker, Reynolds & Co. 1819. 108pp.  
[B.M. 10411. aaa.5.]
29. DANA, E. Geographical sketches on the western country: designed for emigrants and settlers: being the result of extensive researches and remarks. To which is added, a summary of all the most interesting matters on the subject, including a particular description of the unsold public lands, collected from a variety of authentic sources. Also, a list of the principal roads. By E. Dana.  
Cincinnati: Looker, Reynolds & Co. 1819. 312pp.  
[B.M. 798. b.21.]
30. FLOWER, RICHARD. Letters from Lexington and the Illinois, containing a brief account of the English settlement in the latter territory, and a refutation of the misrepresentations of Mr. Cobbett. By Richard Flower.  
London: J. Ridgway. 1819. 32pp. Price 1s. 0d.



31. GRECE, CHARLES F. Facts & observations respecting Canada, and the United States of America; affording a comparative view of the inducements to emigration presented in those countries. To which is added an appendix of practical instructions to emigrant settlers in the British colonies. By Charles F. Grece, member of the Montreal & Quebec Agricultural Societies; and author of essays on husbandry, addressed to the Canadian farmers.  
London: J. Harding. 1819. xv, 172pp.  
[B.M. 797. 1.2.]
32. HARDING, BENJAMIN. A tour through the western country, A.D. 1818 & 1819. By Benjamin Harding, surveyor. Published for the use of emigrants.  
New London: S. Green. 1819. 17pp.  
[B.M. 10410. e.16. The B.M. copy lacks the title page.]
- \*33. HARRIS, WILLIAM TELL. Remarks made during a tour through the United States of America, in the years, 1817, 1818, and 1819. By William Tell Harris. In a series of letters to friends in England.  
Liverpool: 1819. 74pp.  
[Cf. No.50.]
- \*34. JOHNSON, C.B. Letters from the British settlement in Pennsylvania, to which are added the constitutions of the United States and of Pennsylvania, and extracts from the laws respecting aliens and naturalised citizens.  
Philadelphia: Hall. 1819. xii, 192pp. Map.  
Sold by R.J. Kennett. Price 1s. 6d.
- \*35. LORAIN, JOHN. Hints to emigrants; or, a comparative estimate of the advantages of Pennsylvania, and of the western territory.  
Philadelphia: Littell & Henry. 1819. 144pp.
36. MACKENZIE, ENEAS. An historical, topographical, and descriptive view of the United States of America, and of Upper and Lower Canada. With an appendix, containing a brief and comprehensive sketch of the present state of Mexico and South America, and also of the native tribes of the new world. Collected, arranged, and digested, from the best recent authorities and original communications, by E. Mackenzie, author of the History of Egypt, and editor of the History of Northumberland, Select Biography, Statistic Tables, Modern Geography, etc. etc. Embellished and illustrated by a large correct map, a plan of the city of Washington, and seven fine engravings.  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent. 1819. 712pp.  
[B.M. 1324. f.11.]

- ✱ 37. MELISH, JOHN, Information and advice to emigrants to the United States: and from the eastern to the western states. Illustrated by a map of the United States, and chart of the Atlantic Ocean. Philadelphia: J. Melish. 1819. viii, 144pp. 2 maps.
- ✱ 38. MILLER, ANDREW. New states and territories, or Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, in their real characters in 1818. Showing in a new and short way, the situation, size, number of inhabitants, whites and Indians - the number of counties, villages, printing offices, banks, factories, furnaces, forges, mills etc. of each; and the name, situation, extent, and number of inhabitants of each county, with its county town and number of houses etc., in each, by a map table. Also a description of the rivers, roads, settlements, qualities and prices of lands; the timber, water, climate, diseases, prices of produce, stock and goods - and the advantages and disadvantages of each, and of their peculiar parts; and of the new parts of York state, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky: with a few words concerning the impositions and difficulties experienced in moving, settling etc. By Andrew Miller. Printed for the benefit of emigrants and others, intending to visit the western country. N.P. [U.S.A.] 1819. 96pp.
39. NOBLE, JOHN. Noble's instructions to emigrants. An attempt to give a correct account of the United States of America; and offer some information which may be useful to those who have a wish to emigrate to that republic; and particularly to those of the poorer class. Boston, England: J. Noble. 1819. 112pp. map. [B.M. 798. h.12(6).]
40. SAVAGE, WILLIAM. Observations on emigration to the United States of America. Illustrated by original facts. By W. Savage. London: Sherwood, Neely, & Jones. 1819. 66pp. [B.M. 798. h.12(7).]
41. THOMAS, DAVID. Travels through the western country in the summer of 1816. Including notices of the natural history, antiquities, topography, agriculture, commerce and manufactures: with a map of the Wabash country, now settling. By David Thomas. Auburn, New York: D. Ramsay. 1819. 320pp. map. [B.M. 10411. d.17.]

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42. WRIGHT, JOHN S. Letters from the west; or, a caution to emigrants; being facts and observations respecting the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and some parts of New-York, Pennsylvania and Kentucky, written in the winter of 1818 - 1819. By John S. Wright. Salem, New York: Dodd & Stevenson. 1819. ix, 72pp.

1820

43. BLOWE, DANIEL et al. A geographical, historical, commercial, and agricultural view of the United States of America; forming a complete emigrant's directory through every part of the republic: particularising the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Illinois; and the territories of Alabama, Missouri, with a description of the newly-acquired countries, east and west Florida, Michigan, and North-western; and comprising important details on the mode of settling, prospect of adventurers, religious opinions, manners and customs of the inhabitants, principal towns and villages, their manufactures, commerce, objects of curiosity, etc.; with a minute and comprehensive description of the soil, productions, climate and aspect of the country; likewise, an account of the British possessions in Upper and Lower Canada; accompanied by a whole sheet map of the United States; and correct table or list of the principal post and cross roads throughout the United States. Compiled by several gentlemen, from a variety of original manuscripts, and from the latest and best authorities. London: Edwards & Knibb. 1820. 746, xvi pp.  
[B.M. 10409.c.18.]

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44. CLARK, WILLIAM. The mania of emigrating to the United States and its disadvantages developed; with a correct statement of the prices of provision, etc., and a dissertation on America becoming a manufacturing country, with the injustice of American bankrupt laws; to which is added a description of New York. Part 1. London. 1820.
45. COURTAULD, GEORGE. Address to those who may be disposed to remove to the United States of America, on the advantages of equitable associations of capital and labour in the formation of agricultural establishments in the interior country. Including remarks on Mr. Birkbeck's opinions upon this subject. By George Courtauld. Sudbury: J. Burkitt. 1820. 40pp.  
[Manchester Central Library. 325.2 P.3201/2.]

46. HOWITT, EMANUEL. Selections from letters written during a tour through the United States in the summer and autumn of 1819; illustrative of the character of the native Indians, and of their descent from the lost ten tribes of Israel; as well as descriptive of the present situation and sufferings of emigrants, and of the soil and state of agriculture.  
By Emanuel Howitt.  
Nottingham: J. Dunn. 1820. xxi, 230pp.  
[B.M. 1052. b.27(1).]
47. KINGDOM, WILLIAM, Jun. America and the British Colonies. An abstract of all the most useful information relative to United States of America, and the British Colonies of Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, and Van Dieman's Island. Exhibiting at one view the comparative advantages and disadvantages each country offers for emigration. Collected from the most valuable and recent publications. To which are added a few notes and observations. By William Kingdom, Junior.  
London: G. and W.B. Whittaker. 1820. vii, 359pp.  
[B.M. 579. f.13.]
48. KNIGHT, JAMES. America or England: containing observations illustrative of the subject of emigration to the United States of North America, with extracts from several writers particularly from the pamphlet of Mr. G. Courtauld, on the formation of an equitable association of capital and labour in the state of Ohio. By James Knight, of Wisborough Green, Sussex.  
Manchester: Chappell & Son. 1820. 79pp.  
[Manchester Central Library 325.2. P.3201/1.]
49. [TALBOT, JOHN.] History of North America, comprising a geographical and statistical view of the United States, and of the British Canadian possessions; including a great variety of important information on the subject of emigrating to that country. Embellished with plates and maps. In two volumes.  
Leeds: Davies & Co. 1820. Vol. I. 498pp.  
Vol. II. 457pp.  
[B.M. 9555. cc.24.]

### 1821

50. HARRIS, WILLIAM T. Remarks made during a tour through the United States of America in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819. By William Tell Harris. In a series of letters to friends in England.  
London: Sherwood, Neely, & Jones. 1821. 196pp. 3 maps.  
[B.M. 10412. bbb.2.]



51. WELBY, ADLARD. A visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois, with a winter residence at Philadelphia; solely to ascertain the actual prospects of the emigrating agriculturist, mechanic, and commercial speculator. By Adlard Welby Esq. South Ranceby, Lincolnshire. London: J. Drury. 1821. 224pp. [B.M. 1052. e.3(3).]
- 1822
52. BIRKBECK, MORRIS. An address to the farmers of Great Britain; with an essay on the prairies of the western country: by Morris Birkbeck: to which is annexed, the constitution of the state of Illinois. London: J. Ridgway. 1822. 52pp. Price 1s. 6d. [B.M. 10410.d.14.]
53. ELLIOTT, JOHN F. An essay showing the expediency of emigration, under certain circumstances, together with a comparative view of every new settlement, a sketch of each; remarks thereon; and advice to settlers, connected with the subject; to which is added an appendix, containing interesting information from the United States, Canada, Van Dieman's Land, the Cape of Good Hope, and other parts of the world, in favour of emigration. By J.F. Elliott. London: Keys. 1822. 95pp. [B.M. 8275. aa.1(2).]
54. FLOWER, RICHARD. Letters from the Illinois, 1820, 1821. Containing an account of the English Settlement at Albion and its vicinity, and a refutation of various misrepresentations, those more particularly of Mr. Cobbett. By Richard Flower. With a letter from M. Birkbeck; and a preface and notes by Benjamin Flower. London: J. Ridgway. 1822. 76pp. Price 2s. 6d.
55. PEARSON. Notes made during a journey in 1821, in the United States of America, from Philadelphia, to the neighbourhood of lake Erie; through Lancaster, Harrisburgh, Carlisle & Pittsburgh, and back to Philadelphia; through Louistown, Huntingdon, & New Holland; in search of a settlement. By John Pearson of Ewell, Surrey. London: W. & S. Couchman. 1822. 72pp. Price 1s. 6d. [B.M. 1052. c.1.]

56. [WARD, NAHUM.] A brief sketch of the state of Ohio, one of the United States in North America: with a map delineating the same into counties. Giving the opinion of Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. geographer of the United States, and British travellers in 1787, when the state was uninhabited by civilized men. Likewise exhibiting a view of the unparalleled progress of that state since 1789, to the present day, it being now the fourth state in the union in point of population and representation in Congress. By a resident of twelve years at Marietta in that state.  
Glasgow: J. Neven. 1822. 16pp. map.
57. WOODS, JOHN. Two years residence in the settlement on the English prairie, in the Illinois country, United States. With an account of its animal and vegetable productions, agriculture, etc. etc. A description of the principal towns, villages, etc. etc. with the habits and customs of the back-woodsmen.  
London: Longman, etc. 1822. 309pp. map.  
[B.M. 792. g.2.]

### 1823

58. FAUX, WILLIAM. Memorable days in America: being a journal of a tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain, by positive evidence, the condition and probable prospects of British emigrants; including accounts of Mr. Birkbeck's settlement in the Illinois: and intended to shew men and things as they are in America. By W. Faux, an English farmer.  
London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1823. xvi, 488pp.  
[B.M. 792. e.9.]
59. HOIMES, ISAAC. An account of the United States of America, derived from actual observation, during a residence of four years in that republic; including original communications. By Isaac Holmes.  
London: Fisher. 1823. 476pp. map.  
[B.M. 579. f.22.]

### 1824

60. ANON. A summary view of America: comprising a description of the face of the country, and of several of the principal cities; and remarks on the social, moral and political character of the people: being the result of observations and enquiries during a journey to the United States. By an Englishman.  
London: T. Cadell. 1824. 503pp.  
[B.M. 579. d.15.]

- \* 61. BELL, WILLIAM. Hints to Emigrants.
62. [BLANE, WILLIAM N.] An excursion through the United States and Canada during the years 1822-23 by an English gentleman.  
London: Baldwin and Co. 1824. 511pp. 2 maps.  
[B.M. 1052. e.2.]

1825

63. ANON. General advice and information for all description of emigrants, to every part of North and South America: containing every possible instruction in all subjects conducive to their comfort and happiness; with remarks, relative both to their departure and afterwards. To which is added, an appendix, of observations on lands, where best to settle, their manner of holding, cultivation and produce; with every other requisite instruction for the emigrant's guidance in the - "land of his adoption."  
"Though far from my Country and Friends I revere,  
Yet still must my Friends and my Country be dear."  
By one who writes from the experience of some years' residence throughout America; and who has made the interest of the emigrant his study.  
Dublin: J.R. Frazer. 1825. 23pp. Price 1s. 7½d.  
[B.M. T.1082(9).]

1826.

64. CAREY, MATTHEW. Reflections on the subject of emigration from Europe with a view to settlement in the United States. By M. Carey. Third edition.  
Philadelphia. 1826. 28pp.  
[Goldsmiths Library. [F.L.] B.826.]  
[English edition published by the Liverpool Mercury, January 1828, price ninepence.]

1827

65. ANON. American sketches. By a native of the United States.  
London: John Miller. 1827. xviii, 412pp.  
[B.M. 1052. b.9.]
66. BULLOCK, WILLIAM. Sketch of a journey through the western states of North America from New Orleans, by the Mississippi, Ohio, City of Cincinnati and falls of Niagara, to New York, in 1827. By W. Bullock F.L.S., etc. With a description of the new and flourishing city of Cincinnati, by Messrs. B. Drake and E.D. Mansfield; and a selection from various authors on the

present condition and future prospects of the settlers, in the fertile and populous state of Ohio, containing information useful to persons desirous of settling in America.

London: J. Miller. 1827. xxxi, viii, 135pp. 2 maps.  
[B.M. 792. f.20.]

### 1828

67. ANON. Hints on emigration, as the means of effecting the repeal of the Poor Laws.  
London: J. Hatchard. 1828. 56pp.  
[B.M. T.1244(8).]
68. ANON. The United States as they are in their political, religious, and social relations.  
London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1828. x, 242pp.  
[B.M. 792. g.26.]
69. ANON. [MARK BEAUFOY?]. Tour through parts of the United States and Canada. By a British subject.  
London: Longman and Co. 1828. 141pp.  
[B.M. 1052.e.1.]
70. BUCHANAN, ALEXANDER C. Emigration practically considered; with detailed directions to emigrants proceeding to British North America, particularly to the Canadas; in a letter to the Right Hon. R. Wilmot Horton, M.P. By A.C. Buchanan, Esq.  
London: H. Colburn. 1828. 148pp.  
[B.M. T.1244(7).]
71. [SEALSFIELD, CHARLES.] The Americans as they are; described in a tour through the valley of the Mississippi. By the author of "Austria as it is."  
London: Hurst, Chance and Co. 1828. vi, 218pp.  
[B.M. 792. g.27.]

### 1829

72. COBBETT, WILLIAM. The emigrant's guide; in ten letters, addressed to the tax-payers of England; containing information of every kind, necessary to persons who are about to emigrate; including several authentic and most interesting letters from English emigrants, now in America, to their relations in England; and an account of the prices of house and land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett.  
London: Published by the author. 1829. 153pp.  
[B.M. 798. h.14.]



73. COLLINS, S.H. The emigrant's guide to the United States of America. Containing all things necessary to be known by every class of persons emigrating to that continent: the expenses of the voyage - first steps to be taken on landing - the parts of the United States to go to, and expenses of travelling - mode of obtaining citizenship - prices of land and labour - the best money to be taken, etc. etc. Preceded by a geographical description of the United States, the climate, soil, manufactures, arts, agriculture, trade and commerce, natural history, laws, character, manners and customs, and religion. Being the most comprehensive and useful description of the United States ever published. To which is added, a correct account of the new settlement on the Swan River. By S.H. Collins, formerly of Hull, now of New York. With a new map of the United States. New and enlarged edition.  
Hull: Joseph Noble. 1829. 134pp. Price 3s. 6d.  
[B.M. 798. e.34.]
74. MURRAY, HUGH. Historical account of discoveries and travels in North America; including the United States, Canada, the shores of the Polar sea, and the voyages in search of a north-west passage; with observations on emigration. By Hugh Murray, esq., F.R.S.E. Illustrated by a map of North America.  
London: Longman etc. 1829. 2 vols. Vol.I, 530pp.  
Vol.II, 556pp.  
[B.M. 1045. d.23.]
75. SMITH, BENJAMIN, ed. Twenty four letters from labourers in America to their friends in England.  
London: E. Rainford. 1829.  
[Reprinted in Sutro Branch, California State Library. Occasional Papers. Reprint Series, No.1.]

1830.

76. COBBETT, WILLIAM. The emigrant's guide ....  
A new edition by William Cobbett.  
London: Published by the author. 1830. 168pp.  
[B.M. 10481. c.14.]
77. COLLINS, S.H. The emigrant's guide to, and description of the United States of America; including several authentic and highly important letters from English emigrants now in America, to their friends in England. Fourth edition.  
Hull: Joseph Noble. 1830. 180pp. map. Price 2s. 6d.  
[Goldsmiths Library. Lr [Collins] (4).]

78. GEORGE, — . George's emigrant's guide to the United States and the Canadas: containing advice to emigrants. Swan river colony. The United States. Religion and Education. Instructions for taking passage, and custom-house regulations. Rates for wharfage and shipping of luggage. Arrival at New York. Method of surveying and allotting lands. Voyage down the Ohio. Route from New York to Cincinnati by Lake Erie. The falls of Niagara. Various routes by canals, railroads, and turnpikes to the Ohio and the western country. Post roads in the state Ohio. List of conveyances from Great Britain and Ireland. Also, from New York to various ports and towns in the interior. Banks and branch banks. With extracts from recent communications relative to extensive national works now in progress; prices of labour and provisions; natural productions, manufactures, etc. With maps of the Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois states.  
London: Printed for the author. 1830? 36pp.  
Price 1s. or, without the maps, 6d.  
[B.M. 10411. aaa.22.]
79. NEILSON, PETER. Recollections of a six years' residence in the United States of America, interspersed with original anecdotes, illustrating the manners of the inhabitants of the great western republic. By Peter Neilson.  
Glasgow: D. Robertson. 1830. 358pp. map.  
[B.M. 10409. bbb.5.]
80. PICKERING, JOSEPH. Emigration or no emigration; being the narrative of the author (an English farmer) from the year 1824 to 1830; during which time he traversed the United States of America, and the British province of Canada, with a view to settle as an emigrant: containing observations on the manners and customs of the people - the soil and climate of the countries; and a comparative statement of the advantages and disadvantages offered in the United States and Canada: thus enabling persons to form a judgment on the propriety of emigrating. By Joseph Pickering, late of Fenny Stratford, Bucks, and now of Canada.  
London: Longman etc. 1830. x, 132pp.  
[B.M. 1052. c.5.]

### 1831

81. ANON. Hints to emigrants respecting North America. By an emigrant.  
Quebec: T. Cary. 1831. 39pp.  
[B.M. 10470. aa.18.]

82. FOWLER, JOHN. Journal of a tour in the state of New York, in the year 1830; with remarks on agriculture in those parts most eligible for settlers: and return to England by the western islands, in consequence of shipwreck in the Robert Fulton. By John Fowler. London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Arnot. 1831. 331pp. [B.M. 1052. b.27(2).]
83. PECK, JOHN M. A guide for emigrants; containing sketches of Illinois, Missouri, and the adjacent parts. By J.M. Peck. Boston: Lincoln and Edmands. 1831. 336pp. map.
84. SCROPE, GEORGE POULETT. Extracts of letters from poor persons who emigrated last year to Canada and the United States. Printed for the information of the labouring poor, and their friends in this country, by G. Poulett Scrope, F.R.S., F.G.S., etc. London: J. Ridgway. 1831. 38pp. Price 6d., or 5s.0d. per dozen. [B.M. 8275. ee.3(1).]
85. WALLER, ZEPHENIAH. Seven letters from an emigrant, to his friends in England; containing remarks on the manners, customs, laws, and religion of the United States of America, with a description of the city of New York, and observations on emigration. By Zepheniah Waller. Diss, Eng: E.E. Abbott. 1831. 38pp. Price 1s. 0d. [B.M. T.1394(22).]

### 1832

86. ANON. The traveller's directory, and emigrant's guide; containing general descriptions of different routes through the states of New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the territory of Michigan, with short descriptions of the climate, soil, productions, prospects, etc. Buffalo: Steele and Faxon. 1832. [B.M. 10412. a.37.]
87. [BACHE, RICHARD.] View of the valley of the Mississippi; or, the emigrant's and traveller's guide to the west; containing a general description of that entire country; and also notices of the soil, productions, rivers, and other channels of intercourse and trade; and likewise of the cities and towns, progress of education, etc. of each state and territory. Philadelphia: Tanner. 1832. xii, 341pp. maps. [B.M. 798. d.24.] [Second edition. 1834. B.M. 798. b.15.]

88. COLTON, CALVIN. Manual for emigrants to America. By Calvin Colton, A.M., of America. London: Westley and Davies. 1832. x, 203pp. [B.M. 798. d.6.]
89. DYKE, THOMAS, Jun. Advice to emigrants; or an impartial guide to the Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, the United States, New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, the Swan river, and the Cape of Good Hope; pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of the several locations, with the latest government instructions. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1832. 87pp. [B.M. T.1436.(5).]
90. [HOWELLS, H.C. ed.] Advice to emigrants who intend to settle in the United States of America. Second edition, greatly enlarged and improved. Bristol: Wright and Bagnall. 1832. 24pp. Price 4d. [Goldsmiths Library. B.832(3).]
91. MUDIE, ROBERT. The emigrant's pocket companion; containing, what emigration is, who should be emigrants, where emigrants should go; a description of British North America, especially the Canadas; and full instructions to intending emigrants. By Robert Mudie, author of "Picture of Australia", "Picture of India", etc. London: J. Cochrane and Co. 1832. xvi, 276pp. [B.M. 10412. bbb.23.]
92. PICKERING, JOSEPH. Inquiries of an emigrant: being the narrative of an English farmer from the year 1824 to 1830; with the author's additions to March 1832; during which period he traversed the United States and Canada, with a view to settle as an emigrant: containing observations on the manners, soil, climate, and husbandry of the Americas; estimates of outfit, charges of voyage, and travelling expenses. By Joseph Pickering, late of Fenny Stratford, Bucks, and now of Canada. Fourth edition including the information published by His Majesty's Commissioners for Emigration. London: E. Wilson. 1832. xvi, 207pp. map. Price 4s. Od., or 5s. Od. with a map. [B.M. 10460. a.10.] [Cf. No.80.]



93. SCROPE, G.P. Extracts of letters from poor persons who emigrated last year to Canada and the United States. .... By G. Poulett Scrope, Esq. F.R.S., F.G.S., etc. Second edition, with additions. London: J. Ridgway. 1832. viii, 35pp. Price 6d. [B.M. T.1394(30).] [Cf. No.84.]

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94. STEELE, OLIVER G. Steele's western guide book, and emigrant's directory; containing different routes through the states of New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan; with short descriptions of the climate, soil, productions, prospects, etc. Buffalo: O.G. Steele. 16 editions 1832-1849.

1833

95. BARCLAY, CHARLES. ed. Letters from the Dorking emigrants, who went to Upper Canada in the spring of 1832. Edited by Charles Barclay. London: J. & A. Arch. 1833. 44pp. [B.M. T.1415(13).]
96. FERGUSSON, ADAM. Practical notes made during a tour in Canada, and a portion of the United States, in MDCCCXXXI. By Adam Fergusson, of Woodhill, Advocate. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1833. xv, 379pp. [B.M. 1052. b.6.]
97. FIDLER, ISAAC. Observations on professions, literature, manners, and emigration, in the United States and Canada, made during a residence there in 1832. London: Whittaker, Treacher and Co. 1833. viii, 434pp. [Goldsmiths Library. Lq [Fidler] (3).]
98. ROSIER, ELLIK. The emigrant's friend; a complete manual of plain, practical directions, drawn up for the benefit of persons emigrating to North America. By Ellik Rosier. Glasgow: W. Stuart. 1833.

1834

99. ANON. Counsel for emigrants, and interesting information from numerous sources; with original letters from Canada and the United States. Aberdeen: John Mathison. 1834. iv, xv, 140pp. map. [B.M. T.1578(3).]

100. ANON. Sequel to the counsel for emigrants, containing interesting information from numerous sources; with original letters from Canada and the United States. Aberdeen: John Mathison. 1834. 72pp. map. [B.M. T.1578(2).]
101. [GOULD, N.] Emigration: practical advice to emigrants on all points connected with their comfort and economy, from making choice of a ship to settling and cropping a farm. London: E. Wilson. 1834. 120pp. [Goldsmiths Library. B.834(3).]
102. ROSIER, ELLIK. The emigrant's friend by Ellik Rosier. Third edition, improved and enlarged. Glasgow: W. Stuart. 1834. 81pp. [B.M. 8282. aa.14.]

1835

103. ANON. Journal of an excursion to the United States and Canada in the year 1834: with hints to emigrants; and a fair and impartial exposition of the advantages and disadvantages attending emigration. By a citizen of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: J. Anderson. 1835. viii, 168pp. [B.M. 1052. a.30.]
104. GRIFFITHS, D. Two years' residence in the new settlements of Ohio, North America: with directions to emigrants. By D. Griffiths jun. London: Westley and Davies. 1835. 189pp. [B.M. 10410. bbb.25.]
105. SHIRREFF, PATRICK. A tour through North America; together with a comprehensive view of the Canadas and the United States as adapted for agricultural emigration. By Patrick Shirreff. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1835. iv, v, 473pp. [B.M. 1052. d.11.]

1836

- \* 106. O'BRYAN, WILLIAM. A narrative of travels in the United States of America, with some account of American manners and polity, and advice to emigrants and travellers going to that interesting country. London: Printed for the author. 1836. 419pp.

- \* 107. PECK, JOHN M. A new guide for emigrants to the west, containing sketches of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, with the territories of Wisconsin and Arkansas, and the adjacent parts. By J.M. Peck, A.M., of Rock Island Ill. Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln. 1836. 374pp.
- \* 108. RUPP, I. DANIEL. The geographical catechism of Pennsylvania, and the western states; designed as a guide and pocket companion, for travellers and emigrants, to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Missouri; containing a geographical and historical account of these several states, from their first settlement up to the present time. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Winebrenner. 1836. iv + 384pp.
109. WESTON, RICHARD. A visit to the United States and Canada in 1833; with a view to settling in America. Including a voyage to and from New York. By Richard Weston, bookseller, 37 Lothian Str., Edinburgh. Edinburgh: R. Weston and Sons. 1836. 312pp. [Manchester Central Library. 325.7. 917.4. w.1.]
- 1837
110. ANON. Illinois in 1837; a sketch descriptive of the situation, boundaries, face of the country, prominent districts, prairies, rivers, minerals, animals, agricultural productions, public lands, plans of internal improvement, manufactures, etc. of the state of Illinois: also suggestions to emigrants, sketches of the counties, cities, and principal towns in the state: together with a letter on the cultivation of the prairies, by the Hon. H.L. Ellsworth. To which are annexed the letters from a Rambler in the West. Philadelphia: S.A. Mitchell. 1837. viii, 143pp. map. Sold by R.J. Kennett, London, price 7s. 0d. [B.M. 1304. f.7.]
111. PECK, JOHN M. A new guide for emigrants to the west, containing sketches of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, with the territory of Wisconsin and the adjacent parts. By J.M. Peck, A.M., Rock Island Ill. Second edition. Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln. 1837. xii, 381pp. Sold by R.J. Kennett, London, price. 3s. 6d. [B.M. 1304. a.9.]

1838

112. ANON. Sketches of Illinois; descriptive of its principal geographical features, prominent districts, prairies, minerals, animals, agricultural productions, and public lands: together with an accurate map of the state, exhibiting internal improvements, counties, towns, roads, etc.  
Philadelphia: S.A. Mitchell. 1838. 32pp. map.  
Price 25 cents.  
[B.M. 798. g.30.]  
[Abridgement of No.109.]

1839

113. ANON. Remarks on the western states of America, or valley of the Mississippi: with suggestions to agricultural emigrants, miners, etc.  
London: R.J. Kennett. 1839. 45pp. Price 1s. 0d.  
[B.M. 10408. ee.10(7).]
114. MATTHEW, PATRICK. Emigration fields. North America, the Cape, Australia, and New Zealand, describing these countries, and giving a comparative view of the advantages they present to British settlers. By Patrick Matthew, author of "Naval Timber and Arboriculture".  
Edinburgh: Adam and Chas. Black. 1839. 237pp. 2 maps.  
[B.M. 798. h.3.]
- \* 115. TAYLOR, F. A sketch of the military bounty tract of Illinois: descriptive of its unequalled fertility of soil - superior inducements for an emigrant's location - agricultural productions - climate - facilities of education - travelling route and expenses - and suggestions to emigrants.  
Philadelphia: I. Ashmead and Co. 1839.
116. TEGG, THOMAS. Tegg's handbook for emigrants; containing useful information and practical directions on domestic, mechanical, surgical, medical and other subjects, calculated to increase the comforts and add to the conveniences of the colonist.  
London: T. Tegg. 1839. 212pp. Price 4s. 0d.  
[B.M. 1037. d.8.]

1840

117. ANON. The British mechanic's and labourer's handbook and true guide to the United States; with ample notices respecting various trades and professions.  
London: Chas. Knight and Co. 1840. 288pp. Price 4s. 0d.  
[B.M. 1052. b.29.]



118. ANON. Texas in 1840: or the emigrant's guide to the new republic; being the result of observation, enquiry and travel in that beautiful country. By an emigrant, late of the United States. With an introduction by the Rev. A.B. Lawrence, of New Orleans. New York: W.W. Allen. 1840. 275pp. [B.M. 1197. c.2.]

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119. SMITH, JOHN CALVIN. The western tourist and emigrant's guide, with a compendious gazetteer of the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa ... also, describing all the principal stage routes, canals, railroads and the distances between the towns; accompanied with a correct map showing the lines of the United States surveys, by J. Calvin Smith. New York: J.H. Colton. 1840. 180pp. map.

1841

\*

120. FLOWER, GEORGE. The errors of emigrants; pointing out many popular errors hitherto unnoticed; with a sketch of the extent and resources of the new states of the North American union, and a description of the progress and present aspect of the English settlement in Illinois founded by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, in the year 1817; by George Flower of Albion, Edwards County, Illinois. London: Cleave. 1841. 64pp.

121. IKIN, ARTHUR. Texas: its history, topography, agriculture, commerce, and general statistics. To which is added, a copy of the treaty of commerce entered into by the republic of Texas and Great Britain. Designed for the use of the British merchant, and as a guide to emigrants. By Arthur Ikin, Texian consul. London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper. 1841. vii, 100pp. [B.M. 798. d.41.]

122. NEWHALL, JOHN B. Sketches of Iowa, or the Emigrant's guide; containing a correct description of the agricultural and mineral resources, geological features and statistics of the territory of Iowa, a minute description of each county, and of the principal towns and Indian villages, prairie and timbered lands, a view of the rapid increase and future prospects of the people, moral and physical, traits of Indian character, with sketches of Black Hawk, and others: being the result of much observation and travel during a continuous residence of several years. By John B. Newhall, Burlington, Iowa. New York: J.H. Colton. 1841. 252pp. map. [B.M. 798. a.23.]

1842

123. ANON. America and England contrasted: or, the emigrant's hand-book and guide to the United States, comprising information respecting their constitution, best fields for agricultural and manufacturing employment, wages, climate, shipping, letters from emigrants etc. London: Cleave. 1842. 52pp. [B.M. 10413. bb.19.]

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124. ANON. The far west; a sketch of Illinois and the other states in the valley of the Mississippi: describing that fertile region of the republic, the prairies, rivers, minerals, animals, agricultural productions, public lands, plans of internal improvement, manufactures, etc. With suggestions to emigrants, and letters from a Rambler in the west ... Reprinted with corrections and additions, from the American edition published at Philadelphia. Bolton-le-Moors: Dickinson. 1842. [Reprint of No.109.]

1843

125. ANON. The emigrant to North America, from memoranda of a settler in Canada, being a compendium of useful practical hints to emigrants. With an account of every day's doing upon a farm for a year. By an emigrant farmer of twenty-five years' experience. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1843. viii, 120pp. [B.M. 10411. aa.25.]

126. ANON. Emigration. Who should go; where to go to; how to get there; and what to take. London: W. Strange. 1843. 22pp. [B.M. 1390. h.18.]

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127. BRITISH TEMPERANCE EMIGRATION SOCIETY AND SAVINGS FUND. Description of the Wisconsin territory, and some of the states and territories adjoining to it in the western parts of the United States of America. Published by the committee of the British Temperance Emigration Society and Savings Fund. Liverpool: B. Williams. 1843.
128. MURRAY, J. BUXTON. A new guide for emigrants to the western states of North America, comprising Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. By J. Buxton Murray. Containing letters on emigration by Mr. Alexander Campbell, of Bethany, Brooke County, Virginia; Dr. John Thomas, St. Charles, Kane County, Illinois; Mr. John Coles, Racine, Milwaukee County, territory

of Wisconsin; to which is added, information for emigrants to the British possessions in North America. Glasgow: Printed for the author. 1843. 64pp. [Manchester Central Library. 325. 73. M.1.]

\*129. OLIVER, WILLIAM. Eight months in Illinois, with information to emigrants... Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Mitchell. 1843. iv, 141pp.

130. TEXAN EMIGRATION AND LAND COMPANY. Emigration to Texas. Texas:- being a prospectus of the advantages offered to emigrants by the Texan Emigration and Land Company. London: Richardson. 1843. 24pp. map. Price 6d. [B.M. 1304. f.11.]

#### 1844

\*131. NEWHALL, JOHN B. The British emigrant's handbook and guide to the new states of America, particularly Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin; comprising a general description of the agricultural and commercial facilities - mineral productions - relative advantages that different portions present for settlement - sketches of towns - neighbourhoods etc., with practical advice to the emigrant, concerning the different routes, time of sailing, etc. London: Stutter. 1844. 99pp. [Cf. No.122.]

#### 1845

\*132. ALMY, JOHN. State of Michigan. 1845. To emigrants. New York: I.J. Oliver. 1845. 6pp. map.

133. WILEY, JOHN and PUTNAM, G.P. Wiley & Putnam's emigrant's guide. Comprising advice and instruction in every stage of the voyage to America; such as, choice of a ship; provisions and clothing for the voyage; hints during the voyage; custom-house laws; what to do on landing; interesting anecdotes, etc. Also, information which the emigrant needs on arrival; such as, choice of lodgings; ways of sharpeners; how to get employment; where to look for land; steamboat, canal, and railroad routes; routes of travel in all directions; how to preserve health, etc. etc. London: Wiley and Putnam. 1845. 141pp. [B.M. 798. c.33.]

1846

134. BRADFORD, WILLIAM, J.A. Notes on the northwest, or valley of the upper Mississippi. Comprising the country between lakes Superior and Michigan, east, the Illinois and Missouri rivers, and the northern boundary of the United States; - including Iowa and Wisconsin, part of Michigan northwest of the straits of Mackinaw, and northern Illinois and Missouri. By Wm. J.A. Bradford.  
New York and London: Wiley and Putnam. 1846.  
vi, 302pp.  
[B.M. 10410.c.13.]
135. NEWHALL, JOHN B. A glimpse of Iowa in 1846; or, the emigrant's guide and state directory; with a description of the new purchase: embracing much practical advice and useful information to intending emigrants. Also the new state constitution. By J.B. Newhall. Second edition.  
Burlington, Iowa: W.D. Skillman. 106pp.  
[B.M. 10411.aaa.12.]
136. RAWLINGS, THOMAS. Emigration: an address to the clergy of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, on the condition of the working classes, with a few suggestions as to their future welfare. By Thomas Rawlings, late proprietor and editor of the "Cheltenham Chronicle", England, and editor of the "Old Countryman, and Emigrant's Friend", New York, U.S. Also, an address to persons about emigrating to America. Second edition. Liverpool: Chas. Willmer. 1846. 32pp. Gratis.  
[B.M. 8277. d.4.(6).]
137. SIBBALD, THOMAS. A few days in the United States and Canada, with some hints to settlers. By Thomas Sibbald.  
London: John Betts. 1846. 48pp.  
[B.M. 1431. c.25.]
138. WOOLLAM, J.G. Useful information for emigrants to the western states of America, by J.G. Woollam, of Manchester and Missouri.  
Manchester: B. Hampson. 1846. 55pp. map. Price 6d.  
[Manchester Central Library. 325.73. M.1.]
139. WYSE, FRANCIS. America, its realities and resources: comprising important details connected with the present social, political, agricultural, commercial, and financial state of the country, its laws and customs, together with a review of the policy of the United



States that led to the war of 1812, and peace of 1814 - the "right of search", the Texas and Oregon questions, etc. etc. By Francis Wyse, esq.  
London: T.C. Newby. 1846. 3 vols.  
[B.M. 1304. f.13-15.]

1848

140. ANON. America compared with England. The respective social effects of the American and English systems of government and legislation, and the mission of democracy.  
London: E. Wilson. 1848. xxiv, 289pp.  
[B.M. 8005. d.5.]
141. ANON. To the emigrant farmer: A view of the advantages of climate, soil, product, government, and institutions of Texas; the central maritime portion of the United States of America; comprising a candid statement of privations and difficulties to be encountered, and of the mode of culture and expenditure of labour conducive to success. With remarks on other fields of emigration. By a practical farmer.  
London: John Hutton. 1848? 24pp. Price 4d.  
[B.M. 10409. bbb.26(1).]
142. ANON. The emigrant's guide to California, describing its geography, agricultural and commercial resources. Containing a well-arranged list of the commodities most desirable for exporting to that country, with a table of the duties. Also, some useful information for commanders of vessels, and for the overland travellers through Texas. Together with a valuable map, on which the various routes are traced, and an authentic sketch of San Francisco; to which is appended the Governor of California's (Colonel Mason's) official despatches concerning the gold districts. By a traveller recently returned from California.  
London: P. Richardson. 1848? 65, xiipp. map.  
[B.M. 10408. ee.13(5).]
- \* 143. ANON. Emigrant's handbook to the United States.  
London: Smith and Elder. 1848.
144. ANON. Emigrant's handbook and guide to the United States; or, England and America contrasted: comprising information respecting the best fields for agricultural and manufacturing employment, wages, climate, shipping, letters from emigrants etc.  
London: Cleave. 1848. 48pp. Price 6d.  
[Manchester Central Library. 325.73.M.1.]  
[Cf. No.123.]

145. ANON. The emigrant's handbook; or, a directory and guide for persons emigrating to the United States of America; containing advice and directions to emigrants but especially to those designing to settle in the great western valley; and also, a concise description of the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Iowa, and the western territories; and including a statement of the modes and expenses of travelling from New York to the interior and an extensive list of routes in each state by steam-boats, railroads, canals and stages. Accompanied with a correct travelling map of the United States. New York: J.H. Colton. 1848. 136pp.  
[B.M. 10408. a.22.]  
[Cf. No.119.]
146. ANON. Information for emigrants: by an Englishman. No.1. North America viewed as to its eligibility for British emigration. Giving ample details to meet the enquiries of all classes. London: Kent and Richards. 1848. 48pp. Price 6d.  
[B.M. 1304. a.12.]
147. [BURLEND, REBECCA.] A true picture of emigration; or fourteen years in the interior of North America; being a full and impartial account of the various difficulties and ultimate success of an English family who emigrated from Barwick-in-Elmet, near Leeds, in the year 1831. Leeds: D. Green. 1848. 62pp. Price 6d.  
[Manchester Central Library. 325.73. M.1.]  
[ed. M.M. Quaife, Chicago, 1936. B.M. 010409. c.39.]
- \*148. MANN, ALICE. The emigrant's complete guide to the United States of America. Leeds? 1848. Price 1s. 0d.
149. PRENTICE, ARCHIBALD. A tour in the United States by Archibald Prentice, member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and late editor of the "Manchester Times". London: C. Gilpin. 1848. 156pp. Price 2s. 0d.  
[B.M. 10409. bbb.6.]
150. TAPSCOTT, WILLIAM. Tapscott's emigrant's travelling guide through the United States and Canada, showing the distance and time from New York, to all the principal inland towns and cities, with rates of passage during the period the navigation remains open. Liverpool: Printed for Messrs. Tapscott. 1848. 24pp. Price 4d.  
[Manchester Central Library. 325. 73. T.1.]

- \* 151. THOMASON, D.R. Hints to emigrants; or to those who may contemplate emigrating to the United States of America.  
Philadelphia: I. Ashmead. 1848.

1849

- \* 152. ANON. California, Texas, and the gold regions; to which is affixed, their history, topography, agriculture, commerce and general statistics. Designed as a guide to emigrants.  
London: J. Field. 1849.
- \* 153. ANON. Emigration circular: or complete handbook and guide to the United States; being England and America contrasted.  
London: J.W. Last. 1849. 32pp.
- \* 154. ANON. The emigrant's guide to the state of Michigan.  
New York: E.H. Thomson. 1849. 47pp.
155. BARROW, JOHN. Facts relating to northeast Texas, condensed from notes made during a tour through that portion of the United States of America, for the purpose of examining the country, as a field for emigration. Embracing the climate - topography - soil - wood - water - roads - rivers - present and future commercial prosperity - farming operations - produce - returns - haulage - locations - land titles - laws - education, and other matters - together with advice to the emigrant - his plan of proceeding - price of passage and numerous articles of utility. With a map reduced from the last authentic survey. By John Barrow, civil engineer.  
London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1849. 68pp. map.  
Price 2s. 0d.  
[B.M. 10410. c.4.]
- \* 156. BRADWELL, - . Bradwell's emigrant's book; or, the United States delineated.  
- 1849. Price 6d.
- \* 157. DEAN, GEORGE and JOHN. George and John Dean's emigration circular.  
London. 1849. Gratis.
158. KEILY, RICHARD. A brief description and statistical sketch of Georgia, United States of America: developing its immense agricultural, mining and manufacturing advantages, with remarks on emigration accompanied with a map and description of lands for sale in Irwin county, state of Georgia. By Richard Keily. Second edition.  
London: J. Carrall. 1849. 32pp. map. Price 1s. 0d.  
[B.M. 10411. f.39.(1).]

159. PRENTICE, ARCHIBALD. A tour in the United States with two lectures on emigration, delivered in the Mechanics Institution Manchester by Archibald Prentice, member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and late editor of the "Manchester Times". Third edition.  
London: J. Johnson. 1849. 217pp.  
[Manchester Central Library. 325.73. 917.3. P.16.]  
[Cf. No.149.]
160. SMITH, EDWARD. Account of a journey through north-eastern Texas, undertaken in 1849 for the purposes of emigration. Embodied in a report: to which are appended letters and verbal communications, from eminent individuals; lists of temperature; of prices of land, produce, and articles of merchandize; and of cost of carriage and labour; in several parts of the western and southern states; and the recently adopted constitution of Texas, with maps from the last authentic survey. By Edward Smith, M.D., LL.B., B.A.  
London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1849. vi, 188pp.  
2 maps. Price 2s. 0d. paper covers, or  
2s. 6d. cloth boards.  
[B.M. 10410. c.9.]
- \* 161. SMITH, SIDNEY. The settler's new home: or, the emigrant's location, being a guide to emigrants in the selection of a settlement, and the preliminary details of the voyage.  
London: J. Kendrick. 1849. 106pp.
- \* 162. THOMASON, D.R. Hints to emigrants; or to those who may contemplate emigrating to the United States of America, and California.  
Revised edition.  
London: 1849.  
[Cf. No.151.]
163. UNITED STATES LAND AND EMIGRATION SOCIETY. The emigrant's directory: by the United States Land and Emigration Society. Established by special authority and license of the state and city of New York. Under the patronage of several influential individuals, whose benevolent object is, solely to diffuse authentic information and afford a home to mechanics, artizans, farmers, etc., of good moral character, now resident in the overpopulated districts of Great Britain, on the easiest terms compatible with safety, in one of the healthiest districts of the United States (Western Virginia).



To the serious consideration of such parties the following pages are commended, with the hope that the facts stated therein will induce numbers, or many, to avail themselves of the advantages offered by the society, whereby they may by industry obtain an easy competency, and a home from which will be banished for ever the spectre of want.

Manchester: T. Sowood. 1849. 30pp. Price 2d.  
[Manchester Central Library. 325. 73. M.1.]

x

164. WEBB, C.H. A manual for emigrants.  
New York: W. Osborn. 1849. 37pp.

1850

165. ANON. The emigrant's almanack for 1850, being the second year after bissextile, or leap-year.  
London: J. Cassell and Co. 1850.  
Price 4d.  
[Manchester Central Library. 325.2. 325. E.1.]

x

166. ANON. The emigrant's guide to the United States: who should and who should not emigrate.  
London: W.F. Adams. 1850. 100pp.

x

167. PILLANS, J. WILSON. Texas a field for emigration.  
Edinburgh: 1850.

168. PRENTICE, ARCHIBALD. A tour in the United States with two lectures on emigration, delivered in the Mechanics' Institution Manchester by Archibald Prentice, member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and late editor of the "Manchester Times".  
Sixth edition.  
London: J. Johnson. 1850. vi, 217pp. map.  
[B.M. 10413. a.21.]  
[Cf. Nos. 149, 159.]

169. SMITH, J. CALVIN. The emigrant's hand-book and new guide for travellers through the United States of America; containing a description of the states, cities, towns, villages, watering places, colleges etc. etc.; with the railroad, stage, and steamboat routes, the distances from place to place, and the fares on the great travelling routes. By J. Calvin Smith.  
London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1850. x, 267pp.  
[B.M. 10410. a.20.]  
[Cf. Nos. 119, 145.]

1851

170. ANON. The emigrant's almanack for 1851, being the third year after bissextile, or leap-year. London: J. Cassell. 1851. Price 4d.
171. BURTON, J.H. Emigration in its practical application to individuals and communities. By J.H. Burton. Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers. 1851. 93pp. Price 1s. 0d. [B.M. 1157. f.7(3).]
172. CHAMBERS, W. and R. The emigrant's manual. British America and the United States of America. Edinburgh: Chambers. 1851. 133pp. Price 1s. 0d. [B.M. 1157. f.7(2).]
- \* 173. FREEMAN, SAMUEL. The emigrant's handbook, and guide to Wisconsin, comprising information respecting agricultural and manufacturing employment, wages, climate, population etc.; sketch of Milwaukee, the queen city of the lakes; its rise and progress; business and population; list of public offices, with a full and accurate table of statistical information of that and other ports on Lake Michigan; also, table of routes from New York, Boston, etc. Milwaukee: Sentinel and gazette power press. 1851.
- \* 174. GIST, R.C. Why do you go to far distant lands, when an inviting field for emigration lies nearer home? Also, an account of a colony now forming in central and western Virginia, in the counties of Mercer, Wyoming, and Tazewell. Liverpool. 1851.

1852

175. CASSELL, JOHN. The emigrant's handbook: being a guide to the various fields of emigration in all parts of the globe. With an introductory essay, on the importance of emigration, and the danger to which emigrants are exposed. London: J. Cassell. 1852. iv, 60pp. Price 6d. [B.M. 10002. c.26.]
176. CURTISS, DANIEL S. Western portraiture and emigrant's guide; a description of Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa; with remarks on Minnesota and other territories. By Daniel S. Curtiss. New York: J.H. Colton. 1852. 351pp. map. [B.M. 10411. e.2.]

177. REGAN, JOHN. The emigrant's guide to the western states of America; or, backwoods and prairies: containing a complete statement of the advantages and capacities of the prairie lands - full instructions for emigrants in fitting out; and in selecting, purchasing, and settling on, land - with particulars of farming and other business operations, pictures of the home manners of the people, successes of emigrants, etc., etc.... By John Regan, formerly teacher, Ayrshire; now of Peoria, Illinois.  
Second edition, revised and enlarged.  
Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1852. vii, 408pp.  
[B.M. 10411. e.36.]

178. WISCONSIN. Wisconsin.  
N.p. [May 1852] 16pp.  
[B.M. 10411. bbb.19.]

### 1853

179. ANON. The emigrant's almanack, and guide to the gold fields, for 1854, being the second year after bissextile, or leap year.  
London: J. Cassell. 1853. 60pp. Price 6d.  
[B.M. P.P.2600.b.]

- \* 180. ANON. Emigration considered; or, a general description of the leading countries most adapted to emigration.  
London. 1853. 82pp.

### 1854

181. FOSTER, VERE. Work and wages; or, the penny emigrant's guide to the United States and Canada, for female servants, laborers, mechanics, farmers, etc. Containing a short description of those countries, and most suitable places for settlement; rates of wages, board and lodging, house rent, price of land, money matters, etc.; together with full information about the preparations necessary for the voyage, instructions on landing, and expenses of travelling in America. With an appendix. Fifth edition - two hundred and fiftieth thousand.  
London: W. & F.G. Cash. 1854? 16pp. Price 1d.  
or 10d. per dozen.  
[B.M. 8276. b.4.]

182. ROUTLEDGE, GEORGE. Routledge's American handbook and tourist's guide through the United States: containing descriptions of the principal cities and towns, the different railroad, stage, and steamboat routes from New York to all parts of the union; statistics, hotels, public buildings, summer resorts, natural curiosities, advice to emigrants and mechanics, etc. etc. etc. Accompanied by an accurate map, copied from one lately made by order of Congress. London: G. Routledge and Co. 1854. vi, 216pp. map. [B.M. 10412. aa.11.]

1855

- \* 183. ANON. Handbook of Wisconsin; or, guide to travellers and immigrants: a companion to Chapman's map of Wisconsin. Milwaukee: S. Chapman.
- \* 184. GREGORY, A.B. To all those emigrating west. n.p. 1855.

1856

- \* 185. DANA, C.W. The garden of the world, or the great west; its history, its wealth, its natural advantages, and its future. Also comprising a complete guide to emigrants, with a full description of the different routes westward. By an old settler. With statistics and facts, from Hon. Thomas H. Benton, Hon. Sam Houston, Col. John C. Fremont, and other "old settlers". Boston: Wentworth and Company. 1856. 396pp.
186. DE CORDOVA, JACOB. The Texas immigrant and traveler's guide book. Austin, Texas: De Cordova and Frazier. 1856. [B.M. 10410. a.29.]
187. HALL, EDWARD H. Ho! For the West!!! The traveller and emigrant's handbook to Canada and the north-west states of America, for general circulation. Containing useful information on all points, gathered during a residence of eight years in both countries. Compiled from the latest authentic sources, and designed particularly for the use of travellers, emigrants & others. By Edward H. Hall, Chicago, Ill., U.S. (formerly of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England.) London: Algar and Street. 1856. 64pp. [B.M. 10470. a.47(2).]



1857

- \* 188. GERHARD, FREDERICK. Illinois as it is; its history, geography, statistics, constitution, laws, government, finances, climate, soil, plants, animals, state of health, prairies, agriculture, cattle-breeding, orcharding, cultivation of the grape, timber-growing, market-prices, lands and land-prices, geology, mining, commerce, banks, railroads, public institutions, newspapers, etc. etc., with a prairie and wood-map, a geological map, a population map, and other illustrations Chicago: Keen and Lee. 1857. 451pp. 3 maps.

1858.

- \* 189. DE CORDOVA, JACOB. Texas, her capabilities and resources: the substance of two lectures, delivered at the town hall, Manchester; one on the 26th September, 1858, to the Cotton Supply Association, and the other on the 12th October, 1858, to the working classes generally; with explanatory notes and additions. Manchester: Case and Sever. 1858.

1859

190. ANON. The new world in 1859 being the United States and Canada, illustrated and described. In five parts. Part I - The United States. Part II - Scenes and Scenery. Part III - Upper and Lower Canada. Part IV - Things as they are in 1859. Part V - Emigration. Land and agriculture. Illustrated with one hundred and thirty-five engravings, from photographic and pencil sketches of the most celebrated river, lake, mountain and fall scenery in the United States and Canada. Together with routes of travel, fares, distances, etc., etc., etc.  
London: H. Bailliere. 1859. 5 parts in 1 volume, 114, 87, 77, 96, 80pp.  
[B.M. 10408. f.23.]
191. CAIRD, JAMES. Prairie farming in America. With notes by the way on Canada and the United States. By James Caird, M.P. Author of "English Agriculture", "Letters on the Corn Crops", "High Farming", "The West of Ireland" etc.  
London: Longman etc. 1859. viii, 128pp.  
[B.M. 10412. b.4.]

1860

192. HANCOCK, WILLIAM. An emigrant's five years in the free states of America.  
London: Newby. 1860. 321pp. map.  
[B.M. 10412. c.31.]

## CHAPTER VI.

### AMERICAN EMPLOYERS, STATES, AND RAILROADS

The promotion of immigration by organized groups in the United States did not begin on a large scale until after the Civil War, when American industry began to recruit labourers in Europe, and the states and land-grant railroads initiated intensive campaigns in Europe to entice settlers to their particular domains.

The organized importation of labour began in 1863 with the establishment of the American Emigrant Company. Before this date the majority of labour contractors relied upon indirect methods of attracting labour and hired the emigrants after their arrival. Opportunities for labour in America were emphasized in guide-books, newspapers, handbills and other advertisements, but almost always the emigrants were left to make their own arrangements for the journey. But throughout the years there were many isolated examples of the importation of workmen by American employers. The English were not required for the heavy manual labour of canal and railroad construction, but certain skilled labour which could not be found in the United States was recruited in England or Scotland.

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1. This recruiting was done by agents, who left few traces in England. Only an examination of company papers in America could give a detailed picture of their activities.

Much of the skilled labour in the early days of the New England textile industry was English or Scots.<sup>1</sup> Although most of the artizan emigration was voluntary, attracted by news of high wages and good conditions in the United States, some skilled workers were imported direct by those companies which could afford to do so.<sup>2</sup> In 1816 the Waltham Company of Massachusetts paid the passage and expenses of a machinist from England,<sup>3</sup> and the practice continued on a small scale right up to the Civil War. One of the directors of the Hamilton Company of Lowell, Massachusetts, travelled to England in 1828 to examine the mills, and to engage workmen.<sup>4</sup> The policy of sending agents abroad to recruit foreign labour was attacked by American workers,<sup>5</sup> but nevertheless the practice continued. English calico printers were imported by the Hamilton and Merrimack companies of Lowell, two companies in Fall River, Connecticut, and by the Cocheco Company of Dover, New Hampshire.<sup>6</sup> More textile workers were imported from England in 1846,<sup>7</sup> and

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1. Caroline F. Ware, The early New England cotton manufacture, (Boston, 1931), p.203.
  2. Ibid. p.206.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid. pp.206-7.
  5. Ibid. pp.233, 233-4.  
R. Ernst, Immigrant Life in New York City, p.101.
  6. C.F. Ware, op.cit., pp.94-5.  
Report on Manufactures, H.C. 690, pp.169, 311, 317.  
(1833). VI, 1.
  7. E. Abbott, Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem, (Chicago, 1926), pp.292-296.

seven years later the agent of the Hadley Falls Company, Holyoke, Massachusetts, imported eighty-two Scottish women weavers. In 1855 the Company sent to England and Scotland for more weavers.<sup>1</sup> Many Scottish textile workers emigrated to the United States. The Glasgow cotton spinners were assisted by their union,<sup>2</sup> and a number of carpet-weavers were engaged by the Thompsonville factory, New York, from 1829 to 1833.<sup>3</sup> The contract between the factory agent and the operatives was probably typical of all such contracts, whether Scottish or English. 'A.B.' of Kilmarnock agreed with James E. Smith, agent of Andrew, Thompson and Co., of New York, to work for the Thompsonville Carpet Manufacturing Company for two years. The sum advanced for his passage would be deducted from his wages in weekly instalments.<sup>4</sup>

A less direct method of recruiting skilled workmen was employed by some masters, who encouraged artisans to emigrate under promise of work as soon as they arrived in the United States. The first handloom weavers who emigrated after the Napoleonic wars found ready employment, and work was also

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1. C. McL. Green, Holyoke, Massachusetts, A Case History of the Industrial Revolution in America, (New Haven, Conn., 1939), p.48, n.65.
  2. Report on Manufactures, 1833, pp.311, 312, 323-4.
  3. Niles' Register, XXXVIII, 158. 24 April 1830.  
J.R. Commons, et al. A Documentary History of American Industrial Society, (Cleveland, Ohio, 1910-11), iv, Supplement, 35, 48-9, 59, 67, 78, 82, 95.
  4. Ibid. pp.120-121.



offered to their friends at home.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the money for the journey was advanced, as when G. Wall offered a loom to James Morris and promised to land fifty dollars for the passage of his wife and children, because he wished to employ the whole family.<sup>2</sup> Handloom weavers continued to emigrate in considerable numbers for another decade, but as their condition deteriorated they could not afford to do so, and by 1840 emigration of handloom weavers to the United States was uncommon.<sup>3</sup>

Textile operatives were not the only skilled workers imported into the United States. Framework knitters<sup>4</sup> and laceworkers<sup>5</sup> were also 'kidnapped to America under pretence of high wages',<sup>6</sup> and machine makers were induced to emigrate. In 1832 James Cox went from Manchester to set up a factory for the production of cotton machinery in New York, in association with Francis Thompson of the Black Ball line of packet ships. He was offered a high wage and a quarter of the profits. Cox took with him the best machine-makers, turners, filers, and

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1. J. Knight, Extracts of Letters ..., First and Second Series, (Manchester, 1818). Passim.
  2. Ibid. First Series, p.36.
  3. Report from the Assistant Hand-Loom Weavers Commissioners, Part II. H.C. 43 I. p.468 (1840). XXIII, 49.  
Part IV. p.57 (1840). XXIV.
  4. Niles' Register, LVIII, 390. 22 August 1840.
  5. Liverpool Mercury, 8 January 1841, p.10.
  6. Ibid.

'fitters-up' he could find. The men were offered higher wages, but entered into no written contract. As American skilled labour became available, however, employers showed a reluctance to employ English artizans, and by 1841 machine makers were not emigrating.<sup>1</sup> Later, English iron workers were imported into Pittsburgh, and elsewhere in Pennsylvania.<sup>2</sup> In 1845 the arrival of two hundred English workmen to be employed in the iron-works at Dannville, Pennsylvania, was reported.<sup>3</sup> Their arrival aroused strong opposition among the American workmen, who accused the capitalists of striving to fill the country with foreign workers - 'English workmen, whose abject condition in their own country has made them tame, submissive and "peacable, orderly citizens"; that is, work fourteen and sixteen hours per day, for what capital sees fit to give them....'<sup>4</sup>

There was not much recruitment in England for the heavy unskilled labour of canal and railroad construction, as Irish or German labourers were preferred. James Caird remarked in 1859 that the English and the Scotch were never seen doing the hard, dirty work. It was left to the Irish, the Negroes, and some Germans.<sup>5</sup> In 1829, however, Henry B. Richards, was

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1. First Report on the Exportation of Machinery, H.C. 201, pp.124-135. (1841). VII, 1.
  2. E. Abbott, op.cit., pp.292-296.
  3. J.R. Commons, op.cit., Vol.VII, pp.88-9.
  4. Ibid. p.89.
  5. J. Caird, Prairie Farming in America, (London, 1859), p.97.

sent to Liverpool as agent of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, to recruit workmen. The imported labourers caused general disorder, therefore the practice was discontinued the same year.<sup>1</sup> Two years later the contractors for the Charleston and Hamburg railroad, faced with a shortage of labour,<sup>2</sup> imported workers from the North and from Europe. In 1856 F.L. Olmsted found that the white labourers in a Virginia coal mine were almost all English or Welsh.<sup>3</sup>

The organized importation of labour was unknown before the Civil War, but during the ten years preceding the outbreak of war the beginnings of state and railroad promotion of immigration can be seen. After the Civil War, especially in the 1870s and 1880s, many American states, both in the west and south, attempted to persuade immigrants to settle within their boundaries, but the movement to attract immigrants had begun before 1861 in some of the new states of the northwest.

In 1842 a meeting was held in Ann Arbor, Michigan, to devise some means of attracting emigrants.<sup>4</sup> The complaint was

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1. G.W. Ward, The Early Development of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Project, (Baltimore, 1899), pp.90-92.
  2. C.E. MacGill, Transportation in the United States before 1860, p.423.  
See also, A. Redford, Labour Migration in England, p.151.
  3. F.L. Olmsted, Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, (New York, 1859), pp.47-8.
  4. Niles' Register, LXII, 388. 20 August 1842.

made that very few of the emigrants arriving in the United States found their way to Michigan, because interested parties in Buffalo, and other places on the route west, circulated misrepresentations of conditions in the state. No official action was taken until 1845 when a joint resolution was passed by both houses of the state legislature authorising the Governor to appoint an agent to reside in New York, to encourage immigration into the state.<sup>1</sup> The resolution was signed by Governor John S. Barry on March 24th, and on April 19th 1845 John Almy was appointed agent in New York for two months, at a salary of sixty dollars a month. He made some alterations to a pamphlet which he had already prepared,<sup>2</sup> and distributed several thousand copies in New York. Five thousand copies in English and German were distributed in Europe, but the undertaking was abandoned after the two months' experiment.<sup>3</sup> The Governor was convinced that no benefits would result from its further pursuit.<sup>4</sup> Nothing more was done until 1849, when the Governor was once more authorised to appoint an emigration agent in New York. In May Edward H. Thomson, an Englishman by birth, opened an office in New York.<sup>5</sup>

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1. W.L. Jenks, 'Michigan Immigration', Michigan Hist. Mag., XXVIII, (1944), p.69.
  2. J. Almy, State of Michigan. 1845. To Emigrants, (New York, 1845).
  3. W.L. Jenks, op.cit., pp.69-71.  
C.N. Fuller, ed. Messages of the Governors of Michigan, (Lansing, 1926), Vol.2, p.51.
  4. Ibid. p.178.
  5. W.L. Jenks, op.cit., pp.75.



He prepared a pamphlet in English and German, accompanied by a map of the state. Another edition was prepared in English alone, and seven thousand copies distributed. Thomson obtained certificates from the New York Commissioners of Emigration, the Mayor of New York, and the German Society of New York, stating that emigrants might have full confidence in him. In January 1850 the agent estimated that he had been the means of sending 2,800 immigrants to Michigan, and presented a bill for fifteen hundred dollars, which was paid.<sup>1</sup> The same year both houses of the state legislature passed a bill appointing Thomson as agent to encourage immigration. He was to reside in New York for seven months and receive a salary of twelve hundred dollars. Governor Barry vetoed the bill because, 'The peculiar advantages offered to the immigrant by Michigan are so prominent in their character, that they must be known to all seeking a home in the west, and should we express too much anxiety upon the subject and make an unexampled effort to turn public attention to our State, we might thereby create a distrust of the reality of our representations.'<sup>2</sup>

He believed that anyone appointed to an emigration agency should be a native of the country from which emigration was expected, and spend most of his time in his native land, as only there could the direction of emigration be influenced to any appreciable extent.<sup>3</sup>

There was no further attempt to promote immigration to

1. Ibid. pp.75-78.

2. G.N. Fuller, op.cit., p.177.

3. Ibid. pp.178-179.

Michigan until 1859, although in January 1853 Governor Robert McClelland suggested that steps should be taken to induce immigration.<sup>1</sup> Six years later Governor Moses Wisner complained that for twenty years emigration had been flowing past Michigan, and five-sixths of the state was still a wilderness. He continued, 'Of what use to us are our vast woodlands, without the laborer to clear and cultivate them? Or of what consequence are mines of copper, iron and coal, hid in the bowels of the earth, with no hand to develop and make them productive? The advantages of settlement within our State should be made known to the emigrant. He should be made acquainted with the extent of navigable waters surrounding us and within our limits - with the fisheries upon our shores - with our vast forests of pine and timber - with the mines of iron, copper, and coal - with our beds of gypsum, and springs of saline - with the salubrity of our climate, and productiveness of our soil. A knowledge of all the great agricultural resources of our State should be brought home to him, that he may thereby be induced to settle among us, and aid in making productive the great natural resources of one of the finest States in this Union.'<sup>2</sup>

The Governor's suggestion was adopted and two Commissioners of Emigration were appointed, Rudolf Diepenbeck in New York, and George F. Veenfliet in Detroit.<sup>3</sup> Both the agents were German born and naturally confined their activities almost entirely to their former countrymen. Diepenbeck obtained the right of admission to Castle Garden, the landing place for emigrants, and prepared a handbook in German, and a two page leaflet in English. In August 1859 Veenfliet suggested that an English

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1. Ibid. p.236.

2. Ibid. p.362.

3. W.L. Jenks, op.cit. pp.79-80.

edition of the handbook should be prepared, and Diepenbeck asked that an agent should be sent to Europe, but no action was taken.<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners persuaded about fifteen hundred Germans to settle in Michigan. Governor Wisner recommended the continuance of their offices in January 1861,<sup>2</sup> but the Civil War intervened, and it was not until 1869 that a Commissioner of Emigration was again appointed, to reside in Germany.<sup>3</sup>

Michigan's pioneer efforts to promote immigration were soon followed by Wisconsin.<sup>4</sup> In 1852 Gysbert Van Steenwyck was appointed Commissioner of Emigration in New York for the state of Wisconsin. He was allowed a salary of fifteen hundred dollars, twelve hundred and fifty dollars for the preparation of pamphlets, and one thousand and fifty dollars for other expenses. He opened an office in New York in May 1852, and later employed as assistants a Norwegian, two Germans, and an Englishman. Pamphlets were printed in German, Norwegian, Dutch and English, and the majority distributed in New York, although a few thousand were sent to Europe. The Commissioner soon realised that the only effective way of

1. Ibid. pp.80-82.  
G.N. Fuller, op.cit., pp.400-401.
2. Ibid. pp.401-402.
3. W.L. Jenks, op.cit., p.84.
4. T.C. Blegen, 'The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants', Wis. Mag. of Hist., III, (1919).

persuading settlers to emigrate to Wisconsin was to reach them before they left Europe. He therefore urged that an agent should be sent to visit the chief points of departure in the United Kingdom, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Sweden, Norway and Switzerland, but his advice was not taken. In 1853 Van Steenwyck was replaced as Commissioner by Herman Haertel. Haertel continued Van Steenwyck's work by advertising in New York and some European papers, and by distributing thirty thousand pamphlets, half in Europe. Letters of enquiry from both America and Europe were answered, and many immigrants, mainly Germans, called at the office for information.<sup>1</sup> Haertel was replaced by Frederick W. Horn in 1854, and for six months a branch office was established at Quebec. The work of promoting immigration to Wisconsin continued until 1855 when the office of Commissioner of Emigration was abolished, and the state's immigration activities were not resumed for twelve years.<sup>2</sup>

One of the official Wisconsin pamphlets will serve to illustrate the type of information put out by the states seeking to attract immigrants. A pamphlet published in English in 1852<sup>3</sup> was calculated to leave the reader with the impression that Wisconsin was the most desirable residence in

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1. E. Abbott, Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem, pp.129-133.
  2. Ibid. pp.132-133.  
T.C. Blegen, op.cit., pp.4-10.
  3. Wisconsin [May, 1852]. [B.M. 10411. bbb.19.]



America. It was 'the healthiest of the western states',<sup>1</sup> the beauty of its landscape had no rival, and millions of its beautiful acres were still untouched. The state possessed fine building stone and marble, and rich deposits of iron, copper, lead and other minerals. The soil was highly productive and the land ideal for the settler. The state's greatest attraction was to the agriculturist, although artizans would easily find employment, and the pine forests would attract the lumberman. Wisconsin possessed considerable trading advantages, and many schemes for internal improvement were in progress. In none of the new states would the means of education be more ample. A statistical appendix gave details of population, United States land districts, school, university and state lands for sale, and figures of the lead and lumber trade. It was claimed, 'Wisconsin is destined to a more rapid development and an earlier maturity, than has heretofore marked the history of States, under the most favorable conditions.'<sup>2</sup>

The territory of Minnesota<sup>3</sup> soon followed Wisconsin's example, and in 1854 the legislature considered a bill to provide for an emigration commissioner in New York, but no action was taken. The next year, however, a similar measure

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1. Ibid. p.3.

2. Ibid. p.11.

3. Livia Appel and T.C. Blegen, 'Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota during the Territorial Period', Minn. Hist. Bulletin, V, (1923).  
T.C. Blegen, 'Minnesota's Campaign for Immigrants', Year Book of the Swedish Hist. Soc. of America, XI, (1926).

became law,<sup>1</sup> and from 1855 to 1857 Eugene Burnand acted as Emigration Commissioner in New York for Minnesota. He confined his attention to attempting to persuade German, Belgian,<sup>2</sup> Swiss and French immigrants to settle in Minnesota.<sup>2</sup> No other emigration commissioner was appointed between 1857 and 1864, although the first state legislature in 1858 authorised the publication of a descriptive pamphlet to advertise Minnesota's<sup>3</sup> resources.

The only other state to attempt to promote immigration before the Civil War was Iowa.<sup>4</sup> Governor Stephen Hempstead urged the appointment of an emigration commissioner to reside<sup>5</sup> in New York, in 1852 and 1854, but no action was taken.<sup>5</sup> In 1858 however, an Emigration Association was organized in Dubuque to disseminate information on the advantages of Iowa to immigrants. A travelling representative was appointed and pamphlets printed.<sup>6</sup> Two years later the state appointed a commissioner of emigration for two years with a salary of

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1. L. Appel and T.C. Blegen, op.cit., pp.177-179.
  2. Ibid. pp.169-171, 172-203.
  3. T.C. Blegen, op.cit., p.10.
  4. M.L. Hansen, 'Official Encouragement of Immigration to Iowa', Iowa Journal of Hist. and Politics, XIX, (1921).
  5. B.F. Shambaugh, ed. Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa, (Iowa City, 1903), I, 430, 459-460.
  6. M.L. Hansen, op.cit., pp.165-166.

\$2,400. Lieutenant Governor Nicholas J. Rusch, a native of Germany, was appointed Commissioner, and he opened his office in May 1860. It was closed two years later as it had not proved successful in directing immigrants to Iowa. Rusch attributed his failure to the fact that most of the emigrants had made their plans before leaving their native countries, and he suggested that any future efforts should be directed to foreign countries. But a Board of Immigration was not formed until 1870.<sup>1</sup>

The four states which made the first few tentative attempts to direct emigrants to their own borders before the Civil War paid particular attention to the Germans and Scandinavians, and it was with these races that they had their small success. The activities of all four northwestern states followed the same pattern, the appointment of an agent in New York, the publication of pamphlets, and advertisements in newspapers, all prepared for the immigrant after his arrival in the United States. But the agents soon realised that these efforts in America were ineffective, and when the intensive campaigns for the promotion of immigration began after the Civil War, attention was directed to Europe.

The land grant railroads of the west followed the example of the states and attempted to promote immigration, by the sale and settlement of their lands. The first railroad

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1. Ibid. pp.166-170.

to adopt this policy, and the only one to extend its activities to England before the Civil War, was the Illinois Central.<sup>1</sup> The railroad's land grant bill had been approved in 1850, its charter granted in 1851, and its construction begun in 1852, to be completed four years later.<sup>2</sup> The colonization activities of the Illinois Central were sporadic before the 1860s, and practically nothing at all was done before 1855.<sup>3</sup> The first extensive advertising scheme was confined to America.<sup>4</sup> In 1855 thousands of circulars were sent out to farmers in the eastern and southern states, and displayed in the post-offices. Advertisements were placed in the principal papers in the East, in small town papers and emigrant gazettes, and many pamphlets were distributed through agricultural societies, newspapers, and travelling agents. In 1855 and 1856 placards were placed in the New York City cars, and from 1857 to 1858 an 'intelligence office' in New York supplied information and employed three runners to work among the newly arrived immigrants. Pressure from the London shareholders, who considered the large expenditure unwise, then led to the curtailment of the advertising campaign, but towards the end of 1860 it was

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1. P.W. Gates, The Illinois Central Railroad and its Colonization Work, (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), p.188.

2. Ibid. pp.41, 61, 89, 92, 98.

3. Railway Times, 18 April 1857, p.547.

4. P.W. Gates, op.cit., pp.171 ff.



resumed, and the same methods employed. The London committee of shareholders had been formed in 1857 to protect the interests of the British shareholders, who now held the majority of the stock, and it was particularly interested in the management of the Land Department of the railroad.<sup>1</sup>

During these years the Illinois Central also began to attempt to stimulate foreign immigration. In 1854 Oscar Malmberg was sent to Norway and Sweden, but he returned to America the same year. He again went back to Scandinavia for a year in 1860. Agents were placed at Quebec and Chicago to direct immigrants to the railroad's lands, and an attempt was made to attract Germans to Illinois.<sup>2</sup>

In England both the railroad Land Department and the British shareholders tried to interest the public in the Illinois lands. The shareholders sent an investigating committee to America in 1857 and from then onwards they took an active interest in the management of the Illinois Central. They helped to distribute the advertising material prepared by the Land Department,<sup>3</sup> but the most effective propaganda was provided by two prominent British shareholders. Richard Cobden was an investor in the railroad, and in 1859 he visited America to investigate the affairs of the company.<sup>4</sup> He

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1. Railway Times, 5 May 1860, p.484.

2. P.W. Gates, op.cit., pp.189-214.

3. Ibid. p.214.

4. Ibid. pp.81-82.

returned full of enthusiasm for the Illinois lands, believing that they would, 'if judiciously managed, ultimately defray the whole expense of the railway'.<sup>1</sup> The Land Department constituted the chief value of the undertaking, and he advised that all the land possible should be sold for cash.<sup>2</sup> Cobden's interest in the lands was echoed by other British shareholders. 'Bristolensis' agreed that the land question was of the greatest consequence,<sup>3</sup> but a less optimistic correspondent of the Railway Times, while agreeing that investment in the Illinois Central was a land not a railway speculation, doubted the success of the speculation. Since the panic of 1857 and the failure of the wheat crop in 1858 the farmers in Illinois had been unable to pay even the interest on their purchase money.<sup>4</sup>

The most active agent for the railroad in England was James Caird, M.P., a well-known agriculturist. He was selected by the British investors in 1858 to investigate the Land Department, although he was not at that time a shareholder. Caird sailed from Liverpool to New York, and then travelled to Chicago via Montreal, Ottawa and Detroit. He examined the company's lands by traversing the line and driving about the

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1. Railway Times, 16 July 1859, pp.809-810. Report from Cobden.
  2. Ibid. 8 January 1859, p.31.
  3. Ibid. 28 January 1860, p.97.
  4. Ibid. 7 January 1860, pp.16-17.

country on each side of it. The report made to the English shareholders was entirely favourable. Land sales should be encouraged as 'every acre of good land along their line which remains unbroken, or in the hands of people who are unable to cultivate it, is an annual loss to the Company of at least one dollar an acre.'<sup>1</sup> It was therefore essential that only those with capital should be encouraged to settle on the lands. Settlers should not be allowed to enter large quantities of land, which they could not possibly make productive, merely by the payment of a deposit of six per cent on the purchase money. Only young farmers with capital, or young hard-working farm labourers, should be encouraged to emigrate to Illinois. All townspeople were unfit for a pioneering life. Caird sent samples of prairie soils from Illinois to be analysed by Professor Augustus Voelcker, of the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, and consulting chemist to the Royal Agricultural Society of England. Professor Voelcker's favourable report,<sup>2</sup> supporting Caird's eulogy of Illinois, was very effective propaganda for the Illinois Central Railroad. As the editor of the Railway Times said:

'Mr. Caird's reputation as a farmer and agriculturist is known throughout the world, and to say that he gives the sanction of his high authority to all, and more than all, that has ever been written about the company's

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1. Ibid. 8 January 1859, p.31.  
Caird's report to the English shareholders.
  2. Ibid. 15 January 1859, pp.55-6.  
Printed by Caird as an appendix to his Prairie Farming in America, pp.125-128.

lands, and that, too, with the sanction of Professor Voelcker, is to give a position to the property it has never before held.' <sup>1</sup>

A number of letters by Caird on the Illinois Central lands were published in England, followed by a book addressed <sup>2</sup> to the English farmer. The time had arrived 'when the farmers must thin the ranks of home competition by sending off the young and enterprising to countries where they may become the owners of a fertile soil, and profitably contribute to supply the wants of the old country, whose land can no longer meet the demands of her dense population.' <sup>3</sup> The land in the upper Mississippi valley, through which Caird had travelled, offered the most attractions to English farmers - a virgin, fertile soil without forests, with rich mineral deposits, good communications by railway and lake, and good markets. <sup>4</sup> Caird's report <sup>5</sup> on Canada was so unfavourable that it brought forth numerous replies by Canadian writers. <sup>6</sup> Even the western parts of America suffered from greater or lesser disadvantages, when compared with Illinois. Good land in Wisconsin was either dear or far from the railways; <sup>7</sup> Minnesota suffered from

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1. Railway Times, 8 January 1859, p.39.
  2. J. Caird, Prairie Farming in America. With Notes by the way on Canada and the United States, (London, 1859).
  3. Ibid. p.3.
  4. Ibid. p.4.  
P.W. Gates, The Illinois Central, pp.216-218.
  5. J. Caird, op.cit., pp.11-28.
  6. Caird's Slanders on Canada Answered and Refuted, (Toronto, P.W. Gates, op.cit., pp.220-221. 1859).
  7. J. Caird, op.cit., pp.96-97.



plagues of grasshoppers and the fine land was inaccessible;<sup>1</sup>  
 in Iowa the land was less fertile, dearer, and less profitable  
 than in Illinois, and also plagued with grasshoppers;<sup>2</sup> and  
 Missouri was a slave state and therefore not attractive to  
 Europeans.<sup>3</sup> The booklet was published in both London and  
 New York, and distributed in thousands in Great Britain and  
 Canada, as propaganda for the Illinois Central.<sup>4</sup>

Realising the value of Caird's writings, the Executive  
 Committee of the railroad offered him a large block of land  
 for re-sale, or the exclusive right of selling the lands in  
 the United Kingdom for three years, with a commission on sales.  
 Caird therefore planned a land company in connection with  
 Cobden and other investors, but the scheme was abandoned, and  
 he then opened a London agency for the Land Department.  
 Pamphlets were distributed and the lands advertised, but with-  
 out success, and the agency was closed.<sup>5</sup> The editor of the  
Railway Times considered that the activities of the Land  
 Department had been an 'utter failure'.<sup>6</sup> In 1861 it was

1. Ibid. pp.106, 109.
2. Ibid. pp.110-111.
3. Ibid. p.112.
4. Caird's Slanders on Canada ..., p.1.
5. P.W. Gates, op.cit., pp.221-223.  
 A.C. Cole, The Era of the Civil War 1848-1870. (The  
 Centennial History of Illinois, Vol.III, 1919), p.21.
6. Railway Times, 21 April 1860, pp.440-441.

proposed to send an agent to England to continue Caird's work, but the Civil War intervened, and the propaganda was limited to the posting of five thousand handbills in England, Scotland<sup>1</sup> and Ireland.

The attempt to promote emigration from England to Illinois in the late 1850s was not successful, although in 1859 a few English and Scots farmers settled on the Illinois Central lands, and the British investors made an agreement with the Grand Trunk railroad of Canada to carry the emigrants to Illinois.<sup>2</sup> The land commissioner reported from Chicago<sup>3</sup> that he received many letters of enquiry from abroad, but after 1861 there were no organized efforts to promote emigration from England by the Illinois Central. The investors, however, kept the road before the public.<sup>4</sup>

Other land grant railroads began to bring their lands on the market in the late 1850s.<sup>5</sup> The Fort Des Moines Navigation Company began an extensive campaign to attract immigrants in 1856; the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad brought its lands on the market in 1858 and established an agency in Boston three years later; the Pacific Railroad, and the Dubuque and

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1. P.W. Gates, op.cit., pp.223-224.

2. Ibid. pp.223, 234.  
A.C. Cole, op.cit., p.21.

3. Railway Times, 28 July 1860, p.839.

4. P.W. Gates, op.cit., p.224.

5. Ibid. p.184.

Pacific Railroad began to sell their lands in 1859, the Mobile and Ohio in 1860, and the Galena and Fond du Lac in 1861. But none of these companies extended their advertising schemes to Europe before 1861.<sup>1</sup>

The tentative attempts made to promote immigration to the United States from England before the Civil War did not affect the volume or direction of the emigration from English ports. The early demand for skilled workmen died away as soon as American workers had learnt the new processes. States and railroads limited their activities to agents at the ports of entry, and advertisement, although they were beginning to realise that only by sending agents to Europe to influence the emigrants before they left home, could they direct them to the lands in which they were interested.

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1. For later railroad colonization plans see, R.C. Overton, Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad, (Cambridge, Mass., 1941).

## CONCLUSION

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Increasingly from 1815 the English, in common with other Europeans, looked to the United States as the land of opportunity, where any industrious man could prosper. They left the country because of a fear of hardship, or a dissatisfaction with opportunities at home, in the belief that their own personal circumstances would improve in the new land. The majority paid their own expenses and made their own arrangements, but all were influenced in some way by those who made it their business to promote, or facilitate, emigration.

The discussion of emigration and colonization, which was common in the first part of the nineteenth century, provides an illustration of the widespread interest in the subject. Although Gibbon Wakefield and other theorists were not concerned with emigration to the United States, they helped to secure the acceptance of emigration as a remedy for distress or dissatisfaction with conditions at home. Many would accept their conclusions as to the necessity of emigration, while choosing a more easily accessible destination than Australia, and a more attractive one than British North America. Moreover, some writers, such as Malthus, McCulloch and the Edinburgh Reviewers considered it unimportant where an emigrant settled, provided that he left England.



While the authors of plans of colonization, and most of the philanthropists, promoted emigration to the colonies, however, there were many people who had a direct personal interest in attempting to persuade Englishmen to settle in the United States. Some of their activities arose from conditions in England, some from conditions in America, and some from the emigration movement itself.

There were many unemployed labourers in the agricultural countries of England in the last years of the old poor law, and the poor rates were high. It was hoped that if the surplus labourers could be removed in sufficient numbers the rates would fall. Therefore from the beginning of the depression which followed the peace of 1815 until the whole system of poor relief was reorganized in 1834 many of the parishes in the rural districts helped their paupers to emigrate. Their destination was of no importance to the ratepayers, and the first paupers were sent to British North America or the United States indiscriminately. Australia was too far, the ships few and passage expensive, and to be sent to Australia savoured too much of deportation. The destination of the first emigrants was all important, however, in determining where the paupers from a particular district should be sent. Before 1834 the majority of parish emigrants sailed for New York. Ships were frequent and passage cheap. Reports from those sent to British North America were not encouraging, and therefore the colonies did not attract great numbers. The

practice of sending paupers to America had become common enough by 1834 for a clause to be inserted in the Poor Law Amendment Act authorising parishes to raise money for emigration, provided that the emigrants went to some British colony. The expected rush of pauper emigration did not take place, however, and parish emigrants formed but a small proportion of the total emigration from English ports.

It was the districts with the highest poor rates which had resorted to emigration, and when a considerable number had been sent to America the object of their departure was realised - the poor rates declined. Some of the paupers succeeded in building a better life for themselves in the new country, although the number of failures was probably high, for they were deposited in a strange land with only a pound or two in their pockets and usually devoid of the energetic self reliance needed for success. Some returned to their parishes, but those who remained in America, if they could survive the first difficult years, had greater opportunities for a more satisfactory existence, and the chance of seeing their children prosper. The Poor Law Amendment Act stopped the shipment of parish emigrants to the United States. The movement had done nothing to solve the problem of the poor, but it had provided a partial remedy in a few instances, and was on the whole a benefit to both the ratepayers and the paupers.

The officials of the trade societies were also faced with the problem of surplus labour. In the 'forties they

began to realise that strikes brought them no advantages, so long as the supply of workers exceeded the demand. One of the remedies suggested was to help members to emigrate. Again the officials were not concerned with the destination of the emigrants. Many chose to go to the United States, although Australia in the 'fifties held out more attractions for the settler than it had done in the 'twenties. The United States, however, offered much greater opportunities for skilled craftsmen, and some preferred that country for political as well as economic reasons. The results of the trade union emigration were disappointing and the experiment had been abandoned by the late 'fifties. The emigration funds had not been well-supported by the members, who showed a disinclination for leaving the country. Those who took advantage of the benefit were usually the young and hardworking, whom the trade did not wish to lose, not the idle or the unemployed. In any event the numbers assisted were too small to affect conditions at home. Later in the century many unions revived their emigration benefits to help the individual members, but not as instruments of policy.

The parish authorities and the trade societies wished to remove men from England, their destination being only of secondary importance. But in the United States were other agencies which, to secure some personal advantage, wanted to attract men to America. As American employers began to establish new industries, or introduce new processes, they

found that the necessary skilled workmen were unobtainable in the United States. Therefore they sent agents to England to recruit workers. The importation of skilled workers never attained great proportions, because as soon as the English workmen had trained their American successors their initial high wages were reduced, and recruitment from England stopped. It was too expensive to import labourers from England when American labour was available, and there were thousands of immigrants in the ports looking for work.

The American states and railroads of the west needed settlers to help in their development, and England was only one, and not the most important, of the European countries to which their propaganda was directed. As almost all their advertisement, in the early stages of immigration promotion, was confined to the ports of entry, its results were disappointing. Individual land speculators were more successful, although the majority relied on the indirect methods of promotion literature to attract emigrants to the United States, selling lands to them after their arrival in America. Only those with land which they found difficult to sell in the United States, made all-out attempts to sell in England. They appointed agents who then made their own arrangements. This often entailed the formation of a society or company in addition to the usual methods of advertisement. They gained their success in the periods of greatest exodus, when more people were considering emigrating and were persuaded to



invest their savings in the small tracts of lands so alluringly described. The actual numbers sent out by each land agent or company never amounted to more than a few hundred, and fell off when the reports of disappointed settlers began to come in, but their combined effect on emigration was considerable, particularly when the indirect influence of their propaganda is taken into account.

Some agencies interested in the promotion of emigration first grew out of the movement, and then in turn exerted an influence upon its volume and direction. The emigrant trade grew up to satisfy a demand, but those engaged in it, at first concerned merely with facilitating the passage of the emigrants, soon turned into promoters. The more people they could persuade to emigrate the greater was their profit. Societies formed to help the poorer emigrants to save the money for their passage, discovered that to function successfully they must secure more members. The first emigrant guide books were written to supply information unobtainable elsewhere, but soon most publications were promotion literature, often used by speculative agencies to supplement their other activities.

All these agencies wished to promote emigration to secure some personal advantage. The country farmers hoped to lower the poor rates, the trade societies to secure an increase in wages, the American employers to learn new processes, the states to hasten their development, the

railroads to pay for the construction of the roads and provide traffic, and the land speculators and promoters of speculative societies to make a profit. Even the non-speculative societies, formed initially by the few for their own convenience, came to depend on an increasing membership, and numbers in the emigrant trade depended for a livelihood on their success in persuading people to emigrate. Their success varied, and was never complete, but taken together their activity was extensive and important.

Whatever may have been the immediate success or failure of each promotion agency, it is probable that their greatest influence was indirect. The agents of passenger brokers put up handbills and talked with the local inhabitants, painting inviting pictures of life in America. Agents of landowners, societies and other speculators held meetings and gave lectures. For the literate man there was a mass of published material. There were advertisements in the newspapers, and items of emigration news, all working to familiarise every man with the idea of going to America if times became too difficult. In his decision to leave the country the emigrant was influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by all he had heard and read, and once the decision was taken, his destination was determined to a great extent by promotion propaganda. The farmers heard of the cheap lands of the western states, and followed Birkbeck. The artisans heard of highly paid labour, and began to save for the journey to a land where the only essential for success was

the willingness to labour.

It might be argued that the importance of the agencies for the promotion of emigration is over exaggerated, but it remains true that no literate man, and few even of the illiterate, could remain ignorant of the fact that many of their fellow countrymen were leaving England for America. And if any man became so dissatisfied with the present, or afraid for the future, that he would contemplate the important step of leaving his own country for the new lands of the world, there were many people ready and willing to put themselves at his service. Guides, newspapers, journals, handbills, lectures and meetings provided information. There were many societies and companies soliciting his membership. Land speculators were only too willing to sell him a plot of land, and passenger brokers were eager to arrange his passage. Few can have emigrated without coming into contact with some persons interested in the promotion of emigration, and all must have been affected by the image of America as the land of opportunity, which they helped to create.

The outbreak of the Civil War in the United States is a convenient point at which to end this study, for after its close the conditions operating during the great migration of the late 'forties and early 'fifties had altered. The changes did not come suddenly and were not directly caused by the war, but when the number of emigrants which had been falling since the late 'fifties, began to increase in 1862, it was

apparent that new factors in the promotion of emigration were coming to the fore. The old unreliable sailing ships were giving way to steamships, with their regular times of departure. Emigrants no longer needed to stay in the ports for long periods, and the influence of agents, runners, and lodging house keepers waned. The early nineteenth century view on the necessity and desirability of emigration was no longer widely held. Some English agencies continued to promote emigration to the United States, but more and more turned their attention to the colonies. Their place was taken by the peculiarly American agencies, the employers of labour, the states, and the railroads.



## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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### PRIMARY MATERIAL

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#### Manuscript.

The manuscript material consists principally of public records, parish records, and trade union records.

The most useful public records were the Colonial Office papers dealing with emigration, classified in the Public Record Office under C.O. 384, and the letter books of the Agent-General for Emigration and the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners classified under C.O. 386. The consular reports from the United States, in F.C.5.America II, contain incidental information on English emigration to the United States. The papers of the Poor Law Commissioners classified under M.H. contain information on pauper emigration after 1834, and may be supplemented by the Home Office papers, in H.O. 73.

The parish records used were those in the Essex Record Office at Chelmsford, classified under D/P, the Barking records kept in the Town Hall, and the papers kept in the parish chest in the village of Burwash, Sussex. [See Chapter II, Bibliographical note 1.]

Section A of the Webb Trade Union Collection at the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, consists of transcripts and notes made by Sidney and Beatrice Webb from original trade union documents, many of which have now disappeared. The extensive collection of the London Society of Compositors, containing both manuscript and printed material, was used for the study of the Compositors' Emigration Aid Society. [See Chapter III, Bibliographical note.]

Other manuscript material includes the minute books of the American Chamber of Commerce in Liverpool, deposited in the Liverpool City Reference Library. There are four large volumes, covering the years 1801 to 1908. Some of the returns made by emigration companies to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies were in manuscript. They are now bound in volumes of returns of extinct companies. The correspondence of the early railway companies, which should prove fruitful where it still exists, has not yet been classified in any way, and therefore is not available to the student. The minute books of the companies which later became part of the old L.M.S. system, may be consulted at Euston.

Printed.

Official.

Numerous volumes of Parliamentary Papers deal with emigration from the United Kingdom. Although concerned primarily with the movement to the colonies, they also contain

much information on emigration to the United States. The General Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, made annually from 1842, were of particular value. The Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1835 to 1847, and of the Poor Law Board from 1848, were used in the study of pauper emigration. The following were also used:

Select Committee on Artizans and Machinery. Six reports.  
H.C. 51 (1824). V, 1.

Report from the Select Committee on the Wages of Labourers in Agriculture. H.C. 392 (1824). VI, 401.

Report from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom. H.C. 404 (1826). IV, 1.

Select Committee on Emigration. Three reports.  
H.C. 88, 237, 550 (1826-7). V, 1.

Report from the Select Committee on Manufactures.  
H.C. 690 (1833). VI, 1.

Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws. H.C. 44 (1834). XXVII.  
Appendix A, Assistant Commissioners' Reports. Part I  
H.C. 44 (1834). XXVIII. Parts II and III.  
H.C. (1834). XXIX.  
Appendix C, Communications. H.C. 44 (1834). XXXVII.

Select Committee on the State of Agriculture. First and Second Reports. H.C. 79, 189 (1836). VIII Part I, 1, 225.  
Third Report. H.C. 465 (1836). VIII Part II, 1.

Select Committee on the Exportation of Machinery.  
Two reports. H.C. 201, 400 (1841). VII, 1, 265.

Report from the Select Committee on the Passengers' Act.  
H.C. 632 (1851). XIX, 1.

Select Committee on Emigrant Ships. First and Second Reports. H.C. 163, 349 (1854). XIII, 1, 187.

Between 1843 and 1877 the Emigration Commissioners issued a Colonization Circular.

The following Congressional papers were used:

- Report from the Secretary of the Treasury, relative to the Deportation of Paupers from Great Britain . . . .  
Senate Doc. No.5, 24 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol.I.
- Message on the Importation of Paupers. House Doc. No.370,  
25 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol.X.
- Report from the Select Committee on Foreign Paupers and Naturalization Laws. House Report No.1040, 25 Cong.,  
2 Sess., Vol.IV.
- Message on the Importation of Foreign Criminals and Paupers.  
Senate Doc. No.161, 29 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol.III.
- Report on Foreign Criminals and Paupers. Representative Fuller.  
House Report No.359, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.III.
- Message on Contracts for Emigrants' Passage. Senate Doc.  
No.26, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.VII.
- Reports from the Immigration Commission. Volume 3.  
Senate Doc. No.756, 61 Cong., 3 Sess.  
Volume 39. Senate Doc. No.758, 61 Cong., 3 Sess.  
Volume 42. Senate Doc. No.785, 61 Cong., 3 Sess.

The documents of the States were not widely used. For those of the city and state of New York dealing with the problem of immigration see the bibliography in R. Ernst, Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-63, (New York, 1949), and W.A. Cook, General Index to the Documents of the State of New York from 1777 to 1871, (Albany, 1871). The following collections were also used: G.N. Fuller, (ed.), Messages of the Governors of Michigan, 4 vols. (Lansing, 1925-27), and B.F. Schambaugh, (ed.), Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa, 7 vols. (Iowa City, 1903-1905).



Trade Union.

There is an extensive collection of rules, reports and other printed matter in the Webb Trade Union Collection, London School of Economics and Political Science. Many of the early records, however, have disappeared, although the content of some is preserved in the manuscript section of the Webb Collection. The London Society of Compositors possesses a large collection of its own records, manuscript and printed.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.  
Rules, 1860.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Rules, Minutes of Delegate Meetings, Annual Reports, Propositions and Suggestions for the Consideration of Members, 1852, 1857.

Friendly Society of Iron Founders. Monthly Journal and Report, 1874.

Friendly Society of Operative Stonemasons. Rules.

Potters' Emigration Society. Rules of the London district committee.

Emigration Societies and Companies.

Most emigration societies and companies can only be traced through newspapers, journals, and, occasionally, pamphlets. They often included the prospectus in their advertisements, but any other papers have disappeared. The records of a few societies have, however, survived. The Rules, 1842, and Additions and Amendments, 1848, of the British Temperance Emigration Society are in the Friendly Societies' Registry Office. The Articles of the Central Emigration Society,

Leamington, 1834, are in C.O. 384/36. A copy of the prospectus of the British Mutual Emigration Association, 1847, is in C.O. 384/80, and of the prospectus of the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company, 1850, in C.O. 384/85. Some handbills and pamphlets describing the Benefit Emigration and Colonization Societies, are in C.O. 384/89, 91.

The returns of the following companies are in the Companies' Registration Office. All were short-lived, and the majority provisionally registered only, and therefore the returns do not provide much information. Their greatest importance is in revealing the organization of the companies, and the names of those connected with them.

- C.448. British and American Colonization Emigration and Land Company. Provisionally registered, August 1849. Name changed to Universal Emigration and Colonization Company, February 1850. Completely registered, December 1850.
3971. British Universal Emigration Company. Provisionally registered, July 1852. Name changed to the British Colonies Conveyance Company, April 1853.
3986. The Emigrants' Own Shipping and Emigration Company. Provisionally registered, July 1852.
3313. Georgian Land and Railway Company. Provisionally registered, April 1849. Name changed to Georgian Emigration Company, August 1849.
3183. Mutual Guarantee Emigration Association. Provisionally registered, May 1848.

3245. National Emigration Society. Provisionally registered, December 1848.
- C.81. Southampton Emigration and Shipping Company. Provisionally registered, July 1845. Completely registered, February 1846. Dissolved, July 1849.
2299. Texas Colonization and Railway Company. Provisionally registered, October 1845.
3261. Western Land and Land Agency. Provisionally registered, January 1849. Name changed to Rio Del Norte Land and Mining Company, August 1849. Name changed to United States Land Company, March 1850. Undertaking abandoned, April 1850.
3074. Western Virginia Land Company. Provisionally registered, July 1847.

#### Books and Pamphlets.

For a list of the numerous emigrant guide books see Chapter V, and for the books relating to Morris Birkbeck's settlement in Illinois see Chapter II, Bibliographical Note 2.

- J. Barrow : Facts relating to Northeast Texas . . . ., (London, 1849).
- British Temperance Emigration Society: Description of the Wisconsin Territory . . ., (Liverpool, 1843).
- J. Caird : Prairie Farming in America. With Notes by the Way on Canada and the United States, (London, 1859).
- J. Chickering : Immigration into the United States, (Boston, 1848).

Emigration from the British Islands, considered with regard to its bearing and influence upon the interests and prosperity of Great Britain, (London, 1862).

Emigration and the Condition of the Labouring Poor. A Letter addressed to the gentlemen of the Grand Jury, and other land-owners of the county of Essex, (Colchester, 1832).

Emigration and Superabundant Population considered, in a letter to Lord Ashley. By Amicus Populi, (London, 1848).

R.C. Gist : Why do you go to far distant lands, when an inviting field for emigration lies nearer home? Also, an account of a colony now forming in central and western Virginia, in the counties of Mercer, Wyoming, and Tazewell, (London, 1851).

R. Gouger : Emigration for the relief of parishes practically considered, (London, 1833).

F.B. Head : A few practical arguments against the theory of emigration, (London, 1828).

Hints on Emigration, as the means of effecting the repeal of the Poor Laws, (London, 1828).

D. Hoffman : Views on the formation of a British and American Land and Emigration Company. Addressed to the British Public, (London, 1848).

D. Hoffman : The Fremont Estate: An Address to the British Public, respecting Col. Fremont's leasing powers to the Author, from June, 1850, (London, 1851).

T. Hunt : Report to a meeting of intending emigrants comprehending a practical plan for founding co-operative colonies of united interests in the North-Western Territories of the United States, (London, 1843).

R. Keily : A brief descriptive and statistical sketch of Georgia, United States of America . . . ., 2nd ed., (London, 1849).

E. King : An essay on the creation and advantages of a cultural and commercial triiform stock, as a counter-fund to the National Debt, (London, 1825).



- E. King : On the advantages of a triform system of colonization in South Africa, affording a gloriously splendid prospect for the next generation of mankind, (Bicester, 1844).
- J. Macara : Address to the working classes, on the advancement of their condition and circumstances, (London, 1846).
- M. Marcus : Appeal in behalf of the proposed church and hospital for British emigrants arriving at the port, and in the city of New York, (London, 1848).
- Mutual Guarantee Emigration Association. Sketch of a proposed plan for promoting emigration and colonization, (London, 1848).
- T. Rawlings : Emigration: An address to the clergy of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, on the condition of the working classes, with a few suggestions as to their future welfare, 2nd ed., (Liverpool, 1846).
- E. Smith : Account of a journey through North-Eastern Texas, undertaken in 1849, for the purposes of emigration, (London, 1849).
- Statement of the principles and objects of a proposed society for the cure and prevention of pauperism by means of systematic colonization, (London, 1830).
- G. Strickland : Discourse on the poor laws of England and Scotland, on the state of the poor of Ireland, and on emigration, (London, 1827).
- Texan Emigration and Land Company: Emigration to Texas:- being a prospectus of the advantages offered to emigrants by the Texan Emigration and Land Company, (London, 1843).
- United States Land and Emigration Society: The Emigrant's Directory: by the United States Land and Emigration Society ... (Manchester, 1849).
- [E. Walkinshaw] : Letter to Lieut. Lowe, R.N. .... by a Passenger Broker, (Liverpool, 1838).

Newspapers and Periodicals.

A number of papers and journals were published for the use of emigrants, containing discussions, advice and information, and extracts from guide-books and letters.

Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide, (London, 1841-1843).

Simmonds' Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany, (London, 1844-1848), continued as The Colonial Magazine and East India Review, (London, 1849-1851), continued as The Colonial and Asiatic Review, (London, 1852-1853).

Emigrant and Colonial Advocate, (London, July to September 1848), continued as the Emigrant and Colonial Gazette, (London, Sept. 1848 to Nov. 1849).

Sidney's Emigrant's Journal, (London, 1848-1849), continued as Sidney's Emigrant's Journal and Traveller's Magazine, (London, 1850).

Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger, (London, 1850-1851).

Emigration Record and Colonial Journal, (London, 1856-1858).

The Liverpool Mercury was a most valuable source, both for conditions in Liverpool and for the emigration movement generally. The Potters' Examiner was indispensable for a study of the Potters' Emigration Society, and the Railway Times printed information on the Illinois Central Railroad. Niles' Register was used as a source for American opinion.

The Bookbinders' Trade Circular, (London, 1850-1877).

Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, (London, 1832-1844)  
New Series, (Edinburgh, London, 1844-1854), continued as Chambers's Journal ..., (London and Edinburgh, 1854-)

The Gorgon, (London, 1818-1819).

Liverpool Mercury, (Liverpool, 1811-1904).

Manchester Examiner, (Manchester, 1846-1848),  
incorporated in the Manchester Examiner and Times,  
(Manchester, 1848-1855).

Mark Lane Express, (London, 1832-1924).

The Weekly Register, continued as Niles' Weekly Register,  
continued as Niles' National Register, (Baltimore,  
1811-48).

The Operative, (London, 1851-1852).

The Potters' Examiner and Workman's Advocate,  
(Shelton, 1843, 1944).

Railway Times, (London, 1837-1914).

The Struggle, (Preston, 1842-1846).

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(Chicago, 1926).
- W.F. Adams : Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World  
from 1815 to the Famine, (New Haven, Conn.,  
1932).
- Helen I. Cowan: British Emigration to British North America,  
1783-1837, (Toronto, 1928).
- R. Ernst : Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-63,  
(New York, 1949).
- O. Handlin : Boston's Immigrants 1790-1865: A Study in  
Acculturation, (Cambridge, Mass., 1941).

- M.L. Hansen : The Immigrant in American History,  
(Cambridge, Mass., 1942).
- M.L. Hansen : The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860,  
(Cambridge, Mass., 1945).
- S.C. Johnson : A History of Emigration from the United  
Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912,  
(London, 1913).

Other important books were:

- P.W. Gates : The Illinois Central Railroad and its  
Colonization Work, (Cambridge, Mass., 1934).
- F.H. Hitchens : The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission,  
(Philadelphia, 1931).
- F. Kapp : Immigration and the Commissioners of  
Emigration of the State of New York,  
(New York, 1870).
- W. Kittle : History of the Township and Village of  
Mazomanie, (Madison, Wisconsin, 1900).
- A. Redford : Labour Migration in England, 1800 to 1850,  
(Manchester, 1926).

National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.  
Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, (London, 1860).

The following books were also used:

- R.G. Albion : The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860,  
(New York, 1939).
- H. Ashworth : The Preston Strike, an enquiry into its  
causes and consequences, (Manchester, 1854).
- E.A. Belcher and  
J.A. Williamson: Migration within the Empire,  
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- A.E. Bestor : Backwoods Utopias. The Sectarian and Owenite  
Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America:  
1663-1829, (Philadelphia, 1950).
- F.C. Bowen : A Century of Atlantic Travel, 1830-1930,  
(Boston, 1930).



- W.J. Bromwell : History of Immigration to the United States, (Redfield, New York, 1856).
- W.A. Carrothers : Emigration from the British Isles, (London, 1929).
- J.H. Clapham : An Economic History of Modern Britain, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1939).
- J.R. Commons, et al : A Documentary History of American Industrial Society. 10 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1910-1911).
- Maud F. Davies : Life in an English Village: an economic and historical survey of the parish of Corsley in Wiltshire, (London, 1909).
- J. Duval : Histoire de l'Emigration ... au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, (Paris, 1862).
- W. Forwood : Reminiscences of a Liverpool Shipowner, 1850-1920, (Liverpool, 1920).
- Friendly Society of Ironfounders of England, Ireland and Wales. Centenary Souvenir, 1909, (Manchester, 1909).
- Constance McL. Green : Holyoke Massachusetts. A case history of the Industrial Revolution in America, (New Haven, Conn., 1939).
- E.C. Guillet : The Great Migration: the Atlantic Crossing by Sailing-Ship since 1770, (Toronto, 1937).
- J.L. and B. Hammond : The Village Labourer, 1760-1832, (London, 1911).
- E. Howe and H.E. Waite : The London Society of Compositors (re-established 1848). A Centenary History, (London, 1948).
- G. Howell : Trade Unionism, new and old, (London, 1891).
- C. Jones : Pioneer Shipowners, (Liverpool, 1934).
- London Society of Compositors. Jubilee of the ... Society: a brief record of events prior to and since its re-establishment in 1848, (London, 1898).

- N. Macdonald : Canada, 1763-1841. Immigration and Settlement, (London, 1939).
- B.H. Meyer and Caroline E. MacGill : History of Transportation in the United States before 1860, (Washington, 1917).
- S.E. Morison : The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860, (Boston, 1941).
- R.C. Overton : Burlington West. A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad, (Cambridge, Mass., 1941).
- H. Slatter (comp.) and R.Hackett (ed.) : The Typographical Association: a fifty years' record, 1849-1899, (Manchester, 1899).
- D.B. Tyler : Steam Conquers the Atlantic, (New York, 1939).
- J. Van Der Zee : The British in Iowa, (Iowa City, 1922).
- G.W. Ward : The Early Development of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Project, (Baltimore, 1899).
- Caroline F. Ware : The Early New England Cotton Manufacture, (Boston, 1931).
- N.J. Ware : The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860, (Boston, 1924).
- The History of Waukesha County, Wisconsin, (Chicago, 1880).
- S. and B.Webb : The History of Trade Unionism, 2nd ed., (London, 1920).
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