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A Comparative Study of Pre- and Post-famine
Migrants from North-west Ireland to North America.

A thesis submitted to the Open University
in fulfillment of requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

A computer database of detailed information on 23,753 emigrants who sailed from the port of Derry in the north-west of Ireland was constructed, using Customs and ship passenger records that together spanned the years 1803-1867, though not continuously. This information was used to trace changes in the origins of the emigrants, their age and sex distribution, their occupational backgrounds, their destinations, and in how they paid for their fare.

Analysis showed that that the profile of emigration changed from emigration of mainly young, unattached males in the early part of the century to family migration during the Famine years, subsequently changing to emigration of equal numbers of males and females, mostly as young adults. Major differences found between the emigrant populations who sailed for Canada and the United States respectively were related to the cost of fares and the extent of assistance to emigrate. Pre-paid fares were found to be very significant, especially during the Famine years. Until the early 1860s the majority of the emigrants were from the more affluent, fertile areas of the north-west. Both the pattern of pre-paid fares and the concentration of the emigrants' origins were closely related to the migration tradition within the area. This tradition, dating back to the eighteenth century, helped create a migration mentality, promoted subsequent emigration, and gave rise to the pre-payment of fares by earlier emigrants.

Although the Famine had a major impact on the area, it was not the instigator of mass migration from the north-

west. The demise of the linen trade and associated economic crises were more important in this respect. The response to population pressure and economic crises varied within the region as well as with time.

To my parents

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INTRODUCTION

This study concerns emigration from north-west Ireland to the United States of America and Canada from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the end of the 1860s. Although Ulster and some other parts of Ireland experienced considerable out-movement in the eighteenth century, large-scale emigration from Ireland began only in the early nineteenth century. Well over one million emigrants left Ireland in the three decades between the peace settlements of 1815 and the Great Famine of 1847-49.¹ The catastrophe of the Great Famine of 1847-49 and the social revolution which followed gave rise to emigration on an unprecedented scale, with approximately 2.5 million people leaving the country in the years 1846-55 and a further 4 million leaving between then and the First World War. Given the sheer scale and drama of the Great Famine it is not surprising that researchers have focused on the demographic haemorrhage of that time. However, this concentration on the immediate Famine period has diverted attention from the study of Irish emigration in other periods. It has also promoted the treatment of Irish emigration as a unitary phenomenon, ignoring the regional and temporal variations within the country.

By treating Ireland as a whole and by focussing almost entirely on the mid-nineteenth century - what might be termed a 'snapshot' approach, - the process of Irish

¹ Fitzpatrick, D. (1984) Irish Emigration 1801-1921, Dundalk, Dundalgen Press, p 3

emigration has been obscured.² This approach has also resulted in the application of uni-dimensional models of explanation, such as that of Malthus. Here population is seen as increasing faster than the means of subsistence, with surplus workers being forced to leave and with crop failures determining the timing of their exodus. The picture is one in which the population multiplied, subdividing their farms in order to do so, until natural disaster forced them either to emigrate or to starve. As Lyn Hollen Lees points out:

Accounts of the potato famine, during which thousands fled from starvation and disease, confirm these Malthusian and economic determinist models. Yet to let the events of an atypical period serve to explain a population movement which began several centuries earlier and which still continues today is to let drama substitute for the analysis of a historical process.³

That there was a direct connection between the potato famine and mass emigration is beyond question but the extent to which it was a watershed in Irish emigration is still worthy of investigation. Early discussions of these

² The difference in approach between these studies and the use of a data series in the present thesis is akin to the differences between population studies based on the census which captures a society frozen in time and the continuous data of vital registration which more often reveals the processes at work in a population.

³ Lees, L.H. (1979) Exiles of Erin, Manchester, Manchester University Press, p 23

events were understandably emotive and, like the accounts that appeared during the famine itself, were concerned with assigning blame for the weaknesses which famine exposed and which had given rise to an unprecedented flight from starvation and disease. Later accounts were less emotive but also concentrated on the reasons for this vulnerability of Irish society. Among the explanations offered were population growth, subdivision of land, reliance on the potato as a subsistence crop, and the general economic and political climate. However, such accounts were still flawed by oversimplification. Poverty and overpopulation, causes of emigration, then as now, were so common in nineteenth century Ireland that detailed analysis seemed unnecessary.

When one considers that the rate of Irish emigration was the highest of any nineteenth century European country it is remarkable just how lacking in detail accounts of it are. The literature is small and often qualitative in approach and what statistical analyses have been undertaken are largely at an aggregate level. The coincidence of the Great Famine with the availability of the first reliable Irish population censuses from 1841 onwards understandably focussed attention on the mid-nineteenth century and led writers to locate the beginnings of mass emigration in that period. This reliance on the census figures has meant that accounts of emigration in the pre-famine period are virtually devoid of statistical detail.

Between 1801 and 1921 some eight million people left Ireland. Clearly no one period can be seen as representative of an entire century. Moreover, a generic approach to Irish emigration, although able to draw out broad trends and patterns, serves to conceal differing regional experiences and the subtleties of the migration process.

The present thesis departs from such approaches by adopting a regional view and a diachronic approach. The research focusses on the migration experience of one area, the north-west of Ireland. This area experienced emigration over two centuries, largely through one port, Londonderry⁴, and the discovery of extant records of this traffic made it possible to undertake uniquely quantitative analyses of emigration before, during, and after the Famine. Data proved available for the periods 1803-06, 1830-31, and 1847-67 and these permitted the tracing of the development of the migration movement over time. The continuous and detailed nature of the data used in the present study also permits an attempt to place Irish emigration (or, at least, these aspects examined here) into European and conceptual contexts. In these ways the history of Irish emigration from Derry to America can be compared with contemporary trends amongst other ethnic groups - something which hitherto has been neglected. The two features of the study - its diachronic regional nature and

⁴ Hereafter both the city and county of Londonderry will be abbreviated to Derry for convenience sake.

its evaluation of the relevance to Irish emigration of European conceptual models - are thus its innovative elements.

The present work is structured along the following lines: Chapter 1 looks briefly at the main issues as they have been dealt with previously in the literature on Irish emigration. Chapter 2 presents some theoretical and empirical models of emigration as frameworks for subsequent assessment of the new materials presented in the following chapters. In addition, Chapter 2 briefly evaluates selected studies of nineteenth century European migration for comparative purposes. Chapter 3 analyses the socio-economic and demographic background of the north-west of Ireland in terms of two of the themes of Chapter 2. First, I assess the significance of the ecological conditions prevailing in the sending society. Second, I develop the concept of migration tradition as a major influence shaping the pattern of outmovement. Chapter 4 describes the major quantitative sources analysed and the methods developed to synthesize their information for the present objectives. Chapter 5 presents the new statistical results obtained, with emphasis on analyses relevant to quantifiable issues raised in Chapter 2. The final chapter synthesizes the results and evaluates the relevance of the conceptual models described earlier.

CHAPTER 1

IRISH EMIGRATION: AN OVERVIEW

Migration is a complex and multifaceted topic, deserving an interdisciplinary approach that recognizes the many causes and consequences of migration - demographic, economic, political, social and spatial. Moreover, the migration experience and tradition can vary immensely even within quite small areas. We begin, then, by discussing how these issues have been dealt with in the literature on Irish emigration. This literature is surprisingly atheoretical, with little attempt to integrate analysis with the conceptual models prevalent in studies of other European migration (Chapter 2).

1.1 Economic Forces and the Growth of Emigration

The first major work to concern itself with the background to Irish emigration before the Famine was William Forbes Adams' Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine, published in 1932. Adams sought to identify the events leading up to the mass migration of the Famine period, taking as his starting point 1815 when the Peace of Vienna ended the Napoleonic Wars and allowed a steadily increasing migration to North America. Since contemporary population and migration statistics were unreliable, Adams drew on many sources. These included early censuses, shipping figures, parliamentary papers and newspapers. The sweep and detail of the book are extensive by any standards and chart the

socio-economic conditions, political background and demographic developments of the country from the 1800s onwards. Adams also pays much attention to the growth and development of the emigrant trade and to the type and 'quality' of the migrant groups.

Although Adams was largely dealing with the national picture, he was aware of regional differences. He recognized that during the previous century and for at least fifteen years after 1815, emigration had been mainly from Ulster. Therefore, he was careful to examine both the close regional relationship between agriculture, the linen trade and emigration - a relationship still being productively explored today - and those features common to all districts with extensive emigration. Adams saw the habit of emigration slowly but irresistibly spreading from Ulster into the other provinces, as direct contact with America increased and as economic conditions changed. Indeed, the main theme of Adams' work outlines what he views as the metamorphosis of Irish emigration during the first half of the nineteenth century:

The typical emigrant up to 1830 and perhaps 1835 was a small farmer, often impoverished and ill versed in his own business, but proud of his independence and determined to improve upon it in the new world....The new emigrant was a labourer, with no background of self-help beyond the indifferent cultivation of his potato patch, hampered by ignorance of land and language....But

he too, unlike many of his successors after the Famine, was the most vigorous of his kind, and the road to advancement was open to him.¹

For Adams, the main cause of emigration and the major factor in the change and development of the migrant body was economic:

The overwhelming influence of economic causes promoting emigration throws all other influences into the background²

and the compelling motive behind the great shift of population was distress. Adams saw the flight from the major distress following the failure of the potato crop in 1845 and 1846 as introducing a new phase of American immigration. He saw the movement itself as linked to, though different from, that of the previous thirty years.

Other writers, such as MacDonagh, saw the Famine as a watershed in Irish emigration. MacDonagh agrees with Adams that the migration from 1815 onwards accustomed public opinion to the idea of migration and spread the practice. However, in his view what happened between 1845 and 1855 was not the pre-Famine exodus writ large but a real change both in the form of migration and in attitudes to it. Comparing the structure of society immediately before and after the Famine he states:

¹ Adams, W.F. (1921) Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine, London, Oxford University Press, pp 238-9

² ibid, pp 63-4

Two conclusions may be drawn....The first is the importance of emigration in cutting the Gordian knot of overpopulation: the plain fact that more than two million persons left Ireland permanently during the decade, 1845 to 1855, speaks for itself. The second concerns the nature of the emigration. The returns suggest that the Famine movement swept away a whole section of society rather than a mere aggregation of individuals; in fact, that its basic unit was the family.³

MacDonagh regards the Famine as an event which lessened the peasant's desperate hold upon his land and home and which destroyed the psychological barrier to emigration. He argues that once these changes had occurred large scale emigration was bound to play a major part in the entire Irish social system for many decades.

Certainly the years 1850 to 1900 witnessed remarkable emigration to the New World, from many other European countries as well as from Ireland. To this tide of humanity Ireland contributed nearly one-sixth but the real significance of the Irish exodus lay not in its absolute size but in the proportion of the population of Ireland involved. Irish emigration resulted in one migrant for every five people remaining. This figure needs to be compared to 1:33 in Germany, 1:34 in Norway and 1:42 in England.^{3a} This had a dramatic effect on the country's

³ MacDonagh, O. (1956) 'Irish overseas emigration during the Famine' in Edwards, D., and Williams, T.D. (eds) The Great Irish Famine, Dublin, Brown and Nelson, p 328

3a Commission of Inquiry into Emigration and Other
Population Problems (1958), Dublin; Hvidt, K.,
(1975), Flight to America. The Social Background of
300,000 Danish Emigrants. New York, Academic Press,
p. 14.

/p. 10 follows

population which fell from over eight million in 1846 to just under 4.5 million by 1901. It is easy to see how such a cataclysm has continued to fascinate the historian: the literature on Irish emigration in this period is correspondingly much more voluminous than for any other.

1.2 Socio-economic Determinants of Post-Famine Migration

Schrier's work on emigration to America in the second half of the nineteenth century could be said to have picked up the story where Adams left off. Like Adams, Schrier adopted a broad approach covering the experience of the whole country and he drew on a multiplicity of sources ranging from aggregate statistics to the letters of emigrants. Schrier likewise examined not only the migrant body, but also the socio-economic and political conditions prevailing in the country and sought to chart the changes attendant on the dramatic loss of population. Schrier had the advantage over Adams of reliable census figures and drew on these to establish the age composition and sex ratio of the migrants and to trace changes in land-holdings and land use. However, Schrier makes much less use of the official figures than one would expect and where he does use them, as in his discussion of the type and origin of the migrants, he integrates them over long periods. Thus:

For the most part it was the agricultural labourers and the sons and daughters of small and average farmers who left the fields for the more promising prospects of Irish and American cities.

The greater proportion of them came from the south and west, from the provinces of Munster and Connaught. Six counties alone out of the thirty-two in Ireland accounted for almost forty-eight per cent of the total emigration up to 1900.⁴

This is quite a general statement covering a half century of emigration and fails to allow for the changes in migration experience over time. Schrier saw forces both from America and from Ireland behind the migration process and somewhat warily he used the 'push-pull' model to illustrate their effects on the flow of migration.

However, Schrier admitted:

Only in periods of crisis can any definite correlation be found between emigration and the 'push' and 'pull' factors.⁵

Models based solely on economic determinants fail to account for those cultural factors which can facilitate or impede migration. Even after the Great Famine not all Irish men and women were able or ready to emigrate. Most present-day writers acknowledge that studies of migration should consider not only the structural characteristics of the areas of origin and destination, but also the perceptions and motives of individuals and the means by which the movement of people takes place. Schrier moved in

⁴ Schrier, A. (1958) Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, p 4

⁵ ibid, pp 7-8

this direction in three ways. He described how changes in inheritance patterns affected expectations, he acknowledged the impact of information from the 'Amerikay Letter', and he recognized that the establishment of chain migration and the 'habit' of migration continued to influence people after the original economic stimuli disappeared.

Nevertheless a full appreciation of the interplay between the structural and cultural factors in the migratory process requires more detailed analysis than Schrier's.

It is tempting to think of a migration of such volume as that of the post-Famine period as homogeneous in composition and origin. The work of Adams, Schrier and others (all written in the same period) would seem to lend credence to this view. However, it would be unfair to criticize them for minimizing the subtleties of the experience, for that was not their purpose. Rather, their work should be seen as descriptive and holistic, providing a backdrop against which more detailed, analytical studies can be set.

1.3 Regional Variation in Migration Experience

The Great Famine occurred just after the first of the reliable ten-yearly censuses in Ireland. Researchers have therefore been able to draw on these statistics to compare the country before and after the Famine and to trace the effects of continued out-migration on the country. In particular, these census statistics were extensively exploited by S.H. Cousens to examine regional variations

and consequential population changes during the periods 1821-1841, 1846-1854, 1851-1861, and 1861-1881.

Cousens was dissatisfied with previous treatments of regional variations in Irish migration. He considered the material used by Adams to be unreliable for establishing the geographical distribution of emigration before the Famine - namely the returns to the Commissioners inquiring into the state of the poorer classes in 1835.⁶ Instead, Cousens turned to the census returns of 1821 and 1841 and found a marked regional variation in population change over the 20 years. Yet internal migration within the country appeared to have had little effect on these population changes except for counties near Dublin. On the other hand, far from being uniform emigration was found to be markedly local, with movement from Ulster and the neighbouring counties in the provinces of Connaught and Leinster predominating. Such a localization was very different from what might have been expected, for in no way did it reflect the worst in agrarian conditions or the greatest pressure of population. Indeed, very few migrants were found to have come from the remoter western areas where population density was at its greatest. Cousens attributed the fact that the heaviest migration came from Ulster to a marked loss of income consequent upon the contraction and collapse of the linen industry.

⁶ British Parliamentary Papers (1835) First Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland, Vol. XXXI
A further report was published in 1836.

Similarly the 1851 census revealed a marked regional pattern of emigration during the Famine period. Again, there was little or no internal migration - the rush to the towns before and during the immediate crisis was short-lived and insignificant. Even in these times of distress there was a paucity of emigration from the poorest and agriculturally worst areas of the west. There the residents were caught in a poverty trap: between 50 and 70 per cent of the population were officially classified as paupers. Cousens states:

Poverty of such proportions meant that virtually a half or even three quarters of the population were not in a position to leave. The inability to go, because of lack of means, was cause for comment right through the Famine; and clearly a pauper population could not pay the average fare of 50 to 60 shillings to go to Canada and not less than 70 shillings to the USA. There were instances of relatives in the New World sending sailing tickets from Liverpool to America to those who were without the means even to get to the port of embarkation.⁷

He found further evidence in changes in patterns of landholdings of the inability of such people to emigrate. A combination of eviction, emigration and death had

⁷ Cousens, S.H. (1960) 'The Regional Pattern of Emigration During the Great Irish Famine, 1846-51', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, No.28, p 128

resulted in a reduction in the smallest holdings (1-5 acres) throughout most of Ireland. (Schrier used such figures at an aggregate level to demonstrate the changes in the social structure of the country consequent on the Famine.) In the poorest areas of the west, however, the decline in the number of holdings of 5-15 acres was frequently greater than among those of 1-5 acres. In other words it was not those with the smallest and poorest farms who left but those with a little more capital. Loss of population during the Famine was least in the north and the west and Cousens concluded that in the north the incentive to go was largely lacking whilst in the west disabling pauperism kept down movement. Improvements in the economic conditions of labourers after the Famine helped the mobility of this second class, but emigration nevertheless remained lowest in the west. Indeed, in some of these areas population actually increased between 1851 and 1861, the inhabitants turning to the uncultivated waste lands to support themselves.

Thus Cousens attributed the big loss of population from the poorer districts of Ireland during the Famine to high mortality rather than emigration. Even later on in the nineteenth century despite acute population pressures the poverty of western Ireland was seen to restrict emigration. By then Ireland was entering a distinct phase in her demographic history, as family limitation through celibacy and late marriage gradually extended westward. For a while, though, the poorer areas of the west

experienced an increasing pressure of population on resources.

1.4 A Demographic Approach

This new phase of Irish demographic history, in which the country displayed the latest age of marriage, the highest rate of permanent celibacy, and the highest fertility of any west European country, has been explored by Robert Kennedy.^e His work returns to a national approach to the study of Irish demography and deals with the complex interplay of living standards, mortality, celibacy, fertility and emigration. Kennedy rejects the 'flight from famine' theory as an adequate explanation of Irish emigration. Instead, he traces the beginnings of mass migration back to the 1830s, stating

The population of Ireland declined between 1841 and 1851 not because, as is commonly assumed, mass migration began at that time, but simply because emigration became greater than natural increase.

Kennedy also considers the question of ability to emigrate. He argues that the great emigration to the United States of the late 1840s and early 1850s would not have been possible without the pre-paid passages provided by persons who had already emigrated. Indeed, he estimates that 'American' money paid for at least three quarters of all Irish

^e Kennedy, R.E. Jr. (1975) The Irish: Emigration, Marriage and Fertility, Berkeley, University of California Press, p 207

emigration to the United States between 1848 and 1900, and that the mass emigration of Irish Catholics would not have been possible without this help. Chapter 5 of the present thesis looks closely at the role of such pre-paid passages.

1.5 The Need for a New Approach

Some forty years after the publication of Adams' work, then, the debate still continues about the beginnings of mass emigration, the causes of emigration, the factors determining the decision to go or stay, the composition of the migrant body, and the effects of the Famine. One of the major problems facing researchers is that the aggregate statistics of the census reports can be analyzed only so far. Additionally there is little statistical detail on the pre-Famine period. Some 'missing' information on family size, occupational skills and religious background can be found from studies of migrant groups in the receiving society at various locations in North American. But attempts to impute features of a large migrant body from such studies are fraught with difficulty, not least the fact that most of the information about the Irish abroad relates only to the post-Famine era. If the dynamics of Irish emigration and the effects on the residual population were to be fully understood, therefore, new sources and/or methods need to be explored.

The work of Ó'Gráda on the shipping manifests of the United States of America is such an approach. Ó'Gráda used these records to establish a demographic and economic

profile of Irish migrants in the nineteenth century and his results reveal major differences between the demographic characteristics of those emigrating early in the nineteenth century and those who left later. First, proportionately more children and adults over 35 years of age were amongst those emigrating before 1845. Second, the family groups involved were on average smaller than in the population at large. Overall, more men than women travelled and unaccompanied women were rather few and notably younger (many being only in their late teens) than the unaccompanied males. The early preponderance of unaccompanied males decreased over time, from a 9:1 male:female ratio in 1803-06 to 4:1 in 1819-20 and 3:1 in the 1820s and 1830s. The occupational data on the emigrants show a relative increase over time in the number of labourers and a decrease in the number of artisans and textile workers, a finding which accords with Adams' claim of a lowering of the socio-economic status of the emigrants after 1835.⁹

The information from the American ship manifests has also been subjected to a detailed econometric analysis by Mokyr and Ó'Gráda and, more fully, by Mokyr in his quantitative and analytical history of the pre-Famine Irish

⁹ Ó'Gráda, C. (1986) 'Across the Briny Ocean: Some Thoughts on Irish Emigration to America, 1800-50', in Glazier, I., and De Rosa, L. (eds), Migration across Time and Nations, New York, Holmes and Meier, p. 86.

economy.¹⁰ Ó'Gráda and Mokyr used these data in conjunction with economic and demographic data to cast new light on the old questions, particularly on an early Poor Law Commission conclusion¹¹ that Irish poverty could be eliminated by helping the poor to emigrate. They found no evidence that the country had a labour-surplus economy, thus calling into question the basis of the Commission's recommendation. The second major question which Mokyr and Ó'Gráda addressed was that of the nature or 'quality' of the emigrant stream - whether it represented an ebbing of the country's life blood (the most industrious and entrepreneurial) and whether this had a detrimental effect on Irish society. They examined the notion that the loss of young people of prime working age represented a loss to the country which had educated and trained them but which had gained no labour return.

Drawing on the information on occupation contained in the manifests and using the presence of 'age-heaping' as an indication of literacy levels, Ó'Gráda and Mokyr concluded that the quality of the emigrant flow was not of decisive magnitude. They argue that the flood of emigrants, particularly in the immediate Famine period, was responding

¹⁰ Mokyr, J. (1983) Why Ireland Starved: A Quantitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy, 1800-1850, London, Allen & Unwin.

Mokyr, J., and Ó'Gráda, C. (1982) 'Emigration and Poverty in Pre-Famine Ireland', Explorations in Economic History, Vol.19, no.4, pp 360-84

¹¹ British Parliamentary Papers (1836) Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland, Vols. XXX-XXXIV

almost exclusively to 'push' factors and was thus of a comparatively low socio-economic quality. They do admit, however, that the manifest information may be a poor filter of qualities such as drive and ambition - qualities particularly necessary in the early decades of the century when emigration was a costly and risky business. Their evidence also shows that the proportion of labourers and servants in the emigrant population rose over time, indicating a reduction in the quality of flow.

Quantitative sources such as the passenger manifests offer more accurate information on those who sailed to American ports than is available from other sources. Where such records are available over a long time period, it becomes possible to study the temporal changes in migration with some precision. Ó'Gráda and Mokyr provide a broad brush picture of such changes at a national level. What is missing from previous work in Irish migration are detailed regional studies of how the origins and characteristics of the migrants and their migration behaviour altered in response to their changing environment. In the following chapters I attempt to fill this gap, beginning with a review of the theoretical and conceptual models available. They provide information on the age, sex and family composition of the emigrants as well as details of mortality on board ship and the seasonality of the passage. When linked to similar information from within Ireland, an even more detailed profile of the emigrants can be built

up. Such an approach is the one adopted in this work in relation to one particular area of Ireland.

1.6 Summary

Much of the early work on Irish emigration suffered from a holistic viewpoint - an approach that neither accounted adequately for regional differences in migration experience nor explained the temporal changes in the volume of migration. Much of this earlier work also suffered from being locked in unidimensional models of explanation, such as the Malthusian model. Virtually none of the work made any attempt to compare the history of Irish emigration to America with that of other ethnic groups emigrating at the time. The research on which this thesis is based attempts to address these problems.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTS AND THEMES IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

2.1 Introduction

A major feature of European but not of Irish migration studies has been the development of conceptual models of emigration. The inter-disciplinary study of migration has involved model building to a greater extent than almost any other subject in the social sciences except economics. As early as 1885 E.G. Ravenstein presented a series of laws to the Royal Statistical Society which attempted to show regularities in the scale and direction of migration. His study, based on published census statistics, attempted to explain migration movements in relation to opportunities and constraints.¹ Since the publication of Ravenstein's classic work many studies have tried to modify his generalizations and later researchers have elaborated his results into a variety of models. The earliest of these were macro-analytical and focused on the comparative attractions of the areas of origin and destination. More recent models have been micro-analytical, focusing on the perceptions and behaviour of migrants. Ideally a combination of the two is desirable but has proved elusive.

Some work on the testing and developing of models has been done on the historical data of international migration. However, two main problems can be identified here. The first is that models developed in the context of

¹ Ravenstein, E.G. (1865) 'The laws of migration', Journal of the Statistical Society, Vol.48, pp 167-227

internal migration cannot validly be applied to international migration without due regard to the differences in the scales of the data. Historical models are based on gross migration data (these being the only statistics available) but models of modern internal migration are based on net migration data. The implications of this difference are rarely discussed.² The second problem is a corollary of the first. The basis of the models of mass migration in an unsatisfactory level of data aggregation has led in many instances to a return to the early, simplistic models such as that of 'push-pull'. Consequently there was no real development in the nature of the models.

In the present chapter a number of models are critically examined for their explanatory power and potential relevance to the empirical data reported here. For the purposes of evaluation these models have been grouped under four headings according to the aspects of migration they seek to explain. These are:

- 1) the forces motivating migration
- 2) processes and patterns of migration
- 3) selectivity of migration, and
- 4) behavioural aspects

These are discussed in individual sections below.

² Erickson, C. (1980) 'Explanatory models in immigration and migration research' in Semingsen, I., & Seyersten, P., Scandinavian Papers on Scandinavia, Oslo, American Institute, University of Oslo, p 13

The second approach developed in the present chapter is that of comparative review of transatlantic emigration from various European nations. Many countries experienced emigration during the nineteenth century but where some, including Britain and Ireland, sent emigrants to the New World throughout the course of the century others, such as Denmark and Sweden, did so only in the latter half of the century. The best documented histories of such emigration come from those countries with comprehensive and continuous records, particularly Scandinavia and the Netherlands. Almost all of these histories have focussed on five central themes, namely:

- 1) pre-migration conditions within the sending country
 - 2) the tradition of emigration within the sending country
 - 3) the demographic and socio-economic composition of the migrant body
 - 4) the form of migration - families, groups or individuals
 - 5) contact across the Atlantic - letters and remittances,
- and each is reviewed below. Although emigration from some of these countries continued well into the twentieth century I have concentrated on the nineteenth century so as best to allow comparison with the Irish study period.

2.2 The Forces Motivating Migration

Research on international emigration in the past has been concerned with identifying the causes of migration from the sending society (in most cases a European country)

to the receiving society (mainly the United States or Canada). This work has concentrated on identifying demographic, economic or political pressures within the European country and on new opportunities for employment as well as political and religious freedom in America.

Many writers have been attracted by the simplicity of a 'push-pull' model explaining migration in terms of the relative attractiveness of different locations. In 1938, Heberle³ argued that a series of forces encouraged an individual to forsake one place and attracted him to another. Later, Bogue classified these as 'push' and 'pull' factors respectively. The 'push' factors include the decline or exhaustion of a national resource; loss of employment; oppressive treatment on religious, ethnic or political grounds; alienation from a community; lack of opportunities for personal development; and the effects of natural disasters. Amongst the 'pull' factors are new opportunities for employment or education; income increase; better living conditions; dependency - either migration at marriage or the movement of dependents with a relative; and the lure of new or different activities - cultural, intellectual or recreational.⁴

These 'push-pull' forces can be regarded as falling into two broad categories: (1) those relating to changes in

³ Heberle, R. (1938) 'The causes of rural-urban migration: a survey of German theories', American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 42, pp 932-50

⁴ Bogue, D.J. (1969) The Principles of Demography, London, John Wiley, pp 753-4

the environment, and (2) those relating to changes in the motives of the individual. This has called for simultaneous analysis at two levels - the macro, concerned with society in the aggregate, and the micro, concerned with the individual. More often than not, however, studies have fallen into just one of these categories. For example, analysis of international emigration has been largely at the level of the aggregate. Two other problems also exist with the push-pull model. First, it is often difficult to establish where the 'push' ends and the 'pull' begins. Second, the model creates a 'snap-shot' view of migration as a once-only phenomenon rather than as a continuing process.

One of the most important forces motivating emigration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was pressure on resources. Internal migration to the developing cities in Europe has been attributed to the lack of economic opportunities in agricultural areas for large, landless populations.⁵ Similarly, international migration to America and other foreign countries was strongly influenced by the resource limitations and pronounced growth in population which most European countries experienced after 1750. Resource pressures of this type are a key component of the demographic transition model.⁶ This model assumes

⁵ Friedlander, D. (1969) 'Demographic responses and population change', Demography, Vol. 6 No. 4., pp 359-81

⁶ Davis, K. (1945) 'The world demographic transition', Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 237, pp 1-11

that every community sooner or later passes from a pre-modern near-equilibrium of population, in which high levels of mortality cancel out high levels of fertility, to a modern near-equilibrium, in which low fertility almost matches low mortality. The model further assumes that attaining certain thresholds of socio-economic development reduces death rates faster than birth rates and that the lag in the decline in births relative to deaths is great enough to ensure a substantial growth in numbers during the transitional phase. Increased mobility, either through internal or international migration, is therefore an important means of redistributing population and relieving the pressure of numbers on communities. The close link between the onset of mobility and the demographic transition has led some writers to integrate the two as the 'vital transition' - one which takes into account not only births and deaths but also other population events and characteristics.⁷

This is best represented by Friedlander's demographic model.⁸ His argument is that the timing and rate of decline in fertility, especially among the rural populations of developing societies, are inversely correlated with opportunities for internal and external migration. For example, the pattern of the demographic transition in Britain differed from that in Sweden. In the

⁷ Zelinsky, W. (1971) 'The hypothesis of the mobility transition', Geographical Review, Vol.6, no.4, pp 219-49

⁸ Friedlander, D. (1965) op. cit., pp 367-71.

former the cities were growing as a result of industrialization just as the rural population was facing a Malthusian threat, thus providing opportunities for the excess rural labour force. In Sweden, however, population pressure in the rural areas was severe before the tempo of industrialization quickened. This pressure was partly relieved by overseas migration but mainly through a reduction in rural birth rates.

Friedlander's model convincingly demonstrates the complex interplay of variables that determines a society's response to population pressure. It also explains the different time scales and rates of emigration from Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Figure 2.1 shows how Friedlander's model allows the development of new resources in a community e.g. through agricultural intensification (route A in Figure 2.1) or diversification (route B), to reduce population pressure and therefore the pressure for emigration.⁹ With inelastic resources, however, these routes are not available and out-migration, fertility reduction, and mortality are the only possible responses.

While most demographic models tend to concentrate on the 'push' factors, economists have long debated whether 'push' or 'pull' factors have been the more decisive for determining the onset of migration. This has proved to be a popular research field since Jerome's study of the

⁹ Grigg, D.B. (1980) 'Migration and overpopulation' in White, W., & Woods, R. (eds), The Geographical Impact of Migration, London, Longman, p 64

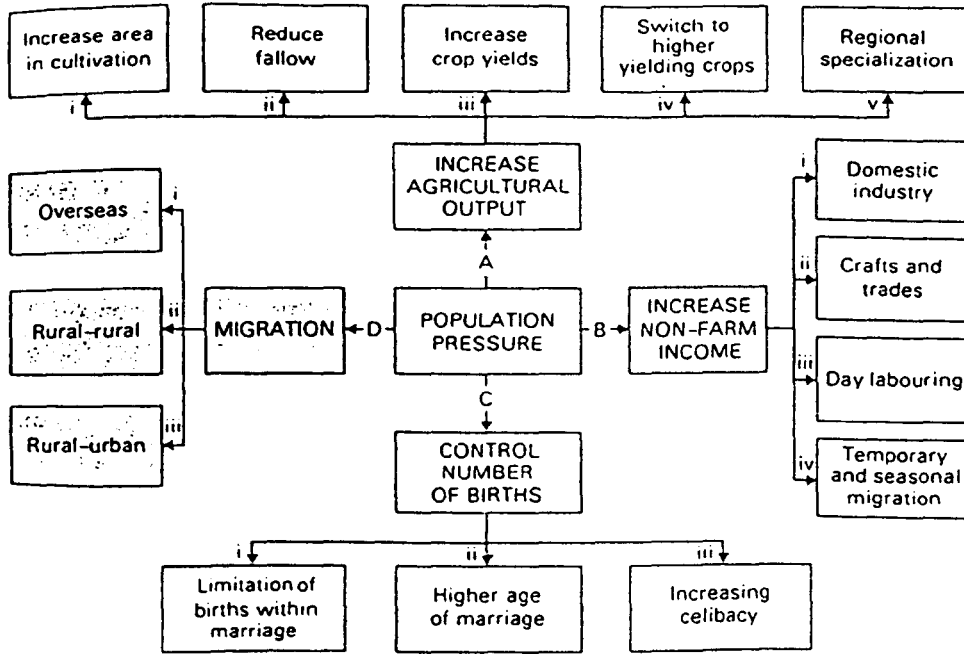


Figure 2.1 Production and demographic responses to population growth
 Source: Grigg 1980, p 64

correlation between business cycles and overseas migration.¹⁰ Jerome attempted to put a more precise formulation on the theory of 'push' and 'pull' in international migrations. He gave a detailed description of the relationship between the two forces and compared the strong fluctuations in the flow of emigrants from year to year with the business fluctuations in Europe and America. The oscillations in emigration in fact corresponded much more closely with the fluctuations in the trend of the American market than in that of the European market. The volume of emigration was therefore governed primarily by economic conditions in the United States i.e. the 'pull' was stronger than the 'push'.

Jerome's theory was supported by Dorothy Swaine Thomas's work on Swedish migration.¹¹ However, Thomas distinguished between rural and urban emigration and between the economic cycles of the corresponding groups and pointed out that an industrial boom in Sweden and the consequent migration to the cities might contribute to the lessening of emigration.

The work of Jerome and Thomas clarified the cause-effect relationships of the push-pull model and stimulated much subsequent research. The most influential has been

¹⁰ Jerome, H. (1929) Migration and the Business Cycle, New York, National Bureau of Economic Research.

¹¹ Thomas, D.S. (1941) Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements 1750-1933, New York.

that of Brinley Thomas.¹² Thomas developed Schumpeter's idea that capitalism, in both the economic and sociological sense, is essentially one process with the whole earth as its stage.¹³ Thomas regarded the differential timing and fluctuations of American and British economic growth as indicating a close connection between the two economies. He claimed that the two were so closely integrated by the mid-1800s that they effectively constituted an Atlantic economy. The most important factors in this were migration, mobile capital, industrialization, and urbanization. Of these the most decisive factor was the direction of British investment which changed with opportunities for profit. The considerable immigration into America prior to the Civil War stimulated a growth in building and railroad construction. British investors sought a share in this growth, largely to the neglect of their domestic industries. This 'see-saw' interplay between the two countries was to repeat itself throughout the remainder of the century. The corollary of these economic trends was the movement of people. When capital went to America the resulting boom stimulated European migration. Correspondingly, when British investments stopped, immigration decreased. However, according to Thomas, this too had implications for internal migration in

¹² Thomas, B. (1954) Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

¹³ Schumpeter, J.A. (1939) Business Cycles - A Theoretical, Historical and Statistical Analysis of the Capitalist Process, Vols. 1 & 2, New York, p 135

Britain. If investments were shifted from America to domestic construction, then likewise the migration flow was shifted into internal rural-urban migration. This is probably one of the most interesting of Thomas's findings and holds up best in Europe.

In his original version of the interaction model Thomas assumed that internal and external migration were inversely correlated both in countries of immigration and in countries of emigration. However, his assumptions proved to be wrong in relation to the U.S.A. where internal in-migration turned out to be synchronized with immigration.¹⁴ The model has also been criticized for constantly equating the centre of investment with Britain and failing to discuss the role of other European countries.¹⁵

One work which has examined the relationship of the American economy to that of another European country is that of Thorvald Moe. Moe's model of mass migration from Norway during the period of 1873-1914¹⁶ implies that the inclination to migrate is, in the long term, a function of expected differences in income between the delivering and

¹⁴ Eldridge, H.T. & Thomas, D.S. (1964) Population Redistribution and Economic Growth: United States 1870-1950. Vol. III: Demographic Analyses and Interrelations, Philadelphia, p 224

¹⁵ Akerman, S. (1976) 'Theories and methods of migration research' in Runblom, H. & Norman, H. (eds), From Sweden to America - A History of the Migration, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, p 59

¹⁶ Moe, T. (1977) Demographic Developments and Economic Growth in Norway, 1740-1940, New York, Arno Press.

the receiving society. A supply of young potential migrants is also important. The regional imbalance is temporarily adjusted by means of the short-term costs of migration. For his study he defined the permanent income gap as the difference between the gross national product of Norway and the U.S.A. Although Moe's model is essentially an econometric one he included a number of demographic and social factors in his analysis. Interestingly, his conclusion is that the long-term fluctuations of Norwegian emigration were influenced by an interplay of the variables considered rather than by any one economic or demographic factor. Moe's model appears to offer a good explanation of the labour migration from Norway to the U.S.A from 1873 to 1914. However, there is always a problem with econometric models of this type in quantifying psychological concepts such as a perception of an income gap. Moe does at least recognize the role of these behavioural variables and he attempts to take account of them, something which other economic models have failed to do.

2.3 The Pattern and Process of Migration

Growth models involving developmental phases have been used to systematize the links between migration and social and economic change. One such model is that of Akerman who identifies four phases in the development of mass migration from Sweden to America.¹⁷ These are 1) an introductory

¹⁷ Akerman, S. (1976) op. cit., pp 25-38

phase, 2) a growth phase, 3) a saturation phase and, 4) a regression phase.

The initial growth phase of the model develops over a relatively long period during which either external factors or structural features in the population at risk can accelerate or delay the growth. In this initial phase select groups, often located in major cities (especially ports) can play significant roles as opinion makers. The rural areas also can have their own opinion makers and information channels. The growth phase in the model is represented by a marked upswing in emigration. Where previously emigration took the form of scattered groups, often led by an individual, this second phase witnesses a stream of emigrants selectively composed of individuals of above average social status from cities and from rural areas in contact with cities. It is also characterized by a dominance of men and of people travelling in groups.

The saturation phase is characterized by mass movement which matches internal population turnover. The dominant features of this phase are a lowering of the average age of the migrants, a balancing of the sex ratio, and a reduction in the numbers of families and large groups travelling. It is also less selective in terms of occupational and personal characteristics and is drawn from a larger geographical area. The regression phase, in common with the initial phase, is influenced by external factors. If the economic gap between the sending and receiving societies decreases, the increase in transport and

information channels associated with migration then favour labour market mobility. Both the proportion of males and the average age of the migrants decrease and female emigration changes from being part of family migration to being a labour migration. Geographically, the regression phase sees a contraction of source regions to the central, traditional emigration districts.^{1*} Åkerman outlines how the dynamics of emigration can be manifested in temporal, spatial and numeric form.

When tested against the empirical data of Nordic emigration, Åkerman's model had good predictability. However, he found that further consideration needed to be given to the role played by transport systems and principal information channels within and between regions of a country. Åkerman also concluded that the regions within a country can be out of phase in their stages of growth. Both findings emphasize the need for care in interpreting aggregate emigration statistics.

These results demonstrate the importance of studying emigration in conjunction with other types of population mobility. The varying patterns of internal, international and overseas migration within a region reveal that societies satisfy their migrational needs in different ways at different times. How these needs are perceived, and who is affected by them, depends not only on the forces operating on a society but also on the phase of the migration process reached at the time. This, as Åkerman's

^{1*} Åkerman, S. (1976), ibid., pp 27-32

model demonstrates, can in turn affect the selectivity of migration.

2.4 Selectivity in migration

Migration by its very nature is selective and migrants are neither a random sample of the population at origin nor of the population at destination. Since the age, sex, and social and occupational characteristics of migrants affect the societies they leave and enter, it is important to understand the selectivity of the migration process.

At a simple level selectivity of migration is influenced by (1) environmental forces in the areas of origin and destination, and (2) the different responses of people to those forces. Environmental factors are externally determined and can operate in the receiving society as well as in the sending society. Thus the demands of an industrial labour market in the receiving society for certain skills and occupations creates migration opportunities only for people with these skills. Similarly, in the sending society factors such as famine, drought, disease, likely employment opportunities, and inheritance customs may promote migration by certain groups and inhibit it for others. The response of individuals to these may depend on such things as the stage they have reached in their life; the strength of their bonds to the community; their ability to meet transportation costs; and

their perception and knowledge of conditions at their potential destination.

The manner in which these variables operate affects the form and selectivity of the migration. In the migration literature migrants who respond primarily to plus factors at the area of destination are often termed 'positively selected', whilst those who respond primarily to minus factors at the area of origin are termed 'negatively selected'.¹⁹ However, if the minus factors affect the entire population, as with famine, selection may not operate at all. The ability to employ these terms, therefore, depends largely on whether the researcher can distinguish between the 'push' or the 'pull' of the various forces. Examination of migration selectivity has often been linked to the 'push-pull' model.

This can be seen most clearly in the work of Everett Lee.²⁰ He attempted to develop a model which could cope both with different types of mobility and with the role of individual factors. Lee saw four types of influence on the decision to migrate. These are 1) factors associated with the area of origin 2) factors associated with the area of destination 3) intervening obstacles, and 4) personal factors.

Lee points out that it is not so much the actual factors at origin or destination as their perception by

¹⁹ Lee, E. (1969) 'A theory of migration', Demography, Vol 3, pp 47-57

²⁰ Lee, E. (1969) ibid.

people that may result in migration. People react differently to the same set of external stimuli, to the extent that some perceive a benefit to moving where others do not. (They also have different abilities to overcome intervening obstacles.) In addition, different forces can operate on a population at different times and can lead to changes in the nature of selectivity. Hence migrational differentials change over time and within different contexts.

Most of the many selectivity studies deal with what might be termed structural variables, e.g., age, sex, occupation and civil status. The personal characteristics of the migrants e.g., education, skill, income, have not been studied to anything like the same extent, probably due to the shortage of relevant source material. Yet this has not stopped the generation of hypotheses or assumptions about such selectivity. For instance, Bogue states 'migration stimulated by economic growth, technological improvements etc., attracts the better educated, while areas tending to stagnation lose their better educated and skilled persons first'.²¹

The nature of occupational recording in nineteenth century migration statistics was often poor. The degree of confidence in the data can vary with the volume and timing of the migration, with whether they emanate from the sending or receiving society, and whether two such sources

²¹ Bogue, (1969) The Principles of Demography, London, John Wiley, p 795

can be linked. From such occupational data the level of skill of the migrants can sometimes be established. Data on the educational level of the migrants are very scarce, even in the Dutch and Scandinavian records that are otherwise rich in information. It is only at the micro-level that such information can be used with confidence.

One such study is that of Soderberg's on migration in the nineteenth century from the agrarian parish of Alfta in the Norrland region of Sweden.²² Soderberg was able to use the marks in reading and comprehension in Church examinations registers for 1846-50 and 1866-95 as the basis of his investigation. Such a level of information is rarely available, especially in aggregate emigration statistics. Some attempt could be made to judge the level of literacy of the migrants from a country by the number of letters sent home and to compare this with the literacy rate of the resident population but this would be both crude and difficult. 'Age-heaping' in records such as the American ship manifests has been used as an indication of literacy but it is a surrogate measure at best. Nor is literacy by itself always a good indicator of the human capital embodied in the migrants. Variables such as skill, experience, and training in trades and crafts were the primary forms in which human capital was manifest. Occupational data therefore continue to offer the best

²² Soderberg, K. (1977), 'Personal characteristics and selective emigration', American Studies in Scandinavia, Vol.9, pp 127-53

approximate measure of human capital in international migration statistics.

Anti-emigration pamphlets in European countries experiencing mass emigration frequently complained that emigration was sweeping away the resourceful, the energetic, the ambitious, and the most skillful of the population. However, assessment of the occupational profile, let alone these other qualities, of a migrant population is often difficult. As mentioned earlier, considerable care has to be taken with occupational data, especially when they relate to new arrivals joining the receiving society. In the United States, for example, ship manifests often record generalized occupational categories during periods of mass migration. Record linkage between documents from the sending and the receiving societies is therefore preferable, although not all countries recorded emigration data. False occupations may also be recorded on occasion, as during the Napoleonic war in Britain when the emigration of skilled artisans was forbidden. Data from that period, therefore, have to be treated with considerable caution.²³ However, provided such limitations are recognized, occupational information can provide considerable insights both as to selectivity of migration and on the forces operating within the sending and receiving societies.

²³ Herschberg, T. & Dockhorn, R. (1976) 'Occupational Classification', Historical Methods Newsletter (Special Issue: The Philadelphia Social History Project), Vol. 9, Nos. 2 & 3, p 59

2.5 Behavioural Aspects of Migration

Emigration in the nineteenth century involved risk and considerable physical and emotional effort. For many it probably meant postponement of consumption in the immediate future for the sake of higher earnings and a better life (possibly even to be enjoyed only by a future generation) in the longer term. Despite the hardships involved in doing so, millions of people made the break from their own country in order to settle in another. Yet in many countries large segments of the population did not emigrate, despite being aware of the migration alternative. It is clear from a number of studies that rapid growth of mass emigration ultimately reflected an extensive readiness to migrate. Indeed, Dutch studies show that the inclination to migrate frequently exceeded the level of actual movement.²⁴ A Swedish study based on the correspondence of an emigrant agent in the late nineteenth century shows that only about 25 per cent of those who seriously weighed the prospect of emigration actually pursued their plans.²⁵

In the migration literature little attention is given to those who decided against migrating. Even contemporary studies of migration are forced to concentrate on those who actually made the decision to migrate. Furthermore,

²⁴ Ellemers, J.E. (1964) 'The determinants of emigration. An analysis of Dutch studies in Migration', Sociologica Neerlandica, Vol.2, No.1, pp 41-52

²⁵ Akerman, S. (1976) op. cit., p 44

migrants questioned about the decisions behind their migration may offer post-event explanations and rationalisations. As a result, attempts to explain migration in behavioural rather than in ecological terms are fraught with difficulties - all the more so when dealing with the past. Yet it is frequently observed that ecological factors alone are inadequate to explain migration differences between communities. This has recently been well recognized by Miller in an innovative treatment of perceptual influences on Irish emigration.²⁶ Substantive discussion of his ideas requires material presented in later chapters and is therefore deferred to Chapter 6.

2.6 Pre-migration Conditions within the Sending Societies

The specific conditions which gave rise to large-scale emigration in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and Britain have received much attention.²⁷ In this section

²⁶ Miller, K. (1985) Emigrants and Exiles, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

²⁷ Semmingsen, I. (1978) Norway to America. A History of the Migration, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Runblom, H., & Norman, H. (eds) (1976) From Sweden to America, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press

Hvidt, K. (1975) Flight to America. The Social Background of 3000,000 Danish Emigrants, New York, Academic Press.

Swierenga, R., & Saueressig-Schreuder, Y. (1983) 'Catholic and Protestant emigration from the Netherlands in the nineteenth century. A comparative Social Structural Analysis', Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, Vol.74, No.1, pp 26-27

Jones, M. (1976) Destination America, London, Weidenfield & Nicolson.

general comparisons and contrasts in those conditions are highlighted.

A feature common to many European countries in the nineteenth century was rapidly increasing population. A reduction in death rates without an immediate and compensating reduction in birth rates led to a rise in natural increase. In many areas in Ireland, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands this brought the rural population to the margin of subsistence. The pressure on resources was exacerbated by two factors. First, the increase came at a time when labour-saving devices were cutting the demand for farm labourers. Second, the pace of industrialization and urbanisation in most countries lagged behind the upward trend in population. Hence, there were few or no outlets for the 'surplus' rural population. The result was a latent propensity to emigrate which was often, though by no means always, translated into actual emigration.

Frequently a crisis or series of crises was needed to bring about that translation. Examples of such powerful 'push' forces are the failure of the potato crops in Ireland and the Netherlands, the agrarian crisis and economic depression of the mid-sixties in Norway, and the 'misery years' of 1868-1870 when crop failures hit Finland and Sweden. In all these cases the years of crises were quickly followed by upswings in emigration.

Population pressure in itself did not always result in mass emigration. The rate of increase of the Dutch population was high throughout the nineteenth century. In 1870 the rate was greater than that of any other country in north-west Europe. However, the Dutch emigration rate was low throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century.²⁸ Although emigration was affected by economic crises one of the most notable periods of mass migration was during the period 1846 to 1850. In these years thousands of members of the persecuted Dutch Reformed Church (called Separatists) emigrated to America.²⁹ Dissenters, either religious or political, were often at the forefront of a country's movement overseas. The emigrant stream to the United States from Norway and Sweden, as well as the early movement from Ireland and England, contained a disproportionate number of religious dissenters.³⁰

Although the social conditions prevalent in Denmark during the nineteenth century were similar to those in its Scandinavian neighbours the rate of emigration was lower. Hvidt argues that the reason for this was that Denmark's rural population had an alternative to emigration in

²⁸ Thistlewaite, F. (1960) 'Migration from Europe overseas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', Extrait des Rapports du XI Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Stockholm, p 54

²⁹ Swierenga, R. (1983) 'Occupational change among Netherlands overseas emigrants to the United States in the nineteenth century'. Paper presented to Cukanzus conference, Oxford, p 6

³⁰ Thistlewaite, F. (1960) op. cit., p 55

internal migration to middle-sized towns.³¹ Denmark is unusual in this period in that it experienced an emigrant wave due to war. Denmark's defeat in the war with Prussia in 1864 resulted in the loss of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The consequent emigration from the Danish minority of North Schleswig assumed enormous proportions and was largely channeled through Denmark.

In Britain the pressures of a rising population and the dislocating effects of the agricultural and industrial revolutions stimulated emigration. The numbers of agricultural labourers were reduced in both the early and later decades of the nineteenth century. This was accentuated by agricultural depression from the 1870s. Industrialization and urbanisation were more advanced in Britain than in any other European country. Hence there were opportunities for those driven off the land. Nevertheless, industrial growth could promote emigration. It created a pool of technical skill which could be transferred elsewhere if there was sufficient inducement. Furthermore, industrial growth and prosperity were not constant. Regular and recurrent slumps brought about unemployment and even decline of once thriving areas.³² As

³¹ Hvidt, K. (1875) Flight to America, The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants. New York, Academic Press, p 65

³² Lawton, R. (1968) 'Population changes in England and Wales in the later nineteenth century: an analysis of trends by registration districts', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol.44, pp 54-74

with other European countries there was considerable regional variation in emigration experience.

What emerges from these detailed studies is that the forces behind nineteenth century European emigration were complex and varied. Political, religious, social and economic causes all played a role but, as Erickson points out, of all the ecological and personal factors, economic ones probably played a predominant role, especially after the 1840s. However, economic factors themselves encompass a variety of particular situations.³³ Furthermore, it is always tempting to attribute causation to those factors which are easily identified and measured.

The exodus from rural areas in the industrializing countries was varied in that not only farmers and agricultural labourers but also rural craftsmen whose means of livelihood were threatened or destroyed left the countryside. In the later stages of overseas migration the movement more often proceeded from the cities than from the rural areas, for instance in Britain and Scandinavia. Some of the poorest and most isolated agricultural areas of Europe were untouched by migration. What lay behind the movement of people within these countries and from them overseas was a complex interplay of variables. Emigration arose in rural societies as a result of changing agricultural practices, in turn a response to the increasing commercialization of farming. As Erickson points out:

³³ Erickson, E. (1976) op. cit., p 15

Population growth could limit the ability of an area to seize such opportunities. Changes in the size of farms, in methods of farming and in cropping patterns might make the land capable of yielding greater output and income, provided some of the people moved to make the reorganization possible.³⁴

Beyond these ecological factors lay behavioural and attitudinal factors - harder to measure and assess but nonetheless important. One such factor is the tradition of emigration within a society.

2.7 The Tradition of Emigration within the Sending Society

During the nineteenth century in Sweden the influx of rural migrants into the city in turn affected the emigration pattern from urban areas. Carlsson argues that the presence of a significant migrant population within certain urban and industrial areas operated in favour of emigration, especially when that migrant population itself stemmed from areas with a strong migration:

Areas which established an early tradition of emigration - perhaps originally as a result of coincidences - frequently maintained a high emigration frequency in subsequent decades as a consequence of contacts in America.³⁵

³⁴ Erickson, C. (1976) ibid., p 15

³⁵ Carlsson, S. (1976) 'Chronology and composition of Swedish emigration to America', in Runblom, H., & Norman, H. (eds) (1976) op. cit., p 138

For example, in the Smoland region emigration during the famine years of 1867-1869 was greatest not from those parishes experiencing the most severe starvation but from those with the greatest movement of emigrants in earlier years.

Kero³⁶ has identified two main conditions which were necessary for the birth of a migration tradition in Finland. The first was some kind of sustained migration pressure in the areas of origin, and the second was the offer of good, and nearly free, agricultural farming land in the areas of destination (North America). Emigration from many localities in Finland began when emigrants departed from one locality under the influence of emigrants from neighbouring localities:

Emigrants left together with relatives and friends living in neighbouring villages and communes. In this way, emigration spread from village to village and commune to commune.³⁷

Districts which had an early start in emigration and developed an extensive tradition of movement accumulated contacts and knowledge about conditions in America. Studies in Sweden have also shown that a tradition of emigration can arise from the actions of American labour recruiting agents, one example being the development of a

³⁶ Kero, R. (1977) 'The characters and significance of migration traditions from Finland to North America', American Studies in Scandinavia, Vol. 9. Nos. 1-2 (Special issue: Nordic Population).

³⁷ Kero, R. ibid., p 98

route from the iron industry areas of Sweden to Worcester, Massachusetts.³⁸ In a multivariate analysis of the causes of emigration from Swedish parishes Norman³⁹ found that the role played by emigration tradition was of prime importance in the 21 parishes that accounted for the highest rate of emigration. There can be little doubt that once a community experienced migration it was likely to be more favourably disposed towards it whenever conditions at home were unfavourable. This is true regardless of whether the early phase of emigration was caused by the attraction of conditions in the country of destination, such as the offer of land or a job, or whether it was due to unfavourable conditions within the area of origin, such as religious or political persecution or unemployment.

The importance of an emigration tradition shows that emigration intensity can be strongly dependent on the way in which individuals reach their decision to emigrate. Hence sociological and psychological factors as well as ecological factors contribute to emigration. The nature of these forces behind emigration and their interaction must necessarily affect who makes the move.

2.8 Composition of the Migrant Body

Earlier I noted that migration is selective and that the form of selectivity operating in the migration process

³⁸ Kero, R. ibid., p 97

³⁹ Norman, N. (1976) 'Causes of Emigration: An attempt at multi-variate analysis' in Runblom, H., & Norman, H., (eds) op. cit., p 159

can correspond to different phases in the emigration history of a country. One of the distinctive features of nineteenth century European migration is that it consisted primarily of a voluntary and private movement of individuals and families.⁴⁰ As legal ties binding rural workers to the land were removed and as restrictions on the emigration of skilled artisans were lifted, an increasing number of people were able to exercise a freedom to move.

In Norway the early phase of migration was characterized by the movement of religious groups, namely the Quakers and the followers of Hauge. The importance of these groups lay in their psychological impact on communities, helping to detach ordinary people from the old society and making them receptive to new ideas and radical decisions, such as leaving for America. There were many large (mainly farming) families among the early emigrants. They frequently joined in larger neighbourhood or parish groups, thereby providing a greater sense of security as they set out on their journey. As the rural exodus was joined by that from the cities, the emigration changed progressively into an emigration of young people rather than of entire families, with young men predominating.

In its earliest phase Swedish emigration consisted mainly of individuals. At this time, 1820-1844, there was no group emigration comparable to that from Norway as early as 1825. During the decade following, the majority of emigrants were farmers and their families, most of them

⁴⁰ Erickson, C. (1976) op. cit., p 16

well-to-do people. In the 1860s and 1870s emigration by large groups still took place but was less dominant than before. Most of the emigrants were single men and women, sons and daughters who lived at home, farm-hands, maid servants, trade apprentices and blacksmiths.

Age is another variable influencing migration selectivity. Hvidt found that almost 40 per cent of the Danish emigrants during the period 1868-1900 were in their twenties.⁴¹ Those between 30 and 39 years, who mainly travelled with infants and small children, comprised only 10 per cent of the total. Hvidt interprets this as indicating that people emigrated usually before reaching marrying age. Interestingly, Hvidt found that rural emigrants were younger than the urban. He viewed the higher average age among urban emigrants as evidence of emigration by stages whereby a young farmer, perhaps a son who was not going to inherit his father's property, moved to the town, married and started a family. On finding it difficult as an unskilled worker to provide for his family, he might think of emigrating to America where he could get a homestead and return to agrarian life.

Another notable feature of Danish emigration at this time was the imbalance in the sex ratio. For the entire period of Danish emigration (1868-1900), 614 out of every 1000 emigrants were men and 386 women. This selectivity of age and sex left an imprint on Danish social structure and reflects the conditions in the country of origin.

⁴¹ Hvidt, K. (1975) op. cit., p 74

All the Scandinavian countries show two main movements: a downward trend in the proportion of men toward the turn of the century, and a dramatic rise during the boom of 1903-1908. Denmark and Finland differ from Sweden and Norway in the height of the male percentage at the outset of the emigration movement. Sweden did start with a predominance of men in its first phase (1820-1844) but not so Norway, which showed a clear tendency toward family emigration at an early stage. These differences between Sweden and Denmark are explained by Hvidt as being due to the different rates of industrialization in the two countries and, hence, different opportunities for internal migration. The slower rate of industrialization in Sweden meant that migrant women were unable to find work in the towns. Consequently, as early as 1886, women constituted a majority among the emigrants from towns.

The socio-economic and demographic patterns of Dutch emigration reveal an emigration of young, lower-middle class, rural families and single male adults. Some 80 per cent came from the rural villages and the countryside and the occupational structure reflected this rural bias. Only 10 per cent held white collar positions.⁴² The average age of the Dutch arrivals in America was 23 years and adult males outnumbered females by a ratio of six to four.

Of the English and Welsh emigrants of 1831 analysed by Erickson some 53 per cent were in the age group 15 to 39. These ages were slightly over-represented in comparison

⁴² Swierenga, R. (1983) op. cit., p 8

with the 1841 census, mainly at the expense of people over 50. People in their forties were fully represented among the English emigrants. This is interpreted by Erickson as indicating that a significant number of the English had tried to adapt at home and begun their families before they took the step of permanent settlement overseas.⁴³ In spite of the large number of children amongst the British emigrants and a pronounced tendency to travel in family groups, men outnumbered women among the adult emigrants over the age of fifteen. Of those listed as travelling from British ports, some 65 per cent of the English and Welsh were male, compared with 67 per cent of the Scots and 64 per cent of the Irish.

The occupational structure of the British migrants is rather more difficult to establish with certainty since Erickson had to use American manifests (rather than data recorded in the country of origin, as in the other countries considered so far). However, with careful interpretation Erickson concluded that farmers and labourers were outnumbered by what she classified as pre-industrial craft workers whose opportunities for work were shrinking. Half the emigrants from England and Wales were skilled industrial workers, a figure which refutes the hypothesis that emigration from Britain in this period was not industrial.

⁴³ Erickson, C. (1981) 'Emigration from the British Isles to the United States in 1831'. Population Studies, Vol. 35, No. 2. p 183

2.9 Form of Migration - Families, Groups, and Individuals

The decision to emigrate can rarely have been easy to make and one would imagine that it was more difficult and serious for a family than for single, independent people. The cost of tickets was also correspondingly greater for a family than for an individual and establishing a foothold in the country of settlement must also have been more complicated for families. Hence the distribution of family emigration in proportion to the emigration of individuals can indicate the nature of the forces stimulating emigration. Thus, out-movement might be a manifestation of a general tendency to migrate (particularly motivating young people) or it might be a consequence of social stress sufficiently strong to make families set out in considerable numbers.

The form of migration has serious consequences for the volume of migration. If family migration is predominant then the decision to depart affects several people. In Denmark it was found that some 17,000 heads of families determined the fate of about 61,000 emigrants. Hence 11 per cent decided on behalf of 40 per cent of the entire group of migrants.⁴⁴

Of the 3,600 Swedes who arrived in New York between 1841 and 1850 some 68 per cent were family emigrants. This percentage decreased steadily over the next fifty years until it was as little as 25 per cent during the first

⁴⁴ Hvidt, K. (1975) op. cit., pp 92, 94, & 99

decades of the 1900s.⁴⁵ One important factor in this change was the drastic decline in the number of children per emigrant family: by the early twentieth century the family emigrants consisted mainly of relatively newly-wed couples without children.

This general pattern was shared by other Scandinavian countries. Norway almost paralleled Sweden whilst for Denmark the transition from family to single emigration occurred between 1882-1896. In Finland the percentage of family emigrants increased until the early 1890s and then fell dramatically. These patterns suggest that large-scale emigration passes through a sequence of phases, with Denmark in the 1870s at a point corresponding (in terms of family emigration) to that reached by Sweden in the 1850s and 1860s. In the Netherlands, which were never subject to 'America Fever' to the same extent, more than three-quarters of all emigrants during the period 1840-1870 left with family members. Others emigrated in large neighbourhood or religious groups. Family emigration was particularly prominent after the potato crop failure of 1845-1846.⁴⁶

British emigration of 1831 was predominantly a movement of family groups, according to Erickson's analyses of age groups. More than three in four of the English and Welsh migrants travelled with other members of their

⁴⁵ Carlsson, S. (1976) op. cit., p 131

⁴⁶ Swierenga, R. & Saueressig-Schreuder, Y. (1983) op. cit., p 26

families, a higher percentage than either the Swedes or Dutch at the same period. The average size of the English family group was also bigger than those of the Scots or Irish in Erickson's sample. Comparing these 1830s figures with those for the late 1880s, when only one in nine travelled in a family party, reveals a marked change in the character of English emigration.⁴⁷ This change from a family movement to one dominated by single persons was similar to that experienced by the Scandinavian countries. Erickson does not believe that the familial character of English emigration in the 1830s can be explained simply by its agricultural origins. The migrating work force was dominated by skilled industrial workers and farm labourers were in fact under-represented. Nor is Erickson inclined to interpret such family migration as evidence of social and economic stress of a high order. She believes that unhappiness with their status in a changing economy and fears for their children's position in society rather than economic hardship may have driven them to emigrate.⁴⁸ These conclusions serve as a reminder that models of migration behaviour must take into account the environment and the dominant forces of the societies to which they are applied.

⁴⁷ Erickson, C. (1972) 'Who were the English and Scots emigrants to the United States in the late nineteenth century?' in Glass, D.V., & Revelle, R. (eds) Population and Social Change, London, Arnold, pp 347-381

⁴⁸ Erickson, C. (1981) op. cit., p 185 & 196

2.10 Contact across the Atlantic - Letters and Remittances

Section 2.7 above reviewed the importance of a migration tradition, particularly its effect on the rate of migration and in providing information about conditions and employment opportunities in America. The picture of prosperity painted by former migrants for their relations at home was often a powerful stimulus to further emigration. Letters told about large herds, acres and crops. The fine clothes in photographs and the money often enclosed in letters provided concrete evidence of this prosperity.⁴⁹ Other ways in which emigrants could give a stimulus to further emigration were by remitting money to relatives at home and by sending prepaid tickets for the trip.

There is little doubt that many of the letters home were selective in the news they sent. More often than not they recorded details of improvement in their condition and the good life in their new country. Some, however, were extremely realistic in their accounts of the difficulties to be faced by a settler. Others still warned intending emigrants when conditions were not favourable for emigration. In a study of communication between North America and Denmark during the period 1872-1914 Hvidt noticed that the exchange of letters had fluctuations just like the flow of emigrants. In the case of letters from the United States to Denmark the first major increase began around 1880 at the same time as an increase in emigration.

⁴⁹ Semmingsen, I. (1978) op. cit., p 99

The flow was also quick to register adverse conditions in America,

...from the summer of 1884, the effects of the severe economic crisis in America that culminated in 1885 began to make themselves felt. The flow of letters from the United States suddenly fell by more than 25 per cent. Smarting from the recession, Danish emigrants wrote 110,000 letters less than in the year before. They were ducking under the crisis, and, be it cause or effect, the immigration of 1885 was 32 per cent lower than that of the previous year.⁵⁰

As with letters home, there was an element of pride involved in being able to send money home to the family in Europe, even if the migrants themselves were fighting a difficult economic battle. In 1907 some \$ was sent home to Europe, with the Mediterranean countries sending far more per head than English or German migrants who sent home trifling amounts to their families. Migrants from the Scandinavian countries and Ireland in the nineteenth century sent home a considerable amount of money and prepaid passages. Not all the money sent home went through the mail service. Few European emigration agents made extensive use of money orders, a transfer system which was dependent on agency connections in the United States. A large amount of money was sent home by heads of families who had emigrated first and were supporting their families

⁵⁰ Hvidt, K. (1975) op. cit., p 185-6

from abroad until they could afford to send money for their passage to America. The problem with remittances was that money intended to pay for a ticket was often spent on other things. A much more powerful stimulus to emigrate was the prepaid ticket. Once the ticket arrived the decision was made and not often refused. Furthermore the risk of emigrating was not so great when the transport was already paid and there were relatives to go to. The arrangement could also be reciprocal. According to Semmingsen, Norwegian-American farmers gladly paid for their younger siblings or nephews and nieces because they could perform valuable tasks on the farm and brought with them news of the home community and kin in Norway.⁵¹

During the Danish emigration wave of the 1880s a quarter of the passages were prepaid. The Norwegian figure for emigrants from Christiania (Oslo) between 1872 and 1875 was 40 per cent while the percentage of emigrants with prepaid tickets who sailed from Gothenburg in Sweden has been estimated at roughly 50 per cent for the years 1883-1886.⁵² The differences between the percentages of prepaid tickets in the different Scandinavian countries might lead one to speculate that the effect of the pull in the country of emigration must be directly proportional to the volume of the emigrant population already abroad. Both Norway and Sweden had many more potential purchasers of tickets in

⁵¹ Semmingsen, I. (1978) op. cit., p 105

⁵² Brattne, B. & Akerman, S. (1976) 'The importance of the transport sector for mass emigration', in Runblom, H., & Norman, H., (eds) op. cit., p 185

America than Denmark. Theoretically, therefore the pulling power would increase in line with the increase of the immigrant population. However, this was not so in Denmark's case where the share of the prepaid tickets remained at an average of 28 per cent. In the other countries the percentage could fall very low in certain years.

Prepaid passages thus constituted a powerful pull factor but one must be cautious in interpreting their contribution to a country's migration figures. The sending of tickets from America may well have been a result of decisions made prior to emigration or as a means of facilitating and simplifying the process of emigration for those who lived in more remote rural areas, distant from emigrant agents.

In many of the Scandinavian countries the shipping lines maintained offices only in the big towns but they also employed representatives throughout the country. Merchants, storekeepers and innkeepers could earn extra income through commission on tickets sold and their premises carried advertisements for sailings. Many of the companies also maintained agents in America and frequently advertised in the newspapers produced for the immigrant communities. It is difficult to establish the influence of these companies and their agents but they would hardly have invested thus had results not been forthcoming. They probably played an active role in stimulating emigration,

particularly during times of keen competition between the shipping lines.

Throughout all this, accounts (both polemical and balanced) of America were being written in tracts, newsletters, and magazines, thereby influencing the climate of opinion. Overall it is probable that the economic, social and demographic factors discussed in earlier sections were the most important influences in emigration. However the role of personal contact through letter and remittance remains an important, if less readily measurable, influence.

2.11 Summary

Theoretical work on migration has been largely based on conceptual models and dominated by the notion of 'push-pull' between impelling forces in the sending society and forces of attraction in the receiving society. Most of these models are appropriate to analysis at the macro-level and are based on aggregate data. Micro-level work which takes into account characteristics of the individual migrants is largely lacking. Major weaknesses of the 'push-pull' model are its static nature and the difficulty of assessing the relative strength of the push and pull forces. The Friedlander-Grigg model offers a firm conceptual base for analysis of the migration process particularly through its recognition of alternative pathways (intensification of agriculture, increased non-farm income, birth control, and migration) of response to

population pressure. Although the model can accommodate change it lacks a dynamical structure for doing so. Akerman's model treats migration as a dynamic process and successfully generates frequently observed features of migration flows. Key features include an early growth phase triggered by random events, giving way to a phase of betterment migration and thence to a more demographically influenced period. The model's predictive power can, however, be limited by constraints specific to particular societies, such as transport systems or information flow. A significant class of such constraints or intervening obstacles are the personal characteristics or circumstances of the potential migrants. The scarcity of occupational data on nineteenth century emigrants has greatly limited investigation of the objective 'quality' of the migrant flows. An important subset of migrant characteristics, their perceptual biases in evaluating information to them re emigration deserves further research.

A review of the available European studies shows that population increase and pressure on resources promoted emigration wherever industrialization and urbanization were absent or slow to develop. These effects were aggravated where agricultural improvement reduced the rural labour force. In Britain these effects were alleviated by the faster pace of industrialization and urbanisation there. However, fluctuations in economic development often prompted out-movement and a demand for industrial skills in the New World attracted many. There were distinct regional

variations in emigration rates within most countries, often associated with land-holding patterns. Rural areas frequently exhibited migration earlier than urban areas . In several cases early emigration was started by groups seeking religious freedom. Even in periods of mass migration the movement was episodic, often prompted by crop failures, economic recession, and political and religious persecution.

CHAPTER 3

THE ORIGINS OF MIGRATION: FARMING, LINEN, AND TRADITION

3.1 Introduction

The region examined in this study of migration is the north-west of Ireland, comprising the Ulster counties of Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone, together with the adjacent parts of Antrim, Fermanagh and Monaghan. The area is recognised as a distinct region both within Ulster and within Ireland. Throughout the nineteenth century this was the main hinterland of the important emigration port of Derry. The exact extent of this hinterland and areas of origin of the emigrants passing through Derry did, however, vary over time (below).¹

Two related factors governed the choice of study area. These were 1) the availability of sources pertaining to migration, and 2) the need to find an area which had a clear history of migration. Derry was the major port for Irish emigration to America and Canada until 1830. It continued as a major port for passenger services from north west Ireland until the end of the 1870s, when it finally lost out to the steam boats from Liverpool and Scotland. Possibly because of the importance of Derry, the records for the port in the nineteenth century are particularly

¹ In geographical terms the study area is a functioning unit - that is the hinterland of Derry as defined by the emigration data, specifically the origins of the emigrants who passed through the port. As such the 'boundaries' of the unit waxed and waned over the course of the years 1803-1867. For the purposes of analysis the region was largely defined by the administrative boundaries of the counties of Derry, Donegal and Tyrone.

good.² All three of the major sources used in this study - the Custom Board Lists, Shipping Agents' Registers, and the American Manifests - cover in detail both the port and its environs. Hence they could be used to track the socio-economic and demographic profile of regional emigration through Derry over time (Sources and methods are described in Chapter 4).

Emigration from north-west Ireland was not a purely 'Famine phenomenon'. In common with the rest of Ulster the area experienced considerable movement of population overseas during the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. The regional economy played a role not only in creating local conditions conducive to this emigration but also in determining the destinations involved. K.H. Connell has argued:

Irish demographic history, when the particularism of natural features was bolstered up by primitive means of communication, and by a stubborn retention of traditional social and technical practices, should be local history...³

² To my knowledge Derry is the only port in Ireland for which there is more than one collection of records relating to emigration. Although the records are not continuous, they do cover a span of 65 years with which to examine the process of emigration.

³ Connell, K.H. (1950) The Population of Ireland, Oxford, Clarendon Press, p 245..

The work of Cousens⁴ similarly stressed the regional variation in Irish emigration, and the present study will also provide evidence that research on Irish emigration should be locally (or at least regionally) based.

The aims of this chapter are to explore the pre-migration conditions within the sending society of north-west Ireland, and to identify the factors which influenced the onset and timing of migration. I also trace the evolution of an emigration tradition fostering further out-movement. The chapter first reviews the history and regional variations of agriculture and industry within the area and then examines their impact on the pattern, incidence, and timing of emigration.

3.2 Early Economic Development and the Linen Industry

North-west Ireland was a region with a long-standing tradition of emigration. Its socio-economic fortunes were bound up, not only with emigration, but also with the interplay of seasonal emigration, internal migration, and movement overseas. Indeed, the very distinctiveness of the north-west in particular and Ulster in general was itself largely due to the immigrations of the Ulster Plantation. The pattern of settlement of the Scots and English planters

⁴ Cousens, S.H. (1960) 'The regional pattern of emigration during the Great Irish Famine, 1846-1851', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. XXVII, pp 119-34

Cousens, S.H. (1965) 'The regional variation in emigration from Ireland between 1821 and 1841', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. XXXVII, pp 15-30

of the seventeenth century had been combined with existing differences in soil fertility. In counties such as Donegal this resulted in segregation along class, geographical, and religious lines. The west of the county was inhabited by poor cottiers, almost exclusively Catholic, and the east was inhabited by a substantial farming class, mainly Presbyterian. Immigration and settlement by these planters had a lasting impact on the farming and economy of the area, particularly through their involvement in the linen industry.

Linen cloth (as well as other textiles) had been produced for home consumption in Ulster from earliest times. Flax was grown in parts of Ulster to produce yarn and considerable quantities were exported throughout the eighteenth century. Trade in linen cloth i.e. the finished textile product was, however, small. It was this surplus of yarn, coupled with the cheapness of land, which initially attracted skilled British weavers to the north of Ireland. This migration was encouraged by landlords who offered the immigrant tradesmen favourable leases in the belief that the industry would bring prosperity to their regions.

Several circumstances led to the success of the industry in Ireland and particularly in Ulster, where it

developed mainly on domestic lines. First, the soil⁵ and climate were well suited to the production of flax, whilst the abundance of rivers provided water power to drive machinery in the mills and bleachworks. Second, flax crops can be grown remuneratively on the small holdings predominant in Ulster. Third, the linen industry did not pose a threat to the English textile industries of wool and cotton and was therefore allowed to prosper, unlike the Irish woollen industry which was killed off by trade restrictions. Linen products comprised about half the total value of Ireland's exports throughout most of the eighteenth century.⁶ The domestic linen industry reached its peak in the early nineteenth century and at that date

⁵ I am aware of the arguments against physical determinism and that geographers no longer evoke such factors as soil and climate as explanatory devices. Nonetheless, it is necessary to say something about the ecology of the north-west. Here, as elsewhere in Ireland, the pattern of settlement initially reflected the quality of the land. The better, more fertile lands were settled by the Scottish and English settlers whilst the native Catholic Irish remained on the more marginal lands. The settlers brought with them new farming practices and techniques, so from the outset social, cultural and physical differences in land settlement and use were correlated. As population densities and pressure on the land increased, farmland was increasingly subdivided and more marginal areas brought under cultivation. In addition to the effects on farm size and type of land being farmed, this broke down the division of 'settlers' on the good land and 'native Irish' on the poorer land. In any area soil type and climatic conditions combine to allow some crops be grown more successfully and productively than others. Hence ecological influences interact with social and cultural variables and must be considered.

⁶ Dickson, R.J. (1976) Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1785, Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation, p.8

played an extremely important role in the economy of Ulster's rural communities. The linen industry was of more than economic importance, for it deeply affected the social and demographic fabric of the areas in which it existed, and variations in its economic fortunes were mirrored in the lives of those employed in it.

As a cash crop, flax yielded a larger return from land than did any other crop. At the turn of the nineteenth century a typically poor farm of five acres paid £4 15s rent⁷ and sowed potatoes, oats and flax in succession, the first two as subsistence crops and the third as a cash crop. The farmer could expect to raise £2 - half the year's rent - from the flax. The actual cultivation of flax was but one aspect of a farming - weaving household. Much of the flax was grown by the weaver himself, especially in the early stages of the industry's development. The women and children were involved in the spinning. The weaver was thus not dependent on a merchant for supplies and the webs so produced were his own property. In selling the finished product in the market he was a trader as well as craftsman and farmer. The economy of such a household meant several things. First, a relatively small farm was economically viable and could provide employment for all the family, thereby stemming out-migration to the towns or overseas. Second, with

⁷ The example is cited as a typical example of small farming by the Rev. G. Sampson in his Statistical Survey of the County of Londonderry, 1802, Dublin (1802), p 164

little land needed to set up a viable unit, individuals with little or no inheritance could establish themselves in independent households at an early age. This, in turn, led both to a lowering of the age at marriage and to increased sub-division of land.

In common with European countries such as Norway and the Netherlands, the population of Ireland increased rapidly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This exerted pressure on the land even in areas such as Ulster, where there was already a steady stream of migrants to America. As with Norway and the Netherlands there was no modern industry to absorb the surplus population. Nor were there many towns which could receive internal migrants and relieve the pressure on the rural areas and there was no real attempt to check the number of births. The response to population pressure in Ulster was to increase income through domestic industry. Many small farmers and their families were forced into the linen industry to make a living, even though weavers might earn little more than day labourers.

The pattern of involvement in the industry, and its interaction with farming, was not uniform throughout Ulster. Distinct regions evolved local practices as the industry grew. By 1800, for example, the majority of handloom weavers around Belfast depended wholly on manufacturers of cloth for regular employment and supply of raw materials. In the counties of Antrim, Derry, and Tyrone, on the other hand, the weavers were usually

cottiers dependent on weaving to supplement their earnings on the land.⁸ These regional differences became more pronounced as the industry changed and areas like the north-west became increasingly marginal to the manufacture of the finished linen product.⁹

It is difficult to trace with any precision the actual numbers involved in the different occupations that made up the linen industry. The first reliable census for Ireland is that of 1841 which merely lists those 'ministering to clothing', a categorization too general to be useful here. Moreover, many changes had already occurred in the industry by 1841, including its decline in the north-west. Hence we have to rely on pre-census sources such as statistical accounts of the counties, parish registers, and estate records, for an earlier picture of the industry's effect on the regions of Ulster. Sampson remarks on the extensive cultivation of flax in the county of Derry and describes the marketing of the yarn for home weaving and for export to America and England.¹⁰ An idea of the involvement in the industry can be gained from the baptismal register from just one parish in the area.¹¹ This shows that as late as

⁸ Crawford, W. (1971) 'Ulster landowners and the linen industry', in Ward, J.F. and Wilson, R.G. (eds) Land and Industry, Newton Abbot, David & Charles, p 135

⁹ See Collins, B. (1982) 'Proto-industrialization and pre-famine emigration', Social History, Vol.7, no.2, pp 127-46

¹⁰ Sampson, G. (1802) op. cit., p 353

¹¹ Jessop, S. (1968) unpublished B.A. Thesis, University of Kent, p 17

1840-45 some 35 per cent of a sample of 280 baptisms recorded 'weaver' as the father's occupation. In some upland areas in Armagh and elsewhere, extreme pressure of population had reduced the farmer-weavers almost to subsistence level and the standard of their farming was very poor. This decline in farming standards and the miniscule size of some of the 'farms' caused concern as early as 1776 when Arthur Young visited Ulster:

...you there behold a whole province peopled by weavers. It is they who cultivate, or rather beggar, the soil, as well as work the looms.

Agriculture is there in ruins; annihilated; the whole region is the disgrace of the Kingdom.¹²

Young's comments did not apply to all farming in Ulster. Elsewhere in parts of Antrim, Derry and Tyrone substantial farmers worked the best agricultural lands. There is little doubt, however, that the over-dependence on linen left many cottiers and small farmers extremely vulnerable. Linen, which seemed to be poverty's cure, often brought hardship in its wake - hardship on which the emigration trade was to thrive.

One consequence of the growth of the domestic linen industry was the rise in land rents. The price of land kept pace with the income from linen and rose steeply in linen districts as those who combined linen manufacture

¹² Young, A. (1780) A Journey in Ireland with General Observations on the Present State of that Kingdom, 2 vols, 2nd edition, London, p 100

with farming competed for land with those who did not. The pace of rent increase far outstripped any growth in productivity or in the prices of farm produce. Any fluctuations in the linen trade were thus keenly felt and poverty could quickly follow on the heels of one or two bad years. The shortness of leases continually adjusted the balance between rents and the demand for land so finely that the least upset in the agricultural harvest could produce poverty.¹³ Gambling on linen profits to offset rising rents merely added the caprice of trade to the uncertainty of nature. As a result, emigration rose and fell as the fortunes of the linen trade fluctuated. High prices intensified the emigration of unemployed linen workers but it took the combination of linen and farming losses to cause emigration of the farming classes. Rents, prices and wages thus formed a powerful combination of forces which determined the extent of emigration from the north of Ireland in the eighteenth century and were the causes most frequently mentioned by the emigrants themselves as the cause of their movement.¹⁴

There is little doubt that the linen industry was of overwhelming importance as an instrument of economic growth and social change in eighteenth century Ulster. It transformed Ulster, once the poorest and least developed province of Ireland, into one enjoying the most rapid economic growth, even though these benefits were unevenly

¹³ Dickson, R.J. op. cit., p 13

¹⁴ Dickson, R.J. ibid., p 46

distributed. There were also 'knock-on effects' in agriculture outside the linen industry. Thus food production on the better quality lands increased in response to the growing demand for food from those whose plots were too small to provide food as well as flax. However, by the first decade of the nineteenth century competition from cheaper, machine-spun cotton yarn produced in Lancashire had begun adversely affecting the Irish linen industry. By 1825 the demand for Irish hand-spun yarn by the mills in England and the thread manufacturers had been almost completely eroded.¹⁵ Although this badly affected all Irish hand-spinners it affected most drastically those in the north-west, already at the periphery of the system producing yarn. With little margin to operate within, the only alternative open to the farmers was to send the flax they grew to mills in Belfast and the Lagan Valley. In turn this action meant the decline of the markets in the region and the decline of the independent weavers who bought their yarn at these markets.

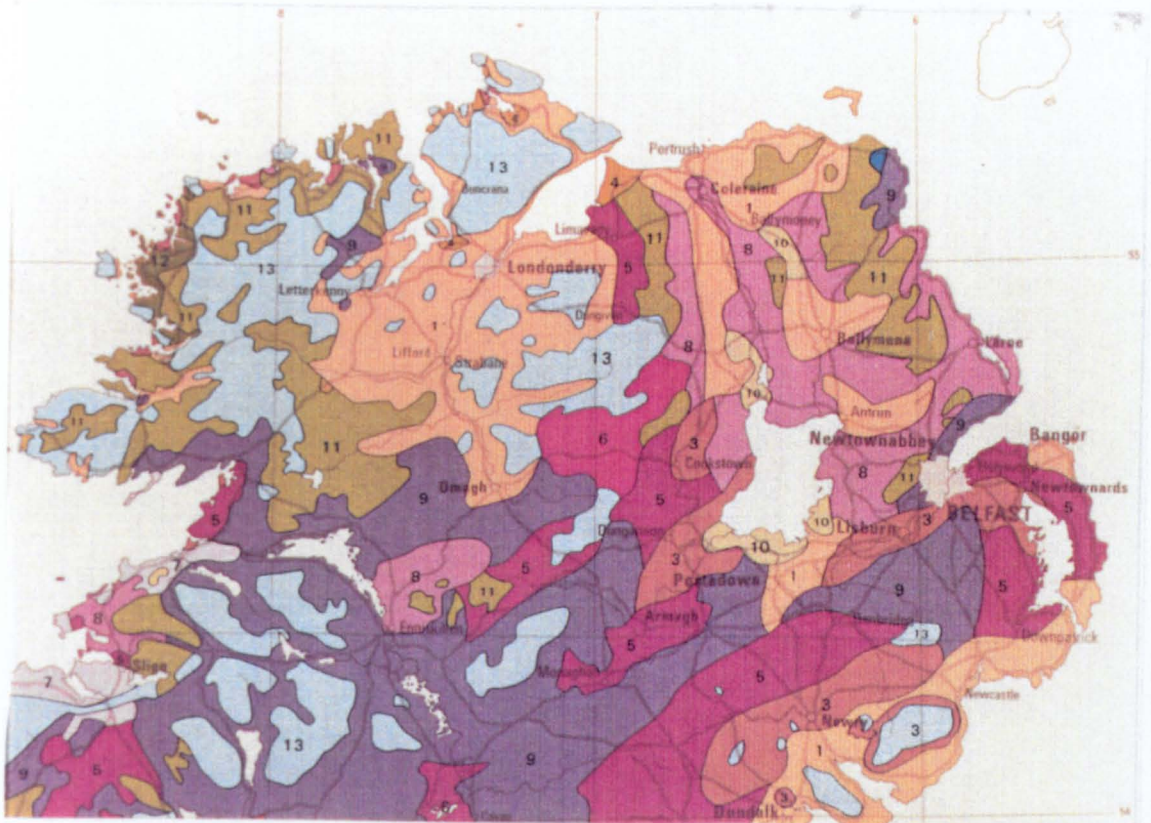
Attempting to remain in linen production meant a decline in income and living standards and alternative methods of increasing non-farm income had to be found. (This is shown as Route (b) in Friedlander's model above). As in Denmark and other European countries in which agriculture-based industries failed, many became day labourers and seasonal migrants. Dependent on their sale of flax or hand-spun cloth for cash, many households were

¹⁵ Collins, B. (1982) op. cit., p 138

forced to accept what prices they could get. A return to a purely farming base was, in many instances, prevented by the scarcity of land in an already densely populated region. Either way the vulnerability of the population was increased. Thus for many the de-industrialization of linen meant that emigration was the only feasible response now left.

3.3 Agriculture

The nature of agriculture in the region in the nineteenth century was as much influenced by the physical geography of the region as by economic forces and policies prevailing at the time. As shown in Figure 3.1, land use potential ranged enormously, from the versatile and fertile area of the Laggan to the extremely limited, mountainous areas of Donegal and Tyrone. The nature and quality of the soil to a large extent affected agricultural practices and levels of prosperity. In the fertile regions such as the Laggan farming was pursued on a more commercial basis and farmers responded to improvements and changes in agricultural practice. Elsewhere, large areas of infertile soils, unreclaimed waste, continuing subdivision of already small farms, and high densities of population combined to form powerful obstacles to agricultural change. These variations in land-use meant the existence of sharply contrasting economies even within quite small areas. These differences could most clearly be seen in the east-west divide in Donegal (Figure 3.1) but were also evident in



Use Range Class	Subclass	Type of Major Limitation	Soil Association No's*	Percent of total area
Wide	1	No serious limitations	7, 8, 9, 10, 21, 24	31.22
Somewhat Limited	2	Somewhat shallow depth	23	3.65
	3	Somewhat coarse texture	6, 20	6.01
	4	Special water-table control methods, fine texture	28	0.39
Limited	5	Some steep slopes	18, 19	5.15
	6	Shallow depth somewhat high altitude	4	2.73
	7	Coarse texture, high rainfall	11, 22	2.98
	8	Imperfect drainage	12, 16, 25, 26	5.55
	9	Poor drainage	13, 15, 17, 27	15.32
Very Limited	10	Organic Soils***	30	2.31
	11	Organic Soils****	3, 29, 31	6.19
	12	Rock outcrop and shallow depth	14	1.46
Extremely Limited	13	Steep slopes, high altitude, shallow depth, imperfect or poor drainage	1, 2	16.63
	14	Shallow depth, rock out-crop	5	0.41

Figure 3.1 Land Use Capability

Source: Atlas of Ireland, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin

counties such as Derry where there were considerable variations in farming practices and in farm sizes.¹⁶ Farmer-weavers were common throughout Derry but in the south-east cottier-weavers predominated. To them farming was a means of subsistence only. Agricultural change was largely resisted in these areas and subdivision and early marriage were noticeable features.

At the beginning of the century Irish agriculture was characterized by an increase in tillage. This was largely due to the effects of the 1793-1815 European wars which increased the demand for food, especially for the growing population of England. Cereal crops fetched high prices and brought prosperity. Thus between 1760 and 1816 farmoutput doubled, though rents increased fourfold.¹⁷ In north-west Ireland the area under grain (mainly barley and oats) increased at this time, a response not only to the increased demand for food but also to the growth in the local, illegal market for distillation.¹⁸

¹⁶ Johnston, J.M. (1964) 'Agriculture in County Derry at the beginning of the nineteenth century', Studia Hibernica, No.4, p 98

¹⁷ Blessing, P.J. (1980) 'Irish', Harvard Encyclopaedia of American Ethnic Groups, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p 529

¹⁸ In 1814 Sampson estimated that 90 per cent of the barley grown in County Derry in recent years had been sold for illicit distillation. Sampson, Rev. G.D. (1814) A Memoir Explanatory of the Chart and Survey of the County of Londonderry, Ireland. London. p 245

Flax cultivation and scutching¹⁹ remained important in Donegal, supplying the raw material to the thriving linen industry in the east of Ulster. However, work in the flax mills was seasonal and usually required only four or five employees. Hence the many flax mills in County Donegal did not mean extensive employment.²⁰ Many areas of Donegal were on the fringes of the main economy and smuggling, kelp burning, knitting woollen stockings, and fishing all contributed to the economic viability of small farms.²¹

The peace of 1815 brought in its wake a dramatic decrease in the war-inflated agricultural prices and with it distress. In the north-west this was exacerbated by the declining linen industry and the suppression of the distilling industry. Many cottiers who now faced high rents but no cash income fled from agrarian distress. Some migrated to the city of Derry. The post-war deflation in agricultural prices also encouraged the adoption of more efficient agricultural techniques and a shift from tillage to pasture. These changes deprived many labouring families

¹⁹ After being soaked in streams and lakes in order to dissolve gummy substances and loosen unusable portions of the stem, flax is then scutched. This process removes dried, matted fibres.

²⁰ Sauto, E. (1983) 'Economy and society in pre-Famine Ulster: Armagh and Donegal compared'. Graduate seminar, Trinity College, Dublin.

²¹ Kirkham, G. (1981) 'Economic diversification in a marginal economy: A case study', in Roebuck, P. (ed) Plantation to Partition, Belfast, p 18

of much of their income and brought about reduced living standards for others.

The years from 1820 to the Great Famine were characterized by increasing population, widespread subdivision, and partial crop failures. In a region increasingly marginal to the Ulster economy the non-agricultural sector could not absorb the growing surplus of rural workers. Nor could the reclamation of waste land (a measure used successfully in the Jutland area of Denmark to relieve population pressure and stem emigration²² and which began in the 1830s in Ulster) keep up with the rapid population increase. Rather than face increasingly wretched living conditions many resorted to some form of migration: internal, seasonal or overseas.

3.4 Internal Migration and the Growth of Towns

Many of Ulster's towns were founded during the seventeenth century as part of the provisions of the plantation scheme but grew little at that time. In the eighteenth century the growth of the linen industry brought increased trade to the towns. As linen markets were established. The establishment of linen markets led to the extension of some towns and to the creation of new ones such as Cookstown in Co. Tyrone.²³ However, although many

²² Hvidt, K. (1975) Flight to America. The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants. Academic Press, New York, p. 127

²³ Camblin, G. (1958) 'The county towns' in Moody, T.W. & Beckett, J.C. (eds) Ulster Since 1800, London, p 80

towns were important centres for the linen trade, the domestic nature of the industry meant that few were large. Weaving was done in rural homes and the towns were visited only to sell the cloth on market days. The major towns in Ulster during this period thus remained the ports of Derry, Belfast and Newry.

The main urban centre for the north-west was Derry. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Derry had profitable commercial links with Scotland, North America, and the West Indies. It also served as an important point of embarkation for emigration overseas. Agricultural produce was brought to the city by road and river, mainly from Strabane. Its population was fairly stable through most of the eighteenth century but the city underwent considerable social and demographic change between 1800 and 1850. The city's population grew rapidly, from 5,000 in 1800 to 13,196 in 1841 and 20,000 in 1851, largely through migration from the growing population in its crisis-ridden rural hinterland.

The populations of Coleraine and of Limavady, two market towns in good farming districts of County Derry, also increased slightly at this time, supported by increased prosperity in their surrounding markets.²⁴ In the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh, Strabane and Enniskillen respectively served as major market centres.

²⁴ Johnston, J. (1959) 'Population movements in County Derry during a pre-famine year', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol.60, Section No.3, p 147

Yet the 1841 census shows that only 16 per cent of the Ulster population lived in towns (defined in the census as places with 500-1,500 people) and villages. Most of these were located to the east of the province (Figure 3.2). Table 3.1 shows the extent of population growth in these towns between 1821 and 1871.

The problem of a lack of industrial and urban centres which could absorb the growing population of a country was not unique to Ireland. Neither Norway nor the Netherlands experienced much industrialization until late in the nineteenth century. Many of those forced to leave the land consequently emigrated. However, the problem was particularly acute in Ireland. Of all the towns in Ulster, only Belfast had an economy based on industry. All the others reflected, in varying degrees, the rural economy and thus provided little employment for the growing rural population. As a result internal migration in the region was unimportant relative to seasonal and permanent emigration (Table 3.2).

3.5 Seasonal Migration

Seasonal movement of Irish harvest labourers to England can be traced as far back as the Middle Ages but it is not until the eighteenth century that a recognisable seasonal migration is documented both in Irish and in

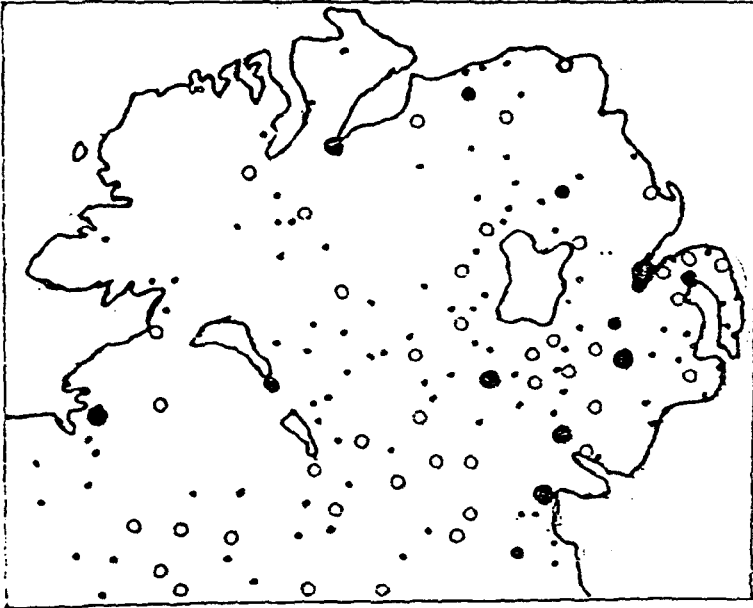


Figure 3.2 Towns in Ulster, 1841
Based on the 1841 census

Town populations

- 10,000 - 20,000
- 5000 - 10,000
- 1500 - 5000
- 500 - 1500

Table 3.1 Population of Ulster towns, 1821-71

	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871
CO. ANTRIM						
Antrim	2485	2655	2645	2325	2137	2020
Ballyclare	*	824	847	940	905	1021
Ballymena	2740	4067	5549	6136	6769	7931
Ballymoney	1949	2222	2490	2578	2600	2930
Belfast	37277	53287	75308	97784	119393	174412
Carrickfergus	8023	8706	3885	3543	4028	4212
Larne	2524	2616	3345	3076	2766	3288
Legoniel	*	*	*	1149	1968	3152
Lisburn	4684	5745	6284	6533	7462	7876
Portrush	210	387	630	858	1086	1196
CO. ARMAGH						
Armagh	8493	9470	10245	8578	8801	8946
Bessbrook	*	*	*	*	637	2215
Lurgan	2715	2842	4677	4205	7772	10632
Portadown	231	1591	2505	3091	5528	6735
CO. CAVAN						
Belturbet	2010	2026	2070	2054	1789	1759
Cavan	2322	2931	3749	3054	3118	3389
Cootehill	2152	2239	2425	2105	1994	1851
CO. DONEGAL						
Ballyshannon	3831	3775	3513	3698	3197	2958
Bundoran	*	*	299	384	714	744
Letterkenny	2458	2168	2161	1940	2165	2116
CO. DOWN						
Banbridge	1715	2469	3324	3301	4033	5600
Bangor	2943	2741	3116	2846	2531	2560
Comber	1283	1377	1964	1790	1713	2006
Donaghadee	2795	2986	3151	2821	2671	2226
Downpatrick	4123	4784	4651	3845	3692	3621
Dromore	1861	1942	2110	1862	2531	2408
Gilford	*	*	643	2814	2892	2720

Table 3.1 Continued/

	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871
Holywood	*	1288	1532	1408	2437	3573
Newry	10013	13065	11972	13435	12179	13364
Newtownards	3332	4442	7621	9566	9542	9562
Portaferry	1512	2203	2107	2074	1960	1938
Rathfriland	1178	2001	2183	2053	1916	1827
CO. FERMANAGH						
Enniskillen	2399	6056	5686	5792	5774	5836
CO. DERRY						
Coleraine	4851	5752	6255	5920	5631	6082
Derry City	9313	19620	15196	19727	20159	25242
Limavady	2217	2428	3101	3205	2732	2762
CO. MONAGHAN						
Carrickmacross	1641	2979	1997	2529	2063	2017
Castleblaney	*	1828	2134	2077	1822	1809
Clones	2204	2381	2877	2319	2390	2170
Monaghan	3738	3848	4130	3328	3799	3632
CO. TYRONE						
Cookstown	963	2883	3006	2993	3257	3501
Dongannon	3243	3515	3801	3835	3984	3886
Omagh	2095	2211	2947	3054	3533	3724
Strabane	4136	4700	4704	4324	4184	4309

Table 3.2 Internal migration from Ulster counties, 1841, showing the proportion of migrants to resident population.

Tyrone	1 to 21
Derry	1 to 23
Donegal	1 to 33
Antrim	1 to 37
Fermanagh	1 to 17
Monaghan	1 to 17
Armagh	1 to 18

Source: 1841 census of Ireland.

British sources.²⁵ By the early nineteenth century steamship companies provided regular and cheap transportation to England and Scotland and the out-movement of labourers grew into a substantial one. The post-Waterloo slump in agriculture resulted in a sharp increase in the numbers of migrants. From the 1820s onwards the steam ships carried thousands of passengers, mainly from the ports of Belfast, Derry, Drogheda and Dublin. There was intense competition between the steamship companies and in north-west Ireland (and elsewhere) the ships moved round the coast looking for passengers.²⁶

Johnson found that seasonal migration in the years preceding the Famine was well established wherever small farmers lived on restricted resources away from alternative urban employment. Hence the movement was important in the densely populated areas of south-east Derry and north-western Donegal. Again the internal contrasts within Donegal are evident in the pattern of seasonal migration. Unlike the densely populated north-west of Donegal, migration was absent from the strip of fertile land along the eastern border of the county known as The Laggan. Indeed, this region offered local employment for temporary workers, as did some of the substantial farms of

²⁵ Johnston, J.H. (1967) 'Harvest migration from nineteenth century Ireland', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, June, p 97

²⁶ Ó'Gráda, C. (1973) 'Post-famine Adjustment: Essays in Nineteenth Century Irish Economic History', Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, p. 8

Derry and Tyrone. Contrasts within the county of Derry are also revealed by the Ordnance Survey Memoirs. These tabulated the destination in 1834 of nearly 1,200 harvest migrants from the county, most (74 per cent) of whom took the short and cheap route from Derry to Scotland. Most of the migrants came from either the south-eastern districts of the county or the upland areas of the south-west, with none or few from the prosperous northern parishes²⁷.

In 1841 the Census Commissioners ranked the counties of Ireland according to the proportion of seasonal migrants to the population. The figures for the north-west show Donegal with the fifth highest rate in Ireland, with one migrant per 60 residents. Derry ranked seventh, with one migrant per 105 residents, and Tyrone was fifteenth (one per 149 residents). The census also shows that a total of 11,317 seasonal migrants sailed from the port of Derry in 1841, making it the third ranking port (after Dublin and Drogheda) for seasonal out-migration. Most of the migrants were cottiers and small farmers engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Seasonal harvest migration was of great economic importance because it relieved the seasonal under-employment of labourers and provided enough income to cover the rent of the average cottier's holding. The need for harvest labourers in Scotland was met by these migrants and their transportation was made easy by the strong links between Derry and Glasgow. The link between the migrants'

²⁷ Johnston, J.H. (1959) op. cit., p 158

earnings and rent payment demonstrates that seasonal migration was not a search for a rising standard of living or a result of rising expectations. Instead, it was a crucial part of a subsistence existence made more difficult by the loss of earlier sources of cash income, such as hand-loom weaving and spinning. Those who sought improved living standards or who wished to avoid the threat of declining standards of living and had the means to act, turned to permanent emigration overseas, particularly to North America.

3.6 Emigration: Tradition and Course

It is now recognised that large-scale emigration from Ireland began several decades before the Great Famine. Considerable emigration from the north-west (as elsewhere in Ulster) took place during the eighteenth century. Much of this early migration resulted from fears of religious persecution and in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries many Presbyterian ministers from the Laggan area led their congregations to settlements in New England. By the time large-scale migration began from Ulster, though, most of the measures against Protestant dissenters had been relaxed. However, as with the emigration of the persecuted members of the Reformed Church

in the Netherlands, this movement was to engender an emigration mentality in the region.²⁸

Throughout the course of the eighteenth century annual departures averaged between 3,000 and 4,000. In the years immediately before the American Revolution, however they rose to approximately 10,000. By 1775 it is estimated that about 250,000 Ulster migrants had settled in the American colonies.²⁹ The main causes of emigration in this period were economic - the burden of ever-increasing rents and tithes, short leases and insecurity of tenure, and periodic crop failures. Combinations of these forces kept the spirit of emigration alive in Ulster and peaks in migration followed years of agrarian distress and discontent. Dissatisfaction and distress were fuelled by the information which flowed back from the American Colonies. As Semmingsen has noted in relation to Norwegian emigration, letters and information from the New World was a powerful stimulus to further out-movement³⁰. People in Ulster were appraised of the opportunities in America by former migrants. Some of the Presbyterian ministers who

²⁸ Swierenga, R. (1983) 'Occupational Change among Netherlands Overseas Emigrants to the United States in the Nineteenth Century.' Paper presented to the Cukanzus Conference Oxford 1983, p.6.

²⁹ Jones, M.A. (1980) 'The Scotch-Irish', Harvard Encyclopaedia of American Ethnic Groups, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p 896

³⁰ Semmingsen, I. (1978) Norway to America: A History of the Migration. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, p 70

had led congregations to America used their extensive connections to disseminate information and acted, in effect, as agents for those intending to emigrate.³¹

The people leaving in this period were mainly those employed in the linen trade and farmers of some property. Most met the cost of their own fares but for those without capital the system of indentured servitude offered an alternative means of travel overseas. During the colonial period many Ulster migrants took this route. The practice died out, however, after the War of Independence.

The economy of north-west Ireland played an important role not only in creating local conditions conducive to emigration but also in determining the destination of the resulting migrants. Philadelphia featured prominently as a destination for eighteenth and nineteenth century emigrants, particularly those departing from Ulster. Links between Ulster and Philadelphia go back to the early eighteenth century. Dickson notes that in 1729 some 1,155 of the 1,708 immigrants who landed at Philadelphia were Irish, most of them from the north.³² A combination of hostility in New England and the economic opportunities and religious freedom offered in Pennsylvania diverted almost all Scotch-Irish emigration to that state from about 1725.

³¹ Ford, H.J. (1915) The Scotch-Irish in America, Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp 188-90

³² Dickson, R.J. (1976) Ulster Emigration to Colonial America 1718-1785, Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation, p 33

Derry's passenger trade grew out of commercial links with America and Canada. Flax seed from America was imported for the linen trade and, in the early spring, flax seed fleets from Philadelphia and New York arrived in the northern Irish ports. Rather than return empty, the ships took on passengers for America, a pattern which continued into the early nineteenth century. Hence, an ironic link between emigration and the linen trade was formed: flax seed ships provided the transport for migrants driven out by fluctuations in the linen trade they served.

Philadelphia was the destination for 78 per cent of Derry ships sailing between 1750 and 1775³³ and its particularly strong connection with the port of Derry was to continue well into the nineteenth century, establishing a beaten path for successive generations of emigrants.

In the first half of the nineteenth century Canada became the favoured destination for British and Irish emigrants, including those from Derry. Here again the emigrant trade grew out of commercial links, especially in the timber trade. In the early years emigrant passengers constituted human ballast for timber ships returning to Canada. The fares on such ships were low and a strong tradition of emigration along beaten tracks to the ports of Quebec and St John, New Brunswick, developed.

Relatively little is known about the migrants in the early nineteenth century. The Ordnance Survey Memoirs of the 1830s provide some valuable insights into the nature of

³³ Dickson, R.J. (1976) op. cit., p 225

emigration from the north of Ulster, mainly from the county of Derry. In his memoir on Derry City, Colonel Colby remarks:

The amount of the capital taken out by the humbler emigrants, who generally resort to British America, is very trifling; in many instances, indeed, the expenses of passage, and even of sea-store, are defrayed at the other side of the Atlantic... The labouring emigrants, who take shipping for Quebec, are rather more respectable than those who choose St John's, most of whom endeavour to make their way thence to the United States, from a wrong estimate of the facilities of American travelling. The upper class of emigrants who are mostly small farmers, allege as the cause of their emigrating the high price of land at home; and they generally prefer the United States, being the country in which they had friends already settled for a number of years. The amount of capital taken out by individuals of this description is generally about £50, but is in some instances much higher, and has even risen to £500. They generally proceed to New York, or Philadelphia, accompanied by both male and female labourers. The latter port is preferred, as a dollar of the head-money is saved by landing near it. A few mechanics and

independent labourers also take shipping for these ports.³⁴

Not all the information on early migration rates from the north-west is reliable. The official returns of emigrants from the port of Derry, summarised for 1832-34 in Table 3.3, must considerably under-estimate the numbers emigrating from the region. Thus where Table 3.3 indicates a grand total for the entire region in 1834 of just 3916, totals calculated from the detailed parish summaries of the Ordnance Survey Memoirs³⁵ suggest that in that year about 2,000 people left from the county of Derry alone. Johnson considers this to be an under-estimate as the surveyors made no attempt to collect figures from the parish of Templemore (which contained the city of Derry). Analysis of the parochial figures indicates that over two-thirds of the parishes lost residents to emigration in the 1830s. In these parishes as many as 2-3 per cent of the total population emigrated within two or three years. Although most of the parishes experienced out-migration the more

³⁴ Colby, Col. (1837) Ordnance Survey of City of Londonderry, Vol.1, p 203

³⁵ Colby, Col. (1837) op. cit., p 203. The Ordnance Survey Memoirs of the 1830s attempted not only to chart the country geographically and geologically, but also to detail socio-economic and antiquarian reports at parish level. The scheme as a whole turned out to be abortive but was done successfully in the northern counties of Antrim and Derry. For these counties information on emigrants is given, including their religious affiliation. The Ordnance Survey Memoirs are deposited in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

Table 3.3 The returns of emigrants for the port of Derry
for the years 1832-34¹

Years	British Colonies		United States	Total
	St. John, N.B.	Quebec		
1832	2396	2607	2640	7643
1833	1789	1523	2730	6042
1834	1432	1032	1402	3916

¹ British Parliamentary Papers (1835) First Report From His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland. Vol.XXXI

affluent northern parishes were the most important sending areas of emigrants. Migration from the poorer and densely populated parishes of the south east was so slight as to be considered insignificant. So, whilst the idea of emigration was well-established in Derry by the 1830s, differences in the rate between one parish and the next reflected the differing local economic circumstances and aspirations.

In the parish of Coleraine, for instance, small farmers could sell their land or their tenant rights to neighbours who were anxious to increase the size of their own holdings. On the other hand, if farmers did decide to stay on the land, they could more easily afford to pay the passage for some of their children. Conditions were different in the poorer south-east, where subsistence farming and sub-division were prevalent. Here the sum remaining from the sale of Tenant Right after debts were paid was unlikely to be sufficient to finance emigration. In these areas the increase in population was absorbed through further sub-division, even though it meant a fall in the standard of living for the community. In the better parishes of the north where sub-division had been halted, the problem of obtaining land could only be solved by emigration. Here a combination of the ability to pay for the passage as well as aspirations of a higher standard of living best explain the volume of migration.

The tradition of emigration among the Ulster-Scots must be considered of importance. Although the

Presbyterians formed 46 per cent of the total population of the county, in 1834 they accounted for 60 per cent of the emigrants. Catholics, on the other hand, were under-represented, comprising 39 per cent of the population but only 31 per cent of the migrants. Part of the explanation for this may lie in the greater means and ability of the Presbyterian small farmers to find the money to emigrate. Their passage money could come not only from their own resources but also through the help of those who had migrated earlier. Acceptance of emigration subsequently increased among Catholics and Presbyterians alike but their stronger tradition of emigration enhanced an emigration mentality among the Presbyterian community.

The variations in population structure and in emigration behaviour within the county of Derry reflect the marked regional variations in population change in Ireland during the two decades preceding the Great Famine. As the work of Cousens³⁶ has shown, there were significant changes in population in the period 1821-1841 i.e. before the losses of the Famine period. These changes varied from county to county and barony to barony. Population increase was almost universal throughout Ireland but the degree of change was affected by the extent of emigration. Cousens found marked regional variations in the loss of population but net movement from Ulster, particularly from the north-western counties, was considerable. He remarks:

³⁶ Cousens, S.H. (1965) op. cit.

The evidence points to more than 7 per cent having left Donegal, Londonderry, Fermanagh, Leitrim, Westmeath, King's and Wicklow, and more than 5 per cent having left Tyrone, Monaghan, Cavan...³⁷

Two north-western counties, Derry and Donegal, recorded some of the highest losses during this period.

Several factors influencing emigration were strongly regional in their incidence. Among those identified by Cousens were seasonal migration, landlord and state activity, language, the decay of the textile manufacture industry, tenant right, the position of minorities, and the falling in of old leases. Two types of out-movement, seasonal and permanent emigration, often differed in their distribution within a county. Thus in Donegal seasonal migration was common in the poorest areas of the west, such as Dunfanaghy and Glenties. Here the population increased rapidly between 1821 and 1841. In contrast, in the fertile areas of the east emigration was common so that the population barely increased. Cousens considered the contraction and collapse of the linen industry to be the stimulus to out-movement.

The effects of emigration from these north-western counties and the subsequent check to population growth are evident in Figure 3.3. This shows the 1821-1911 population trends in each county, with percentage change in each decade noted. Whilst some slowing down of population

³⁷ Cousens, S.H. ibid, p 21

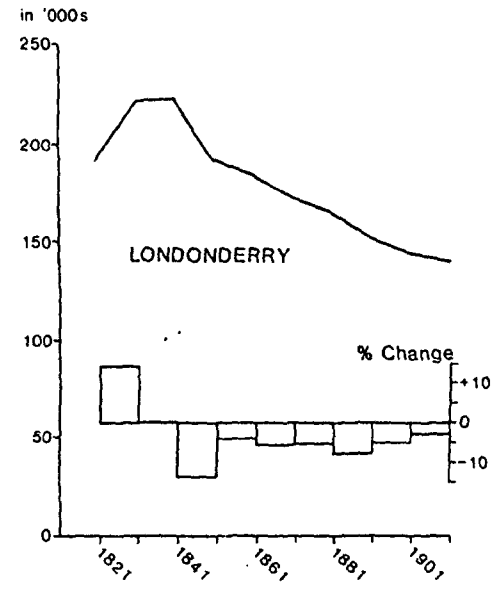
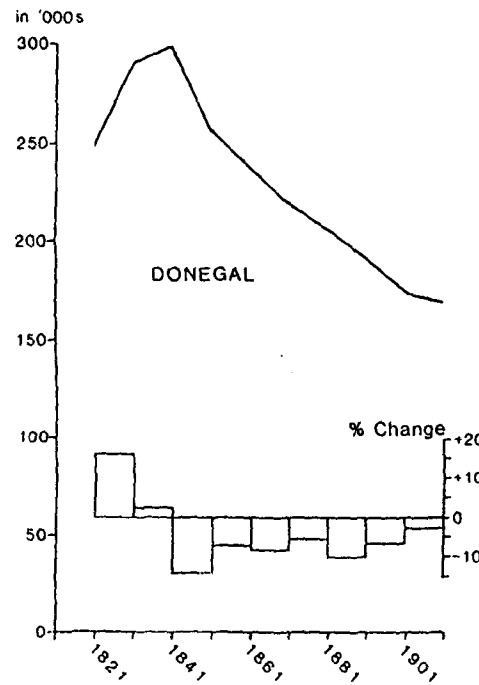
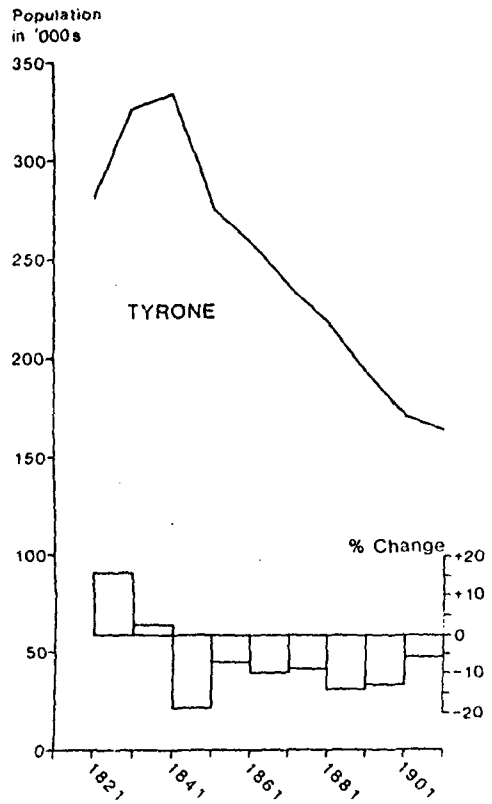


Figure 3.3 Population trends by county, 1821 - 1911

growth before the Famine was noted in many parts of Ireland, the dramatic decreases in Donegal, in Tyrone, and particularly in Derry are noticeable. Here hardly any increase was recorded between 1831 and 1841. Despite this, population density in some parts remained exceptionally high. In the period immediately before the Famine, Ulster had the highest population density of any province. Overall density averaged 253 per square mile or 406 per square mile of arable land (since approximately one third of the area was uncultivated) but there were marked contrasts within the region and a marked east-west divide within Donegal (Figure 3.4). In the rich area of the Laggan the density of population was 200-300 to the square mile. Here farms were, on the whole, larger than elsewhere in the county and mainly devoted to arable farming. In contrast, population density was acute in the north-west and in coastal areas. Communications between these areas and the east of Donegal were very poor and the farming in many areas still practised the rundale system.³⁰

Commenting on the area Freeman states:

West Donegal was in a primitive state... The density of population was far in excess of the capacity of the land to support it without

³⁰ Under the rundale system an individual could have as many as thirty or forty pieces of land within a single farmland. Quarrelling and trespassing over land was frequent and improvements and consolidation almost impossible.

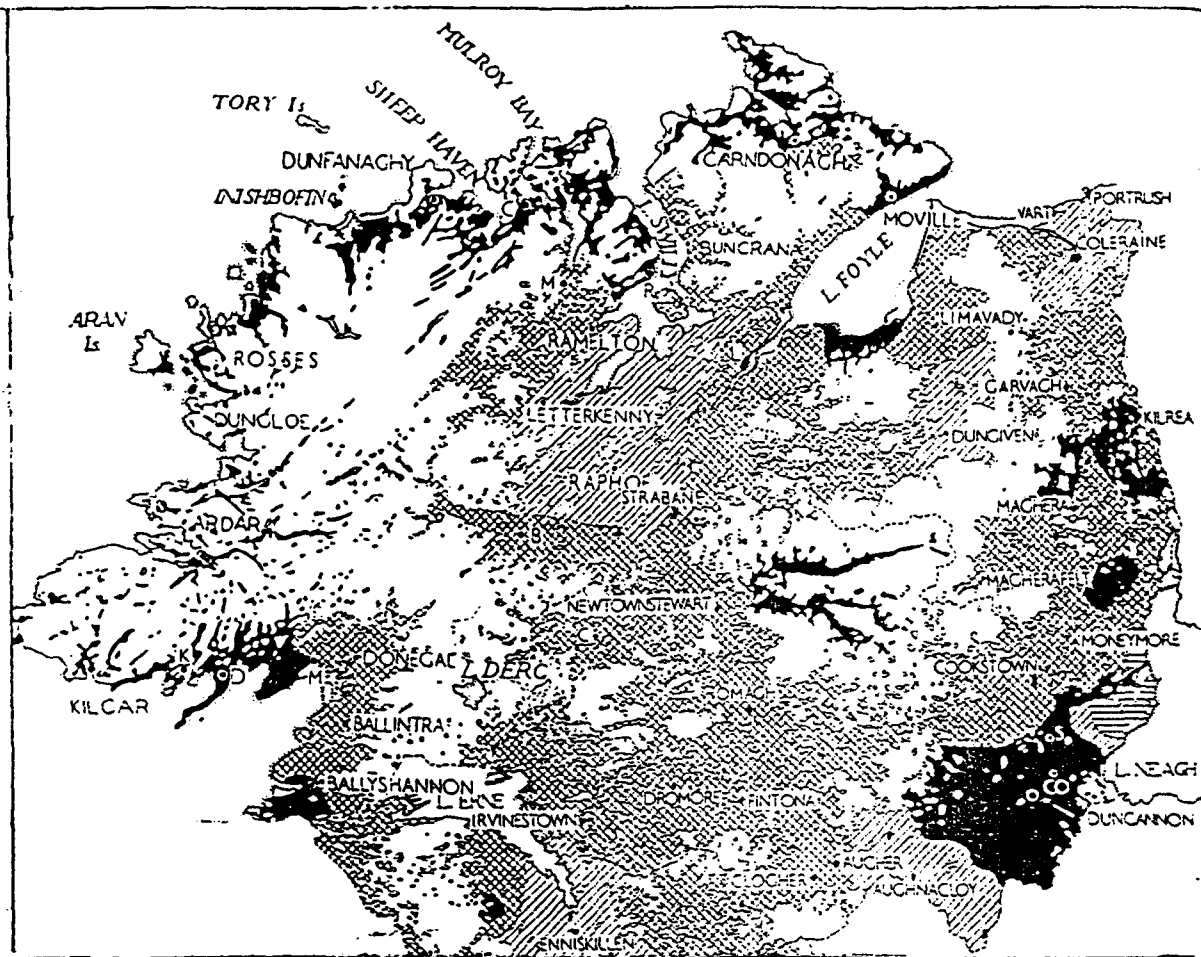
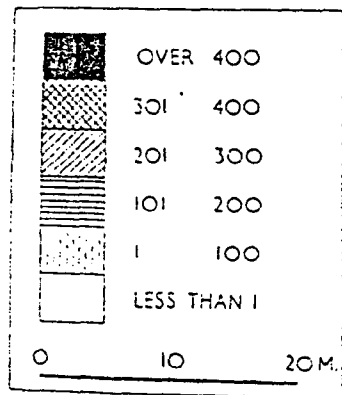


Figure 3.4

Population density of Ulster. 1841
Based on Freeman, 1957



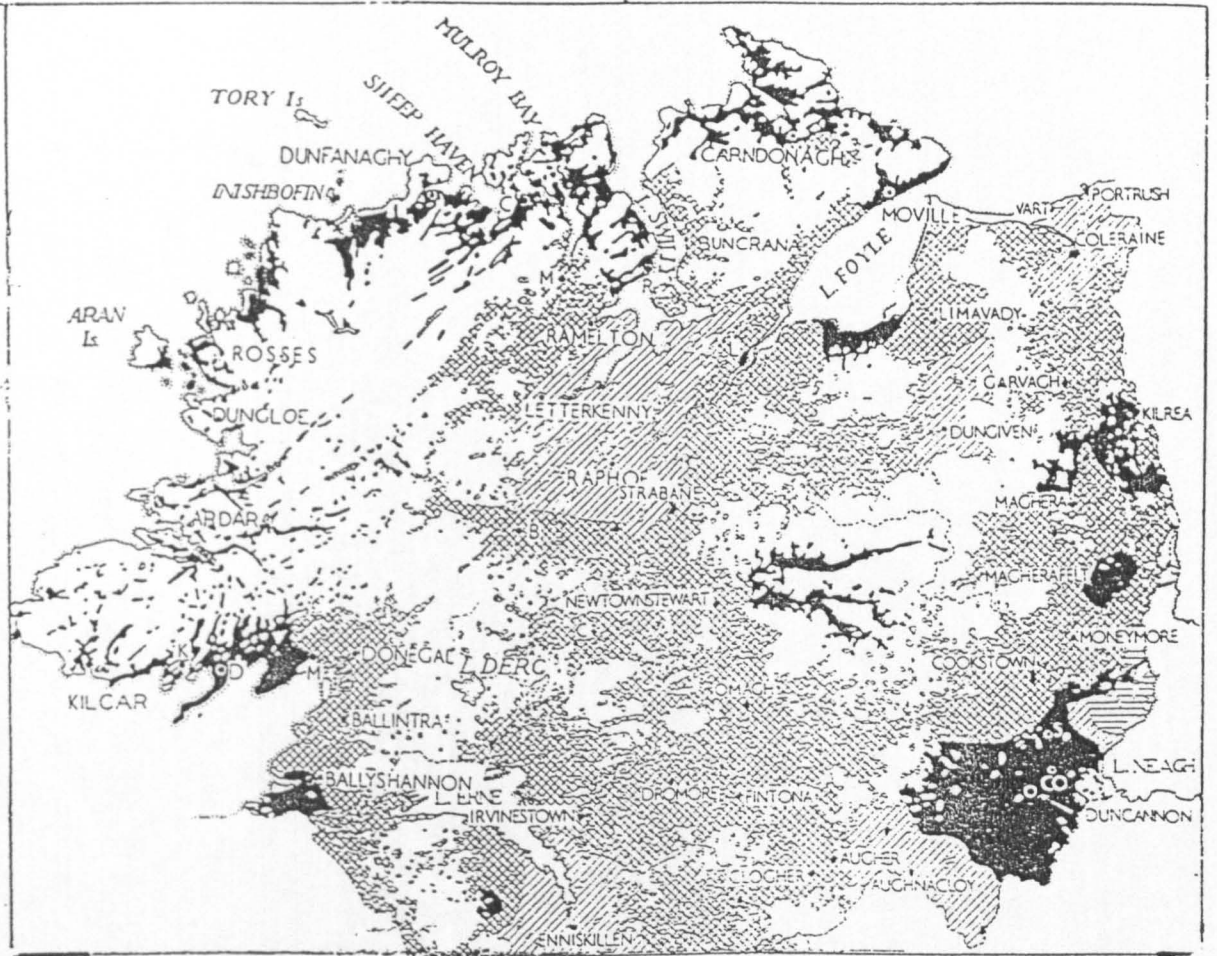
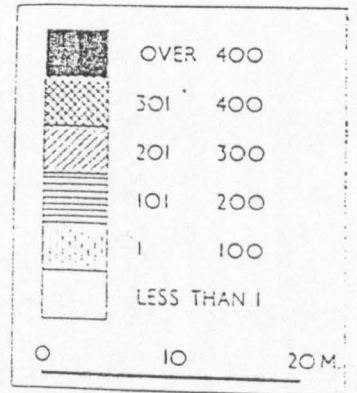


Figure 3.4

Population density of Ulster, 1841
Based on Freeman, 1957



additional help even at a very low standard of living.³⁹ In 1841 only 33 per cent of Donegal's land was arable, against 61 per cent in Derry and 56 per cent in Tyrone (Table 3.4). Although the density of population was high in parts of south-east Tyrone and the lower Bann valley they were not as completely isolated as Donegal.

On the eve of the Famine, then, the north-west of Ireland was an area of marked internal contrasts. Unlike the south-east of the province it had no growing industrial base. With the near extinction of the domestic-based linen industry, many of the population had experienced a substantial decline in living standards. In the absence of any opportunities within the region they opted for what had become a traditional alternative - permanent overseas emigration.

3.7 Population Loss in the Famine: Emigration and Mortality

The Great Irish Famine was one of the major demographic landmarks in European history. It brought immediate and dramatic population loss in its wake, through mortality and emigration. Further, it prompted a period of sustained population loss which was eventually to affect all areas of Ireland. Ireland was not unique among European countries in experiencing successive failures of the potato crop in the mid-forties. Parts of Germany were severely affected and in the Netherlands the population was

³⁹ Freeman, T.W. (1957) Pre-Famine Ireland, Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp 300-301

Table 3.4 Rural economy of Ulster counties, showing the percentage of land area under various uses in 1841.

County	Arable	Plantation	Uncultivated	Towns	Water
Monaghan	89.4	1.8	6.7	0.09	1.9
Armagh	80.8	2.7	10.7	0.23	5.5
Antrim	67.5	1.4	23.6	0.25	7.2
Fermanagh	63.2	1.3	25.1	0.04	10.2
Derry	61.3	1.5	34.8	0.30	2.0
Tyrone	55.8	1.5	38.6	0.08	3.9
Donegal	32.9	0.6	64.4	0.04	1.9

Source: 1841 census of Ireland

brought to the brink of famine and mass emigration ensued. However, in no other country was a population so dependent on the potato crop and, hence, so disastrously affected by its failure. It is estimated that in the period between the autumn of 1846 and the spring of 1851 some 800,000 died (about one in ten of the population) and a further one million emigrated. The sheer scale of these numbers, however, often serves to conceal two important facts. First, the loss of population - through mortality or through emigration - was by no means uniform throughout the country. Second, the annual patterns of mortality varied from one year to another.

Neither famine nor crop-failure were strangers in eighteenth and nineteenth Ireland. Partial failures of the potato crop had occurred in 1829-30, 1832-34, 1836, 1839 and 1841-42 and these had been followed by peaks in emigration in the years 1830-32, 1834, 1836-37 and 1841-42.⁴⁰ Never before, however, had the subsistence crop failed so extensively throughout the island nor had the dependency on that crop, and hence the vulnerability of the population, been so severe.⁴¹ However, the crisis brought about by the failure of the potato crop manifested itself in different ways throughout Ireland.

⁴⁰ Fitzpatrick, D. (1964) Irish Emigration 1801-1921, Dundalk, Dundalgen Press, p 27

⁴¹ It was estimated by the Devon Commissioners who inquired into the occupation of land, that in 1845 some four million people, one half of the population of the country, were dependent on the crop.

Famine came slowly to the north-west. Although there were signs of potato blight in 1845 this was nothing new and in 1846 a crop free from disease, with conditions returning to normal by the autumn, was anticipated. In fact, the crop looked promising in the summer of that year. A few weeks later, however, blight appeared in many districts and spread across the region. Famine and disease, and within the year death, followed in its wake.

The main source for the study of mortality trends during the Famine crisis is the 1851 census. Each head of family was required to enter the date and cause of death of any member of his household who had died during the previous decade. The main omissions from the figures thus obtained are for families which succumbed entirely during the Famine and deaths within families that subsequently emigrated. Adjustments can be made for these omissions, however, and Famine mortality reconstructed. Cousens used

such adjusted data of the 1851 census in his work on the regional pattern of Famine mortality.⁴²

Cousens initially assumed that the major influences on the death rate would be poverty and the vulnerability of the population (as measured by its dependence on the potato as a subsistence crop). The most vulnerable areas thus identified were all in the west of the country - Donegal, Tyrone, Mayo, Galway, Roscommon, Clare, Kerry and Cork. In general, mortality was correlated with dependence on the potato. However, there were some interesting exceptions. Mortality was exceptionally low in the three counties of the north-west - Donegal, Tyrone and Derry. Cousens' explanation for these exceptions was that landlord attitudes were markedly more favourable to the poor in these counties.

Evidence of a lack of eviction, and of independence of public relief, distinguish Donegal, Tyrone and Londonderry as being the

⁴² The adjustments made by Cousens have recently been criticized as still underestimating Famine mortality. In his 1983 book Why Ireland Starved (London, Allen and Unwin) J.M. Mokyr concludes that the 1851 census data cannot be reliably used for estimating the excess death rates during the Great Famine. Mokyr offers an alternate and rather elaborate computation which arrives at higher Famine mortality rates than most modern historians have supposed. Mokyr's new estimates still show relatively low rates of mortality in the counties of Derry, Donegal and Tyrone. The one major difference between Mokyr and Cousens' figures is that Mokyr estimates higher mortality for Tyrone than for Donegal and Derry.

counties in which landlords mostly either fed or employed the destitute.⁴³

In 1848 these counties continued to record remarkably low death rates. In 1849, in common with the rest of Ulster, mortality was further reduced, although it rose over the rest of Ireland. By 1850 the Famine had practically come to an end in most of Ulster. The overall death rates of counties such as Donegal (6.5 per cent) and Tyrone (5.1 per cent) compared favourably with other western counties such as Galway (17.3 per cent), Clare (15.9 per cent), and Mayo (12.9 per cent).

Certainly there is little evidence of widespread evictions in the three north-western counties and it seems that the landlords there did not rely on the Famine as a means of clearing their estates. Indeed, many landlords provided aid. This was supplemented by local relief measures. Remittances sent home from Scotland, Canada, and America also played an important role in preventing the collapse and destitution of some households.

Despite the reduced impact of the Famine in this region, the economic crisis which it brought about led to a rapid increase in emigration through Derry. Emigration rates for the period 1846-51 (expressed as a percentage of the population in 1841) were estimated at less than 7.5 per cent for Donegal and 7.5-9.9 per cent for Derry, with Tyrone experiencing the heaviest losses at 12.5-14.9 per cent. In comparison, the counties of north-central Ireland

⁴³ Cousens, S.H. (1963) op. cit., p 132

experienced emigration losses ranging from 15 per cent to 20 per cent. In attempting to explain this difference, Cousens points to the very vulnerable lower stratum among the rated population in the north-central area, along with the high number of evictions. Of the north-west he says 'the incentive to go was largely lacking'.⁴⁴ Unfortunately Cousens does not elaborate on this remark except to emphasise the low rates of mortality and eviction in the area. Perhaps, in that sense, the incentive to go was generally less in this region than it was elsewhere. Given the record in the previous decades, the statement can hardly be taken to infer a general reluctance to emigrate.

The pattern of pre-Famine emigration and its association with the demise of the linen industry seems a more convincing explanation. This idea is best presented by Collins.⁴⁵ She argues that the population structure of the north-west had already been substantially altered by emigration, and that the higher rates from north-central Ireland were a once-and-for-all adjustment to the frailty there of a proto-industrial system of linen production. Thus the population stresses brought about by the decline of the linen industry, first been experienced in the north-west, led to the emigration thence of those most likely to migrate, the young. In contrast, the continuation of a proto-industry in north-central Ireland

⁴⁴ Cousens, S.H. (1960) op. cit., p 133

⁴⁵ Collins, B. (1982) 'Proto-industrialization and emigration', Social History, Vol.7, No.2, p 142

led to an increasing population, the vulnerability of which was exposed by the Famine.

Despite the pre-Famine outflow of migrants from the north-west and the relatively low mortality there during the Famine, there was nonetheless a considerable population loss in the decade between 1841 and 1851. As a percentage of the 1841 population, Derry and Donegal each lost about 13 per cent while Tyrone suffered more severely with a reduction of some 18 per cent. These losses in population represent a combination of higher mortality, lower fertility and out-migration.⁴⁶ Off-setting these effects, some counties such as Derry experienced in-migration. This was estimated by Johnston to be some 2,500.⁴⁷ As Table 3.5 shows, the extent of population loss was not the same throughout the region. In Donegal the greatest losses occurred in the eastern barony of Raphoe whilst the smallest losses were recorded in the densely populated, western barony of Boylagh. In Derry the baronies of Coleraine and Loughinsholin suffered losses of 20 per cent while that of Tirkeeran registered only 8.4 per cent and the liberties of the city of Derry showed a net increase in population. In Tyrone, where the overall population loss was more severe than in the other two counties, the decline

⁴⁶ As the population total of 1847 was higher than that of 1841 the decadal, percentage loss under-estimates the total numbers lost between 1847 and 1851.

⁴⁷ Johnston, J.H. (1959) op. cit., p 279

Table 3.5
 POPULATION LOSS 1841-1851 BY BARONY

DONEGAL	INTERDECADAL LOSS	AS % OF '41 POPULATION
Banagh	5386	12.55
Boylagh	1203	5.26
Inishowen	7218	13.01
Kilmacrenan	10872	14.9
Raphoe	11429	17.46
Tirhugh	5182	14.06
Total	41290	13.92
Derry		
Coleraine	7091	20.36
Keenaght	4816	14.23
Loughinsholin	18238	20.21
Libs. of Coleraine	808	6.7
Libs. of Derby	+ 3393	
Tirkeeran	2592	8.38
Total	30152	13.57
Tyrone		
Clogher	7895	20.39
Dungannon	26107	20.55
Omagh	13156	17.30
Strabane	10137	14.25
Total	57295	18.30

Source 1841 and 1851 censuses of Ireland

was more evenly spread, ranging from 14 per cent in the barony of Strabane to 20.5 per cent in that of Dungannon.

Since no distinctive distribution in mortality patterns within the region has been established and as changes in the birth rate could have had only a small effect, the local variations in population loss noted in Table 3.5 can best be explained by differences in the extent of emigration. Unfortunately no figures on the county of origin of emigrants from Ireland are available before 1851. Only the numbers of those who sailed through the various ports of Ireland are available. These are generally recognised as being an underestimate of those who emigrated because they recorded only the direct and registered emigration. Many families emigrated in ships chartered for ordinary cargo.

Table 3.6 gives the numbers of emigrants recorded as sailing from the port of Derry during the years 1841-1855 and their stated destinations. The figures show not only the dramatic increase of emigration in 1847 following the first effects of the failure of the potato crop, but also show a shift in destination. In the years prior to the Famine Derry migrants travelled in almost equal numbers to British North America and to the United States. The worst year of the crisis, 1847, in fact saw slightly more emigrants headed for Canada than to the United States. From 1848 on the United States was the favoured destination. In the immediate post-Famine years it received 80 per cent or more of the Derry emigrants. In these respects the

Table 3.6

**DESTINATION OF DERRY EMIGRANTS AS SHOWN IN RETURNS
FROM THE EMIGRATION COMMISSIONERS.**

	United. States	Br. North America	Australia	Other	Total
30/6 -					
31/12 '41	200	325	-	-	525
1842	2408	3680	-	1	6809
1843	1170	1283	-	2	2455
1844	2107	1673	-	-	3780
1845	2606	2503	-	-	4809
1846	2965	2439	-	-	5404
1847	5645	6635	-	-	12280
1848	5888	1188	-	-	7076
1849	6846	969	-	-	7815
1850	3304	838	-	-	4142
1851	5173	1137	-	-	6310
1852	4104	961	-	-	5065
1853	3499	1037	-	-	4536
1854	2916	702	-	-	3618
1855	1038	431	-	-	1469

Source: 1851 Census Ireland

pattern of emigration from the port of Derry was no different from the other major Irish ports.

The demographic, economic and social impact of the Famine was much greater than any previous economic depression or crop failure. The crucial question for anybody trying to leave the country then, as in earlier years, was how to pay for the passage. In the poorest and most congested parts of the country most of the population probably were caught in the 'poverty trap':. that is, those who most needed to escape were unlikely to be able to buy a ticket. In his study of the county of Derry during the Famine years Johnston concluded:

... although there was a change in the area contributing most emigrants, the ability to raise the necessary capital was still an essential condition of emigration. Those who could realise the most money by selling their farms must still have preferred to go to America.⁴⁸

For those who could not pay for a passage to America or Canada there was always the cheaper route to Britain and, consequently, emigration there increased dramatically in the Famine years. According to Johnston, those who went to Britain may well have been cottiers and very small farmers from the more congested areas whose standard of living had

⁴⁸ Johnston, J.H. (1957) 'The population of Londonderry during the Great Irish Famine', Economic History Review, Vol.10 2nd Series, p 283

deteriorated far enough for their reluctance to emigrate to be broken and that it was they, rather than any substantial increase in the number of the better-off farmers going to America, which accounted for the noticeable population loss from the county of Derry.

The implication here is that migration was selective by destination. However, without detailed information on the origins and socio-economic backgrounds of the migrants to the various ports it has been impossible to test this implicit hypothesis until now. The questions of willingness to emigrate and the ability to pay for migration were to remain important long after the immediate years of hardship in the 1840s. The information contained in the Cooke shipping registers on area of origin, destination, method of fare payment and form of travel permit new analysis and testing of this hypothesis.

3.8 The Pattern of Emigration in the Post-Famine Decades

In common with the rest of Ireland the three counties of north-west Ulster continued to experience demographic decline for the remaining decades of the nineteenth century but, as Table 3.7 shows, there was no common pattern throughout the region. Indeed, some areas such as the barony of Boyleagh, actually increased in population after the Famine losses. Heavy emigration from the country as a whole continued until 1854 after which it declined gradually each year. In common with Norway and Sweden Ireland experienced significant crop failures in the early

Table 3.7

PERCENTAGE DECADEAL POPULATION LOSS BY BARONY, 1841-1871

	1841-1851	1851-1861	1861-1871
DONEGAL			
Banagh	12.5	5.8	11.5
Boylagh	5.3	+2.2	0.6
Inishowen E.	13.0	4.9	5.1
Inishowen W.	13.0	6.1	6.0
Kilmacrenan	14.9	7.4	7.5
Raphoe	17.5	10.0	9.8
Tirhugh	14.1	11.1	12.0
DERRY			
Coleraine	20.4	6.1	6.3
Keenaght	14.2	8.8	10.3
Loughinsholin	20.2	1.5	8.3
Libs. Coleraine	6.7	6.3	1.3
Libs. Derry	+ 16.6	1.6	+ 7.0
Tirkeeran	8.4	4.9	5.9
TYRONE			
Clogher	20.4	12.7	9.2
Dungannon L.	20.6	8.5	11.7
Dungannon M.	20.6	5.5	10.0
Dungannon V.	20.6	2.7	7.7
Omagh E.	17.3	5.7	11.7
Omagh W.	17.3	6.4	7.3
Strabane L.	14.2	9.7	7.3
Strabane V.	14.2	7.6	7.2

Source: 1851, 1861 and 1871 Censuses of Ireland

sixties. As in those countries agricultural distress stimulated a renewal of intense emigration. From the counties of Derry, Donegal and Tyrone emigration continued at a steady rate but the population loss never approached the level attained between 1841 and 1851.

From 1851, when the Census Commissioners instituted a series of returns on emigration from the country, figures are available on the annual number by county of origin. Figure 3.5-3.7 show the fluctuations in emigration from the counties of Derry, Donegal and Tyrone from 1851 to the beginnings of the twentieth century. Particularly noticeable are the peaks of emigration in the early 1860s and mid-1870s, brought about by crop failures, the crisis in the 1870s hitting Donegal particularly badly.

The latter half of the nineteenth century in Ireland is often viewed as a period of 'post-Famine adjustment', a period when there was an improvement in economic conditions and an increase in the size of farms. There was a rise in the age at marriage and a fall in the rate of marriage. However, the picture was by no means uniform or rosy. O'Grada has expressed doubt in the so-called post-Famine adjustment:

To begin with, the population level did not reach an equilibrium level in the post-Famine years, but continued its rapid, if uneven, decline. Agricultural output dropped a good deal... The numbers employed in agriculture also declined by perhaps a third or more between 1851 and 1871 -

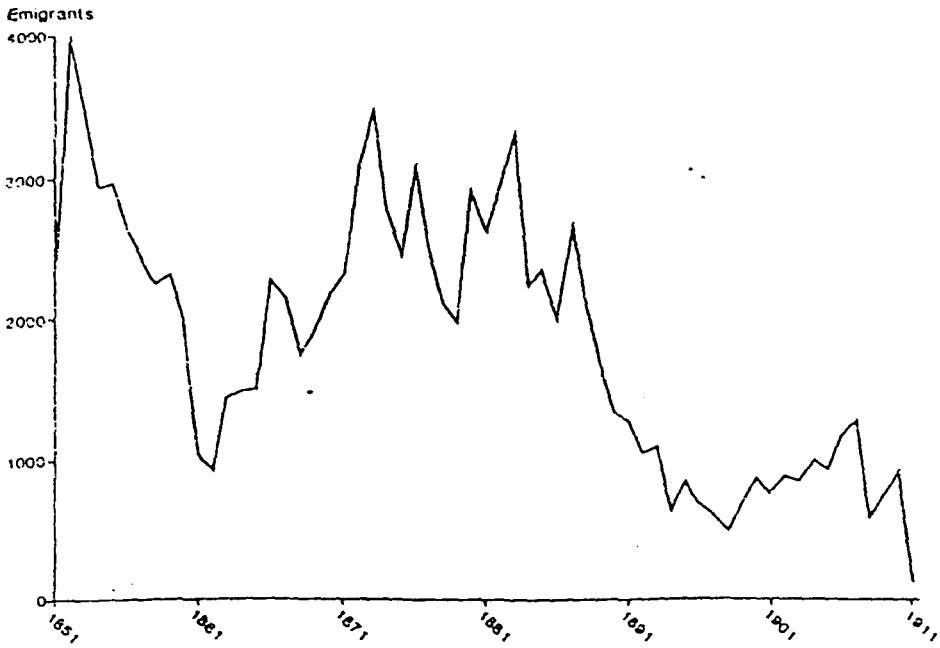


Figure 3.5 Emigration from county Derry, 1851-1911
Based on censuses of Ireland, 1851 - 1911

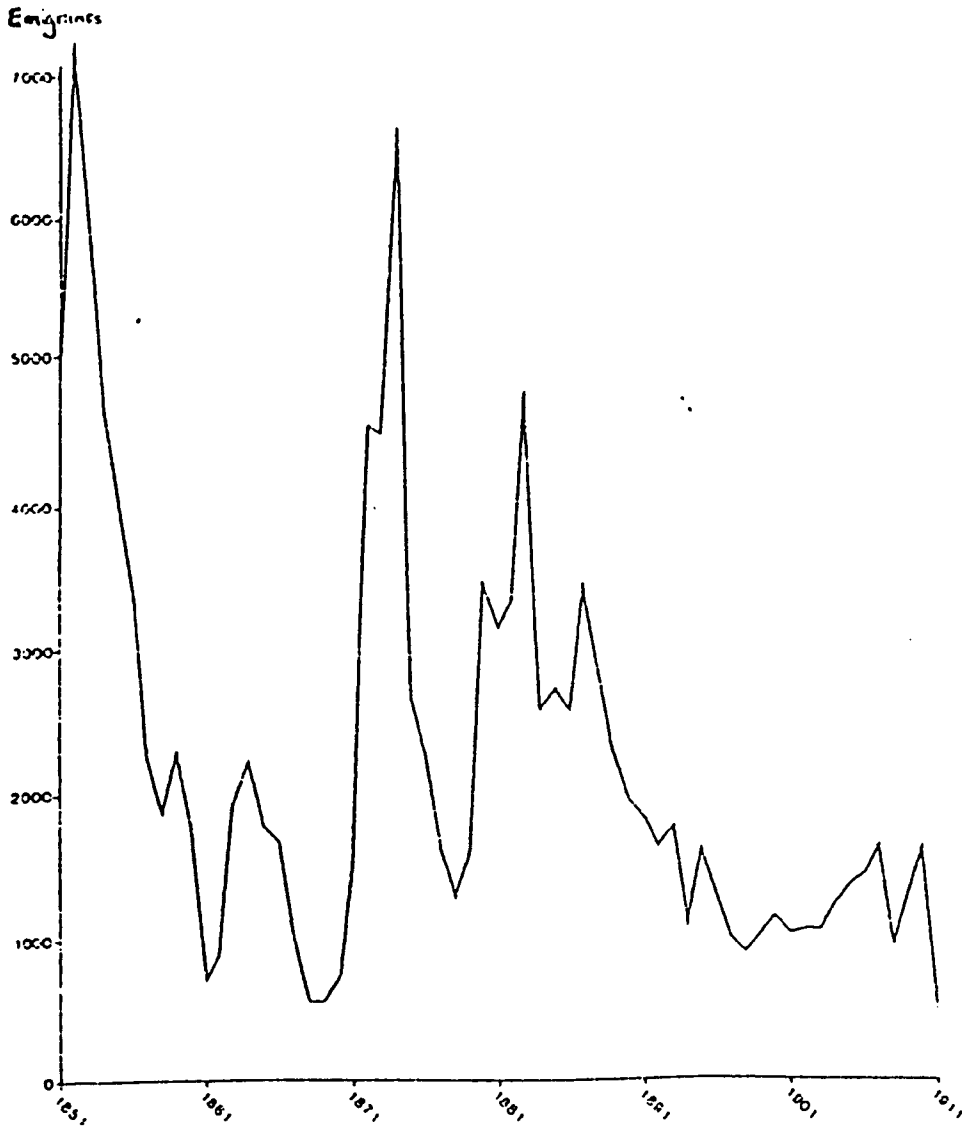


Figure 3.6 Emigration from Donegal, 1851-1911
Based on censuses of Ireland, 1851-1911

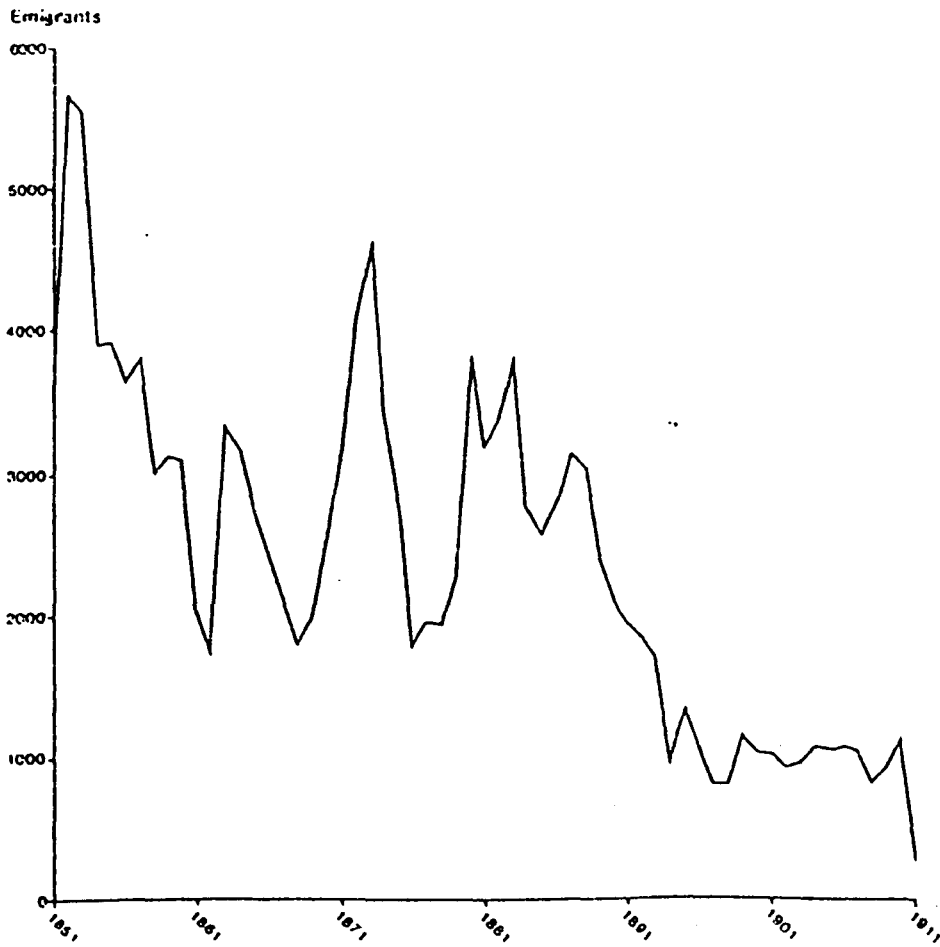


Figure 3.7 Emigration from Tyrone, 1851-1911
Based on censuses of Ireland, 1851-1911

but a good deal of the decline took place in the early 1850s. Rents rose substantially after the famine. So too did wages, but the rise in this case was accompanied by an increase in the cost of subsistence.⁴⁹

Much of the improvement in agriculture and consolidation of land took place in areas which were fertile and in a sample of parishes it was found that of the townlands losing more than a fifth of their population between 1851 and 1861 most were concentrated in areas with less than a fifth of their lands waste. On the other hand, by 1861 many townlands, especially in the remoter areas of the country, supported a greater population in 1861 than in 1841. Among these areas were the parishes within the unions of Dunfanaghy and Glenties, Donegal, and the parish of Kildress in Tyrone. Dunfanaghy and Glenties had lost fewer than any other union in the west of Ireland and there is evidence that part of the increased population was supported by freshly reclaimed waste-land.⁵⁰

The seemingly intense desire to remain was chiefly found in areas where an abundance of poor land could not be profitably utilized except as small rented holdings, and where the tradition of such small farms was deeply rooted. Such clinging to the land has led to writers to refer to a 'resistance to migration' which is regarded as a social

⁴⁹ Ó'Gráda, C. (1973) op. cit., p 146

⁵⁰ Cousens, S.H. (1961) 'Emigration and demographic change in Ireland, 1851-1861', Economic History Review, Vol.14, p 280

Cousens, have pointed to the pattern of emigration from areas in the west of Ireland - a pattern of relative quiescence punctuated by sharp bursts of movement following agricultural crises - as evidence that people in those areas either did not want to leave or were prevented from emigrating by lack of means.

Certainly in areas like west Donegal, there was neither a tradition of emigration nor a generation of 'those who had gone before' to send back remittances or pre-paid tickets to help those caught in poverty or distress. But the disentangling of economic and socio-cultural factors on the decision to emigrate is, at times, almost impossible. In the absence of data on the ability of people to pay for their passage the 'poverty-trap hypothesis' has not been adequately tested. The Derry shipping register data on payment of fare thus provided a unique opportunity to investigate this issue through the immediate Famine period and its aftermath. Chapter 5 presents the relevant findings from this source.

3.9 Summary

The early development of the linen industry in eighteenth century Ireland made it a major element of the rural economy of the north-west. Later population increases allowed subsistence farming over much of the region only where flax production and weaving subsidized agriculture. As linen gave way to cotton at the turn of the century, this economy became untenable, on poor land

aggravated by increased sub-division and by episodic crop failures, and on good land by agricultural improvements that required a lower labour force. With few towns capable of absorbing the rural surplus, a pattern of seasonal migration to temporary employment developed in areas of high population density, thereby supporting continued population increase. In other areas the early emigration to North America of Presbyterian dissenters began a tradition of migration that encouraged subsequent departure and checked population increase. These two effects together created marked regionality in migration rates and population density prior to the 1947 Famine. Emigration rose sharply during the Famine years, particularly in areas with a well-developed migration tradition and the means to afford passage. Emigration was least from the poorest and most densely populated areas, but whether this was the result of cultural attachments to home districts or of poverty too extreme to find the cost of passage is unknown.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS AND MATERIALS

4.1 Data Sources

The main sources used in this thesis¹ are:

- 1) Irish Customs Lists²
- 2) Irish Ships' Registers³, and
- 3) United States Ships' Manifests.⁴

All cover the port of Derry and its environs in detail, although the origins of each is quite distinct. The Customs lists are the result of one of the few pieces of legislation governing emigration from Britain and Ireland. The American manifests are official documents and the Irish registers are part of the records of private shipping firms.

The Customs lists covered ships sailing from the major ports of Ireland during the period 1803-06. The legislation which gave rise to them was intended to prevent

¹ An outline account of these sources and their use has been published in Mageean, D.M. (1985) 'Nineteenth-century Irish emigration: a case study using passenger lists' in Drudy, P.J. (ed), Irish Studies 4: The Irish in America, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp 39-61

² The Customs Lists of 1803-06 are held in the British Museum, Additional Mss. No.35932

³ The registers of J&J Cooke are held in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (ref. D2893/1). They consist of three volumes covering the periods 1847-49, 1850-57 and 1858-67. I am grateful to Brian Trainor, Deputy Keeper, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland for providing me with a typescript of the 1847-49 volume and copies of the other two.

⁴ The manifests of ships entering American ports are deposited in the Center for Immigration Studies, Temple University-Balch Institute, Philadelphia.

the emigration of sailors during the Napoleonic wars. Affidavits were sworn by the Master of the ship at the Customs Houses of the respective ports, so that it is possible to extract the lists for a particular port e.g. Derry. The returns are quite detailed and give the name, age, and residence of the passengers as well as recording the port of destination. A total of 3,600 passengers were recorded as sailing to the United States and around 1,300 of these sailed from Derry, a figure which indicates the importance of Derry as an emigrant port. The annual figure of approximately 1,000 a year during this period is, however, low compared to previous years and probably reflects the dramatic increase in fares consequent upon the Passenger Act of 1803 - a fact which may very well have influenced the type of emigrants who travelled at this time. The legislation governing the number of passengers that could be carried to America from the United Kingdom limited British vessels to one passenger for every two tons and foreign vessels to one for every five tons. It was this restriction on the number of passengers which caused a sharp rise in fares on the American vessels which dominated the trade between the North of Ireland and America.

On the other side of the Atlantic, an Act of Congress enacting similar regulations in 1819 specified that from 1 January 1820 captains of ships arriving from any foreign port must deliver to the Collector of Customs a sworn manifest containing the name of each passenger, their age, sex, occupation, nationality, and country or city of

destination. These 'manifests', as they were called, also gave the vessel's name, port of registration and departure date, and occasionally also identified the owners of the vessel. In the case of Philadelphia, such manifests date back to 1800 (Figure 4.1).

Both of the above sources are by-products of legislation governing and regulating the sailing of passenger vessels and, as such, can be taken to be official records of emigration.⁵ However, whilst the American manifests provide a continuous run of data in the nineteenth century, the Irish Customs lists provide a mere snapshot of Irish emigration at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was not until the census of 1851 that detailed official information on Irish emigration was again to become available.

For the port of Derry, however, some of the registers of a shipping firm specializing in the passenger trade, J&J Cooke, have survived. These unique documents contain a wealth of information about the passengers carried by the company. They permitted analysis of migration from Derry over the period 1847-71 at a level not possible with the official emigration statistics.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the period covered by the Customs lists, British shipping on the Atlantic Ocean had been virtually superseded by neutral

⁵ The records are best regarded as surrogate measures. That is, they were not designed to tell us how many people emigrated, of what type, etc. They can, however, be used, in the absence of anything better, for that purpose.

315-36



whereof of *Gillespie* Tons *770* *Londonderry*

is Master of and owned and loaded to

	NAMES	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION	To what Country he is bound
1	Roanna Corrigan	19		Laborers	Ireland
2	Bridget McConnel	18			
3	Mary Do.	16			
4	Ann McConaghan	20			
5	Elizabeth Kelly	17			
6	Ann Do.	20			
7	James Lynch	20			
8	Mary McKinley	18			
9	James Kelly	19			
10	John McFadden	10			
11	Robert Do.	22			
12	Lillian Do.	20			
13	Letitia Do.	16			
14	Mary Do.	14			
15	James Mellon	27			
16	James Kelly	20			
17	John McLaughlin	15			
18	John McLaughlin	20			
19	Thos Kennedy	57		Laborers	Ireland
20	Michael Do.	43			
21	Wm Do.	18			
22	Richard Do.	10			
23	Christina Do.	8			
24	Thos Do.	6			
25	Samuel McKinney	20			
26	Elizabeth McCarty	35			
27	Eleanor Bradley	17			
28	James Coll	20			
29	Peggy Do.	18			
30	Patrick Cullin	25			
31	Mary Brennan	22			
32	John McSwain	40			
33	Margery Do.	40			
34	James Do.	10			
35	Neal Do.	7 1/2			
36	John Do.	6			
37	Ann Do.	18			

Figure 4.1 Extract from U.S. manifest for Elizabeth to Philadelphia, May, 1858

carriers, mainly American, who, because of their neutrality, avoided the risk of capture by French privateers. As the Napoleonic War continued, Britain's relations with the United States deteriorated, and the number of American ships engaged in commercial and passenger trade with Derry fell off as a result. War with America in 1812 eventually brought the trade to a standstill. Although trade with Derry was resumed after the war, the hiatus had allowed Derry merchants to enter the trade. For the first time Derry-owned ships carrying passengers crossed the Atlantic, mainly but not exclusively to Canada. These general-purpose vessels continued to ply the trade through the 1820s and 1830s. By the 1840s, however, they had given way to fewer but larger vessels whose main activity was the carriage of passengers. At this time, too, the trade passed into the hands of the two or three firms who were able and willing to risk their capital in the purchase of ships built expressly for the emigrant trade across the Atlantic. With the advent of the Great Famine and the consequent mass exodus from Ireland, the demand for shipping was such that many additional vessels, some neither intended for nor suitable for the carriage of passengers, were pressed into service. With the ebb of the Famine tide, competition in the passenger trade strengthened and only a few firms continued to operate. During this period the size, quality and speed of the ships improved. The American Civil War depressed the passenger trade but it revived for a while afterwards,

until the 1860s saw the advent of faster and more comfortable steamships that killed the passenger trade from Derry within a decade.

The firm of J&J Cooke was run by two brothers who had succeeded their uncle, Joseph Young, in the shipping business. Joseph Young was originally a timber merchant and had been in the business for ten years before he bought his first ship in 1824. Like a number of other Derry merchants, he became involved in the passenger trade after the end of war in 1815. Most Derry merchants had little scope for investment outside their own business in Derry. They had to transport most of their goods by sea from Britain, America, and various European ports. Because of this many merchants owned and operated their own vessel. With the rapid growth in emigration to Canada in the mid-twenties, a number of merchants were enticed by the opportunities in the passenger trade. Many of the timber vessels were boarded over and used to offer passenger voyages to Canada, returning with a cargo of timber. Normally a Spring and a Fall voyage were offered to intending emigrants.

There is evidence of about seven Derry owners of such vessels operating from the mid-twenties to the mid-thirties.⁶ In addition to operating their own vessels, the Derry merchants acted as agents for other shipping merchants. After a faltering start in the emigrant trade,

⁶ Cooke, S. (1961) The Maiden City and the Western Ocean, Dublin, Morris & Co., p 61

losing three ships in four years, Cooke's business became firmly established. Of all the local firms only they and the firm of William McCorkell remained in the trade in the fifties and sixties. Both firms ran good businesses but it is also significant that they were also the largest importers of timber in Derry. In most years the success of the passenger trade was dependent on the homeward timber trade.

The ship registers of J&J Cooke, which form the main data source used here, contain information on approximately 21,800 passengers who left the port of Derry for various destinations in the United States and Canada during the years 1847-67. Thus they cover the immediate Famine period, the post-Famine exodus, and the smaller, steadier stream of the 1860s. The Cooke registers give the name of the vessel, its date of departure and port of destination, and the name, age, residence, and (occasionally), occupation of each passenger. The registers also record the cost of the passage, when it was booked, and how the passage money was paid - pre-paid by agents in America, paid by the workhouse or by an estate owner, or paid by the individual himself (usually in installments to local agents of the firm). Passages booked and later cancelled are evident from names scores out on the registers. Only rarely is the reason for the cancellation given (Figure 4.2).

106 List of Passengers per Ship Elizabeth for Philadelphia 91
Spring Voyage 1859

No.	Date	NAME	RESIDENCE	Age	Passage	EARNEST	When Paid out	REMARKS	Net Sum Received
1	March 6	Richard Smith	Lock	20					
		Herbert do	do	22					
2		Edward B. Russell	Gloucester	25	4 0 0	1 0 0			
		Anna Buchanan	Bridge St. Dury						
		Maryann Buchanan	do						
3	April 7	Richard Kesteven	Aben (W)	23	11 0 0				
		do	do	11					
		do	do	23	4 0 0	1 0 0			
4		Edward P. Kelly	Baltimore	23	4 0 0	1 0 0			
5		Anna M. C. C. C.	England	17	4 0 0	1 0 0			
6		Albany M. C. C.	do	19	4 0 0	1 0 0			
7		do	do	22	4 0 0	1 0 0			
8		Anna C. C.	Brough	18	4 0 0	1 0 0			
9		Jolly Hill	Baltimore	22					
		Catharine P. Kelly	do	20	13 0 0	1 10 0			
		Anna M. C. C.	do	19					
		Alexander Haylett	Milford	18					
		Martha do	do	10					
		Elizabeth do	do	22					
10		Harold do	do	19	13 12 0	4 0 0			
		do	do	15					
		do	do	16					
		do	do	14					
		do	do	11					
11		James Gallagher	do	18	4 0 0	1 0 0			
12		George King	Wilmington	57					
		Martha do	do	33					
		do	do	25					
		Margery do	do	22	28 0 0	3 0 0			
		William Wilkinson	do	15					
		Robert Lewis	do	18					
13		do	do	20	4 0 0	1 0 0			
14		Thomas Johnston	Londonderry	25	4 0 0	1 0 0			
15		do	do	20	4 0 0	1 0 0			
16		do	do	36	4 0 0	1 0 0			
17		do	do	22	4 0 0	1 0 0			

Figure 4.2 Extract from Cooke register for Elizabeth to Philadelphia, Spring, 1859

As already noted (p. 124), Derry owners were operating vessels to the US from the mid-1820s to the mid-1830s but their records for these sailings have not survived. I therefore used the United States shipping manifests for the six Derry to New York sailings recorded for the years 1830-31 to provide some basic data on the nature of the migrants sailing in this early period. This sampling was supplemental to the main use of the United States shipping manifests for the 1847-67 period, where information could be cross-checked with information in the Cooke Registers (as described in Section 4.2.1 below), and lacks the greater control of bias achieved for the later period. Nevertheless, the sample proved useful tracing overall demographic trends for the study period and was used for this limited purpose below (e.g. Table 5.1).

4.2 Some Methodological Problems

4.2.1 Source materials

The recording of age in the Derry registers is not consistent over the years. From 1847 to 1852 only those aged 14 and under were recorded, probably because children of that age qualified for half-fare. From 1853 onwards, however, the ages of all passengers were recorded. In the American manifests ages were recorded throughout, as required by law. The recording of residence, on the other hand, is neither consistent nor reliable in the manifests. In contrast, a great strength of the Derry registers lies in the detail given on residence. This was usually at the town or townland level, though occasionally to Parish level.⁷ This allows analysis of the origins of the

⁷ The townland is the smallest administrative division in Ireland and its main purpose is to distinguish between different locations and to pinpoint the location of farms and settlements. It became the basic division of the countryside in the seventeenth century. All other territorial divisions are collections of townlands. There is considerable discrepancy between townland sizes, a fact which indicates that they were initially created to reflect land quality rather than absolute area. Hence large townlands are usually found in hilly areas, where there is no arable land, or flat boggy areas. The parish was the smallest and most numerous unit in the administrative structure of the Catholic church in Ireland, and constituted an area within which a pastor or priest had care of the spiritual needs of the community. The extension of the Reformation to Ireland disrupted the administrative structures of the Irish church. The old administrative divisions were adopted by the Protestant Church and were used as civil territorial divisions from the seventeenth century. Civil parish boundaries are marked in the

migrants down to reasonably precise areas of perhaps a few square kilometres. Against this, duplication of place-names is common, so that the origins of some individuals could not be determined with accuracy.

The strengths and weaknesses of the manifests and registers can be seen in this superficial comparison. One can, however, go further than this by comparing the information provided by the two sources through the method known as nominal record linkage. Here the main item used to identify and link the two initially separate sources of information is the stated name of the individual emigrant, whence the term 'nominal'. The biases and omissions in the two sources (other than those common to both) can thus be determined with a high degree of accuracy. Linkage of this type has already been achieved for small migrant populations such as the Dutch, though it is generally unsuited for those countries which either experienced mass migration or whose emigration records are incomplete. This methodology would, therefore, not suit Ireland as a whole because of the sheer scale of Irish emigration and the relative lack of Irish sources on individual emigrants. It can, however, be adopted for sub-sections of the emigrant population where suitable data exist, as with the Derry

early Ordnance Survey maps and were used as Census divisions. From the Reformation onwards, the two major religious communities in Ireland had separate parish structures. Either unit may have been referred to by emigrants when reporting their address.

registers and American manifests. Table 4.1 shows which items of information were common to these two sources.

Of the fifty ships listed in the registers as sailing from Derry to the United States, the manifests of thirty-eight were located. The linkage of the records was initially carried out by hand; later, the manifest information was transferred to the biographical register data on computer file. Not only does the linkage allow comparison of the data but it also casts light on the documents themselves. For instance, little is known about the administrative routine which produced the manifests. All lists were written by hand on printed forms but the format of the forms varies from port to port. It is generally believed that the manifests were prepared by professional clerks before the ship departed. As the handwriting on the two documents is not the same, however, there is no reason to believe that the same clerks completed both.

On both the manifests and the registers the members of individual families are listed together, usually with the head of the household listed first and followed by wife and children in order of age. Very occasionally all males in a group are listed together first, followed by the females. The order of passengers on the manifests was found to follow almost exactly that of the registers, with the exception of cabin passengers who invariably appear at the end of a manifest. This suggests that each manifest was copied from the corresponding register. In addition, the

Table 4.1 Identification of data common to Irish ship registers and United States manifests

Category	Irish Ship Registers	U.S. Ship Manifests
Family name	Yes	Yes
First name or initial	Yes	Yes
Second name or initial	Sometimes	Sometimes
Sex	Inferred	Yes
Age last birthday	Sometimes	Yes
Religion	No	No
Occupation	Sometimes	Yes
Nationality	Sometimes	Yes
County or place of last residence	Yes	Sometimes
Number in the booking	Yes	Yes
Type of group that travelled on booking	Contrived	Contrived
Date of emigration or ship's passage	Yes	Yes

ages of a manifest sometimes jump an entry, knocking the sequence of ages out until correct entry was resumed.

Occasionally individuals appear on one document and not the other. Where this happens with a manifest, it is most likely due to passengers being taken aboard at the last minute when a cheap passage became available. The Derry ships anchored at Moville near the mouth of Lough Foyle in order to check passenger lists and to obtain final clearance. If the numbers were less than the statutory permitted complement, it was not unusual to take on a few last-minute passengers - an early form of stand-by! On the other hand, some passengers decided at the last moment not to go and yet others went in place of relatives. Changes to the ship's population whilst at sea are recorded in the births and deaths listed on each manifest.

Success in linking the records of Canadian-bound ships was very much lower than with the United States ships. Of the eighty-five ships which sailed to Canada between 1847 and 1867 it has been possible to link register to manifest only for three ships, sailing to Quebec in the late 1860s. No comprehensive nominal lists of immigrants arriving in Canada before 1865 have been found. Until then ships' captains were not required by law to keep detailed lists and in the early years such lists were created only as proof of passage monies paid by a sponsor.^e As in the

^e The reports from the emigrant agents in Quebec and St. John, New Brunswick, do, however, refer to 'manifests' of ships. Only summaries of information by ship are given or reproduced in the volumes relating to emigration.

American documents, the Canadian manifests contain the name, age, occupation, and intended destination of each emigrant.

4.2.2 Issues in sampling

Two distinct sampling issues arise over the information sources considered here. The first is the extent to which the records are representative of emigration from Ireland, or even from just the north-west of Ireland. The information is clearly biased in a statistical sense, dominated as it is by information from the northwestern counties.⁹ However, this does not preclude using the insights won in their analysis in relation to Irish emigration generally, a theme developed in greater detail below.

A more immediate issue at the outset of the project was the second, whether to attempt to handle all of the information available or to subsample the data before analysis was attempted. Two factors influenced the decision to process the entire dataset. First, the data

⁹ Of the Canadian-bound emigrants through Derry the Cooke passengers accounted for 66 per cent of the 1847-51 total and an estimated 86 per cent of the 1852-55 total. For U.S.-bound passengers the corresponding figures are 14 per cent and 20 per cent. These large Canadian percentages, associated with Cooke's commercial links with Canada, reduce the possible bias. The lower percentages to the United States are due to the marked shift to that country after the Famine and to the associated growth of other shipping lines. The separate country analyses conducted throughout this thesis avoided merging samples with such disparate proportions of the total population.

are highly aggregated (in a statistical sense). In such cases the optimal sampling design is to distribute sampling intensity in proportion to the variability of each data group. Whilst it was in principle possible to run a pilot analysis to determine such variability and then to allocate sample sizes by ship, county, year and so on, in practice this could have resulted in some groups being represented by unacceptably small samples. For example, a ship carrying only 100 passengers would generate only 20 passenger records on a 20 per cent sample, and these would have to bear the information transfer needed about family and party size, age distribution, occupations, origins, and so on.

Second, though in part a corollary of the point just made, cell sizes in cross-tabulations would be proportionately reduced if the principal variables were sampled. For example, consider the problems involved in investigating whether elderly relatives were paid for more frequently during the Famine crisis. If pre-paid fare passengers accounted for 30 per cent of the total and if older passengers (over 50 years) accounted for five per cent of the total, their random co-occurrence would be just 1.4 per cent. With the full dataset this would yield over 300 records, sub-divided among the time periods chosen for analysis. With a 20 per cent sample, only 60 records would be available for analysis over a 20+ year period, leaving the individuals cells with unacceptably small totals.

4.2.3 Computer versus manual analysis

Implicit in the decision to use the entire dataset available was the use of a computer for analysis. This afforded five significant advantages and just two disadvantages. First, computer use meant considerable ease in checking and correcting the data. Checks for data inconsistencies e.g. for two-year old farmers - could be quickly carried out after the initial input and errors rectified. Second, speed of analysis was greatly improved. Large data sets could be handled as wholes and series of quasi-repetitive analyses, such as cross-tabulations within counties, could be conducted with relative ease. Third, it afforded greater standardization of records. The amount of information in the Derry registers varied somewhat over their twenty years. By using a computer database program it was possible to re-standardize the record format as new issues and information emerged, obviating manual re-inspection of data already processed. Fourth, the tasks of coding missing data and of recoding original data was greatly simplified. Finally, although the database was created specifically for the research for this thesis, it can be used for ongoing and future work. The analysis of the records has not been exhausted, particularly in relation to selected sub-populations of the emigrants. Sub-samples e.g. of those travelling to Philadelphia during the Famine years - can be taken from the database and used in more detailed research e.g. using record linkage to the census records for that city.

Similarly, sub-samples from a particular area within the north-west can be linked to local records. Thus the very large investment in constructing the database - arguably disproportionate to the express needs of the present thesis - is fully justifiable in ease of continued research beyond the scope of that thesis.

Two problems - one technical, the other organizational - were encountered as a result of using a computer. The use of the entire dataset meant that very large files were created. These were at the then limits of allowable user allocation on the available mainframe computers. As a result, much of the early work had to be run as overnight batch jobs. Data editing under such circumstances was both difficult and time consuming. Databases on the mainframe at the start of the research were cumbersome and difficult compared to those later available for microcomputers. Because of these problems I decided to transfer the files to a microcomputer and this greatly speeded data input and validation. A continuing constraint was the size and processing power of the machine available (a 128K ACT Sirius 1 with twin 720K disk drives, later upgraded to 384K and 1.44MB drives). Ideally a microcomputer with a hard disk would have been used but the cost of such disks were prohibitively expensive at the time.

With the power of the computer available for analysis, it was always tempting to test one more idea and run one more analysis, until time dictated otherwise. If any advice were to be offered to other researchers

contemplating similar analysis of large data sets, it would be to outline clearly the questions and hypotheses to be addressed or tested and to adhere to that framework. Clearly there will always be questions or ideas which are stimulated by on-going analysis and, often, these are worthy of follow-up. However, the creation of such a framework at the outset of research and discipline in adhering to it help both the organization and analysis of the data. It is arguable, however, that a similar project started today would be completed far more quickly even without these measures, simply because of technical advances and cost reductions in microcomputers.

4.3 British Parliamentary Papers

Although it was not possible to achieve nominal record linkage on the Canadian-bound ships of J&J Cooke, it was possible to locate records of many of these ships in the various emigration reports contained in the British Parliamentary Papers. For instance, the reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, set up in 1840, provide general but valuable and interesting background information on emigration from Ireland. By far the most interesting and useful information is to be found in the reports of the government agents at the ports of Quebec and St John, New Brunswick. The reports are part of 'Papers relative to Emigration to the British Provinces in North America' contained in the Irish University Press volumes,

Colonies: Canada, numbers 17 to 24, which cover the years 1847 to 1864 inclusive. There is some variation in the information contained in the volumes from year to year but in some years, especially those covering the immediate Famine period, the reports are extremely detailed. In general the type of information to be found includes:

- a) extracts from the several weekly reports made to the Governor-General by the Chief Agent for the superintendence of emigration
- b) weekly returns of deaths on board vessels and the number of sick and dead in quarantine
- c) number of persons who received assistance enabling them to emigrate
- d) returns of the trades or callings of the emigrants who arrived, and
- e) the geographical distribution of the emigrants ('as near as can be ascertained').

From 1862 onwards little or no mention is made of emigration and the reports of the government agents are no longer recorded.

The reports from the government agent in Quebec, Alexander Buchanan (who himself was born in County Derry and who emigrated to Canada as a child), are especially detailed and illuminating during the Famine period. They help provide a picture of the effects of the Famine not only on the migrants but also on the city and port that received them.

As well as specific mention of the Cooke ships, the general description of the Irish migrants contained in both agents' reports provides a useful background picture of Irish migration to Canada. Along with reports on the number of ships from Ireland, in general, and Derry, in particular, they give an indication of how representative the Cooke migrants were and of the proportion of the Derry trade to Canada represented by the Cooke ships. The level of detail on the ships varied over the years. It was considerable during the immediate Famine period, much less during the fifties and better again in the early sixties. Appendix 3 lists key elements of information for each ship while summaries of the detailed report available for each ship are given in Appendix 4.

The reports from the colonies contained in the British Parliamentary Papers are best regarded as a qualitative source, although they contain some statistical information. Although one can speak of 'linkage' of sources in the sense that specific mention of Cooke ships can be found in the reports, this is quite different from the record linkage achieved with the American manifests. In particular, there was no quantitative information at the nominal level. This lack of supplementary or linked data for the Canadian-bound ships had implications for the classification of those migrants travelling to Canada, as will be shown below. It also meant that the two 'populations' of Canadian-bound and of American-bound migrants from Derry, could not always be compared on certain variables.

4.4 Organization of the Data

The information used here was taken initially from photocopies of the registers, themselves written in a clear copper-plate (see Figure 4.2) or, in the case of the Customs lists, from typed transcriptions from the original documents. These raw data were entered in files on a mainframe computer, using a standard text editor. No coding was used: the name and address of each passenger, their age, and their occupation (where available) were directly entered in a card-image format. Information on the ship and date of sailing were stored with each list of passengers and subsequently copied to individual records. When data-entry was complete for a number of years and the entries checked for errors, some initial sample analysis directed to data validation was done using a commercial statistical package, SAS.¹⁰

What became obvious from this early sample analysis was the variation in the amount of information contained in the entries. For instance, the number of variables recorded depended on whether the ship was bound for the United States (and hence complemented by the manifest data) or for Canada (no additional data). The amount of information given in the registers also varied in different time periods. In order to aid analysis, therefore, it was necessary to make sure that the data appeared in a standard

¹⁰ Statistical Analysis System, SAS Institute Inc., Box 8000, Cary, North Carolina 27511

format even if this meant that certain fields were recorded as missing entries. The solution adopted was to use a database and so the data were transferred from the mainframe onto a microcomputer (an ACT Sirius with 384K of memory) and the files imported into a database structure using dBASE II.¹¹ This package proved particularly useful at the time as it readily accepted pre-existing files. By taking the data through a series of 'stencils', all entries, regardless of the original amount of information present, ended up with a common structure, with missing values coded appropriately¹². Table 4.2 shows the final list of fields used in analysis here, together with a brief definition of their meaning.

In practice each variable proved to have particular problems associated with its definition and use, necessitating considerable attention to this aspect of the work. The following list notes the major points about each:

SEQNR: Each migrant individual recorded as sailing was assigned a unique record number - a strategy which proved useful for locating individuals quickly and for cross-checking purposes.

¹¹ dBASE II, Ashton-Tate, Maidenhead, Berkshire, UK

¹² Ironically, as the present research was being completed, several text-based database programs capable of handling the free format of the original source files have come on the market. An impressive example is the AskSam package from Seaside Software Inc., Perry, Florida 32347

Table 4.2 Primary variables used in passenger computer records. Variables asterisked were assigned.

SEQNR	Unique passenger identification number
FARETYP*	Manner in which fare was paid
GROUPNR	Unique number for each Cooke booking
GROUPTYP*	Type of companions on same booking
GROUPSIZ	Number in the group
CNAME	Christian name(s) of passenger
SNAME	Surname of passenger
TOWNLAND	Townland of origin
COUNTY	County of origin
AGEM	Age recorded in the manifest
AGER	Age recorded in the Cooke register
OCCUP	Occupation
SEX	Sex of passenger
SHIP	Ship on which travelled
DAY	Day of departure
MONTH	Month of departure
YEAR	Year of departure
DESTIN	Port of destination
COMMENT	Any special comments

FARETYP: An alphabetic character code was allocated according to how the fare was paid, as indicated on the registers. Categories used were S self-paid; P prepaid by agents in the United States or Canada; L paid by a landlord; W paid by the poor or workhouse, and O others (a residual category where it was evident that the named migrant did not pay their own fare but where it was unclear who did).

GROUPNR: Each entry in the shipping registers reflected the booking of passage for one or more people. Such an emigrant 'unit' was termed a 'group' and was assigned a reference number shared by all members of that group. This proved useful when aggregating the individual records later e.g., for data verification and for group-based analysis. The term 'booking' used in the text here is synonymous with 'group' but better emphasizes certain aspects of the study.

GROUPTYP: As shown in table 4.1, the type and size of each emigrant 'unit' can be established from the shipping registers and Customs lists. Each group of emigrants was assigned to one of eight categories:

- 1) Individuals (Type I): those travelling alone
- 2) Nuclear families (Type N): groups of two adults accompanied by one or more children and where the parent/offspring relationship was apparent
- 3) Families (Type F): groups of one adult accompanied by one or more of their children.

The majority of these family groups were of mother and children

- 4) Same name (Type S): groups, usually of two people, sharing a common surname and without overt kin or marital relationship. This category probably includes married couples, although a husband/wife relationship is not obvious, as well as other kin groups
- 5) Married (Type M): married couples, unaccompanied by children and where the husband/wife relationship is stated (such statements are extremely rare)
- 6) Extended (Type E): groups with kin relationships extending beyond those of the nuclear family
- 7) Groups (Type G): parties of individuals (often from the same area) travelling together, but with no kin relationship evident
- 8) Queries (Type Q): groups which for one reason or another could not be assigned to one of the preceding groups, e.g. composites of the above types.

GRPSIZE: In addition to classifying the groups by type, each group was coded for size.

A special program was written to verify the data on the basis of the links between the identification number, group type, and group size. For example, if the name of a group member were accidentally omitted during data entry, a mismatch between the stated size of the group and the

number of records with the group identification concerned was reported. These group-related variables were later used to analyze the structure of the migration stream over time, by area of origin and destination, by fare type, and by date of sailing. Because of the extra information available in the American manifests as to the age and relationships of passengers, the coding of the United States-bound migrants was an easier, and in some cases probably a more precise, coding task than for the Canadian-bound migrants. Where there was any doubt as to the exact relationship between people of the same name travelling together they were classified simply as 'same names'. This retained the indication of kin relationship without inferring its nature.

CNAME and SNAME: Christian name and surname were, in the majority of cases, clearly legible in the register or passenger list. The christian name was used to ascertain the sex of the emigrant. If there was any doubt about a name that could not be checked against a manifest, both name and sex were recorded as unknown. As might be expected, a number of surnames were spelt differently on the American manifests than on the registers, some of them phonetically. What was surprising was to find a number of native Irish names misspelt on the register, with, for example, Lynch becoming Linch and McAuley Macawley.

TOWNLAND and COUNTY: One of the most important pieces of information available from the registers was the address of the person intending to sail. More precisely, it was the

area of origin of the passengers rather than a detailed postal address. A preliminary survey of this information revealed that the vast majority of 'addresses' given were at the level of town or townland, although the parish was occasionally stated. In only a few cases was the county stated, except where the passenger was from a county remote from the port of Derry. Where the county was not stated, Lewis' Townland index was used to locate the townland concerned and identify the county of origin. One problem which arose in this exercise was the existence of duplicate place names in two or more counties, making it difficult or impossible to allocate some townlands with certainty. For instance, townland X might be listed as appearing in two or three counties, all of which were near enough to Derry to be the likely site. A set of rules was devised to deal with such cases. First, if one of the townlands listed was considerably bigger than the others listed or if it contained a town of the same name, the county of that townland was allocated (on the grounds that an individual was statistically more likely to come from a large area than a small one). Second, if all the candidate townlands were of approximately the same size, the county was recorded as unknown. Third, if an address was not located in the townland index, not recorded in a list of parishes, nor located manually on the relevant Ordnance Survey maps, the county was recorded as unknown. Much of this task was performed using computer programs to avoid what would otherwise have been a laborious, manual task. A program

was written to read each entry in the townland field of each record with the county recorded and to store these matches as a master file. This file was then edited manually to take account of the rules above. The file was then used as a look-up file in a program that searched for records with the county missing and allocated the county. The master file was updated a number of times in this exercise, each update cutting down the number of residual entries which had to be done manually or corrected because of spelling mistakes.

AGER: As mentioned earlier, the recording of age on the Cooke registers varies considerably over the years covered by these documents. So, for the years 1847 to 1852 inclusive, when only the ages of children under 14 is recorded, this field contains many missing values. It is probable that the Cooke registers consistently record the ages of children under 14 because the British Passenger Act of 1842 allowed two children under the age of 14 to be calculated as only one statute adult, as defined by the legislation for space and victualling. Under United States legislation each child, however young, was counted as one full passenger. Age is consistently recorded on the Customs lists.

AGEM: It was decided to record the age of the passenger given on the manifest for cross-checking against the register age. It has been pointed out above that the manifest age did not agree with the register age on occasion because of errors in copying across the data.

Other mismatches, as where the manifest age was one year out on the register age, is probably accounted for by passengers reaching a birthday between the date of booking the passage and the actual sailing. Such cases are particularly common in the cases of children where, because of the reduction in fare, a careful eye was kept on the age of the child. From 1853 onwards it was possible to use the register age exclusively for analysis of age and for cross-tabulation of age by other variables. However, for the years 1847 to 1852 inclusive the manifest age was used if AGER was recorded as missing. This, of course, was possible only for the United States-bound ships and analysis of age for that early period could not be done for all Canadian-bound passengers.

OCCUP: Occupation is the least reliable of all the information on the registers and manifests, for the reasons already discussed under methodological problems. However, it was decided to record the information where given on either the manifest or register as it is the only clue as to the socio-economic profile of those migrating. Where this information was available the occupation was coded using the classification devised by the National Immigration Archives at the Balch Institute, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

SHIP: The name of the ship as given on the Customs lists and registers was recorded in a simple, abbreviated form. Apart from the need to log each sailing, the information in this field could be used to check on the number of voyages

made by a ship in any year and to check whether ships of a certain capacity sailed more frequently to one destination rather than another. Related to this is the average ship load by destination.

DAY, MONTH and YEAR: The date of sailing as indicated on the Customs lists and registers was recorded. The precision of the information on the registers was not consistent and sometimes the entry merely recorded the sailing in the form 'Spring voyage 1847'. Where the ship was United States-bound and a manifest was located it was possible to get an approximate date of sailing by working backwards from the date of arrival.¹³ In other cases it was possible to estimate the date of sailing by finding the date of the latest booking for the ship and allowing for time between this date and sailing based on an average time lapse. The information on date of sailing was used not only to record the frequency of sailings in any one year or to any one port but also to analyze seasonal trends.

DESTIN: The information on destination, given on all ships except one, was recorded using an abbreviated form of the port name. There was no information on intended destination within the United States or Canada but the later Cooke registers frequently had the comment 'and on to Boston' written beside the names of passengers bound for St John, New Brunswick.

¹³ The length of voyage experienced by sailing ships could, however, vary by as much as 30 days depending on weather conditions. Because of this there can be no precision in the date of departure arrived at by this back-projection.

COMMENT: This field was created to record any unusual or interesting information peculiar to an individual, group or ship-load.

4.5 Analysis of the Data

With a population of approximately 21,000 emigrants, each of which had been allocated 19 fields, the resultant database was large by any standards. The inspection and editing of the files was crucial, both to ensure that the information was correct and to allow the computer programs being used to analyze the data to run successfully. This point of the operation took a considerable amount of time and was by far the most labour-intensive part of the research. Although the 'browse' facility of dBASE II allowed speedy scanning of the data, there was always the risk that errors could be missed in a purely manual search and check operation. To overcome this a number of programs were written to carry out internal checks and to 'flag' records where erroneous or invalid data appeared - such as a surname containing numerical characters or a numerical field containing letters. Even with this combination of manual and machine-based checking at the input stage, some errors did slip through. Transposition of two characters within an entry, for example, was not detectable to data structure checks. Such errors often became obvious on running a program of statistical analysis. With a large database the margin for errors was considerable and even after careful and painstaking checking it is not possible

to guarantee that the data were 100 per cent 'clean'. On the other hand, given the measures taken to check and edit the data, any remaining errors must be so few as to be statistically insignificant within the large sample sizes involved.

Analyses were done on an annual basis only for the immediate Famine period of 1847-51, where significant fluctuations from one year to the next might be anticipated.

Prior to analysis it was decided to organize the files by destination (initially the United States and Canada). Later the Canadian data were further broken down by port - Quebec and St. John, New Brunswick) and time period.

The data for the twenty-one years from 1847 to 1867 were broken down into three five-year periods - 1846-51, 1852-56, and 1857-61 - and a final six-year period of 1862-67.¹⁴ The rationale for this division of the data was that integration by five year time periods allowed any changes or trends over time to be seen more clearly. It also had the merit of dividing the data into manageable but still significant population sizes.

For analysis I used the statistical package SYSTAT¹⁵. This package was chosen for its ability to handle large databases of alphanumeric material, for the range of tests

¹⁴ The extra year was the last for which data were available.

¹⁵ SYSTAT, Inc., 2902 Central Street., Evanston, IL
60201

it offered, and for its ability to input and read files created under dBASE II. Initial analysis consisted of simple frequency and cross-variable tabulations and some graphical plotting of data. Subsequent analysis usually focussed on selected subsets of the data. More detailed statistical tests were carried out only after examination of the information thus produced and where more in-depth analysis seemed to be warranted. The results from this analysis form the basis of Chapter 5.

Earlier in the chapter reference was made to the detail available from the registers on the address of each person intending to sail. In the majority of cases this was at the level of townland - the smallest administrative division in Ireland. As the analysis by time period and destination proceeded, it became clear that it was neither feasible nor sensible to plot the area of origin of the migrants at this scale. The population was often spread too thinly across the many townlands, with the result that one could speak neither of significant shifts in the volume of emigration nor of changes in the distribution of emigrants. Statistical analysis was also impossible with the sparse data matrices generated at townland level. A change had to be made in the scale used to analyze and plot the data. Similar problems remained, though somewhat ameliorated- when the data were aggregated to parish level (the next level up from townland). I finally settled on

the use of the 'barony'¹⁶ as the unit for analysis and plotting.

Working on this scale had considerable advantages. As a unit the barony is sufficiently large to generate large enough numbers during analysis for statistical tests to be carried out. On the other hand, it is not too large a unit for local variations to go undetected. To some extent all administrative units and boundaries are artificial and the question of scale can be a problematic one. However, for analysis to be done some unit has to be imposed on the data. The choice of barony in this study reflected the need to work at a scale large enough to order the data sensibly but small enough to be sensitive to local conditions. As a unit for mapping the barony also had the advantage of a history of consistent use in surveys, legal documents and censuses. This made for ease of comparison with other sources.

4.6 Overview

The strengths of the data used here lie in their volume, in the unique richness of their information on the emigrants, and in their continuity over a period of years that was both eventful and transitional for Irish emigration. The focal population studied - some 21,000

¹⁶ The barony is a unit of land ownership introduced to Ireland by the Anglo-Normans. It is composed of a number of parishes. It has been used since then as a primary territorial division. Data in a number of land surveys compiled in the seventeenth century were collected on a barony basis.

emigrants who sailed from the port of Derry over 20 years - provides a large sample of emigrants from the north-west of Ireland, though with some biases. In particular, the firm of J&J Cooke continued to operate sailing vessels into the 1860s, when most ships from larger ports such as Liverpool and Glasgow were steam vessels offering a speedier and comfortable passage, albeit a more expensive one. This may have affected the type of emigrant who sailed from Derry on the Cooke ships. Similarly, the majority of vessels operated by Cooke from the immediate post-Famine period onwards went to Canada but the emigrant flow from Derry and from Ireland as a whole was shifting in favour of the United States at this time. The importance of the port of Derry, too, waned in the later years of the study period. Analysis had therefore to be conducted with sensitivity to these various biases. With this proviso, the data sources described in this Chapter provide new and very detailed information pertinent to the patterns and processes of Irish emigration.

CHAPTER 5

THE DERRY EMIGRANTS, 1803-67

5.1 Introduction

In chapter 3, on the relationships between migration and the agricultural and linen industries in the northwest of Ireland, we saw that a considerable tradition of emigration to North America had developed there as early as the eighteenth century. We saw further that there were established migration routes to ports such as Philadelphia, Quebec, and St. John, New Brunswick, and that these routes had largely grown from earlier commercial links between Derry and those ports. In effect the first emigrants were no more than human ballast for ships which would otherwise have returned to America empty.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century most of the emigrant trade from Derry was in American hands. Of the nineteen ships recorded in the Custom lists as sailing from Derry in this period, all but one was American-owned. They were registered in New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia, Wilmington, Portland and Newburyport.¹ Most of the ships were cargo vessels, often carrying flaxseed from America for the Irish linen trade. They advertised for passengers

¹ All six towns and cities were important nineteenth century ports and commercial centres. The last three - Wilmington in Delaware, Portland in Maine and Newburyport in Massachusetts are no longer flourishing ports. Interestingly, all but Portland were centres which had sizeable Irish populations during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many of these populations have been studied in their own right. Thus Newburyport was the focus of Stephan Thernstrom's 1964 work, Poverty and Progress, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

in the local newspaper, The Londonderry Journal, alongside advertisements for those wishing to ship linens.²

Information on sailings was also disseminated through agents in the small towns and villages of the north-west. These agents were generally shop-keepers and publicans and they displayed posters advertising the sailings in their premises.³

The Custom lists (for the period 1803-06) record 25 voyages from the port of Derry, an average of 8 sailings a year. The record is incomplete for 1806, covering only one sailing with 57 passengers. Of these 25 voyages, twelve were to New York, eight to Philadelphia and five to Baltimore. The New York passengers totalled 532, Philadelphia 524, and Baltimore 255. The numbers travelling each year were relatively constant, with 468 in 1803, 360 in 1804 and 426 in 1805.

² Typical of the notices which appeared is the one for the new ship Brutus bound for Philadelphia and Newcastle which was advertised in the Londonderry Journal from 26 February 1805. The ship arrived in port from New York with a cargo including flaxseed on 17 March. Passengers were given notice to attend from 9 April and the departure of the ship with linens and passengers was reported in the Londonderry Journal of 30 April 1805 and its safe arrival at Philadelphia on 17 June was noted.

³ The use of agents to act on behalf of the emigrant vessels was an established practice as early as the eighteenth century. Some 38 agents throughout the counties of Derry, Donegal, Tyrone, Fermanagh and Armagh acted for the 127 vessels which left Derry during the period 1770-1775. See Dickson, R.J. (1976) Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1785, Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation, p. 101

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century the emigrant flow from Derry steadily increased. The sample taken of ships sailing from Derry to New York during the period May, 1830 through July, 1831 shows some 600 people travelling on 6 ships. By 1847, when the registers of J&J Cooke commence, emigration was at its peak as people left in great numbers in response to a major failure of the potato crop. Tables 5.1a and 5.1b summarize by time period and destination the numbers recorded in the sources used in this thesis. The migrants travelling with the firm of J&J Cooke during the immediate Famine period, here defined as spanning the years 1847-51, accounted for just under 14 per cent of the total numbers recorded as sailing from Derry to the United States and 66 per cent of those recorded as sailing to British North America. The Cooke migrants were therefore a small but not insignificant proportion of the Derry migrants to the U.S. but were a majority of those bound for British North America.* The proportion of Derry emigrants who sailed on Cooke ships varied from year to year but it was always significant. The information in the registers of J&J Cooke thus provide a unique and invaluable source of information on nineteenth century Irish emigration.

* The returns of the Emigration Commissioners, reported in the 1851 census, gives the total of 26856 emigrants from the port of Derry to the United States for the period 1847-51 and 10767 to British North America, The total numbers carried by Cooke for the same period are 3727 to the United States and 7095 to British North America.

TABLE 5.1(a)

Numbers travelling to United States and Canada by time period
(all data sources 1803-1867)

	United States		Canada	
	No. of Passengers	No. of Sailings	No. of Passengers	No. of Sailings
1803-06	1311	(25)	-	-
1830-31	597	(6)	-	-
1847-51	3727	(24)	7095	(33)
1852-56	2943	(18)	3378	(22)
1857-61	1299	(7)	970	(16)
1862-68	655	(3)	1778	(18)
TOTAL	10532	(83)	13221	(89)

TABLE 5.1(b) Numbers travelling to United States and Canada during immediate
famine years.

1847	1195	(8)	3737	(12)
1848	414	(3)	896	(4)
1849	731	(5)	747	(5)
1850	608	(4)	930	(6)
1851	779	(4)	930	(6)
TOTAL	3727	(24)	7095	(33)

The sources for this table and all other tables and figures
in this chapter are the Irish Customs lists, the Cooke
registers and the United States shipping manifests.

Access to this large body of quantitative evidence has made it possible, for the first time, to enter into a detailed discussion of some of the processes of migration. Prior to this study almost all our understanding of such processes has come from evidence in reports, emigrant letters or newspaper accounts. What statistics were available came from national studies that rarely went below the county level. Indeed reliance on the census figures has meant that prior to 1851 there was no evidence on the origins within Ireland of the emigrants. Recent work using the United States manifests has added a new dimension to the history of Irish emigration to that country and brought a welcome sharpness to analysis of the migration process. However, this work too largely concentrated on the national picture, partly due to the inconsistency or lack of information on origin within Ireland of the migrants. Furthermore it can tell us nothing of the differences between those who went to Canada and those who went to the United States.⁵

In this chapter I present, in a generally descriptive form, the main findings of my analysis of the Custom lists, the Cooke shipping lists, and the United States manifests. In chapter 6 I discuss the significance of these findings in the light of the existing knowledge of emigration from

⁵ Mokyr, J. & Ó'Gráda, C. (1982) 'Emigration and Poverty in Pre-Famine Ireland', Exploration in Economic History. Vol. 19, No. 4. pp. 360-84; O'Gráda, C. (1986) 'Across the Briny Ocean: Some Thoughts on Irish Emigration to America, 1800-50' in Glazier, I., and De Rosa, L. (eds) Migration across Time and Nations, New York, Holmes and Meier, p. 79-94

Europe as a whole. I first report on the origins of the emigrants leaving for North America from Derry and then go on to look at the demographic composition of the migrant stream. This is followed by an examination of the structure of the groups in which migrants travelled; at differences between the Canadian-bound and United States-bound migrants; at how the passages were paid for; at the seasonality of migration; and at conditions and mortality aboard the vessels.

5.2 Origin of the Migrants

In chapter 3 the concept of an emigration hinterland to the port of Derry was introduced and temporal variation in emigration from the counties of north-west Ireland was discussed. Dickson remarks of Ulster emigration to Colonial America:

The only conclusive way of deciding whether or not each port had a definite hinterland would be to examine the places of origin of emigrants who left the port. Unfortunately, such information is not available except for a few isolated instances...⁶

Dickson was writing of the pre-Famine era for which there are no official or reliable, aggregate figures. Such information was first collected by the Census Commissioners in 1851, when details on the counties of origin, the ratios of emigrant to resident population, age, sex and occupation of the emigrants were recorded. There are, however,

⁶ Dickson, R.J. (1976) op. cit., p 99

problems with these figures since they do not agree with the annual series recorded in the United States and are believed to underestimate the numbers of emigrants.⁷

One of the strengths of the data used in the present analysis is that the level of detail on addresses, both in the Custom lists and the Cooke registers, permits an analysis of the regional distribution of the emigrants. These distributions can, in turn, be linked with spatial variations in wealth, population and size of farms. The information also allows us to speak meaningfully of the hinterland of the port of Londonderry and to trace any changes in that hinterland over time. Table 5.2 shows the counties of origins of the emigrants in the five study periods. Tyrone was initially the major contributor of migrants, accounting for nearly one third of the total in the 1803-06 period but its relative contribution (to larger totals) declined steadily up to 1867. Donegal, on the other hand, was always a major contributor to the migrant flow and accounted for nearly half the Cooke register totals during the 1850s. The contribution of Fermanagh was always small. Derry itself provided about a fifth of the Irish migrants involved, with the decline in its percentage share of the 1862-67 total accounted for by an unusually large number of Scottish migrants travelling on the Derry ships in those years.⁸

⁷ See Ó'Gráda, C. (1975) 'A note on nineteenth century Irish emigration statistics' Population Studies, Vol. 29, pp 143-9

⁸ Other county totals were, of course, similarly affected.

Table 5.2 Origins of the emigrants.

	1803-1806		1847-1851		1857-1856		1857-1861		1862-1867	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Antrim	61	5.49	214	2.17	108	1.99	44	2.16	149	6.72
Donegal	307	27.63	3624	36.81	2688	49.44	871	42.78	653	29.44
Fermanagh	77	6.93	1014	10.30	264	4.86	39	1.92	80	3.61
Derry	192	17.28	2183	22.17	1131	20.80	586	28.78	300	13.53
Tyrone	416	37.44	2656	26.98	1232	22.66	404	19.84	264	11.90
Others	58	5.22	140	1.42	14	0.26	23	1.13	37	1.67
Scotland	0	0.00	15	0.15	0	0.00	69	3.39	735	33.14
Total	1111		9846		5437		2036		2218	

*In this and subsequent tables, unknowns (here where the county of origin could not be established) have been omitted from all totals and the percentages correspondingly adjusted. Refer to Table 5.1 for full totals.

These differences between counties could in principle be entirely due to more migrants leaving the more populous counties, and conversely, with little difference in migration rates for each county. The main sending counties - Tyrone, Donegal, Derry and Fermanagh - were consistently ranked in that order in terms of population throughout the twenty years covered by the registers (1847-67) but the relative contribution of migrants from the most populous county, Tyrone, decreased markedly over this time (Table 5.2). The migrant totals from the other three major counties were ranked in line with their population ranks.

Spatial and temporal variations in volume of emigration between baronies (see Figure 5.1 for locations) were considerably greater than between counties. Individual baronies changed markedly in their relative contribution to the migration through Derry over the 60 years covered by the study (Table 5.3). Some baronies, such as Kilmacrenan, Inishowen East, Keenaght and Strabane Lower, consistently sent large numbers of migrants and their rank positions remained little changed over time. Others, such as Tirhugh in Donegal, steadily climbed in rank over the course of the years. Others again appeared fleetingly in the 'top ten', examples being Magheraboy and Lurg in Fermanagh in 1847-51, Raphoe North in 1857-61, and Banagh in 1862-67. At the bottom end of the league table the baronies of Dungannon Middle, Lower and Upper in Tyrone and of Boyleagh in Donegal, and the civic baronies of the Liberties of

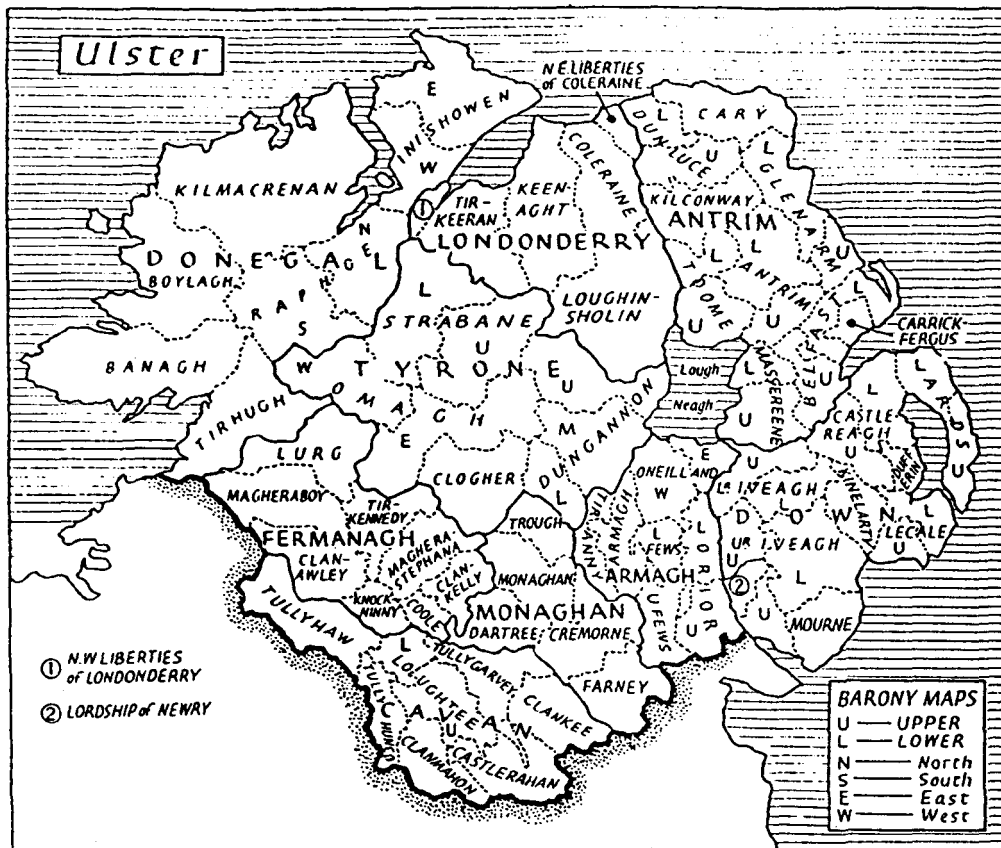


Figure 5.1 County and barony divisions in Ulster. Source: Dudley-Edwards, R. (1982) Historical Atlas of Ireland, Dublin, Macmillan. ➤

Table 5.3 Top ten baronies ranked by volume of emigration for each period.

	1803-1806	1845-1851	1852-1856	1857-61	1862-1867	
1	Strabane Lower, TE	97 Inishowen, East DL	927 Kilmacrenan, DL	902 Kilmacrennan, DL	316 Kilmacrennan	230
2	Kilmacrenan, DL	69 Strabane Lower, TE	558 Inishowen, East. DL	649 City of Londonderry	292 Tirhugh, DL	406
3	Dungannon Upper, TE	67 Omagh W, TE	480 Strabane, Lower, TE	553 Strabane Lower, TE	162 Inishowen East	111
4	Loughinsholin UD	61 Omagh East, TE	421 Tirhugh, DL	406 Inishowen, East	141 Banagh	89
5	Keenaght, UD	51 Keenaght, UD	412 City of Londonderry	352 Tirhugh	126 Strabane Lower	82
6	Cloghen, TE	46 Kilmacrennan, DL	400 Keenaght	348 Keenaght	120 Keenaght	74
7	Coleraine, DD, TE	38 Maghenabay, FE	397 Omagh, East	304 Coleraine	98 Coleraine	73
8	Dungannon Mid, TE	38 Tirhugh, DL	287 Banagh, DL	264 Omagh, East	91 Belfast	70
9	Tirhugh, DL	29 Lurg, FE	256 Omagh, W, TE	256 Omagh, W	84 Loughinsholin	68
10	Tirkeenan, UD	24 Tirkeenan, UD	203 Coleraine, UD	250 Radhoe N	70 City of Londonderry	59

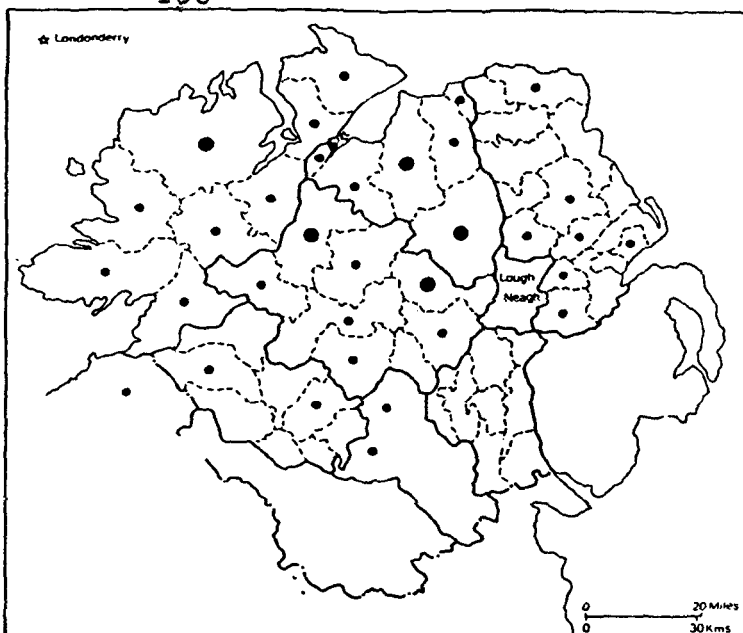
Counties are abbreviated as follows: Donegal DL, Londonderry LD, Tyrone TE, Antrim AM.

Coleraine and Derry consistently recorded low numbers.

Figures 5.2 - 5.6 show that the infrequently recorded baronies were concentrated in the eastern part of Ulster. It seems very likely that these areas were outside the hinterland of the port of Derry and that migrants from these areas were more likely to travel to the ports of Belfast and Newry (see Figure 5.1). It is not surprising to find the civic areas sending low numbers of migrants. These areas, if anything, were centres of reception for internal migrants and there is little evidence of stage migration from the countryside into these towns and thence to North America.

Inspection of the distributions of emigrant origins among the various baronies suggests that the heaviest emigration originated, not in the poor, congested areas of Donegal and parts of Tyrone, but in the fertile farming areas of the Laggan, the northern parishes of Tyrone and parts of the Inishowen peninsula (Figure 5.2-5.6). The statistical validity of this correlation was assessed by computing the Spearman correlation coefficient between the volume of emigration, as indicated by the Customs and Cooke data, and population density in each barony. The Spearman test was used to minimize problems of non-normality in the data, and the test was restricted to the period of greatest emigration, 1847-51. Additional explanatory variables tested were the area, absolute population size, and poor law valuation of each barony but the inverse correlation between volume of emigration and population density was the

Figure 5.2 Origins of Derry emigrants, 1803-06



- -- Under 50
- -- 50 - 100
- -- 101 - 200
- -- 201 - 400
- -- 401 - 800
- -- Over 800

Figure 5.3 Origins of Derry emigrants, 1847-51

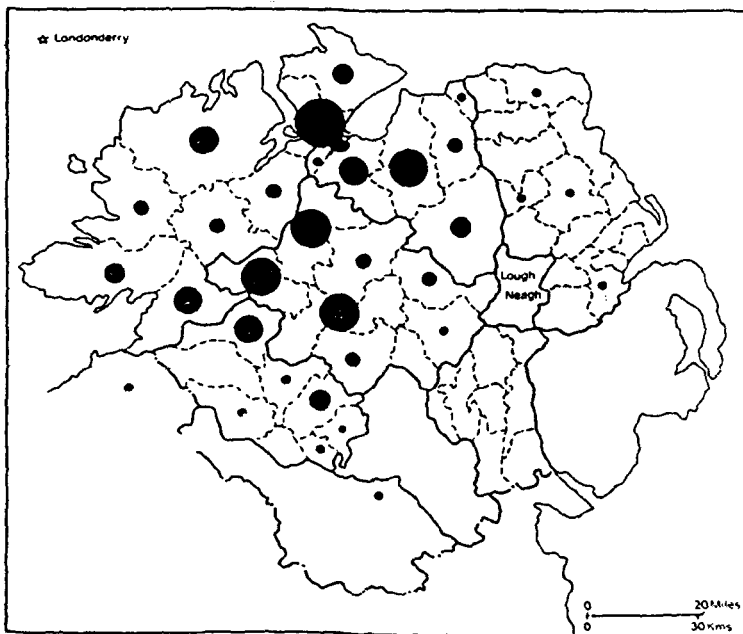
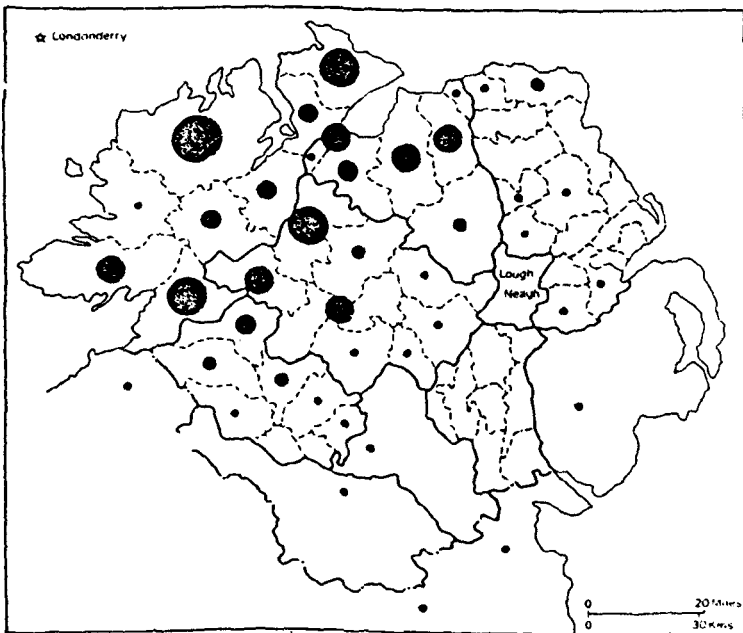


Figure 5.4 Origins of Derry emigrants, 1852-56



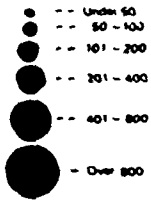


Figure 5.5 Origins of Derry emigrants, 1857-61

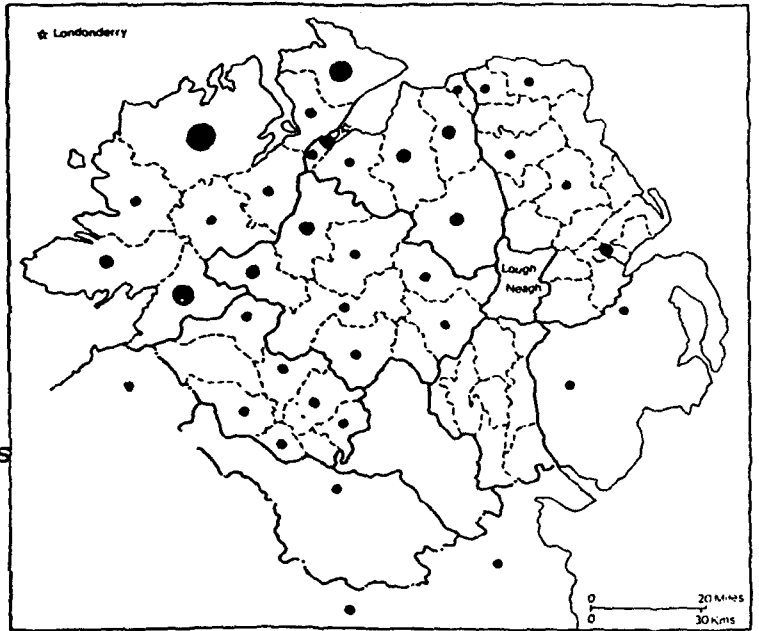
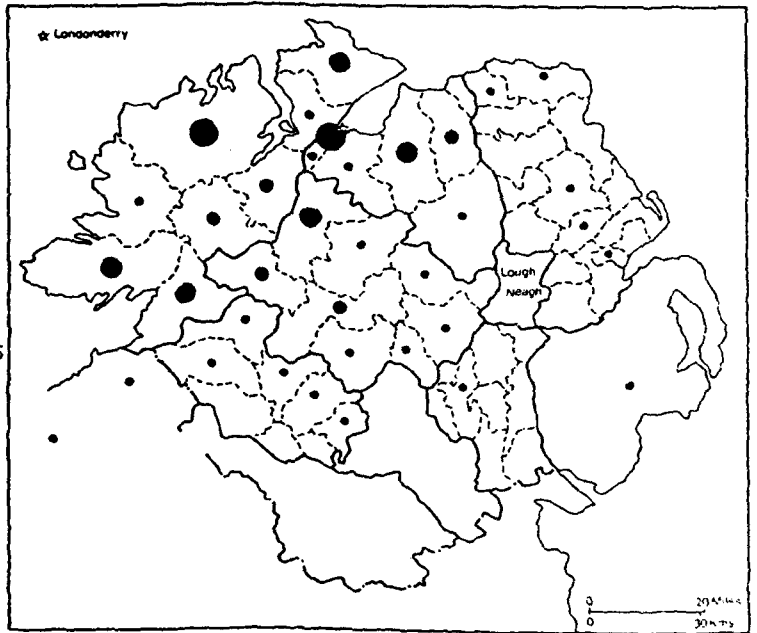


Figure 5.6 Origins of Derry emigrants, 1862-67



only one to prove significant.⁹ Thus, even in the immediate Famine period, when we might expect ecological forces to be at their strongest, not only did simple population pressure not provide an explanation but the pattern was actually to the contrary. Interestingly, the Ordnance Survey Memoirs on Derry analyzed by Johnston showed much the same pattern in 1834 when the heaviest emigration came from the less densely populated parishes of the county.¹⁰

5.3 Age and Sex Distribution of the Migrants

Two general views in the literature on Irish migration is that the pre-Famine movements were of a more affluent and voluntary nature than in Famine and post-Famine emigration and that the Irish migrated in family groups whenever possible. Neither the Custom lists nor the Cooke registers shed any light on the financial state of the emigrants, apart from their occupations (about which more will be said later). They do, however, permit the construction of population pyramids for the different time periods and thus provide information as to the demographic composition and form of emigration through Derry.

⁹ Migration volume and population density had a correlation coefficient of -0.494 which with a sample size of 27 is significant at the 0.05 level. The correlation coefficient for the Poor Law valuation was -0.023.

¹⁰ Johnston, J.M. (1959) 'Population Movements in County Derry during a pre-Famine year', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 60, Section C, p 147

One of the most noticeable features of the body of migrants from Derry at the turn of the century is the imbalance in the sex ratio. During the years 1803-06 some 856 males and 433 females, a ratio of 198 males per 100 females, sailed to the United States. This large ratio of males to females was similar for all ports of destination and all years of embarkation. Figure 5.7 shows the age-distributions of the two sexes. For both sexes the most striking feature is the dominance of the 15-30 age groups, particularly of the 20-24 age group. Nearly 30 per cent of all males but only 20 per cent of females were in this last group. Children under 15 constituted a small percentage of the population (15.2 per cent) but proportionately more of them were females. Figure 5.8 presents similar data for the 1830-31 sample. By this time the sex ratio had fallen to 145 males per 100 females but the dominance of the 15-30 age groups and the greater proportion of males of these ages remained. Similarly, the number of children remained low. Neither the imbalanced sex ratio nor the small proportion of children are consistent with the idea of family migration at this time. Whilst it is possible that young couples with no or few dependent children might have been more likely to migrate than older couples with larger families, so reducing the overall proportion of children, the imbalance in the number of males to females cannot be adequately accounted for by this explanation. Thus the population figures suggest the emigration of young, unattached people, especially among males.

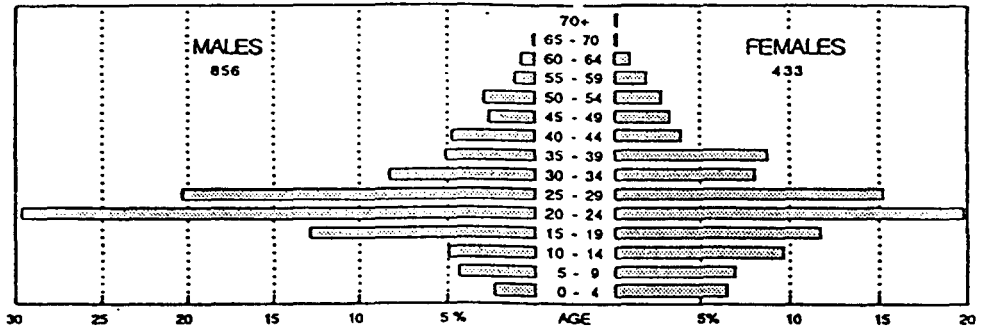


Figure 5.7 Age and sex distribution of Derry emigrants to U.S.A., 1803-06

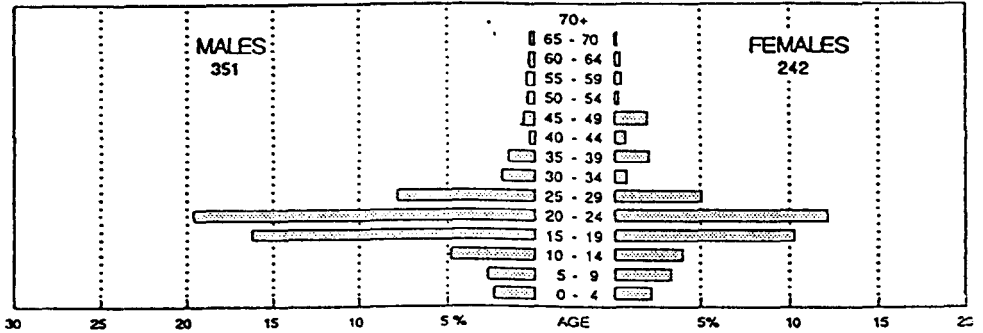


Figure 5.8 Age and sex distribution of Derry emigrants to New York, 1830-31

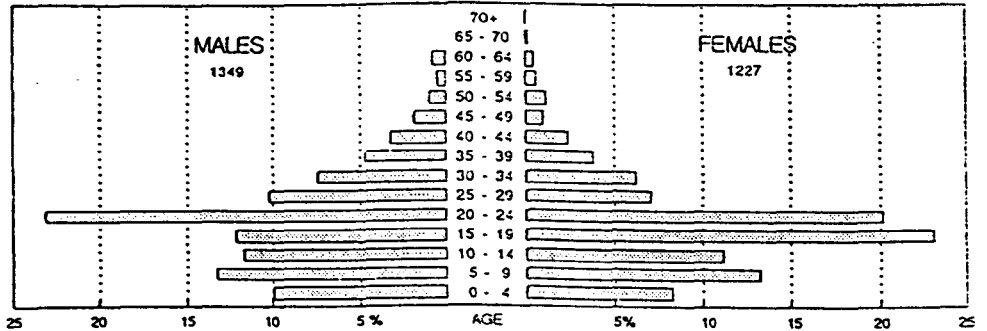


Figure 5.9 Age and sex distribution of Derry emigrants to U.S.A., 1847-51

The extent to which age data were recorded in the Cooke Registers changed over the 20 years studied here. For the years 1847 to 1851 the clerks of J&J Cooke recorded only the ages of children 14 and under. This may have been because children under 14 were eligible for half fare and during this busy period the clerks did not bother recording the ages of all passengers but only of those who qualified for fare reduction. The recording of all ages commences in 1852 and continues to the end of 1867. It was therefore possible to construct a population pyramid only for passengers on those United States-bound ships for which manifests were found. For Canadian-bound ship manifests were not available at all and age data were first available in 1852. Figure 5.9 therefore presents data only for passengers on those J.&J. Cooke ships that sailed for the United States during 1847-51 and that were successfully linked to the American manifests. Data for later periods could be separated by country of destination and revealed some interesting differences between the two.

Comparison of Figure 5.9 for 1847-51 with Figures 5.7 and 5.8 for earlier periods shows the more even representation of males and females at the time of the Famine, with the sex ratio down to 110 males per 100 females. Another striking feature of Figure 5.9 is the increase in the number of children under 15, now constituting 33.5 per cent of the total population. The modal age band for both sexes, however, remained at 20-24 years, although the concentration is less pronounced than

earlier, largely because of the proportional increase in the number of children. Over the next fifteen years the trend was for proportionately fewer men than women to travel (Figures 5.10-5.15). In the immediate post-Famine period, 1852-56, the sex ratio of emigrants to the United States dropped to 95.9 males per 100 females and even further, to 77.0 males per 100 females, in the 1857-61 period. It rose slightly in the 1862-67 period, to 85.8 males per 100 females.

The picture for Canada was rather different. For the 1852-56 period the sex ratio was 104.4 males per 100 females, for 1857-61 it was 95.1 males per 100 females, and for 1862-67 it was 121.4 males per 100 females. Unfortunately, with no equivalent figures available for the immediate Famine and pre-Famine periods, it is not possible to comment on the long term trend in the sex ratio of the emigrant population to Canada. There is no evidence of the marked post-Famine increase in the proportion of women travelling displayed by the United States-bound population, the latter, incidentally reflecting the picture for Ireland as a whole.¹¹

The percentage of children amongst migrants to the United States declined from a high of 33.5 per cent during the Famine years of 1847-51 to 19.5 per cent in 1852-56 (Figure 5.10), and 14.9 per cent in 1857-61 (Figure 5.12), then picking up to 24.5 per cent in the years 1862-67

¹¹ Fitzpatrick, D. (1984) Irish Emigration, 1801-1921. Dundalk, Dundalgan Press, p 8

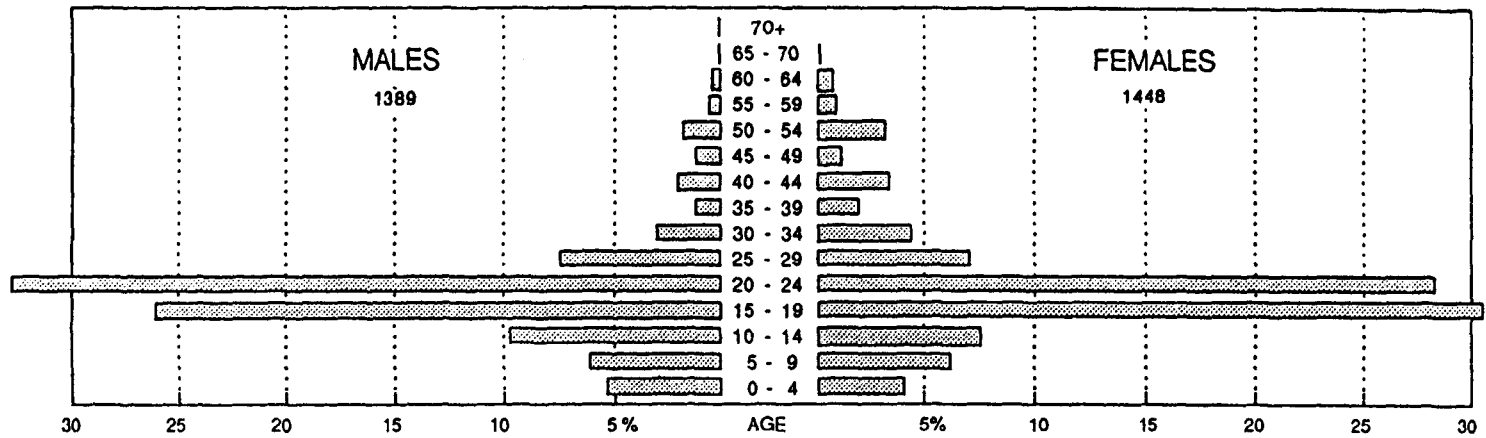


Figure 5.10 Age and sex distribution of Derry emigrants to U.S.A., 1852-56

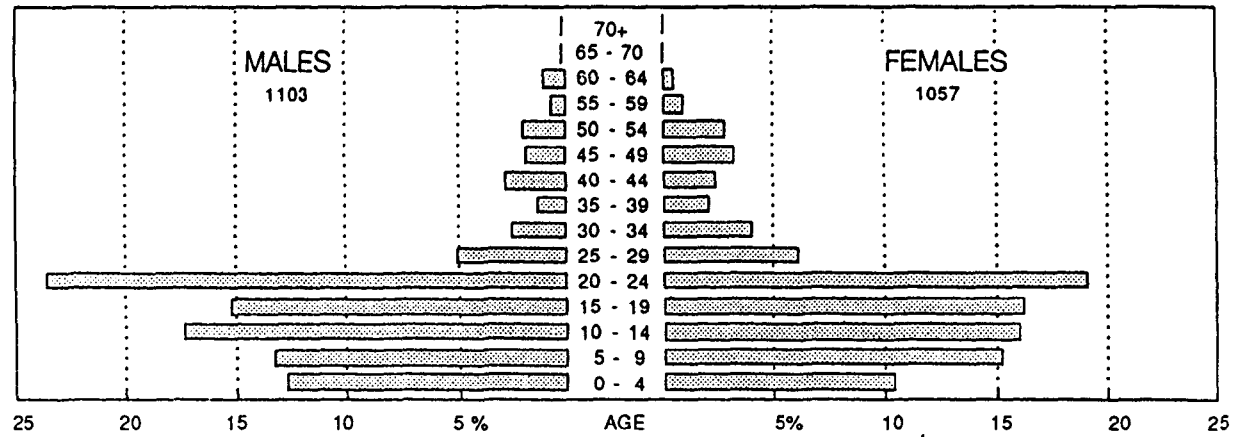


Figure 5.11 Age and sex distribution of Derry emigrants to Canada, 1852-56

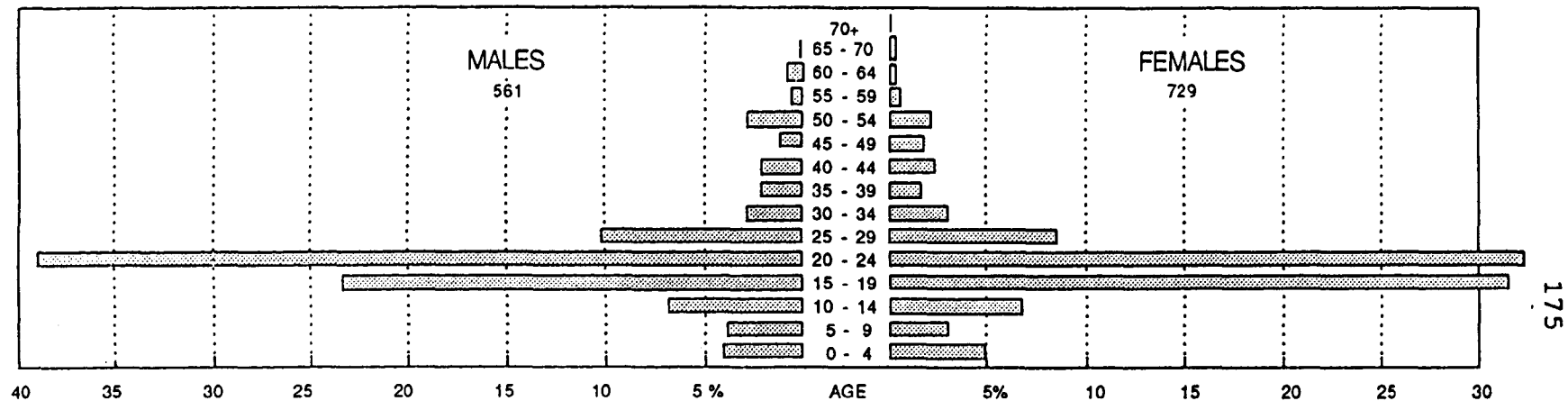


Figure 5.12 Age and sex distribution of Derry emigrants to U.S.A., 1857-61

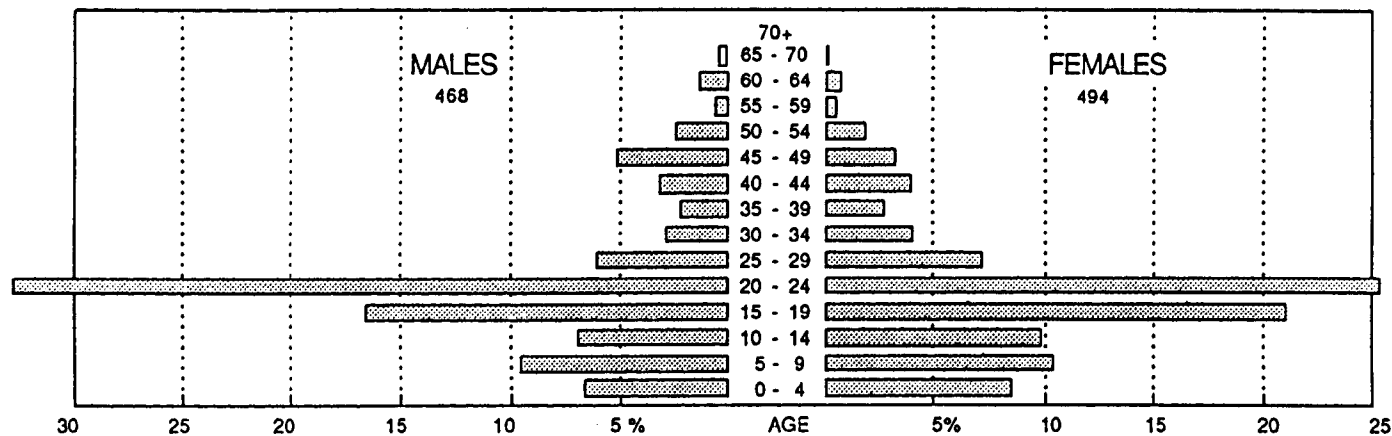


Figure 5.13 Age and sex distribution of Derry emigrants to Canada, 1857-61

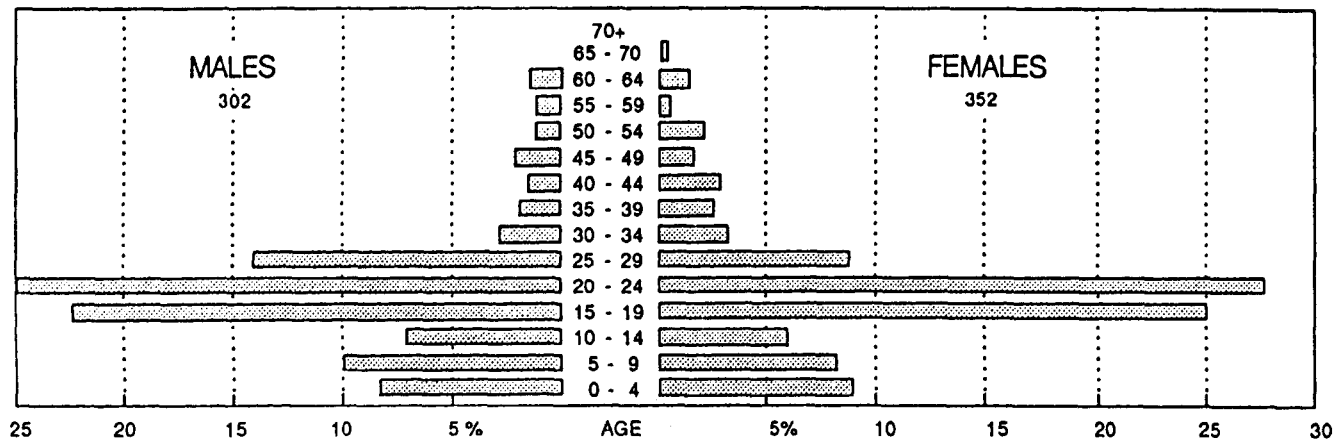


Figure 5.14 Age and sex distribution of Derry emigrants to U.S.A., 1862-67

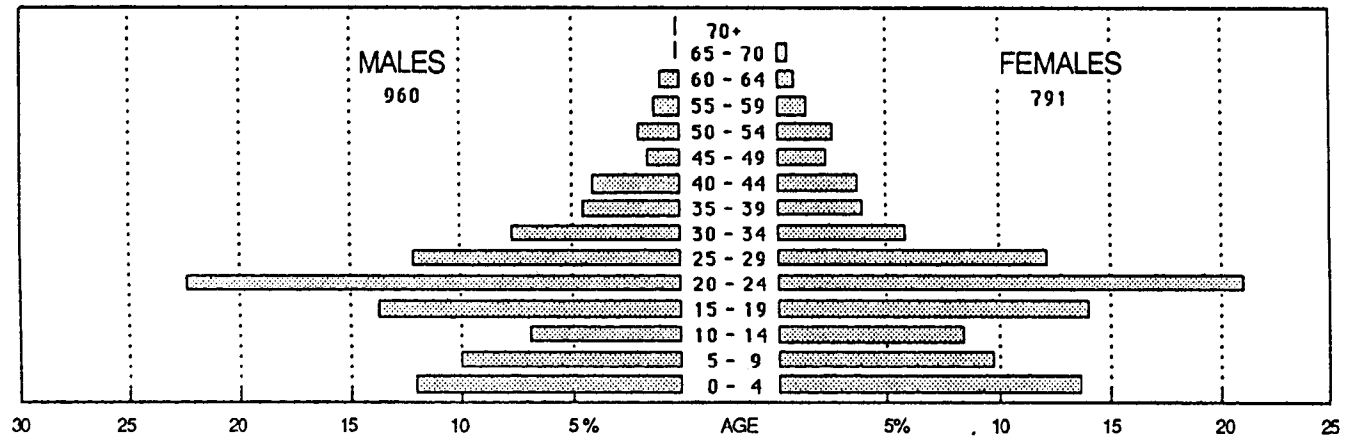


Figure 5.15 Age and sex distribution of Derry emigrants to Canada, 1862-67

(Figure 5.14). Exact figures for the percentage of children in the migration to Canada during the Famine period cannot be established because of the way in which age was recorded in this period but we can safely say that the percentage was at least 36.5 per cent.¹² This figure is similar to the percentage of children found amongst the total Irish migrant population to Quebec during the immediate Famine years. For 1852-56 the percentage was 42.1 (Figure 5.11), falling to 25.8 in the 1857-61 period (Figure 5.13) but, as with the United States-bound population, picking up again in the 1862-67 period to 32.3 per cent (Figure 5.15). Thus in each period proportionately more children went to Canada than to the United States.

A high percentage of children in the migrant population is indicative of family migration. The gradual falling off of the percentage of children amongst those travelling to the United States thus suggests a move away from the family migration of the immediate Famine period to a migration of unmarried people. Similarly, the data also suggest that proportionately more families travelled to the Canadian ports than to the American ones, a trend which would not be surprising given the cheaper fares to Canada. Both the large size and the generally poor financial state of Irish migrants to Quebec, particularly during the Famine years, were frequently referred to in the reports by Buchanan, the government emigrant agent for the port of

¹² This percentage is obtained by dividing the total number of children (14 and under) whose ages were known by the population total.

Quebec. Buchanan's picture of those arriving in Quebec would have been greatly influenced by the somewhat involuntary emigration of workhouse inmates and cleared tenants from the west and south-west of Ireland. Although the numbers of such migrants was always small among the Derry migrants, it is likely that, with the assistance of their friends at home and remittances from those already in America or Canada, a number scraped together sufficient means to enable them to reach Canada.

The one constant factor throughout the otherwise changing profiles of migration in the study period is the concentration of young people. For all time periods and all destinations, and for both sexes, the dominance of the 16-30 age-bands is notable, further evidence, if evidence was needed, that emigration was a young person's game.

As we have seen, far more men than women left Derry at the turn of century, but the male concentration is even more remarkable among those who travelled unaccompanied (Table 5.4). Unaccompanied men exceeded unaccompanied women by eight to one, against a ratio of two to one amongst the total population. The modal age band for unaccompanied men was 20-24 (39 per cent) but the modal age band for such women was 20-29 (25 per cent each in the 20-24 and 25-29 age bands), with another 16 per cent accounted for by the 35-39 band. Unaccompanied men were therefore younger than unaccompanied women, a picture which differs

Table 5.4 Unaccompanied passengers to the United States and
Canada: sex ratios.

Period	United States			Canada		
	Males	Females	Ratio	Males	Females	Ratio
1803-06	425	56	759:100	-	-	-
1847-51	419	353	119:100	884	754	117:100
1852-56	766	695	110:100	391	278	141:100
1857-61	422	355	119:100	215	141	152:100
1862-67	149	127	117:100	349	164	213:100

from that obtained by Ó'Gráda for this period as a whole.¹³ However, the small size of the unaccompanied women population - 56 in total or only 11.5 per cent of the Individuals travelling - needs to be noted here. This severe imbalance in sex ratio of unaccompanied migrants never recurred in any of the subsequent study periods (Table 5.4).

For those travelling alone to the United States the ratio remained at a steady 110 - 120 males to 100 females during the 1847-67 study period. For those travelling to Canada the picture was very different. Here the male to female ratio increased steadily with time, almost doubling between 1847-51 and 1862-67 (Table 5.4). As with the population as a whole, the modal age-band of unaccompanied migrants was 20-24 years in each of the study periods, although the median age of women occurred at the lower end of the age-band (Table 5.5). Thus there was little or no difference between unaccompanied men and women as far as age at leaving is concerned.

Overall then, the figures for the United States reveal a movement away from the migration of predominantly young, unattached males at the beginning of the century to a gradual balancing out of the sexes and a predominance of family migration in the immediate Famine period. This was followed in the post-Famine era by a return to a migration of the unattached or of couples after marriage but prior to starting a family. Throughout the study period the

¹³ Ó'Gráda, C. (1983) op. cit., p 120

Table 5.5 (a) Sex ratio of unaccompanied passengers by age and period (United States)

Age Band	1803-1806				1847-1851				1852-1856				1857-1861				1862-1867			
	M		F		M		F		M		F		M		F		M		F	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-4	4	0.94	0	0.0	5	1.19	2	0.57	3	0.39	3	0.43	1	0.24	0	0.00	2	1.34	0	0.00
5-9	1	0.24	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	1.70	4	0.52	4	0.58	3	0.71	3	0.85	1	0.67	2	1.57
10-14	2	0.47	3	5.36	12	2.86	5	1.42	35	4.57	18	2.59	21	4.98	15	4.23	1	0.67	1	0.79
15-19	58	13.65	5	8.93	64	15.27	143	40.51	237	30.94	273	39.28	156	36.97	90	25.35	54	36.24	36	28.35
20-24	168	39.53	14	25.0	180	42.96	109	30.88	349	45.56	278	40.0	171	40.52	176	49.58	61	40.94	49	38.58
25-29	97	22.82	14	25.0	68	16.23	29	8.21	76	9.92	53	7.63	40	9.48	40	11.27	16	10.74	28	22.05
30-34	37	8.71	5	8.93	51	12.17	28	7.93	20	2.61	22	3.16	9	2.13	10	2.82	4	2.68	4	3.15
35-39	20	4.71	9	16.07	21	5.01	7	1.98	10	1.30	8	1.15	5	1.18	7	1.97	1	0.67	3	2.36
40-44	14	3.29	0	0.0	11	2.62	13	3.68	10	1.30	17	2.45	4	0.95	4	1.13	4	2.68	2	1.57
45-49	7	1.65	2	3.57	4	0.95	4	1.13	12	1.56	2	0.29	4	0.95	1	0.28	1	0.67	0	0.0
50-54	10	2.35	1	1.79	2	0.48	3	0.85	8	1.04	11	1.58	4	0.95	5	1.41	2	1.34	0	0.0
55-59	5	1.18	3	3.57	0	0.0	1	0.28	0	0.0	4	0.57	1	0.24	2	0.56	0	0.0	0	0.0
60-64	2	0.47	1	1.79	0	0.0	3	0.85	2	0.13	2	0.29	1	0.24	2	0.56	1	0.67	2	1.57
65-69	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.24	0	0.0	1	0.67	0	0.0
70-74	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.24	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.24	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
75+	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.13	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	425		56		419		353		766		695		422		355		149		127	

TABLE 5.5(b)

Sex ratio of unaccompanied passengers by age and period (Canada)

	1847-51*			1852-56			1857-61			1862-67						
	N	M	F	N	M	F	N	M	F	N	M	F				
0-4	1	0.11	2	0.26	1	0.14			1	0.46			1	0.28		
5-9	56	6.33	47	6.23	1	0.14	4	0.74	1	0.46	1	0.71	1	0.28	1	0.61
10-14	13	1.47	16	2.12	23	3.26	21	3.87	7	3.23	4	2.84	2	0.55	8	4.88
15-19	10	1.13	13	1.72	96	13.60	78	14.36	39	17.97	38	26.95	77	21.33	38	23.17
20-24	1	0.11	3	0.40	180	25.50	108	19.89	119	54.84	66	46.81	141	39.06	70	42.68
25-29			5	0.66	42	5.95	31	5.71	18	8.29	17	12.06	69	19.11	20	12.20
30-34					14	1.98	17	3.13	7	3.23	5	3.55	27	7.48	8	4.88
35-39					7	0.99	4	0.74	5	2.30	1	0.71	15	4.16	2	1.22
40-44	1	0.11			10	1.42	3	0.55	4	1.84	3	2.13	5	1.39	4	2.44
45-49					7	0.99	2	0.37	9	4.15	2	1.42	5	1.39	2	1.22
50-54	1	0.11			4	0.57	5	0.92	3	1.38	3	2.13	4	2.44	4	1.11
55-59					2	0.28	4	0.74	1	0.46			1	3.05	5	0.28
60-64					3	0.42	1	0.18	1	0.46	1	0.71	1	0.28	2	1.22
65-69																
70-74					1	0.14										
75+																
TOTAL	884		754		391		278		215		141		349		164	

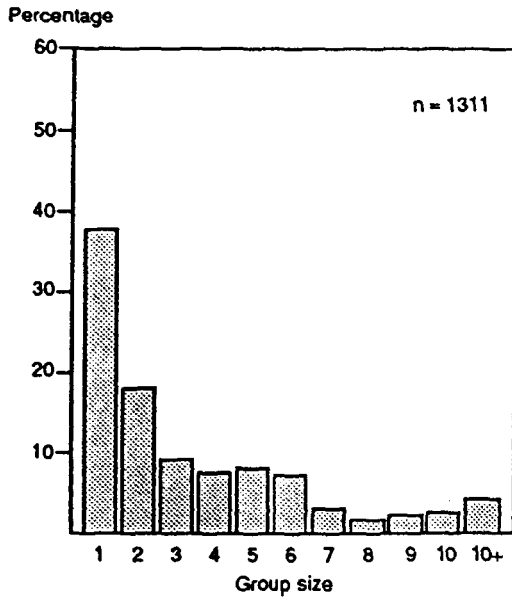
*The records of age for this period are clearly incomplete and mostly relate to children. The ages here record only 9.4 percent of the sample, cf table 5.4

proportion of women steadily rose up to the 1850s when they became the dominant sex.

The increase in the percentages of children travelling to the United States and to Canada during the 1862-27 period is of note because the 1860s was a period of agricultural depression in Ireland. Like the Famine period, although on a considerably lesser scale, this was a period when there was a strong impetus to leave. The figures suggest that the generally unfavourable conditions again gave rise to an increase in family migration.

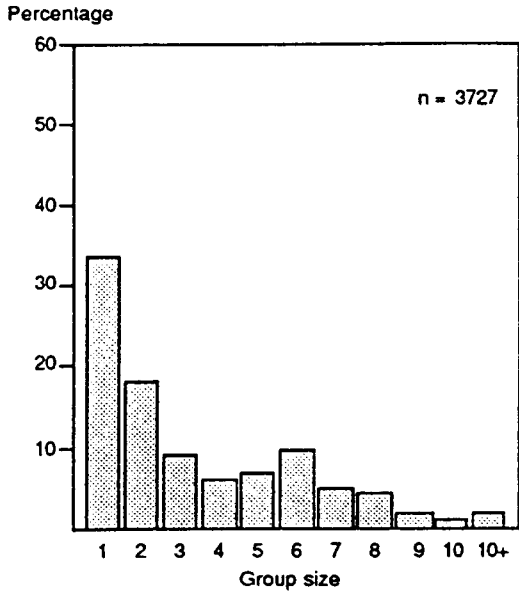
5.4 Changes in Group Structure

As outlined in Chapter 4 the type and size of each migrant unit can be established from the shipping lists, given certain assumptions. The information thus obtained can provide useful insights into the composition of the migrant stream beyond that which emerges from the purely demographic analysis of the previous section. Figure 5.16 shows the distributions of group sizes by time period and destination. Two features that are particularly striking in these distributions are summarized in the form of Figure 5.17. First, in all periods there was a greater preponderance of large groups among the Canadian-bound migrants than among the United States-bound migrants. This lends support to the idea suggested in the previous section that the Canadian route, with its cheaper fares, was more attractive to families. Second, for both destinations there was a distinct difference between the pattern during

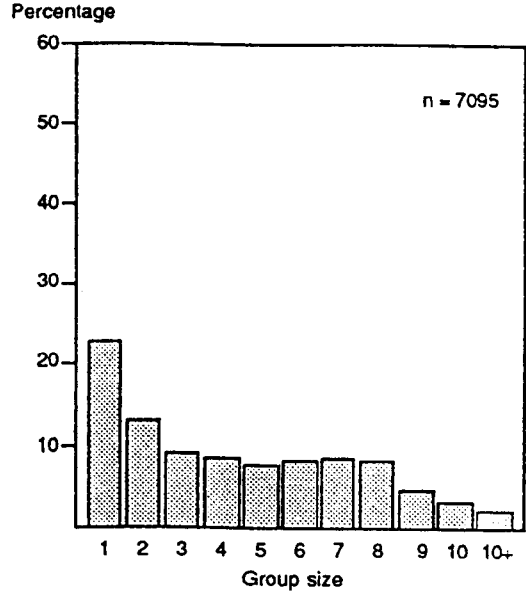


United States, 1803 - 1808

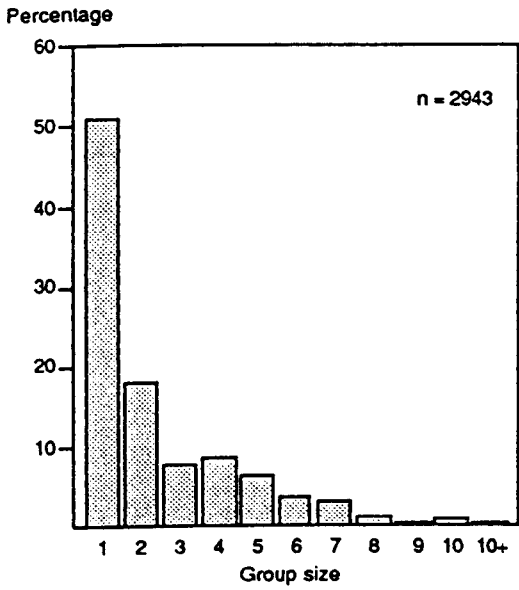
Figure 5.16 Changes in the frequency of group size by destination and period



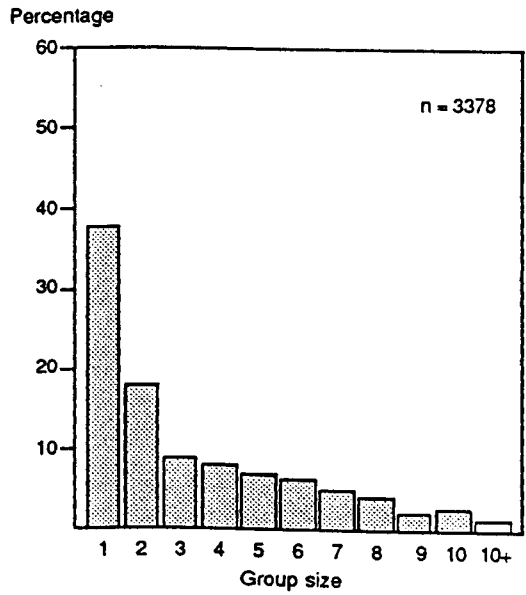
United States, 1847 - 1851



Canada, 1847 - 1851

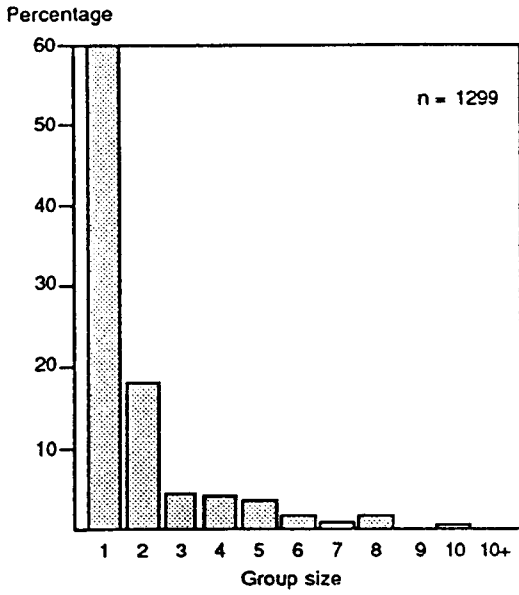


United States, 1852 - 1856

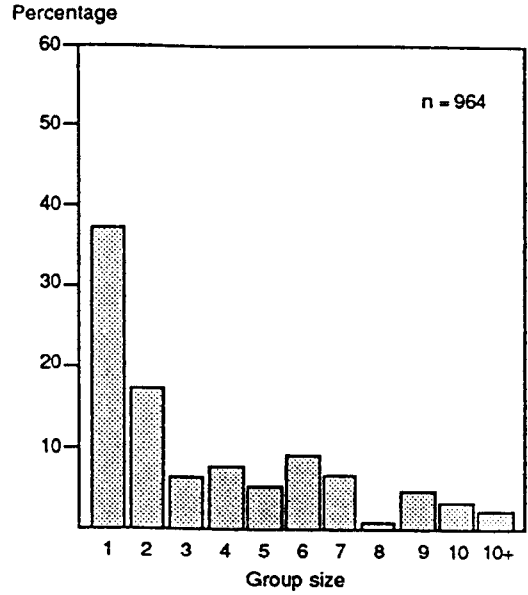


Canada, 1852 - 1856

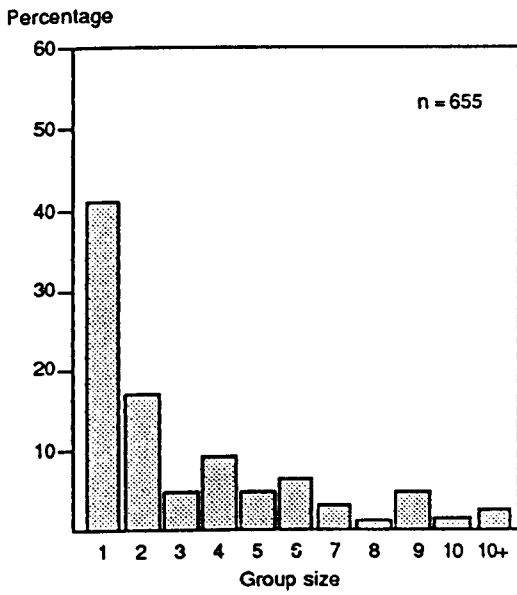
Figure 5.16 (contd)



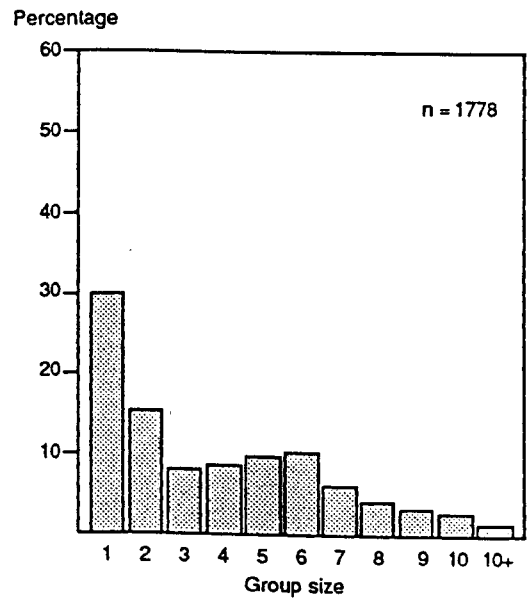
United States, 1857 - 1861



Canada, 1857 - 1861



United States, 1862 - 1867



Canada, 1862 - 1867

Figure 5.16 (contd)

Percentage accompanied people

Percentage median group size

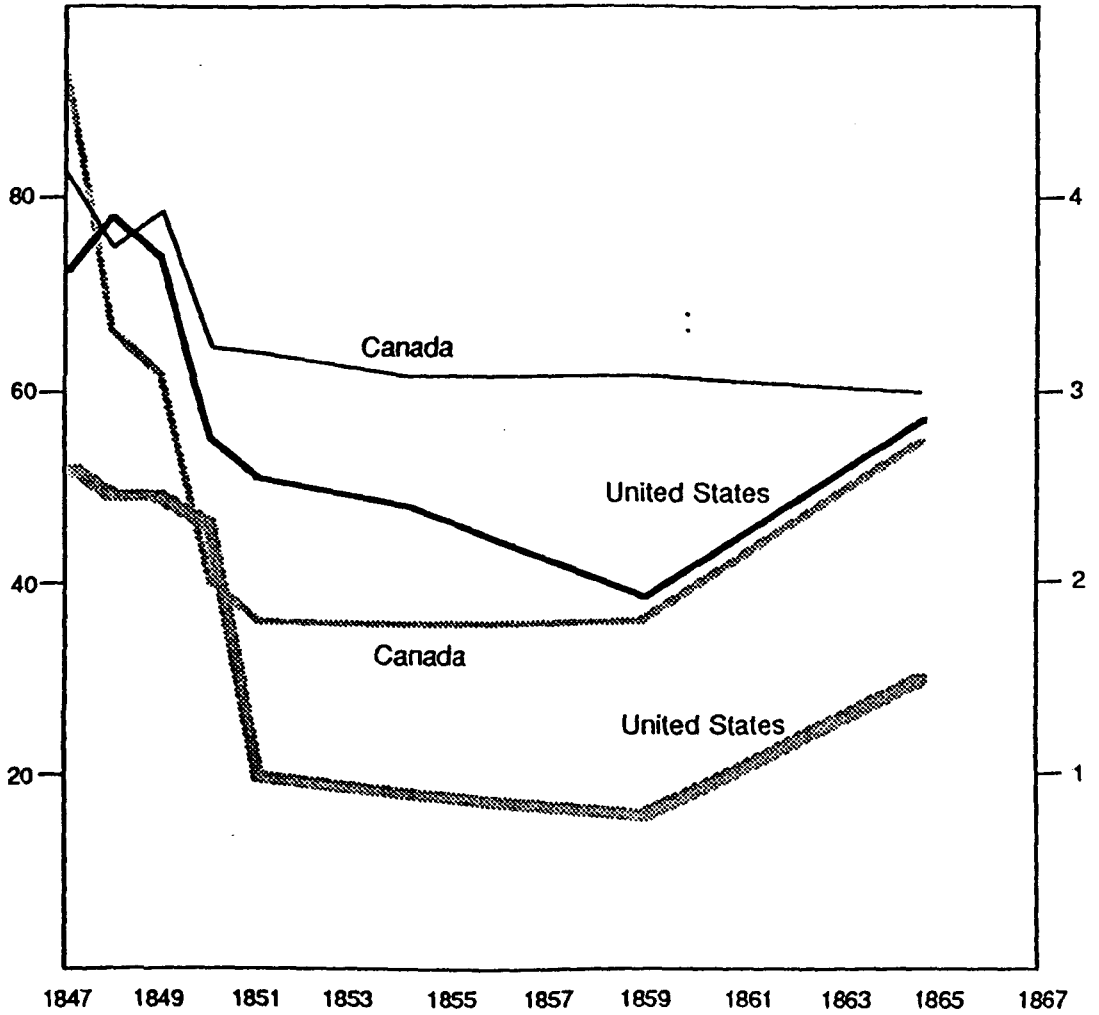


Figure 5.17 Change in percentage of accompanied people and group size by destination, 1847-67

the Famine period and all other periods. During the years 1847-51 the two countries received a disproportionately large number of big groups. Since group size and group type are linked, however, a more detailed picture emerges on analyzing the information available on group type. Tables 5.6a and 5.7a show the percentage distribution of the various group types by destination for each of the study periods.

5.4.1 The early nineteenth century

Analysis of the Customs data from 1803-06 (Table 5.6a) shows that at that time the largest number of people travelled unaccompanied as Individuals, with 'Same Name' groups and Nuclear families second and third in number. According to Adams, '...the Irish preferred to emigrate in families when they could'. In the case of the groups examined here, emigrants travelling with family (defined as people of the same surname) do outnumber unaccompanied emigrants, by about two to one. It would be more appropriate, however, to consider these as kin groups because the 'families' i.e. nuclear, extended, and single parent families combined constitute just half of the kin groups. Within the other half (those sharing a common surname) couples of opposite sex could be either brother and sister or husband and wife.

The lists show that almost 65 per cent of the 1803-06 emigrants left in parties of three or fewer (Figure 5.16). Although the average nuclear family size to the United

Distribution of United States bound passengers among the various group types

Group Type	1803-06		1830-31		1847-51		1852-56		1857-61		1862-67	
	N	%*	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I	488	37.22	271	46.25	1258	33.75	1518	51.58	783	60.27	276	42.14
S	400	30.51	165	28.16	795	21.33	631	21.44	247	19.01	120	18.32
F	63	4.81	34	5.80	441	11.83	409	13.89	95	7.31	96	14.65
N	220	16.78	98	16.72	713	19.13	277	9.41	129	9.93	110	16.79
E	140	10.67	13	2.22	154	4.13	81	2.75	35	2.69	43	6.56
M	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	0.34	10	0.77	10	1.53
G	0	0.00	5	0.85	249	6.68	17	0.58	0	0.00	0	0.00
Q	0	0.00	0	0.00	117	3.14	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
No. of People	1311		586		3727		2943		1299		655	

*This is the percentage of all people travelling within the time period

TABLE 5.6(b)

Distribution of U.S. bound passengers among the various group types during the immediate famine years

Group	1847		1848		1849		1850		1851	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I	327	27.34	90	21.74	187	25.58	270	44.41	384	49.29
S	247	20.67	83	20.05	113	15.46	172	28.29	180	23.10
F	170	14.22	51	12.32	91	12.45	49	8.06	80	10.30
N	353	29.54	78	18.84	112	15.32	82	13.49	88	11.30
E	45	3.77	0	0.00	41	5.61	35	5.76	33	4.24
M	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
G	18	1.51	47	11.35	170	23.26	0	0.00	14	1.80
Q	35	2.93	65	15.70	17	2.33	0	0.00	0	0.00
No. of People	1195		414		731		608		779	

Key: I = Individuals; S = Same name; F = Families of one adult and children; N = Nuclear families; E = Extended families; M = Married couple (no children); G = Group, a party of individuals, no kin relationship evident; Q = Query, groups which could not be assigned. For full description of categories, see pp. 142-143.

TABLE 5.7(a)

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The distribution of Canadian bound passengers among the various group types.

Group Type	1847-51		1852-56		1857-61		1862-67	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I	1614	22.75	1258	37.24	361	37.18	526	29.67
S	1069	15.07	716	21.20	170	17.63	183	10.29
F	970	13.67	485	14.36	145	14.93	199	11.19
N	2482	34.98	707	20.93	217	22.35	713	40.10
E	261	3.68	138	4.09	61	6.28	85	4.78
M	2	0.03	4	0.12	4	0.41	68	3.82
G	226	3.19	70	2.07	13	1.34	4	0.22
Q	47	16.64	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
No. of People	7095		3378		964		1778	

TABLE 5.7(b)

Distribution of Canadian-bound passengers among the various group types during the immediate famine years.

Group Type	1847		1848		1849		1850		1851	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I	639	17.10	219	24.4	156	20.88	272	34.78	327	35.16
S	333	9.81	104	11.61	86	11.51	259	32.99	287	30.86
F	469	12.55	164	18.30	133	17.80	106	13.50	98	10.84
N	1764	47.20	249	27.79	191	25.57	122	15.54	156	16.77
E	153	4.09	27	3.01	37	4.95	7	0.89	37	3.98
M	0	0.00	2	0.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
G	43	1.15	12	1.34	128	17.14	18	2.29	25	2.69
Q	336	8.99	119	13.28	16	2.14	0	0.00	0	0.00
No. of People	3737		896		747		785		930	

States in 1803-06 was 4.8 (Table 5.8a), this was largely brought about by a 'tail' of very large families. The mode or median of such skew distributions is a more representative statistic. Here the modal size of nuclear families was 3, with a range of 3-6. As might be expected, families headed by a sole parent were somewhat smaller, with a mean of 3.5 and a range of 2-5. The extended families, as their name suggests, were larger, with a mean of 8.7, a range of 5-10 and a modal size of 6. It is necessary to be cautious in interpreting the results because of the small sample sizes for some of the groups, such as Families and Extended Families, in this period. For example, only 63 people travelled in Family groups and 140 in Extended groups.

By the 1830s the picture had changed little (Table 5.6a). Again the largest number of people travelled unaccompanied as Individuals (46.25 per cent, an increase on the early period) and the relative occurrence of most other group types were fairly similar to that for 1803-06, except for a decrease in the numbers in Extended Families (from 10.7 to 2.3 per cent).

5.4.2 The immediate Famine years

By 1847-51, the immediate Famine period, the structure of the migrant body had changed markedly (Tables 5.6 and 5.7; Figure 5.18). Among the migrants to the United States people travelling in family groups of all types were relatively more frequent than in earlier periods.

TABLE 5.8(a)

Average number of passengers traveling in groups of different type, 1803-67
(United States)

Group Type	1803-06	1847-51	1852-56	1857-61	1862-67
S	2.6	2.32	2.3	2.2	2.4
F	3.5	3.77	3.5	3.2	3.7
N	4.8	5.62	5.0	4.6	5.2
E	8.7	5.92	6.8	7.0	8.6
M	-	-	2.0	2.0	2.0
G	-	3.61	3.4	-	-
Q	-	5.85	-	-	-
Average of all Groups*	3.49	3.59	3.05	2.84	3.42

*Unaccompanied individuals have been excluded

TABLE 5.8(b)

Average number of passengers traveling in groups of different type, 1847-51
(United States)

Group Type	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
S	2.31	2.18	2.22	2.49	2.34
F	3.78	3.64	4.14	3.27	3.81
N	5.69	5.57	5.6	5.86	5.87
E	5.62	-	5.86	5.83	6.6
M	-	-	-	-	-
G	4.5	2.93	3.69	-	4.69
Q	5.0	6.5	5.67	-	-
Average of all groups	3.87	3.56	3.89	3.31	3.25

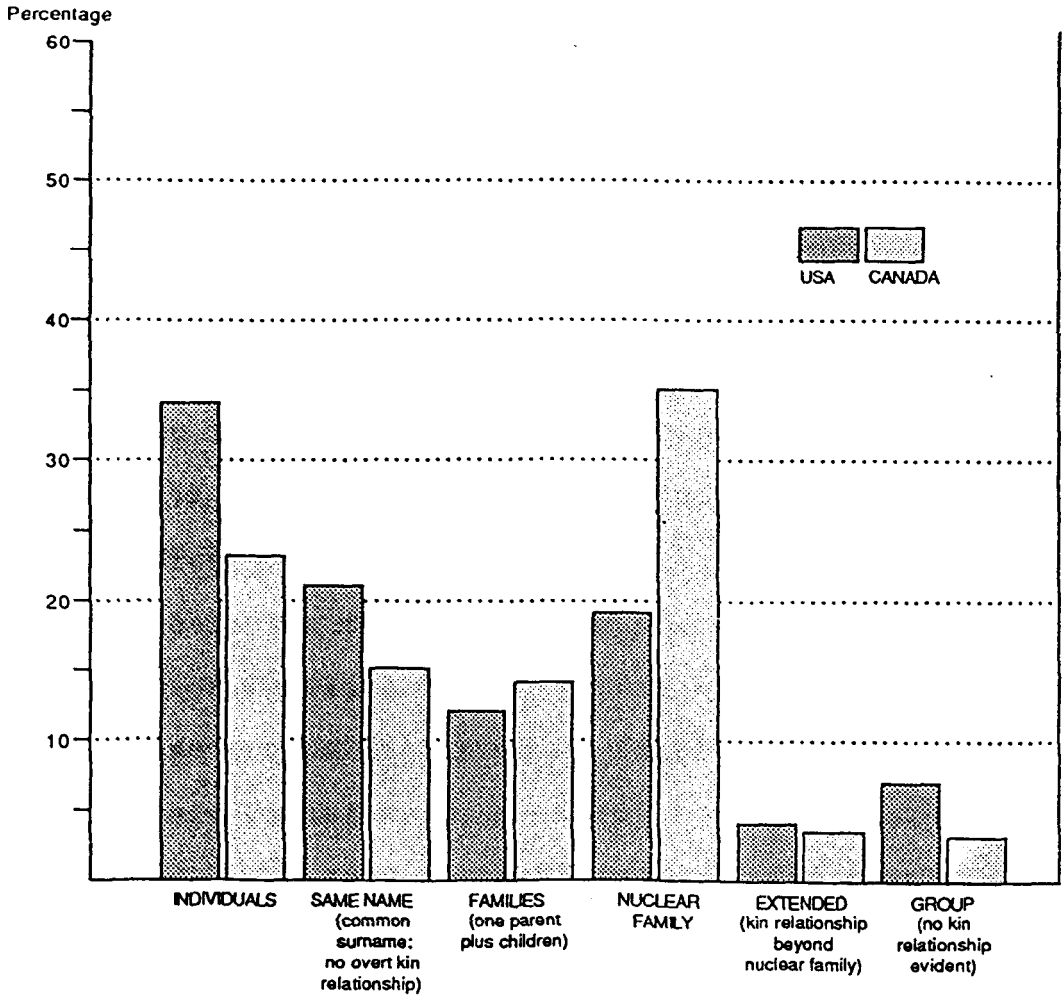


Figure 5.18 Percentage group type and destination, 1847-1851

Individuals still constituted the largest percentage of those travelling but now formed only a third of all migrants. The Same Name groups likewise decreased, to just over 20 per cent. The most dramatic increase was in the numbers travelling in groups headed by a sole parent. Given that the majority of such groups were headed by females, it is probable that such Family groups were wives and children joining husbands.

The data for this period thus show a significant migration of families to the United States, with kin groups (i.e. those groups within which familial relationships could safely be inferred, N+F+S+E) far outweighing the non-kin groups. The same patterns emerged even more clearly in the Canadian data (Tables 5.7 and 5.9). Here the proportion of kin group migrants was even larger, with nearly a third of all migrants travelling within Nuclear Families (the commonest group membership). The numbers travelling in sole parent Family groups and Same Name groups accounted for almost another third of the migrants whilst those travelling unaccompanied formed only 22.8 per cent of the total - the smallest percentage share by Individuals for any time period or destination. The considerable number of Families again were probably wives and children joining husbands. Indeed, in his comment on the 1850 season Buchanan notes:

Another and very destitute class of the Irish emigrants who annually arrive by the route of the St. Lawrence, are the wives and families of

TABLE 5.9(a)

Average number of passengers traveling in groups of different type, 1847-67 (Canada)

Group Type	1847-51	1852-56	1857-61	1862-67
S	2.29	2.27	2.15	2.15
F	3.94	4.08	4.14	3.43
N	5.88	5.44	5.71	5.44
E	6.87	6.90	7.62	6.07
M	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
G	3.18	3.89	7.5	4.0
Q	6.20	-	-	-
Average of all groups*	4.24	3.53	5.53	3.89

*

TABLE 5.9(b)

Average number of passengers traveling in groups of different type, 1847-51 (Canada)

Group Type	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
S	2.07	2.04	2.09	2.70	2.50
F	4.08	3.90	3.32	4.08	4.26
N	5.96	5.53	5.97	5.30	6.0
E	6.95	6.75	6.17	7.0	7.4
M	-	2.0	-	-	-
G	3.07	2.0	3.46	3.0	3.12
Q	6.11	6.61	5.33	-	-
Average of all groups	4.79	4.16	3.86	3.37	3.38

parties who have emigrated in previous years, and who, by their industry, have been enabled to send home sufficient means to bring them just across the Atlantic. A large proportion of this class have their destinations in the Western States; they are induced to take this route, it being cheaper than New York, and to some extent they were formerly encouraged in the expectation of being aided on their arrival here out of the emigrant fund; a large number of their class arrived during the past season whose destinations were throughout the frontier states from Vermont to Missouri.¹⁴

Another class of migrants which may have helped swell the numbers of Families in this period and, which was also noted by Buchanan, was widows with children, whose husbands had died in Ireland. It is likely that some of these would have been inhabitants of workhouses.

Because of the importance of the Famine period and the variation in volume and intensity of migration known to have occurred as a result of the pattern of crop failures in this period, the structure of the migrant body at this time is further examined on a year-to-year basis in Tables 5.6b and 5.7b. The year of 1847 was the one of highest volume and intensity of emigration throughout Ireland as fear and panic spread in the wake of the total failure of the potato crop. In the passenger trade from Derry to North America the 1846 season was good, but not abnormal, as the

¹⁴ British Parliamentary Papers (1850-51) Colonies (Canada), Vol. 19, p 22

extent of the Famine was not sufficiently understood until the season was nearly over. The 1847 bookings were the largest ever made out of the port of Londonderry and the numbers recorded as travelling with J&J Cooke alone in that year are 4932.

The structure of migration in that year is characterized by four features: 1) the dominance of Nuclear Families, both amongst migrants bound for the United States (29.5 per cent) and amongst those going to Canada (47.2 per cent) 2) the relatively greater percentage of those travelling unaccompanied going to the United States than to Canada and the complementary relationship for Nuclear Families. 3) an additional marked difference in the percentage of Same Name emigrants going to Canada 8.9 per cent) and to the United States (20.7 per cent) and 4) the fairly similar representation of the other groups going to either country. To a great extent these features reflect the strong forces impelling emigration in 1847 and the differences between the destinations in terms of the cost of passage. The high percentage of whole families is typical of the mass migration consequent upon disaster. The higher proportion of those families among the migrants to Canada is very probably a reflection of the lower cost of fare to the ports there. On the other hand, for those travelling alone or as a couple the fare to the United States was probably manageable.

In the subsequent Famine years the percentage of emigrants traveling in Nuclear Families never again reached

the 1847 figures but instead steadily declined (Tables 5.6b, 5.7b). Conversely, the percentage of Individuals increased markedly over the period, for both countries of destination. Overall then, the Famine period saw a dramatic increase in family migration, especially by Nuclear Families and particularly in the worst of the Famine years, 1847. These conclusions are further supported by analyses of group sizes (Tables 5.8 and 5.9). Both overall group size and Nuclear Family size were at their largest in this period. The figures here for the group units support the view that the Famine movement swept away whole sections of society rather than its surplus members.

After 1847 the numbers sailing dropped back to a less dramatic but steady outflow. Both for Canada and for the United States the proportion of Nuclear families declined from year to year and the proportion of Individuals increased, indicating a return to a migration of the unattached. The numbers travelling in families headed by a sole parent decreased slightly amongst those travelling to the United States but for Canada they increased in 1848 and 1849 before levelling off. Interestingly, although the proportion of emigrants accounted for by the kin groups decreased gradually, the size of the average kin units (Tables 5.8 and 5.9) did not.

5.4.3 The post-Famine period

The emigration in the years 1852-56 was neither as heavy nor as intense as in the immediate Famine period. The United States total was down by about twenty per cent on the Famine period whilst that to Canada more than halved (see Table 5.1a), although Canada remained the more popular of the two countries of destination among the Cooke passengers. Amongst the migrants bound for the United States, Individuals now outnumbered the kin groups (Table 5.6a and Figure 5.19) and accounted for more than half the total number travelling. The sole parent Families also increased, perhaps indicating an increasing proportion of families sent for by husbands and fathers who had emigrated in previous years. The Same Name category remained unchanged in relative size but both Nuclear Family and Extended Family migrants decreased sharply. Amongst the Canadian-bound population similar changes in the structure of the migrant body took place (Table 5.7a and Figure 5.19) but with the important difference that the Individuals, although relatively stronger in numbers, did not outweigh the kin groups. Indeed, at no time in the twenty years covered by the Cooke data do Individuals account for more than 37 per cent of those going to Canada. For reasons which have already been mentioned, and which will be further explored in the next section, kin or family groups favoured the Canadian route.

In the closing years of the decade the volume of emigration continued to fall, more substantially now than

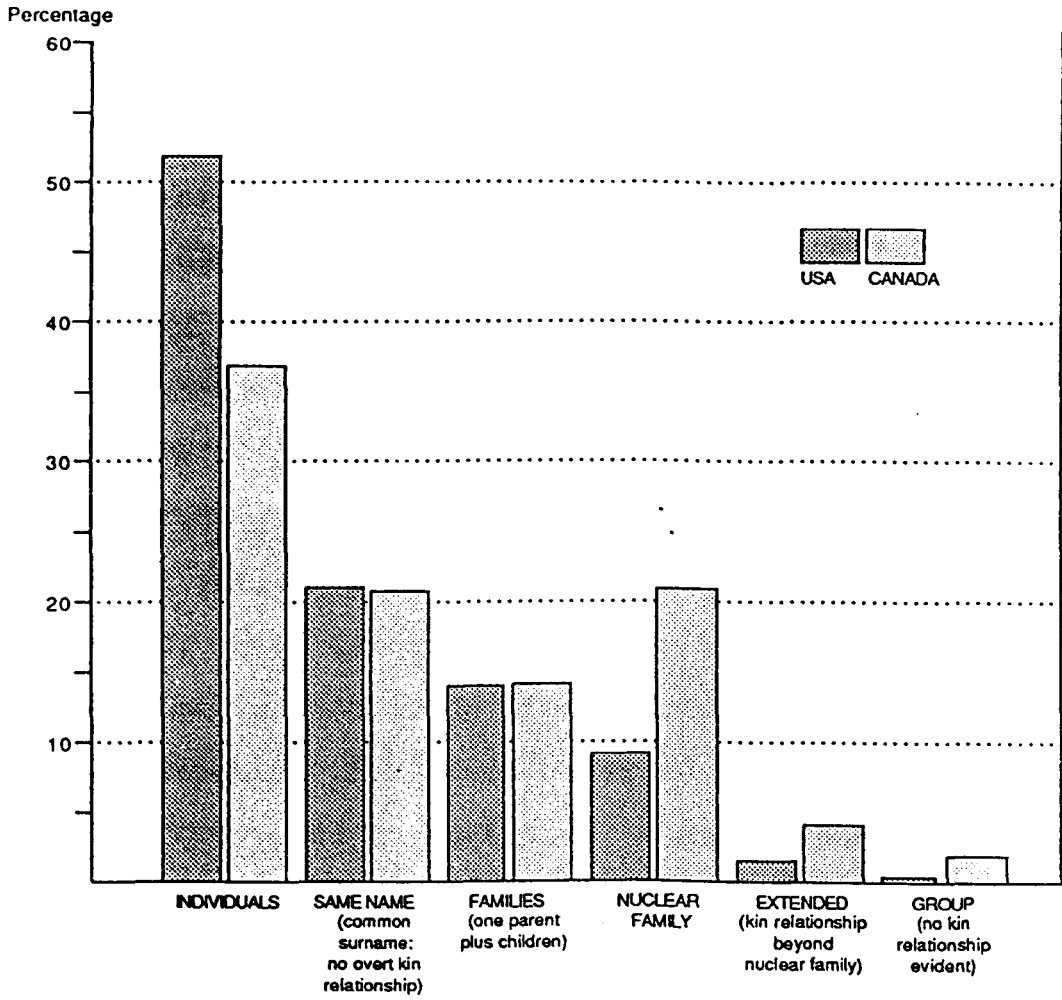


Figure 5.19 Percentage group type and destination, 1852-1856

in the earlier period (Table 5.1a). The numbers recorded in the Cooke registers as travelling to the United States fell by just over half whilst the number of those travelling to Canada dropped by a dramatic 70 per cent. The fall in numbers reflect a number of difficulties facing the firm of J&J Cooke at this time. The late fifties was a period of general business recession. Trade, which was an important influence on the number of voyages made, was depressed. More important, however, was the increasing competition from shipping lines outside Derry. In the local newspapers there were daily advertisements by Liverpool clippers to Australia, some of whom even offered free passages to selected emigrants. At the same time Glasgow and Liverpool clippers to Canada increasingly sought passengers in Derry. The fares on such steamships were considerably more expensive than those on the Cooke ships - seven guineas for a steerage passage to Quebec compared to just under four pounds from Derry - but the shorter passage and generally more comfortable conditions was a sufficient attraction to many.¹⁵

Among the Cooke passengers travelling at this time to the United States the trend towards an increasing proportion of Individuals continued (Figure 5.20). This was not accompanied, however, by the usual corresponding decrease in Nuclear Families. Rather it was the other kin groups which experienced a relative loss in their numbers.

¹⁵ Cooke, S. (1961) The Maiden City and the Western Ocean, Dublin, Morris & Co., pp 132-33

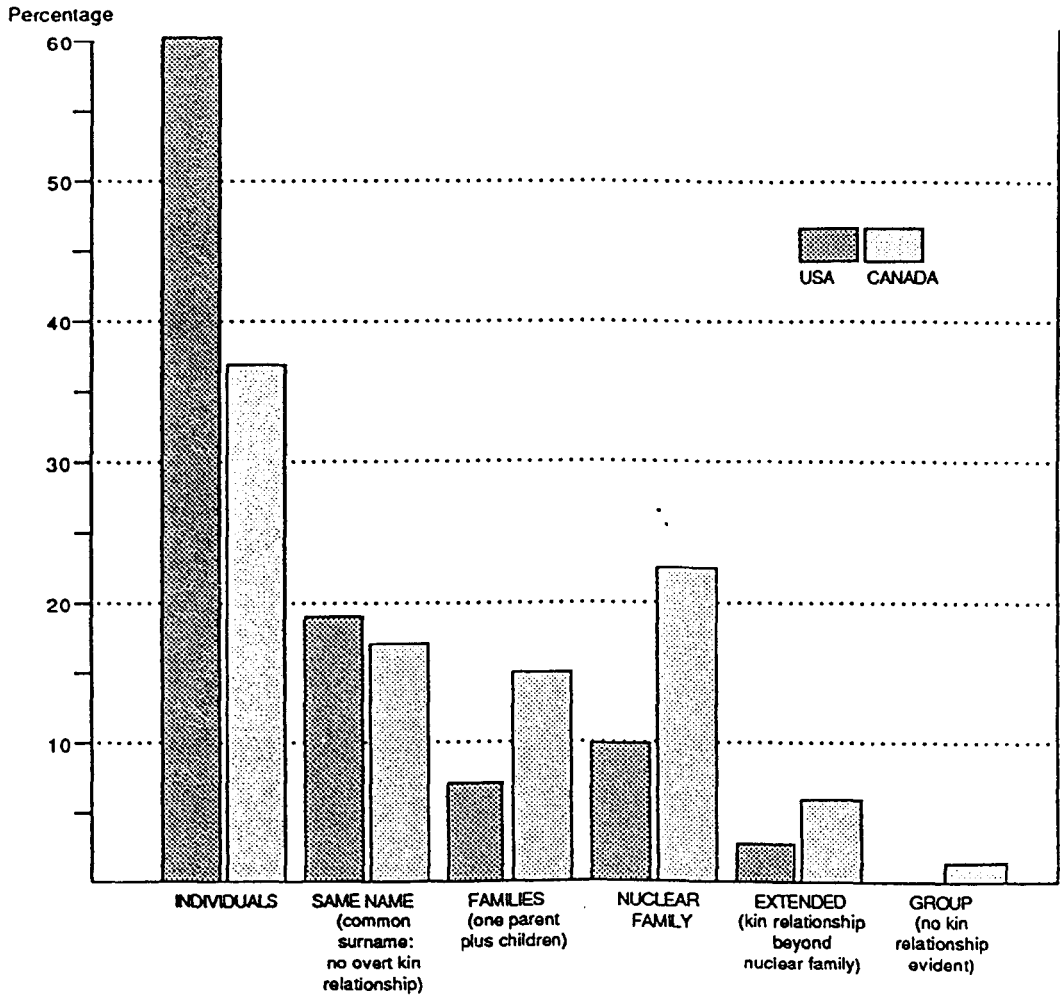


Figure 5.20 Percentage group type and destination, 1857-1861

Amongst the Canadian-bound population the picture is quite different. The proportion of people travelling unaccompanied remained unchanged from the previous period, as did the proportion of people in families headed by sole parents. Both the proportion of Nuclear Families and Extended families increased slightly but the numbers of Same Names and those travelling in non-kin groups declined relative to the previous period.

5.4.4 The declining years of the passenger trade

The final study period, 1862-67, was a rather unusual one for both countries. The most dramatic influence on sailings to the United States was the Civil War, which severely disrupted the passenger trade. Only three ships sailed to the United States in this period, two in 1864 and one in 1865 and that these sailed at all was probably due to an attempt to keep trade links open with Philadelphia at a time when the conditions of war were stimulating trade. Just 655 passengers, half the total of the previous period, travelled to the United States in this period. The numbers travelling to Canada, on the other hand, substantially increased, to a large extent due to the diversion to Canada of ships otherwise bound for the United States. What is of note here (Figure 5.21) is how the group structure in this period was influenced by the migration of some 692 people from Scotland in the years 1864 and 1865. These Scottish passengers travelled mostly in Nuclear Family groups characterized by unusually large numbers of older dependent

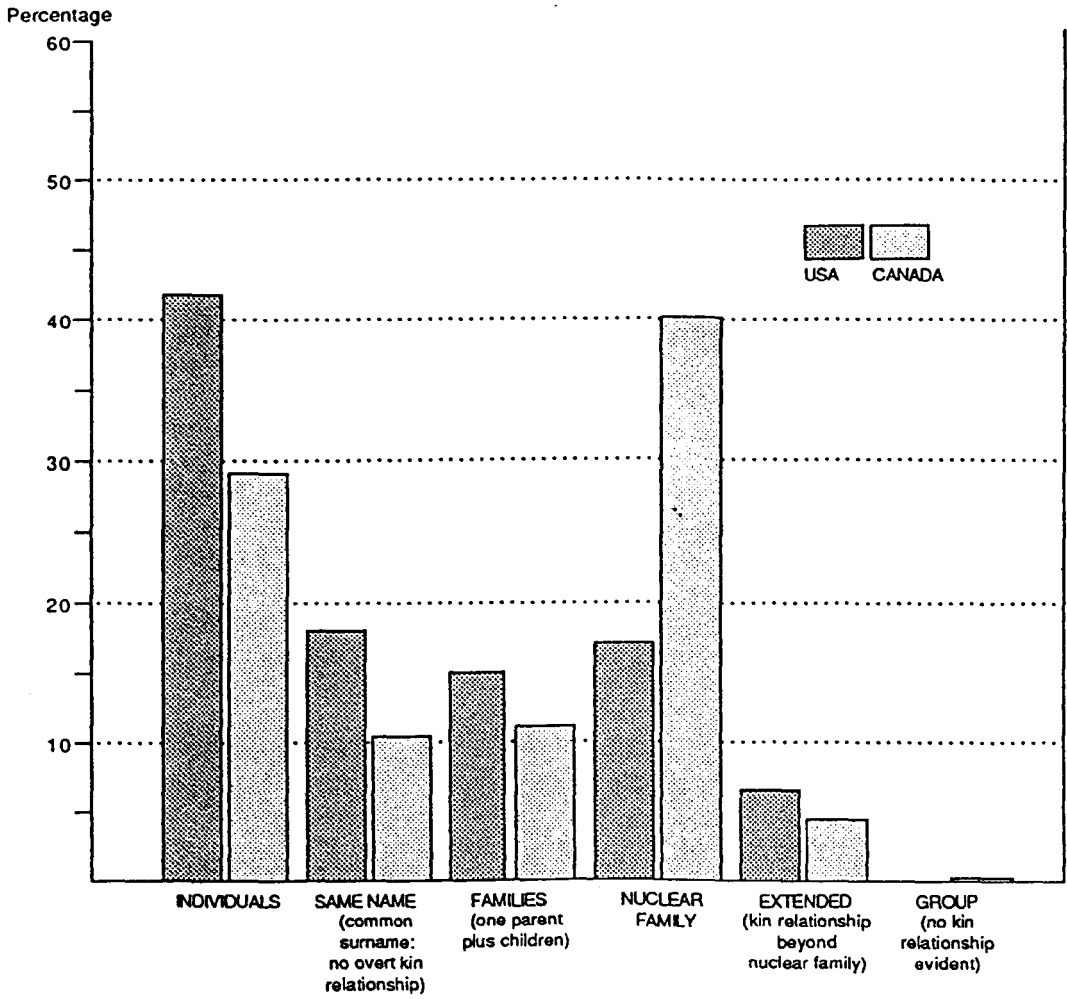


Figure 5.21 Percentage group type and destination, 1862-67

children. These migrants hailed from Glasgow and Lanarkshire and were almost entirely Paisley weavers who had been ruined by the cotton famine caused by the American Civil War and who were seeking the cheapest possible passage to North America.¹⁶ The migration of these weavers in family units pushed the percentage of passengers travelling to Canada as part of Nuclear Families to 40 per cent- near Famine proportions. All other groups, apart from the 'Married Couples', experienced a relative loss in their numbers.

One cannot attach any real significance to the results for the population of migrants to the United States at this time because of the circumstances prevailing and the small numbers travelling. The structure of these migrants departs from the trends of the previous post-Famine periods in that the proportion of Individuals decreased whilst that of Nuclear Families increased. The agricultural depression of the sixties, although on nothing like the scale of the Famine, may well have exerted a strong push for entire families to emigrate.

It must also be noted that the years covered by this final study period were the final years of the emigrant trade from Derry. Steamships from Glasgow first made regular calls for passengers from Derry in 1860 and by the end of the sixties emigrants from Derry were routinely carried down the River Foyle in paddle steamers to join

¹⁶ Cooke, S. ibid., p 157

ships such as the Anchor and Allan liners at Moville. To a large extent those who took a passage with J&J Cooke in the late sixties were people looking for a cheap passage to North America.

The difficulties faced by sailing-ship owners, such as Cooke, can be illustrated by the numbers carried by the sailing-ship Nubia, bought by the firm in 1860. Her passengers per voyage between 1861 and 1865 averaged just seventy-eight, even though the permitted passenger complement of this ship was well over four hundred persons. The one good year was 1864 when the Cookes carried 1203 passengers, 526 of them to the United States - the largest number for ten years. The next year, however, was extremely disappointing. Faced with the decline in passenger trade to the United States and the loss in 1864 and 1865 of two of their ships the Cookes sailed only to Canada for the remaining two years of their operations. In July 1867 the aptly named Twilight sailed for Saint John with only fifteen passengers, a voyage which marked the end of the passenger trade so far as the Cookes were concerned.

5.5 Differences in the Migrant Body by Destination

Superimposed on the differences in the types of groups travelling to the United States and Canada were some additional and interesting differences between ports of destination. Table 5.10 and Figure 5.22 summarize the volume and respective share of migration to the four ports of destination recorded in the Cooke registers. The three

TABLE 5.10

NUMBERS OF PASSENGERS TRAVELLING TO THE VARIOUS PARTS OF DESTINATIONS, 1847 - 1867

	<u>United States</u>		<u>Canada</u>	
	<u>Philadelphia</u>	<u>New Orleans</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>St. John, N.B.</u>
1847 - 51	3579	148	3100	3995
1852 - 56	2942	0	1369	2009
1857 - 61	1290	9	383	587
1862 - 67	655	0	705	1073
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TOTAL	8466	157	5557	7664

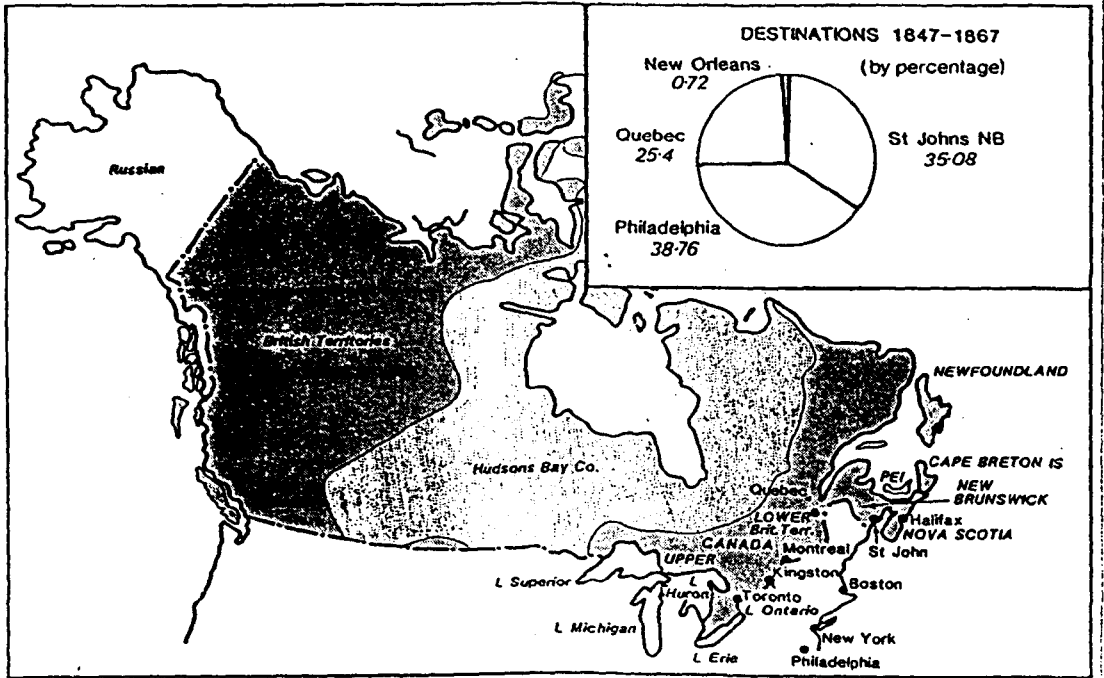


Figure 5.22 Destination of Derry emigrants, 1847-1867

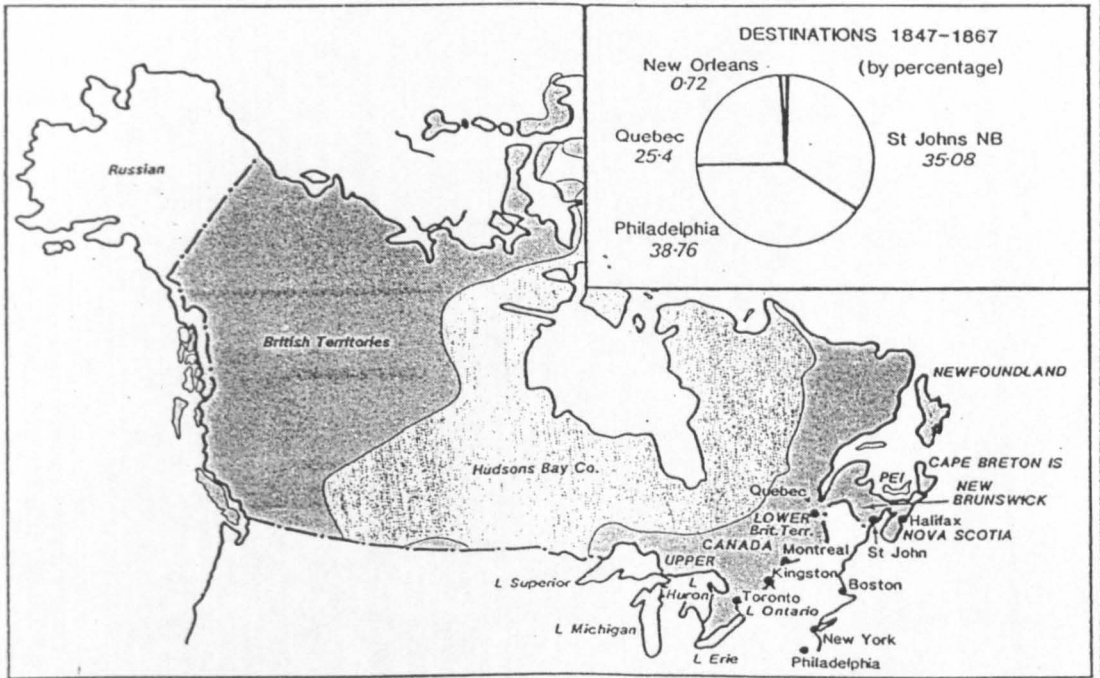


Figure 5.22 Destination of Derry emigrants, 1847-1867

big ports of St. John, New Brunswick, and Quebec in Canada, and Philadelphia in the United States eclipse New Orleans in terms of sheer numbers. The New Orleans route was essentially a trade run which employed ships during the seasonal slack in the passenger trade to the northern ports. A small number of passengers were carried on the outward voyage, with cotton as the cargo on the return leg. In some analyses of the data New Orleans was not treated separately because of the very small numbers of passengers involved.

Analysis of migrants to the respective ports (Table 5.11) showed that in all periods Quebec had a significantly larger proportion of nuclear families than any other port. It also received a larger proportion of large groups. The reason for this may lie in the cheaper costs of transportation to Quebec. During the Famine period, for instance, the cost of a passage to Philadelphia was £4-5 whilst that to Quebec was £2-3. Cost was an obvious consideration in the decision to emigrate and in determining the numbers who could travel together. Of the total of 10,822 who emigrated in the 1847-51 period, 3,995 went to St. John, New Brunswick; 3,100 to Quebec; 3,579 to Philadelphia and 148 to New Orleans.

Many of those who embarked for Canada had the intention of settling ultimately in the United States. Many immigrants crossed the border by foot but passenger lists for Boston show that many Irish arrived via the Canadian Maritime ports of Halifax and St. John, New

TABLE 3.27
GROUP TYPE BY PORT OF DESTINATION

	U.S.		1947-51 QUEBEC		ST. J NB		U.S.		1952-56 QUEBEC		ST. J NB	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I	1250	33.8	510	17.21	1111	27.01	1518	51.6	412	30.09	846	42.11
S	795	21.3	402	13.36	628	15.72	631	21.4	282	20.60	434	21.60
F	441	11.8	362	12.03	602	15.07	409	13.9	228	16.65	257	12.79
M	713	19.1	1235	41.03	1221	30.57	277	9.4	363	26.52	344	17.12
E	154	4.1	158	5.25	76	1.90	81	2.75	60	4.38	78	3.88
G	249	6.7	94	3.12	125	3.13	17	0.58	20	1.46	50	2.49
Q	117	3.1	239	7.94	232	5.81	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
H	0	0.00	0	0.07	0	0.00	10	0.34	4	0.29	0	0.00
TOTAL	3727		3010		3995		2943		1369		2009	

	U.S.		1957-61 QUEBEC		ST. J NB		U.S.		1962-67 QUEBEC		ST. J NB	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I	783	60.27	127	33.16	233	39.69	276	42.1	116	16.45	410	38.21
S	247	19.01	72	18.80	98	16.70	120	18.3	45	6.38	138	12.86
F	95	7.31	34	8.88	111	18.91	96	14.7	70	9.93	129	12.02
M	129	9.93	118	30.81	99	16.87	110	16.8	422	59.86	291	27.12
E	35	2.69	17	4.44	44	7.50	43	6.56	22	3.12	63	5.87
G	0	0.00	13	3.39	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.57	0	0.00
Q	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
H	10	0.7	2	0.52	2	0.34	10	1.53	26	3.69	42	3.91
TOTAL	1299		383		587		655		705		1073	

H Because of the small numbers going to New Orleans, it was decided not to separate the figures for Philadelphia and New Orleans but to leave them grouped as United States.

Brunswick. In fact, so established a path did this become that those who arrived and settled in Boston via the Maritimes were known as 'the two-boat Irish', a label which was used to distinguish them from their more affluent, fellow countrymen and women who had come directly to the city.¹⁷ The later Cooke registers frequently have the comment 'and on to Boston' written beside passengers bound for Canada, particularly those travelling to St. John, New Brunswick.

The seasonal reports from the government emigrant agents stationed at Quebec and St. John, New Brunswick, give some more insight into the settlement and dispersal of those migrants arriving in the respective ports. Overall, the percentage of Canadian-bound emigrants who went on to the United States appears to have been quite high, although the figure varied from year to year depending on employment opportunities within the Canadian provinces. Thus in 1852 Perley, the emigrant officer at St. John, New Brunswick, reported:

Fully two-thirds of the immigrants of the past season proceeded to the United States immediately after their arrival here. In fact, most of these had paid their passage money through to Boston before leaving the United Kingdom, and came by this port merely to avail themselves of a cheap

¹⁷ Ó'Gráda, C. (1983) *op. cit.*, p 121
Information on the two-boat Irish is from Professor Ruth Harris, Department of History, Northeastern University - personal communication.

passage in the timber ships which arrive here in ballast.¹⁸

This report is typical of the situation frequently commented on both by Perley and by Buchanan at Quebec. Certainly there were quite a number of routes by rail or steamer to towns and cities in the United States. However, unless the emigrant had his passage money paid for him this additional travel meant further expense. Of those who remained in the ports or provinces of Canada some would have come to an enforced stop through lack of further capital, others would have joined relatives in Canada, and others would have taken employment locally. According to the agent at St. John, migrant preferences seem to have been for employment in the towns, with jobs with the water company, timber merchants and the railroad companies all paying well (3s 4d sterling per day in 1851). Both agents testify to the difficulties in persuading the migrants to respond to the great demand for labourers and servants in the rural areas. (Further details specific to the Cooke passengers arriving in Canada are given in Appendix 4.)

Average ship loads varied substantially between destinations and may have influenced the form of migration to each. For Quebec an average load was 293 passengers; for St. John 233; for Philadelphia 152; and for New Orleans 73. Only part of this variation can be due to differences in ship sizes since Cooke's varied the routes on which

¹⁸ British Parliamentary Papers (1852-53) Colonies (Canada), Vol. 20, p 30

their ships travelled. A more probable explanation lies in the effects of the U.S. Passenger Act of 1847. This legislation provided that in all emigrant ships each passenger should have not less than fourteen cubic feet of deck space. The British Act of 1842 provided for only ten cubic feet for each passenger. Additionally, under U.S. legislation each child, however young, was counted as one full passenger, whereas the 1842 British Act allowed two children under fourteen years of age to be calculated as only one statute adult (i.e. as defined by the legislation for space and victualling). Significantly, the Cooke registers record the ages of children aged fourteen years and under and the ship totals in 'statute adults'.

The difference in carrying capacity of the ships to the different ports doubtless affected the fares. Evidence of this effect, even under earlier legislation, is found in the comments of a Belfast passenger broker in 1842 that a family consisting of a man, his wife and four children under seven years of age could all be provided with passages from Belfast to Quebec for the sum of £6, whilst the lowest rate for their passage to New York was £21.¹⁹

5.6 Paying for the Passage

As was seen in the previous section, the cost of fares to the United States was considerably more than to Canada.

¹⁹ Jones, M.A. (1973) 'The background to emigration from Great Britain in the nineteenth century' in Fleming, D., and Bailyn, B. (eds) Dislocation and Emigration: The Social Background of American Immigration, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p 18

For instance in 1847, the peak Famine year, a passage to Philadelphia cost £4 while a passage to Quebec or St. John, New Brunswick, cost £2 15s. Although the difference in fares lessened in the late sixties, the American route was generally a pound or so more expensive. The Canadian route was therefore the obvious one for families, large groups and poorer migrants. Not all emigrants, however, were forced to rely on what they could save for the fare. One means of raising the passage money, unique to Ulster, was the practice whereby, as old leases expired, the tenants left on the proceeds of the sale of their tenant right. There is considerable evidence of such sales during the Famine period.²⁰

5.6.1 Assisted emigration

Other methods which were especially common during this period were landlord-assisted migration and assisted pauper migration from the workhouses. These forms of migration were invariably directed to the British Colonies in Canada. It is noteworthy that the Cooke registers record these forms of payment only to Quebec. Under the Poor Law Relief Acts of 1838 and 1847 the Poor Law Commissioners were empowered to levy an emigration rate in order to raise funds to assist the removal of the destitute through emigration. Most of the workhouse migrants recorded in the Cooke registers left during the immediate Famine period,

²⁰ MacDonagh, O. (1956) 'Irish overseas emigration during the Famine,' in Edwards, R.D., and Williams, T.D. (eds) The Great Famine, Dublin, Browne and Nolan, p 325

many of them orphan children whose parents had died of hunger and disease.²¹

The 1847 Act also gave facilities for assisting landlords who encouraged their destitute tenants to emigrate.²² Until 1849 the provisions of the Act required that the destinations of the emigrants should be to the 'Queen's Dominions'. Even when this provision was waived, though, the bulk of assisted migration continued to be directed to Canada.

²¹ In Canada many of the children went to rural areas where farmers were prepared to take them into their homes in return for their help and services. See Cooke, S., op. cit., p 110.

The surviving registers of the Catholic orphanage in Quebec list twenty-eight children who travelled on Cooke ships during the years 1847 and 1848. It is not always clear whether their parents died in Ireland, en route, or in quarantine. The names and addresses of the people who adopted them are listed. See O'Gallagher, M. (1984) Grosse Isle, Quebec, Carraig Books.

²² The numbers of passengers whose passage was paid by landlords was quite small on most of the Cooke ships. One ship, however, is notable for the high percentage of such passengers. The Superior, which sailed to Quebec in July 1847, carried some 112 passengers who were tenants cleared from the Fermanagh and Leitrim estates of a Dr. R. Collins. It is significant that this ship had the highest incidence of mortality - 40 deaths - of any of the ships recorded in the Cooke Registers. Some twenty children from that ship are listed as orphans in the register of the Catholic Orphanage of Quebec. (see previous footnote).

Correspondence concerning the ship and the state of the tenants, found in the British Parliamentary Papers relating to emigration, is shown in Appendix 5.

5.6.2 Self-Paid passages

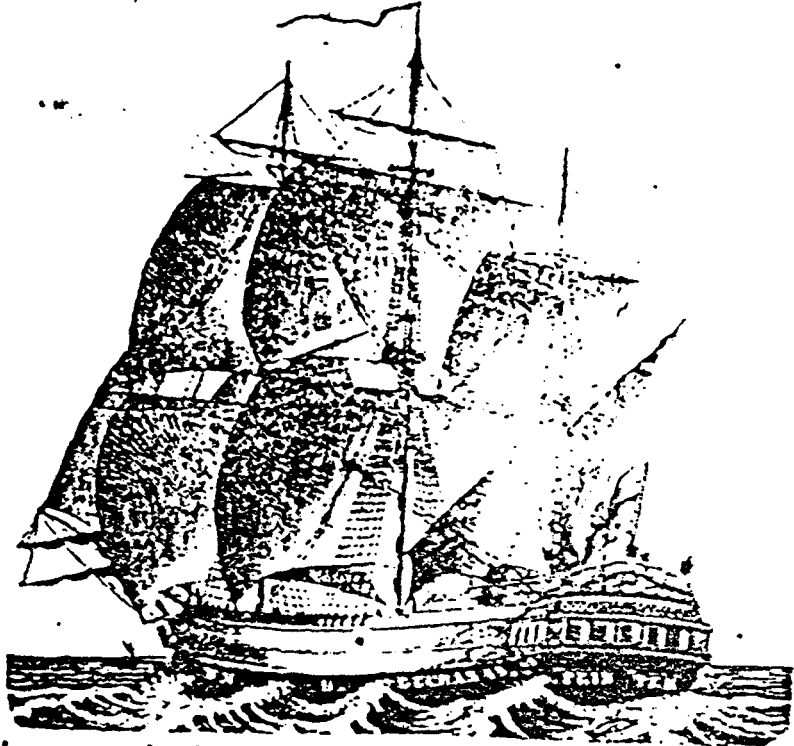
Bookings with the Derry firms could be made locally at their city offices or with agents distributed widely through the surrounding districts (Figure 5.23). These agents, many of whom were shopkeepers and publicans, advertised the sailings (Figure 5.24) and handled bookings. They were paid a commission on the number of passages they sold and if the volume of the bookings handled by them was not considered sufficiently high by the shipping firm they were dropped as agents. Once a deposit (an earnest as recorded on the registers) had been made, a passenger was issued with a 'Passenger's Contract Ticket', an example of which is given in Figure 5.25. This ticket specified the diet and accommodation which would be provided onboard. The balance of the fare was usually paid at least a week before the ship was due to sail.

5.6.3 Pre-Paid passages

Important though landlord and workhouse assisted and self-paid passages were, assistance from those who had emigrated earlier was even more significant. Shipping firms relied considerably on passenger bookings made by Irish people who wished to bring out their friends and relatives. The importance of pre-paid bookings in Irish emigration had always been considerable and the practice was most prevalent in Ulster, particularly in Derry where it had the longest history and was most deeply rooted. When disaster struck in 1846, considerable efforts were made in

NOW IN PORT.

NOTICE TO PASSENGERS.



*Those Persons who have taken their Passages by the First Class
Coppered Ship*

SUPERIOR,

CAPTAIN MASON,
FOR QUEBEC,

Are required to be in Derry on TUESDAY, the 13th of JULY, pay the remainder of their Passage Money, and go on Board, as the Vessel will sail first fair wind after that date. A few more Passengers will be taken, on moderate terms, if immediate application is made to

Mr. DAVID MITCHELL, *Dungiven,* or the Owners,

Derry, June 28, 1847.

J. & J. COOKE.

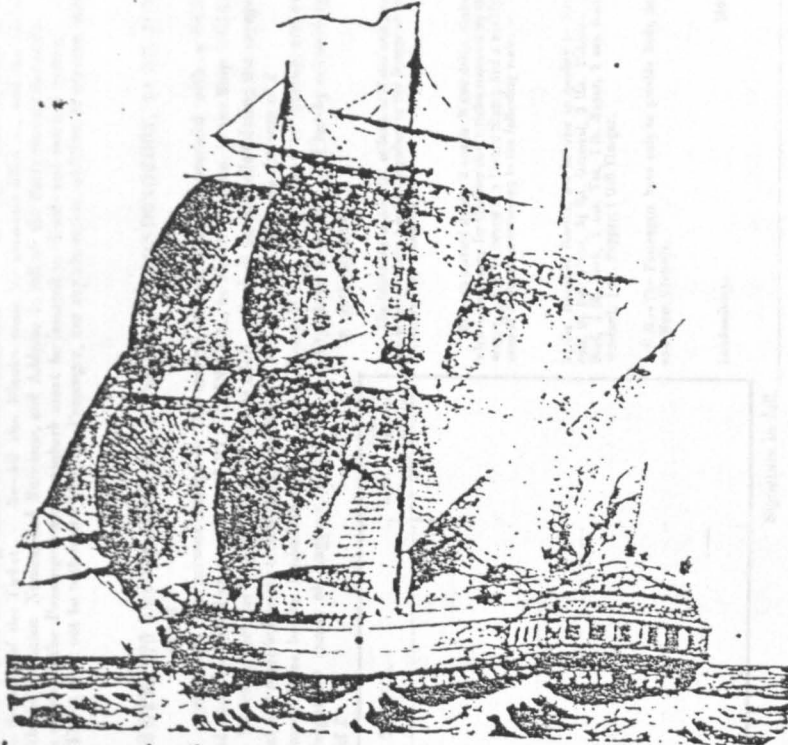
The Cargo of the SUPERIOR, just arrived, from Philadelphia, consisting of Indian Corn, Indian Meal, Flour, &c., for Sale, on moderate terms.

BUCHANAN, PRINTER.

Figure 5.24 Poster for Cooke ship Superior to Quebec, 1847

NOW IN PORT.

NOTICE TO PASSENGERS.



*Those Persons who have taken their Passages by the First Class
Coppered Ship*

SUPERIOR,

CAPTAIN MASON,
FOR QUEBEC,

Are required to be in Derry on TUESDAY, the 13th of JULY, pay the remainder of their Passage Money, and go on Board, as the Vessel will sail first fair wind after that date. A few more Passengers will be taken, on moderate terms, if immediate application is made to

Mr. DAVID MITCHELL, *Dungiven,* or the Owners,

Derry, June 28, 1847.

J. & J. COOKE.

The Cargo of the SUPERIOR, just arrived, from Philadelphia, consisting of Indian Corn, Indian Meal, Flour, &c., for Sale, on moderate terms.

BUCHANAN, PRINTER.

America and Canada to help friends and relatives to flee from starvation and disease.

Although Cookes' had an agent in St. John, New Brunswick, the bulk of the pre-paid passages emanated from Philadelphia. During the period 1847-67 the firm had two agents there about whom details are known.²³ These agents handled the American bookings and passages booked through them are indicated on the registers. Their activities are reflected in the high proportion of pre-paid fares for the United States at this time (Table 5.12). (Although the numbers for Philadelphia and New Orleans have been merged in this table because so few people went to New Orleans, all pre-paid fares to the United States were for Philadelphia.²⁴)

The strength of the pre-paid fare tradition can be seen clearly for Philadelphia where the percentage of pre-paid fares increased in each of the post-Famine study periods. For St. John, New Brunswick, the lower proportion of pre-paid fares in 1947-51 doubled through the subsequent decade. These increases are not surprising under the cumulative impact of increasing numbers of migrants

²³ In Philadelphia two agents - A.C. Craig and A.J. Catherwood - handled bookwork for J & J Cooke during the period 1847-1867. Both were merchants in the city, were from Ulster families, and were members of The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, a benevolent Irish society based in the city of Philadelphia.

²⁴ I have previously analyzed a sample of the data on pre-paid passengers to Philadelphia. See Mageean, D. (1986) 'Ulster emigration to Philadelphia, 1847-1865: A preliminary analysis using passenger lists' in Glazier, I., and De Rosa, L. (eds) Migration across Time and Nations, New York, Holmes and Meier.

TABLE 5.12 DISTRIBUTION OF FARE BY DESTINATION, 1847-1867

DESTINATION	1847-51					1852-56					
	S	P	L	W	O	S	P	L	W	O	
USA	N	2602	1094	18	-	13	2523	420	-	-	-
	%	69.81	29.35	0.48	-	0.35	85.73	14.27	-	-	-
CANADA	N	6178	477	212	169	59	2921	379	4	38	36
	%	87.08	6.72	2.99	2.38	0.83	86.47	11.22	0.12	1.12	1.07
ST JNB	N	3434	474	32	0	55	1606	372	4	-	27
	%	85.96	11.86	0.80	-	1.38	79.94	18.52	0.20	-	1.34
QUEBEC	N	2744	3	180	169	4	1315	7	-	38	9
	%	88.52	0.09	5.81	5.45	0.13	96.00	0.51	-	2.78	0.66
		1857-61					1862-67				
		S	P	L	W	O	S	P	L	W	O
USA	N	1018	281	-	-	-	334	301	19	-	1
	%	78.37	21.63	-	-	-	50.99	45.95	2.90	-	0.15
CANADA	N	833	133	-	-	5	1596	170	-	-	12
	%	85.79	13.70	-	-	0.51	89.76	9.56	-	-	0.67
ST JNB	N	450	133	-	-	4	896	169	-	-	8
	%	76.66	22.66	-	-	0.68	83.5	15.75	-	-	0.75
QUEBEC	N	382	0	-	-	1	700	1	-	-	4
	%	99.74	0	-	-	0.26	99.29	0.14	-	-	0.57

S=Self-paid; P=Pre-paid; L=Paid by landlord; W=Paid by Workhouse; O=other i.e. paid by someone other than the individual travelling e.g. clergyman. For full description of categories see page 142.

arriving to settle in the New World and in turn sending for more migrants. This would be particularly true in a city such as Philadelphia which had a large Irish population and which offered good opportunities for housing and employment. It is likely that relatively more of the Philadelphia-bound migrants settled in and around that city than was the case with the Canadian ports. This provided a large pool of potential pre-paid fare purchasers. Figure 5.26 shows a pre-paid passage certificate issued by Catherwood in Philadelphia to a Thomas Mullen of Wilmington, Delaware, south of Philadelphia. The certificate clearly outlines the conditions of use of the certificate and instructions to the person receiving it. Wilmington was both an active port and the site of DuPont's black powder mills. This operation employed many immigrant workers from Ulster.²⁵

Further information on the significance of pre-paid fares was obtained by studying the correlates of pre-payment. It is convenient for subsequent discussion to reserve the term 'booking' for the sum of money paid to the firm for a ticket or tickets. These bookings were classified here according to whether the sum was for an individual, a nuclear family, or another (predominantly kin group). During the immediate Famine period relatively

²⁵ During personal research at the Eleutherean-Hagley Mills Museum in Wilmington, Delaware, I discovered that a shipping agent, Robert Taylor, who acted for the Derry shipping firm of W. McCorkell, actively recruited labour for the firm of Dupont among Ulster migrants travelling from Derry.

PASSAGE FROM LONDONDERRY TO PHILADELPHIA.

ANDREW J. CATHERWOOD,
No. 62
North Second Street, above Arch,
PHILADELPHIA.



MESSRS. J. & J. COOKE,
STRAND,
LONDONDERRY.

THIS CERTIFICATE GOOD ONLY FOR TWELVE MONTHS FROM DATE.

NO OTHER CONTRACT, THAN THIS PRINTED CERTIFICATE, IS BINDING ON THE HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA.

Wm. H. G. James Mullens *of*

ANDREW J. CATHERWOOD, No. 62 NORTH SECOND STREET, PHILADELPHIA.

ORDERED.

Thomas Mullens of Wilmington Del Philadelphia, *Jan 6* 1853

having engaged a Steerage passage for the person named above, from LONDONDERRY to PHILADELPHIA, (the dangers of the seas excepted,) in any vessel that may be despatched by Messrs. J. & J. COOKE from Londonderry to Philadelphia, with passengers, within 12 months from this date. You should forward this Certificate, enclosed in a letter, post-paid, to Messrs. J. & J. COOKE, Londonderry, immediately after its receipt. They will enter your name on the list of the Ship in which you are entitled to a passage, and return you the Ship's Passage Certificate, which will inform you of the precise day on which you must be in Derry, prepared to embark. To prevent disappointment you should be there at least one clear day previous to the appointed day of sailing. If you cannot be in Derry at the time requested by them, you must write to them and inform them when you can be there, and they will give you a passage in another vessel. Should any circumstances prevent your coming to America, you must also in this case write to Messrs. J. & J. COOKE, informing them of that fact, and return this Certificate, enclosed in a letter directed to the person who paid your passage here, in order that we may return him the amount paid for your passage. You are to provide all your own Cooking Utensils and Bedding.

By the laws of Great Britain and also the United States of America, the Master of the Vessel is required to furnish to each person, a supply of Provisions, Water and Fuel, which will be expressed in the Ship's Contract Ticket, which you will receive from Messrs. J. & J. COOKE, in exchange for this one. In addition to the supply of Provisions referred to, you should supply yourself with some articles of sea stores, at your own expense, to provide against want.

It is expressly understood as part of this Contract, that no Deaf, Dumb, Blind, Insane, or Helpless person can claim passage on, or will be permitted to avail themselves of the use of this Certificate, and no liability in regard to the supply of provisions mentioned above, is hereby incurred by the issuer hereof.

If there be more persons than one named in this Certificate, and only a portion of them embark, it shall be the duty of the person or persons so embarking, to bring along with them an order for the return of the Passage Money of those who did not embark, from Messrs. J. & J. COOKE, Londonderry, and the amount, (after deducting the necessary expenses,) will be returned to the person from whom it was originally received. If such order be not brought, agreeably to these directions, the person who paid the passage cannot have the money refunded.

Your letters you will direct to Messrs. J. & J. COOKE, Merchants, Londonderry, and please pay the postage.
The above Certificate good for the Passage, Hospital Money and Bread Stuffs of *Adults* and Children, under thirteen years of age.

Andrew J. Catherwood

Figure 5.26 Pre-paid ticket for passage on J&J Cooke vessel

more of the bookings for groups (of all types) were pre-paid than was true of individual bookings (33.4 versus 22.2 per cent). Within the groups there were no differences of note in the incidence of prepayment. In the immediate post-Famine period (1852-56) the relative frequency of prepayment approximately halved in bookings of all types. By 1857-61 pre-payment for the passage of nuclear families had fallen substantially (10.7 per cent), even though pre-payment had become more common for all other groups (21.9 per cent). In the 1862-67 period the incidence of pre-payment more than doubled for all groups (to 28.1 per cent for nuclear families and to 52.7 per cent for other groups). There were, however, just 21 bookings of nuclear families in this period. Thus prepayment was commoner among kin groups than among individuals at the time of the Famine but subsequently declined in respect of nuclear families in later years. Conversely, pre-paid passages for other kin groups and for individuals were relatively more frequent in the post-Famine years. The form of migration and the pattern of fare payment were, therefore related.

As we have seen, the profile of emigrants sailing from Derry changed from a movement of families during the Famine period to a movement of young individuals and couples in the post-Famine period. The difference between the Famine and the post-Famine migrants becomes more obvious when the numbers of people travelling on a booking is examined. The figures for both countries of destination (Tables 5.13 and 5.14) show that the percentage of individual bookings

**TABLE 5.13 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PRE-PAID BOOKINGS
TO UNITED STATES AMONG GROUP TYPES**

	I	S	F	N	E	G	AVERAGE GROUP SIZE
1847-51	54.46	19.80	11.48	7.72	1.58	3.17	2.17
1852-56	72.63	16.08	8.03	2.92	0.36	0.00	1.53
1857-61	76.44	17.31	4.33	1.44	0.00	0.00	1.35
1862-67	72.16	14.95	8.76	3.09	0.52	0.00	1.55

See Table 5.12 for key.

TABLE 5.14 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PRE-PAID BOOKINGS
TO CANADA AMONG GROUP TYPES

	I	S	F	N	E	G	AVERAGE GROUP SIZE
1847-51	60.89	17.71	8.86	5.17	0.74	4.80	1.76
1852-56	66.22	20.27	9.01	1.80	0.90	1.80	1.71
1857-61	71.43	16.67	7.14	4.76	0.00	0.00	1.58
1862-67	66.67	16.67	8.82	5.89	1.96	0.00	1.67

See Table 5.12 for key.

increased from the immediate Famine years to the early sixties whilst the percentage of group bookings overall, and nuclear families in particular, decreased significantly over the same period. Interestingly, not only were there relatively more individuals travelling in the later periods but those who did travel together travelled in smaller groups. The only period which departs from this trend is that of 1862-67 which, as noted earlier, was a period of agricultural depression in Ireland. The migration in group units prevalent then and in the earlier Famine period is a common feature of flights from crises or a significant decline in living conditions, the one reservation here being the small sample of emigrants available.

For the 'Famine Irish' in particular the question was not one of whether to go but how to find the means to go. Given the scale of help from America and parts of Canada, pre-payment of fares was important throughout the years covered by this study, but the distribution of pre-paid passages across the different group types did alter over time. Thus, while whole families were pulled out of Ireland in the cataclysm of the Famine, and to a lesser extent in the 1860s, the post-Famine period of the 1850s witnessed what might well have been a 'betterment migration' of young individuals and couples.

One point of note is that, with one exception (the U.S.-bound passengers in 1857-61), there was no significant difference between the sexes in the distribution of pre-

paid passages. Men and women were equally likely to have had their passages paid for them.

One's chances of having one's fare paid by friends or relatives did differ, however, depending on one's county of residence. This showed up when Chi-square tests were run on the frequency of pre-payments for each of the four main sending counties - Donegal, Derry, Tyrone and Fermanagh.²⁶ Analyses were conducted for each of the study periods and for the U.S. and Canadian passages separately. In all cases there was a statistically significant difference between the counties in the incidence of pre-payments. There were consistently fewer pre-paid passages among the Derry migrants, and consistently more among the Tyrone and Donegal migrants, than expected. The one exception to this was in 1847-51 when Donegal had slightly fewer than expected. Fermanagh migrants generally had more prepaid passages than expected, although the small numbers involved necessitated omitting the county from some analyses. It is difficult to explain why there was such a consistent pattern of under-representation by the Derry migrants amongst the pre-paid passages. It cannot be explained by the choice of destination of Derry migrants. Indeed,

²⁶ For the U.S. data the Chi-squares obtained were 119.0 for the 1847-51 period, 24.2 for 1852-56, 16.4 for 1857-61, and 18.3 for 1862-67. Degrees of freedom were 3 for the first two analyses, for which the Fermanagh data adequately large for inclusion, but only 2 for the last two, where Fermanagh was omitted because of its low expected frequencies. The corresponding values from the Canadian analyses were 10.5, 336.5, 5.87, and 25.7, all of them with 3 degrees of freedom.

proportionately more travelled to the United States where the mechanisms for sending pre-paid tickets was strongest. There may have been some incremental effect in the numbers migrating from that county - generally less than Donegal and Tyrone and thus a smaller reservoir of potential purchasers of pre-paid tickets - but this does not seem a sufficient or complete explanation. One could speculate that migrants from Derry were more affluent than their counterparts in Donegal and Tyrone but with only their occupations to guide us on this the idea cannot be tested here.

Not all who were sent pre-paid tickets made the journey out to North America, nor did those sailing necessarily do so on one of Cookes' ships. The registers are sometimes annotated to the effect that a passenger did not turn up or that another family member took their place. (This was true for both pre-paid and self-paying passengers). For instance, on the Envoy to Philadelphia in 1850 a Robert Greer aged 19 and a Jane-Mary Greer aged 17 are named on a pre-paid booking. The comment made on the register reads, 'Samuel Walker, also in this ticket but did not come forward - Tampo Greer to go in his place by next ship.' Occasionally a pre-paid booking for a whole family would be crossed out and a comment such as 'sent this family by Liverpool, not being room for them on this ship' written by the entry. In a few instances the name of an infant or child included in a pre-paid booking was annotated to the effect that they were over age for the

fare paid and were therefore not allowed to sail. In the register entries for almost all the ships there were names scored out, ranging from 2 to 23 per ship. Sometimes, as in the cases cited above, reasons were given. For others we can only speculate at the cause - sickness, death (particularly during the Famine years), change of heart, or inability to come up with the full amount of money for the fare. The determinants of being able to make the move, chance as well as causal, were many and varied.

5.7 Occupations of the Migrants

As explained in Chapter 4 (Methods and Materials) the information on occupation in the registers, and especially on the United States manifests, was the least reliable of the recorded data. I nevertheless recorded the information where available as it was the only surrogate measure of migrant wealth available. Two main problems emerged. First, occupation was recorded rather irregularly on the registers and there was some suggestion that skilled jobs, such as artisans, were recorded more consistently than those of farmer or labourer. There is no clue as to the rationale for listing some occupations and not others. Second, the manifests of the Cooke ships to Philadelphia were particularly prone to mass classification with 'Farmers, Labourers and Spinsters' written down the length of the document. I therefore recorded information from the manifests only where a specific occupation was written against the name of an individual.

Tables 5.15 and 5.16 summarize the results from these records. No real pattern is evident in the figures and what differences between the two countries are suggested may well be due to the fact that a second documentary source was available on those travelling to the United States. The comments of the emigrant agents at Quebec and St. John give some general background and occasional specific information on a ship (see Appendix 4) but this is not quantifiable.

One point of interest did emerge from a comparison of entries in the registers and manifests on the same individuals. The manifests consistently 'downgraded' the level of skill of the emigrants. Whilst it is understandable that the manifests sometimes record weavers as labourers, because of the dual nature of most domestic weavers, the recording of blacksmiths, coopers, shoemakers and other artisans as labourers cannot be so understood. This finding raises the question of whether a proportion of 'labourers' recorded in the U.S. manifests for ships carrying Irish emigrants were not agricultural labourers but semi-skilled or skilled artisans.

5.8 Seasonality of Emigration

Departure dates were recorded for the vessels in the Custom lists and Cooke registers and this permitted analysis for seasonal trends. During the years 1803-06 April was by far the most popular month, with 45 per cent of the migrants departing, followed by May (24 per cent)

**TABLE 5.15 OCCUPATIONS OF THE PASSENGERS SAILING FROM DERRY
1803-1867 TO THE UNITED STATES**

	1803 - 06		1847 - 51		1852 -- 56		1857 - 61		1862 - 67	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Farmers	376	47.1	61	24.0	16	3.6	10	8.2	5	6.3
Laborers	375	47.0	159	62.6	300	68.2	62	54.9	47	59.5
Servants	14	1.75	--	--	90	20.5	--	--	--	--
Textile Workers	--	--	6	2.4	1	0.2	2	1.8	4	5.1
Other Artisans	--	--	24	9.4	14	3.2	21	18.6	9	1.4
Professional	18	2.26	--	--	1	0.2	1	0.9	1	1.3
Other	15	1.88	4	1.6	18	4.1	17	15.0	13	16.4
Total	378		254		440		113		79	

Source: Customs Lists: Cooke Registers and United States Shipping Manifests.

**TABLE 5.16 OCCUPATIONS OF THE PASSENGERS SAILING FROM DERRY
1852 - 1867 TO CANADA**

	1852 - 56		1857 - 61		1862 - 67	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Farmers	7	13.7	9	12.7	34	19.0
Laborers	1	2.0	7	9.9	16	8.9
Servants	---	---	---	---	2	1.1
Textile workers	7	13.7	1	1.4	31	17.3
Other artisans	22	43.1	27	38.0	65	36.3
Professionals	2	4.0	3	4.2	3	1.7
Other	12	23.5	24	33.8	28	15.7
Total	51		71		179	

Source: Cooke Registers.

and June (10.5 per cent). This pattern was true for both men and women, although relatively more men travelled in March and relatively more women travelled in June. It is probable that this seasonality was due more to the availability of ships than any direct causes operating in the sending society. The American ships which arrived in the port of Derry were largely laden with flaxseed for the Irish linen trade and fleets of such boats arrived in Spring each year. In the four years covered by the Custom lists the months of April and May accounted for fifteen of the total of twenty-five ships. Weather patterns must also have played some part in the seasonality of passenger sailing. The winter months of November through February were distinctly unpleasant and hazardous for travel across the Atlantic. A spring departure from Ireland not only promised a more pleasant and safer journey but also a reasonable period in which to settle into a new abode before winter set in. One possible internal influence considered was the seasonal demands of certain jobs. Of the 1245 passengers for whom an occupation, such as 'farmer', or status, such as 'child', was recorded, 1069 were accounted for by the three main groups of labourer, spinster and farmer, with 'child' (108) as the next biggest group. Amongst these groups there was no significant differential pattern of seasonal migration. Labourers did tend to migrate earlier than farmers but given the problems of nomenclature with these two groups, remarked on earlier in chapter 4, it is doubtful whether much can be read into

this. Spinsters showed no significant pattern of seasonality but children tended to migrate later than the other main groups, May (rather than April) being their modal month and with proportionately more traveling in June.

No major differences in seasonality could be detected between the various group types over 1803-06. About 50 per cent of all sailings of individuals (those coded I), same name groups (S), and families with one parent (F) took place in April. Only the larger groups, nuclear families (N) and extended families (F), were concentrated in May, and of these only the nuclear families could be said to show any spread over the months. The lack of major differences in seasonality between the group types and between men and women offer little ground for supposing that men migrated earlier in the season and subsequently sent for their women and children.

One further question which can be asked about the timing of migration is whether there was any difference in seasonality according to the origin and destination of the migrants. Some 56 to 76 per cent of migrants from the three principal sending counties travelled in the months of April and May. Only the smaller counties deviated from this pattern and from them the numbers travelling were too small to speak of any independent or significant pattern. Analysis in relation to destination yielded similar results, with April and May the modal months during which 60 to 80 per cent of the migrants travelled. Only for New

York in the 1803-06 study period was there any spread over the months, with migrants to that port travelling late into the year, albeit at a much reduced rate.

Overall then, there is little evidence of distinct seasonal trends or influences through 1803-06 other than that caused by the availability of ships and what might be called the natural emigration season.

During the twenty years covered by the Cooke registers the dates of departure of the vessels were recorded rather haphazardly. For the 1847-51 period the dates were recorded fairly well but in the later years the register is merely annotated with 'Spring', 'Summer' or 'Fall' voyage. This rendered the task of analyzing by month almost impossible but analysis was carried out on those ships for which data were available. Again, the data were examined for any trends of men travelling earlier in the season, with women and children following later. No evidence was found of males travelling earlier in the season than females. Indeed, if anything, females tended to travel a little earlier in the year. Likewise there was no evidence of families by a single parent travelling later in the season. All groups conformed to the same modal month of travelling.²⁷

²⁷ April and May were also the most popular months for emigrants departures from the port of Derry from 1856 through 1873, according to a separate analysis based on figures given in the Agricultural Statistics for those years. Thus the seasonal pattern of the Cooke passengers mirrors that of the larger population.

A point worth noting here is that the season for sailing ships was more compressed than for steam ships because of the former's greater susceptibility to inclement weather. This compression of the season may well have worked against one member of a family migrating early in the year - for instance March or April - and accumulating sufficient funds with which to pay for the passage of the other members of the family on a September sailing.

5.9 Conditions and Mortality Onboard

For many people the images of Irish emigration to North America are of hordes of Irish peasants fleeing famine and of the terrible conditions aboard 'coffin ships'. These images are neither completely true nor representative of the total movement out of Ireland overseas. The stories and accounts of the 'coffin ships' are vivid and memorable and the conditions aboard unseaworthy and badly run ships pushed into service during the Famine years must have been truly horrible. The detailed accounts given by Buchanan on the state of the vessels and people arriving in Quebec from Ireland during the 1847 season and the valiant attempts by the authorities on Grosse Isle to cope with the situation are memorable. The reports from Quebec and other Canadian ports indicate that the worst levels of mortality and sickness were aboard vessels from Cork, Limerick and Liverpool. In the case of the two Irish ports this was probably due to the generally worse conditions in the south-west of Ireland than in any

other part of Ireland. In the case of Liverpool the lodging houses and rooms occupied by emigrants awaiting a passage were the perfect breeding grounds for typhus. Many of the Irish migrants, even if they left Ireland in a generally healthy condition, left Liverpool in an infected state.

Mortality among the passengers sailing with the firm of J&J Cooke was extremely low at all times and for all ports, particularly when compared to the high levels of mortality and sickness aboard many of the Irish ships. Several factors seem to have been involved in this. First, as far as can be established from reports, official and unofficial, the Cooke ships were well run, clean and well provisioned. Both the ships and their masters were well respected in the emigrant trade and had a favourable reputation amongst emigrants.²⁸ Second, the general pattern of Famine and disease in the north-west was not bad compared to many other parts of the country. Furthermore, the Derry vessels seem to have escaped the worst of the cholera epidemic mainly because the disease did not spread to the port to any great extent before the Spring sailings in 1847. By the time of the Autumn sailings the epidemic had abated. Third, most of those who sailed were voluntary emigrants. It is significant that the only really bad

²⁸ Testimony to this is the letter signed by thirty-three passengers from the barque Envoy who arrived safely in St. John, New Brunswick, in August 1847. The passengers record their thanks to the Captain and his crew for the attention paid to their comfort and needs during the voyage and for the measures taken to prevent infectious disease on the vessel.

instance of sickness and mortality on a Cooke ship was aboard the Superior to Quebec in 1847, when most of the passengers were the cleared tenants of estates in Leitrim and Fermanagh. The Superior left Derry in July with 360 passengers, many of them children. She had to bury many at sea and more died in quarantine after her arrival. This ship, like others from the west and southwest of Ireland contained some of the most wretched and impoverished elements of Irish society. Fourth, and finally, many of the intending emigrants were within a day's journey from Derry and were kept appraised of sailing dates by the local agents. They did not have to crowd into unsanitary and overcrowded conditions in the city for days while waiting for a ship. Passengers were allowed aboard a day or two before the date of sailing. To these factors one might add that a firm which was engaged in the long term passenger business would be more likely to think of its reputation as well as having the experience to cope with less than perfect conditions.

The Cooke ships were not immune from death and disease. Appendices 3 and 4 give details on the incidence of both, but the levels of both were very low compared to many Irish ships. To a considerable extent disease and mortality reflected the level of ill-health among the passengers prior to embarkation. The Superior was an almost new, first-class and well-run ship but the source of infection was present in its 1847 Quebec voyage and spread rapidly among the passengers. There was no escaping from

disease on a sailing ship at sea for 30 days. Other diseases, like measles, which affected the Mary Ann to St. John in 1853, particularly hit children.

Like many local, and other firms in the British Isles, trying to cope with the rush of emigrants in 1847, the Cookes chartered a number of vessels from outside the port of Derry but most of them seem to have been good vessels. The U.S. manifests record very little mortality. In the absence of any other information to the contrary this was interpreted as indicating very low mortality on the Philadelphia-bound vessels. Of course, given the often poor level of information on some of these manifests, this might well be due to omissions of information rather than absence of mortality. However, if the supposition about the generally more affluent level of passengers bound for Philadelphia is true, it would not be surprising to find the levels of mortality very low.

In all the twenty years of sailings recorded in the Cooke registers there is only one case of ship-wreck when passengers were aboard. The vessel concerned was the Elizabeth, the ship named in the various documents reproduced in this thesis. En route to Philadelphia in 1864 with 323 passengers, she went ashore on the coast of New Jersey in fog. The day was Friday, 13th of May. Luckily the weather was calm; all the passengers, crew and their luggage were rescued and later forwarded to Philadelphia by train. Their fate, unlike many, was a fortunate one.

5.10 Summary

Migrant flow was greatest during the Famine years and was principally to Canada. In all periods the origins of the migrants were very concentrated geographically and some of the poorest and most populous baronies had very little migration. Age composition of the migrants varied relatively little through the study period, most being in their twenties and early thirties. Both the group composition and sex ratio changed over time, with mostly young, unattached males in the pre-Famine period, a dominance of family migration during the immediate Famine years, and a migration of the young and single of both sexes in the post-Famine years. Canada received proportionately more families and large groups at all times. Assisted passage was of little importance even during the Famine years but pre-paid passages played a crucial role especially during the Famine when they allowed whole families to escape the disaster. The majority of pre-paid passengers sailed to Philadelphia. The recording of information on occupation was not sufficiently comprehensive on either the registers or manifests to trace changes over time. One important fact to emerge, however, was that the manifests consistently downgraded the occupations of the migrants. The majority of migrants sailed during April and May, this seasonality being largely determined by weather and commercial constraints. Overall conditions on the Cooke ships were good and mortality low

even during the Famine period. The only case of significant mortality occurred on a ship full of cleared tenants.

CHAPTER 6

SYNTHESIS: IRISH EMIGRATION AND INTERNATIONAL MODELS

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 2 I reviewed several models of international migration. These models were of four basic types: 1) those concerned with the forces generating migration 2) those dealing with the processes and pattern of migration 3) those relating to the nature of the migrant body, and 4) those dealing with behavioural aspects of migration. In the same chapter I considered five aspects of trans-Atlantic migration from European countries. First, pre-migration conditions within the sending society were reviewed as potential forces generating migration. Second, the form of migration and the composition of the migrant stream - whether in families, in groups or as individuals, and so on - were examined as part of the processes and patterns of migration. Third, the demographic and socio-economic composition of the migrant body was reviewed. Finally, both the tradition of emigration within the sending society and the extent of contact across the Atlantic were examined as behavioural aspects of migration.

In the present chapter I evaluate my results for the north-west of Ireland in the light of these models and compare the Irish situation with that of the European countries already described. In particular, I evaluate the extent to which the Great Famine brought about major changes in migration from the north-west of Ireland.

6.2 The Forces Generating Migration

Irish history is demographic history. In no other country has so much attention been paid to population growth, birth rates, marriage patterns and related variables. From Connell's seminal work on the population of Ireland to the latest econometric treatise of Mokyr migration scholars have attempted to integrate demographic history with economic history.¹ Ireland's high population growth rates before the Famine, the catastrophic decline of population during the Famine, and the post-Famine decline of population and changes in demographic behaviour have all contributed to this interest in demography. For many writers and contemporary observers the poverty-stricken and overpopulated situation of Ireland on the eve of the Famine was a classic Malthusian one. From this perspective the Famine and the attendant loss of population through mortality and emigration were inevitable and the history of

¹ Connell, K.H. (1950) The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845, Oxford, Clarendon Press
 Drake, K.M. (1963) 'Marriage and population growth in Ireland, 1750-1845', Economic History Review, Vol.XVI, No.2, 2nd series, pp 301-17
 Drake, K.M. (1969) 'Population growth and the Irish Economy', in Cullen, L.M. (ed) The Formation of the Irish Economy, Cork, Mercier Press, pp 67-76
 Cullen, L.M. (1968) 'Irish history without the potato', Past and Present, Vol.40, pp 72-83
 Lee, J. (1968) 'Marriage and population in pre-famine Ireland', Economic History Review, Vol.XXI, pp 283-95
 Daulty, S., Dickson, D., and Ó'Gráda, C. (1981) 'Eighteenth century Irish population: new perspectives for old sources', Journal of Economic History, Vol.XVI, No.3, pp 601-28
 Mokyr, J. (1983) Why Ireland Starved, London, Allen and Unwin.

movement overseas from Ireland was simply a flight driven by overpopulation, hunger and poverty. Allied to these driving forces were the attractions of the New World with its seemingly limitless opportunities for employment and political and religious freedom. Hence, of all the models in migration theory probably none has been applied with greater frequency (either explicitly or implicitly) to the Irish emigration experience than the push-pull model.²

6.2.1 Push and Pull Forces

To deny that various push and pull forces operated in north-west Ireland during the period reviewed here would be to fly in the face of the historical evidence. Several 'push' forces are clearly identifiable as influences on emigration from the area. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed unprecedented population growth which increased competition for tenancies and conacre and kept wage levels significantly below rising rents and provision costs. At the same time land could be purchased on the other side of the Atlantic for little more than the cost of the annual rent of the equivalent acreage in Ireland.³ In addition, good employment opportunities were usually available in the expanding economy of the

² Strictly speaking the 'push-pull' model is merely an abstraction from the more general theory of Heberle and Bogue. However, despite its lack of dynamics, it has been used as a model by many of scholars of emigration. Heberle, R. (1938) op. cit., and Bogue, D.J. (1969) op. cit.

³ Miller, K. (1985) Emigrants and Exiles, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p 138

United States, particularly for skilled workers and artisans but also even for those without specific skills. Previous migrants sent back information about these attractions. Yet those who emigrated were not always those who were most subject to these influences (see below).

The present results from the Irish Customs lists of 1803-06 highlight the major difficulty with the 'push-pull' model, that of disentangling the 'push' from the 'pull' as causal factors. At first glance the three years covered by the Customs lists were in a period singularly devoid both of push or of pull forces. The years between 1793 and 1814 saw almost continuous war between Britain and France, curtailing transatlantic shipping and making a hazardous trip for those bold or desperate enough to travel. This must have been a serious disincentive to sailing to the United States. At the same time Ireland witnessed a major expansion of agriculture, especially in tillage farming, since war-time England was heavily dependent on Irish food products. Farm prices therefore rose to unprecedented levels. Yet when a brief interval of peace occurred in the years 1801-02, large numbers left Ireland. The Customs lists numbers were low relative to the migrant totals in the latter half of the eighteenth century, yet they show that some 3600 people felt sufficiently motivated to emigrate from Ireland to the United States, despite the economic expansion at home, the high costs of a passage, and the hazards of war.

The analyses of the Customs list data suggest that those who left had some means. This conclusion is supported above by information presented as to the cost of the passage, the occupational background of the migrants, their areas of origin, and the demographic composition of the 1300 migrants who sailed from Derry. Three points suggest that many were probably the younger sons of well-to-do farmers. First, the incidence of young single males was very high, accounting for nearly 30 per cent of the migrant total. Second, the majority recorded their occupation as 'farmer' rather than as 'labourer'. Third, many came from the more commercial and fertile farming areas of Donegal, Derry and Tyrone. Excluded from inheriting family holdings, they may well have recognised that alternative opportunities even in a relatively prosperous Ireland were fewer and less lucrative than in a young and growing United States.⁴ Other migrants in this period probably left almost routinely, from districts or families that had a nearly century-long tradition of sending people across the Atlantic to America's attractions.⁵

For those at the bottom of Ulster society at the turn of the century - labourers, cottiers and those renting

⁴ Miller, K. (1985) op. cit., p 174
Miller cites the example of this practice in Dungiven, Co. Derry. He notes, too, that Catholic smallholders refused to emulate this action by their more affluent Protestant neighbours but chose instead to subdivide their farms or earn rent money through seasonal migration to Scotland or through droving.

⁵ Miller, K. (1985) op. cit., pp 172-173

small farms - the effects of the economic expansion in Irish farming were not necessarily favourable. The price of land and rent more than kept up with prices for farm products and life for many remained the same continuing struggle to retain a tenuous hold on the land needed to support a family. Despite such difficulties emigration overseas was often neither possible nor perceived as desirable by those most at risk. Hansen has remarked that in addition to any impelling forces there must be freedom, desire and means to move and that it is in the operation of these conditions that the ultimate secrets of migration are to be found.⁶ Apart from a brief period during the Napoleonic wars there was freedom to move from Ireland but the means or desire was often lacking. The cost of a steerage passage from Derry to New York or Philadelphia, as recorded on the Customs lists, was £6-£8, a large sum relative to the wages of a labourer or to the income of a small farmer. As long as fares remained at such levels, emigration was effectively ruled out as an option. This poverty trap hypothesis finds some (though not conclusive) support in the analysis above of the 1803-06 data.⁷

Reinforcing this economic obstacle to emigration was a cultural or behavioural one. The first mass migrations of

⁶ Hansen, M.L. (1941) The Immigrant in American History, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p 192

⁷ This term was used by Cormac Ó'Gráda (1986) 'Across the briny ocean: some thoughts on Irish emigration to America, 1800-1850', in Glazier, I. & De Rosa, L. (eds), Migration across Time and Nations, New York, Holmes and Meier, pp. 79-94

Irish overseas, mainly from Ulster, undoubtedly helped shape communal attitudes towards emigration. Subsequent generations then adopted and perpetuated these traditions. Thus the early emigration of Presbyterian dissenters in search of religious freedom created precedents for later generations. Hence there was a stronger emigration tradition amongst the Presbyterian community in Ulster than amongst the Catholic community. The extent to which these factors reinforced each other is discussed in more detail below. They are cited at this point as reminders of the classical 'intervening obstacles' overlooked in simple versions of the push-pull model.⁸

A second major problem in attempting to apply the 'push-pull' model here is its static nature. The present study covers some seventy years during which the incentives to emigrate changed. As shown in Chapter 5, the size, composition, and character of emigration from the region correspondingly changed. For most migrants the decision to leave Ireland probably involved a balance between the benefits anticipated in America and the drawbacks expected at home. However, as Baines has pointed out, even where the push and pull forces remain static their net effect may change because of such things as the journey becoming easier and cheaper.⁹ The problem with the model is not that we cannot identify push and pull forces but that the

⁸ Lee, E. (1969) 'A theory of migration' Demography, Vol.3, pp 47-57

⁹ Baines, D. (1985) Migration in a Mature Economy, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p 17

character of these forces, their perception by migrants, and the willingness and ability of potential migrants to respond to them changed over time. The push-pull model thus lacks predictive power and this is a major failing. The snapshot nature of the model fails to capture the essential process of the movement out of the north-west.

6.2.2 Overpopulation, poverty and famine

In chapter 1 a number of works on Irish emigration were criticized for being locked into the Malthusian model. According to this view overpopulation was the cause of emigration and the Famine exodus merely carried off those who were surplus to society. A simple application of the model is rejected here because of three major failings. First it cannot explain the beginnings of considerable emigration in the north-west as early as the eighteenth century nor mass migration in the late eighteen-twenties and eighteen thirties. Second, it cannot account for the lack of emigration from densely populated areas. Third, and finally it overlooks solutions other than emigration to overpopulation.

Economic, political and religious forces are better explanations of early emigration from the north-west. These were reinforced by the building up of a migration tradition and increased contact across the Atlantic. The mass migrations from the area in the early nineteenth century and the relatively lower rate of out-movement during the Famine years compared to the neighbouring

counties in north-central Ireland is best explained by the demise of the domestic linen industry.

The Great Famine had a major impact on the area although its effects were not as severe as in other parts of Ireland. Certainly the high proportion of families travelling from Derry in these years, as shown in the analysis in chapter 5, is testimony to the flight from disaster. However rather than large numbers leaving the most densely populated and poverty-stricken parts of the north-west the present evidence as to the origins of the emigrants shows that they consistently came from the better agricultural and more affluent parts. In contrast, a poor and densely populated area such as the barony of Boylagh in the west of Donegal recorded insignificant numbers of emigrants even at the height of the Famine. For emigration to take place from the better-to-do regions, as is documented here, the Malthusian model must operate in reverse.

The concept of 'post-Famine adjustment' dominates studies of the latter half of the nineteenth century in Ireland. The term describes a period when there was an improvement in economic conditions, an increase in the size of farms and a lowering in the rate of marriage. However, the picture was by no means uniformly bright and scholars such as Ó'Gráda have expressed doubt about the reality of the concept. Population levels in fact continued to decline in the post-Famine years, though some areas, such as parishes in the remote west of Donegal and the parish of

Kildress in Tyrone, actually increased in population. Wages rose substantially after the Famine but so too did rents and the cost of subsistence.¹⁰ Cousens could find no indication as to whether the lack of emigration from the less hospitable areas was because the poorer peasantry were unwilling to leave or were unable to do so for lack of means.¹¹ There is some evidence in the present results of increased emigration from the more remote and poorer parts of the study area in the 1860s (Figure 5.6). However, it was not possible to decide whether this was due to the cumulative impact of information fed back by earlier migrants or whether it was the result of cheaper fares on the Cooke ships as steamship competition intensified. This late increase aside, the relative concentration in areas of origin is remarkable, given the time span of the study. An interesting parallel is apparent in the studies of emigration from Norway and Sweden reviewed earlier. Here the areas hardest hit by famine during the crop failures of the 1860s were relatively unaffected by emigration. Instead, emigration was greatest in those districts where a tradition of emigration was already rooted.^{11*}

Finally, a major failing of the Malthusian view is its assumption that the migrants were surplus to society. It

¹⁰ Ó'Gráda, C. (1973) 'Post-famine adjustment: Essays in nineteenth century Irish economic history'. Ph.d thesis, Columbia University, p 146
 Cousens, S.H. (1961) 'Emigration and demographic changes in Ireland, 1851-1861', Economic History Review, Vol.14, p 280

¹¹ Cousens, S.H. ibid., p 282

11. See Carlsson, S. (1976) 'Chronology and composition of Swedish emigration to America', in Runblom, H. & Norman, H. (eds), From Sweden to America, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, pp. 121-3 and 139;
- Semningsen, I. (1978) Norway to America. A History of the Migration, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, p. 33

ignores the possibility that societies could respond in other ways, demographic and non-demographic, to increasing population pressure. These options were summarized in Grigg's extension of Friedlander's model (Figure 2.1). These options are not mutually exclusive and it is not unreasonable or unrealistic to find more than one of them adopted in a country or region. Multiple pathways of response to population pressure would help explain the different migration experiences both within Ireland and within the north-west of Ulster in particular.

The symptoms of overpopulation - land shortage, rising rents, subdivision of farms, under-employment and vagrancy - were present in north-western Ireland as elsewhere in Ireland and other European countries. What is clear is that the people of the area adopted a number of responses or strategies to population pressure. The increase of non-farm income (Route B in Grigg's representation) through the domestic linen industry was an early response. Seasonal and day labouring also alleviated some of the pressure. The fluctuations in, and the eventual demise of, the linen trade in the early nineteenth century meant that this was no longer a viable option. For some who could afford it the alternative was emigration overseas. There is little evidence of significant rural-rural or rural-urban migration within the north-west. Few opportunities existed for such internal movements, given the lack of town growth or industrialization in the region. For many, therefore, it meant resorting to increased

reliance on the high-yielding and nutritious potato crop (Route A). When this option foreclosed also high levels of emigration resulted. Route C, the control of the number of births (through celibacy and high age at marriage), was adopted only after the Famine when other options had either failed or, like industrialization, were absent.

In many ways then the history of the north-west is one of the adoption of different responses to population pressure. What is of note is that even within such a small area different strategies were adopted by different groups. For instance, as shown in Chapter 5 overseas movement was associated with the more affluent baronies. On the other hand seasonal or harvest migration largely occurred in the poorer, and often densely populated, areas such as the poorer southern parishes of Derry and the more westerly parishes of Donegal.¹² Indeed seasonal migration in west Donegal remained significant into the eighteen-eighties when diversification of the rural economy led to greater financial ability to raise the fare of a passage.¹³

The idea that different forms of migration were feasible in different conditions, was tested in Figure 6.1. Here the rates of seasonal migration and internal migration are plotted for the various counties and provinces in

¹² Johnston, J.M. (1967) 'Harvest migration from nineteenth century Ireland', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol.41, p 97

¹³ Murphy, D. (1981) Derry, Donegal and Modern Ulster 1790-1921, Derry, Aileach Press, p 224

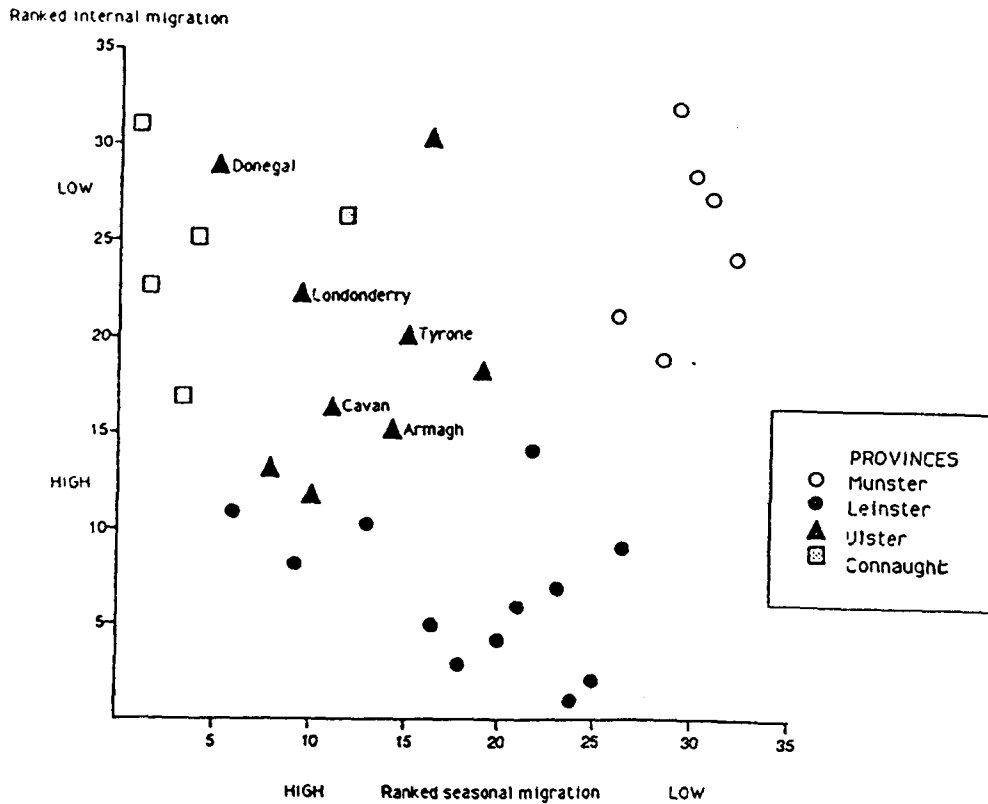


Figure 6.1 Relationship between seasonal and internal migration in Ireland. The two variables are negatively correlated when Munster counties are excluded (Spearman correlation coefficient = -0.679, $P < 0.01$). See text for discussion of the anomalous nature of the Munster counties.
Source: 1841 census of Ireland.

Ireland. The information used is from the 1841 census.¹⁴ For Ulster in general and for the study counties of Derry, Donegal and Tyrone in particular, an inverse relationship between the rate of internal migration and the rate of seasonal migration is evident. Seasonal migration permitted the population to maintain their hold on the land, albeit at a tenuous, subsistence level, rather than leave permanently. The extent to which this was a deliberate and rational choice rather than a forced option is open to debate (see below).

The Grigg-Friedlander model then offers a fairly comprehensive explanation of the situation in the study area. Although it lacks an in-built dynamic it can easily accommodate change. What it does lack is reference to any behavioural or cultural factors which need to be superimposed on purely demographic or ecological factors in order to best explain the process and patterns of emigration examined here.

¹⁴ The graph was plotted using rank order positions for each of the 32 counties on two variables - internal migration and seasonal migration. The counties in the provinces of Connaught and Ulster display high seasonal but low internal migration. The counties in the province display low seasonal but high internal migration (to Dublin). The counties of Munster at first seem anomalous, displaying low internal and low seasonal rates. This is because the definition of seasonal migration used by the Census Commissioners was of seasonal migration overseas. Within Munster seasonal migration did take place from Cork and Kerry into the rich agricultural vales of Tipperary.

6.2.3 Capital Investment

Insufficient data were available to evaluate econometric models of migration, such as those developed by Thomas and Moe¹⁵. Thomas's work on trends and cycles of investment in the 'Atlantic Economy' has little that is immediately applicable to Ireland's situation. Contemporary writers concerned with Ireland's lack of industrialization focussed on the relationship between Britain and Ireland rather than on the different centre-periphery relationship outlined in the model. Nineteenth century economists and politicians were concerned more with the tendency for Irish investments and savings to find their way out of Ireland and into the British economy. Some political economists did make the point that it was puzzling that British capitalists should invest overseas when, in Ireland, they had the opportunities to invest in a country where the laws and institutions were similar to Britain's and where a ready abundance of labour existed.¹⁶ However, as Mokyr has pointed out, capital had no need to come to labour in Ireland since Ireland's labour could be readily induced to come to capital, be it in Britain or the United States.¹⁷

¹⁵ Thomas, B. (1973) Migration and Economic Growth, 2nd edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Moe, T. (1970) 'Some economic aspects of Norwegian population movements: an econometric study', Journal of Economic History, Vol.30

¹⁶ Senior, N. (1868) Journals, Conversations and Essays relating to Ireland, Vol. 1, London, p 33

¹⁷ Mokyr, J. (1983) op. cit., p 259

Thus, for Ireland mobility of labour was more relevant than the mobility of capital of Thomas's model of the Atlantic Economy. Hence came the oft-quoted quip that the Irish did industrialize, but outside their own country.

Evidence from other European countries shows the importance of industrialization and opportunities for internal migration to emigration. In Norway, where the pace of economic development did not keep pace with the growth in population the rate of emigration was intense. In the Netherlands, too, the lack of industrialization as well as harvest failures in the eighteen-forties contributed significantly to emigration. Even in Sweden and Denmark, the cities could not totally absorb the flow of migration from the rural areas. British emigration similarly continued alongside rapid industrialization and urbanization. Here, however, the opportunities for internal migration were better able to absorb migrants, such as those from declining rural areas of Wales.

It is not appropriate here to engage in counter-factual debate as to what would have happened had Ireland itself been industrialized internally. What is worth noting at this stage is that people in the north-west were clearly willing to pursue opportunities for employment when they arose. The options that they chose to pursue, however, were in part constrained by their means and ability and in part by their willingness to leave their home permanently. The domestic linen industry for many years provided a reasonable, if at times somewhat

unreliable, source of income and employment. When, after proto-industrialization, the main commercialized centre of linen production shrank beyond the counties of the north-west, many people took their skills in textiles to factories in Lanarkshire, Scotland. Others found a use for such skills in North American cities such as Philadelphia, where handloom weaving of textiles continued both in factories and as a domestic, putting out system. Many more joined the masses of unskilled labourers who, over the course of years, helped fuel the industrial systems of Britain and America. Others, resorted to seasonal migration to Scotland. The port of Derry thus witnessed many forms of migration. The explanation as to who chose which option seems to lie in a complex interplay of variables. Nevertheless, the most consistently successful variable in econometric explanation and prediction of emigration patterns has been the previous rate of emigration from an area. Other migration studies have shown the importance of information feedback and financial aid in giving rise to chain migration. An area like the north-west that has a long history of emigration therefore has a special need for a model with a strong temporal dimension.

6.3 The Process and Pattern of Migration

In chapter 2 Sune Akerman's model of mass migration as a phased growth curve was reviewed. This model sought to explain key temporal changes (which Akerman calls 'phase

developments') in Swedish emigration to America. The model recognizes four basic phases - an introductory phase, a growth phase, a saturation phase and a regression phase. Each phase was characterized by distinctive age, sex and occupational features in the emigrant population. Akerman was well aware that different regions within a country could experience different phases of emigration growth and that different regions satisfied their migration needs in differing ways. I initially expected that this model, with its emphasis on the dynamical processes of migration, would be applicable to the emigration patterns studied here. However, a number of difficulties emerged in the course of my researches. First, the data which Akerman worked with were far superior to any available for Ireland. The information used in the research here provides a database superior to any other for the country but it does not go back beyond 1800. The absence of county of origin information in the census before 1851 precludes producing a growth curve covering the entire time span of Irish emigration. Figure 3.5 above was therefore only a partial picture (from 1851 onwards) of the development of emigration from the three main counties. The graphs revealed similar patterns - a steep decline in the 1850s, with sharp but lesser peaks in the sixties and seventies, and a steady decline from the 1880s until 1911.

Second, Swedish emigration was unevenly distributed in time and concentrated into certain periods. Irish emigration, on the other hand, took place over two

centuries, although punctuated by wars and other disruptions. A third problem was where to locate the immediate Famine period. Because of the uniqueness of the forces driving the very high rate of emigration in these years, the figures cannot rightfully be subsumed under the normal growth phase. There might be a case for creating a distinct and separate phase or peak period, a watershed which built on the growth phase and which shaped or put into motion the forces behind the saturation phase. Other specific difficulties considered included the question of how far back to locate the initial phase of Irish movement overseas. Taken together, these various difficulties indicated that the Akerman model was wanting so far as Ireland was concerned, though it at least acknowledged the temporal variations in migration from Ireland and from the north-west in particular.

The early phase in emigration from the north-west covers most of the eighteenth century, bar the last 25 to 30 years or so. The first significant population movements from Ulster occurred over the years 1700-1776, when an estimated 200,000 left Ulster, almost all of them Presbyterians.^{1*} During this period the influence and example of Presbyterian ministers played an important role in stimulating emigration. Unlike the opinion makers in Akerman's work on Sweden, the majority of the ministers resided in the rural community.

^{1*} Miller, K. (1985) op. cit., p 138

A growth phase in emigration from the north-west is identifiable, beginning during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century and lasting until the onset of Famine emigration in the 1840s. The marked upswing was not as pronounced as the Åkerman model would predict, partly because of the disruption caused to sailings by almost continuous war between Britain and France from 1793 to 1814 and partly, though to a lesser extent, because of restrictive legislation forbidding the emigration of artisans and skilled workers. The years 1770-75 saw a peak in northern Irish emigration, although estimates of the numbers leaving vary.¹⁹ Migration was still selective of people and regions but a broadening out of the profile was taking place.

The figures from the 1803-06 and 1830-31 data show a dominance of men is quite in line with the pattern for other European nationalities. As late as the forties and fifties Dutch males outnumbered females six to four. The sex ratio generally evened out as the first half of the nineteenth century wore on. The 1830-31 sample, for instance reveals an increase in the proportion of females and this probably reflects the spread of the emigration movement consequent on the collapse of the linen industry. The immediate Famine period, which saw for the first time a dominance of family groups and an even greater balance between the sexes, represents something of a watershed as

¹⁹ See Miller, K. *op. cit.*, and Dickson, R.J. (1976) Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1785, Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation.

to demographic composition. However, the rapid reversion to migration of the young and unattached after the immediate impact of the Famine clearly indicates how much the family movement was a very particular response to a disastrous situation.

The ever youthful profile of the emigrants throughout the study period is very similar to other European movements. Thus among the Danes 40 per cent of the migrants were in their twenties and among the Dutch 53 per cent were in the 15-39 age group. One remarkable feature established here of Irish emigration is the large numbers of female migrants leaving Derry in the 1850s and 1860s. In no other European migration did women feature so predominantly. There were significant proportions of women among Jewish emigrants to the United States but this largely took place within family groups. What is significant here is the change during the fifties and sixties of female out-movement from family migration to autonomous labour migration. Post-Famine Irish society became a place where women's status and conditions deteriorated considerably and the response of many young Irish women was to abandon that society for the job prospects of the New World.²⁰ The higher proportion of women travelling to the United States may well reflect the greater chances for single women to obtain jobs in a more urbanized economy.

²⁰ Diner, H.R. (1983) Erin's Daughters in America, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, pp 1-29

6.4 The Nature of the Migrant Body

Akerman's model highlighted the changing forces and, hence, selectivity of the migration process over time. Even within the small area of north-west Ireland, marked local differences existed as to farming systems, valuation of land, population density and affluence. In addition, migration experiences defined by history and tradition of migration (seasonal and overseas) varied locally. Together these had major influence on the development of the migration flow from the area. Transport and postal communications within the area were, on the whole, quite well developed and information about emigration flowed quite freely. Nonetheless, some of the poorest and most densely populated places, such as the barony of Boyleagh and the most northern part of the Inishowen peninsula in Donegal, were over ten miles from public transport. Since Cooke agents were located primarily in the small towns and villages, this meant that information about emigration options spread less rapidly to such remote localities. Without this initial stimulus for emigration, news of conditions in the New World and the opportunities which existed there were further restricted. The 'Amerikay Letter' returned principally to those areas which had sent migrants overseas in the past. Allied with passage costs that were high relative to agricultural wages, at least until the Famine period, these limits to the spread of emigration information not surprisingly resulted in less emigration from the poorer, congested districts.

In principle emigration from the poorer areas of the north-west could have used channels unrecorded in the present study but it seems improbable that intending, poorer migrants would selectively bypass one of the largest carriers in the home port. If anything, the Cooke ships sailing from Derry in the 1860s were more likely to transport the less well off. In this period they went predominantly to Canada, always a cheaper destination, and the sailing ships were cheaper, though slower, than the steamships. In fact, over the entire study period the bulk of the Cooke ships went to Canada, thus offering cheaper fares than most of the other Derry carriers. McCorkells, for example, operated almost exclusively on the New York route. One point needing more investigation is the extent of emigration from the poorer areas to destinations other than the United States and Canada. A much cheaper route for some lay in the steamers from Derry to Glasgow, and many from Donegal took this route. The degree of interplay between the various migration options within regions remains an area requiring further research.

That the differences both in the cost of the passage and in the opportunities for employment (or at least in information about employment) influenced the respective migrant bodies can be seen clearly in the differences in the sex ratio and the distribution of group types among the American bound and the Canadian bound passengers. Cheaper fares and less restrictive legislation clearly enabled more families and larger groups to travel. As was seen in

chapter 5 many went on to the United States. Judging from the reports by Buchanan in Quebec and Perley in St. John, New Brunswick there were opportunities for employment in Canada, either in farming, as skilled or unskilled labour, and domestic service throughout the twenty years from the Famine to the end of the study period. In fact, in certain areas there was a great demand for labour. How many of the Cooke migrants chose to take up these opportunities is unknown. With the well established history of emigration from the north-west to Canada it would not be unreasonable to expect that some did join friends and settled there but the proportions who stayed and who went on to the United States remains unknown. The lower incidence of pre-paid passages from Canada may indicate a low rate of settlement. Yet the presence of an agent in St. John, New Brunswick, a port often considered to be a mere staging post to the United States, indicates that a significant number of Irish remained in that province. This whole question of the pattern of dispersal, settlement and behaviour of Irish migrants in general, not just the Cooke or Ulster migrants, in Canada is very open to further research. Interesting work has already begun with the research of Akenson and others.²¹

There are too few reliable data in the registers and manifests as to occupation and none at all as to literacy to allow comment on any selectivity of these

²¹ Atkenson, D.H. (1984) The Irish in Ontario - A Study in Rural History, Kingston.

characteristics among the Cooke passengers. Nonetheless, the huge flow of letters to the area in general must reflect at least a reasonable level of literacy among the Ulster migrants. In these respects the data were disappointing both in respect of examining changes in the quality of the migrants over the years and in comparing occupational profiles with other European countries. From what data are available and from the comments by the government agents in Canada, the bulk of the Derry migrants seem to have been small to middling farmers, artisans and labourers, and single women.

We have examined some of the economic, political and other extrinsic factors which may have influenced migration as well as some of the obstacles to migration. Finally, we need to look at some possible behavioral aspects of migration from the area.

6.5 Behavioural Aspects of Migration

It is generally agreed that migration represents a complex interplay of variables. Some can be measured either directly or indirectly, examples being demographic pressures, employment and unemployment, the cost of living, the cost of migrating and the degree of urbanization and industrialization. Others, behavioural variables, such as perceptions of these factors and the propensity to migrate, cannot be quantified as readily but are nevertheless of significance. Kerby Miller has recently approached the history of emigration from Ireland to America in what might

be termed a psycho-historical way.²² Miller concluded that Irish Catholics (in particular) regarded emigration as involuntary exile and that this was related to a distinctive world view whose roots lay in Gaelic culture. Here the emphasis was on the community rather than on the individual; the passive as against the active; immobility as against change; and kin as against the person. Each of these features militated against migration and as an impediment to the assimilation of the Irish in America. Miller's views are of particular relevance here because the areas of the north-west which experienced little migration coincided with concentrations of native Irish Catholics. To what extent can such an approach help explain the differences in the rate of emigration?

Miller's approach shares with all behavioural models of migration the problem of measurement. Certain facts are known. Areas with long histories of emigration had both behavioural and financial incentives for further emigration. As noted above, emigration was highest from areas in the north-west that had a strong emigration tradition, that had a good flow of information about the means of emigration and prospects in the New World, and that were reasonably affluent. Thus they contained prospective emigrants with the knowledge, the propensity and the means to travel. Behaviour patterns were then further reinforced by the flow back of information and of remittances or prepaid tickets. Certainly the risk of

²² Miller, K. (1985) op. cit.

emigrating was not so great when transport was paid and there were relatives to go to. All these factors concentrated the sending areas until diffusion of information, better communications and the availability of cheaper fares spread the inclination to migrate into other areas. Such behavioural and attitudinal issues were possibly as strong a 'pull' force as the more generally recognised ones of employment and land opportunities. The Scandinavian and Dutch research reviewed in chapter 2 testifies to the strength of these forces and the development of a recognizable 'emigration mentality'.

The Ulster-Presbyterian community in the north-west (and in Ulster in general) had such a tradition. The underlying motives for their migration changed over the course of the years from religious and political causes to economic ones, but emigration was always regarded favourably as an alternative to unacceptable conditions at home. Not all the members of their community were affluent and the large numbers of indentured servants in the eighteenth century shows that many of them lacked the means to pay for their passage. Even so, Protestants were commonly more affluent than their Catholic neighbours and this, together with their culture and tradition in respect of emigration, probably is the best explanation of the disproportionately greater emigration from Protestant areas. The perceived risks of a society in collapse, as during the Famine, have always been greater for those with more to lose. No direct information as to the religious

affiliations of the migrants studied here was available. Only their areas of origin and, to a lesser extent, their Christian names and surnames provide clues. Catholics certainly emigrated but they did not come from the remote areas that were almost exclusively Catholic e.g. the western seaboard of Donegal. There may be some truth in Miller's argument about the way in which Gaelic culture worked against emigration. However, the influence of a tradition of emigration (not in itself based in any distinctive, cultural roots) seems the more probable behavioural explanation, especially when reinforced by other, more objective factors.

6.6 Summary

The freedom of emigration which existed in Ireland in the nineteenth century is a matter of wry regret for the historian of the twentieth century. The ease of movement enjoyed by emigrants in the past largely accounts for the notorious inadequacy of the statistical evidence about Irish emigration. The present study provides a new source of statistical evidence in this area and has identified some new sources for research on Irish emigration. Since these sources provide a run of information for most of the nineteenth century, it has been possible to examine long-term trends in emigration from the north-west of Ireland. In particular, the changes in emigrant profiles and in the forces behind the movement shed some new light

on old questions. Seven findings are particularly noteworthy:

- (1) Analysis of the age and sex structure of the emigrants at different periods between 1800 and 1870 showed that the profile changed from emigration of mainly young, unattached males in the early part of the century to family migration during the Famine years, subsequently changing to equal numbers of (mostly young) males and females.
- (2) Examination of the areas of origin of the emigrants revealed that until the 1860s the bulk of the emigration was from the more affluent, more fertile areas of the region and not from the areas where the pressure of population was greatest.
- (3) Analysis of the concentrations of the migrants' origins and of their associated characteristics revealed the importance within Ulster of the early development of a tradition of emigration.
- (4) The scale and importance of help from the United States, in particular help in the form of pre-paid passages, was particularly significant during the immediate Famine years. This help was both a legacy of earlier emigration and a response to conditions in Ireland, bringing out families during the Famine and individuals in the post-Famine years.

- (5) Major differences existed in the composition of the emigrant populations bound for Canada and the United States respectively and were related to the cost of fares and the extent of assistance with the passage money.
- (6) Within the Ulster counties permanent emigration overseas was inversely related to the incidence of seasonal migration. Resort to seasonal working may have been especially important where land ties were strong and there was not sufficient capital to emigrate overseas.
- (7) Finally, although the Famine had a major impact on the region, it was not the instigator of mass migration from the north-west. The demise of the linen trade and associated economic crisis were more important in this respect.

Irish emigration was a function of the demographic and economic pressures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this it resembled many other countries in Europe, despite its singular lack of industrialization. What has been emphasized in the present study is how these pressures changed over time and how even locally, within the region of north-west Ireland, responses to them varied over time. The inadequacy of simplistic, single cause explanations of emigration has been stressed. Economic factors were influential in promoting emigration but alternative responses were available within the north-west and emigration flow was an outcome shaped by a shifting

balance between domestic industry, seasonal and day labouring, sub-division of land, and cultivation of new land. Finally, the perception of economic and demographic pressures, and the willingness and ability to respond to them, was closely bound up with the traditions and culture of the area.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

SHIPS LISTED IN REGISTERS OF J. J. COOKE AS SAILING FROM
THE PORT OF LONDONDERRY

1847-1867

<u>NAME OF SHIP</u>	<u>DATE OF SAILING*</u>	<u>MANIFEST LOCATED</u>	<u>DESTINATION</u>	<u>NO. OF PASSENGERS</u>
Superior	17 Mar 1847	X	Philadelphia	203
Marchioness of Clydesdale	2 Apr 1847		St. John, NB**	378
Herschell	27 Mar 1847	X	Philadelphia	101
Helen Thompson	19 Apr 1847		Quebec	368
Sir Charles Napier	29 Apr 1847		St. John, NB	425
Collingwood	13 Apr 1847		Quebec	201
Hartford	26 Apr 1847	X	Philadelphia	204
Progress	10 Apr 1847		St. John, NB	136
Sesostris	11 May 1847		Quebec	298(428)
John Clarke	21 May 1847		St. John, NB	521
Montpellier	5 May 1847	X	Philadelphia	103
Alleghany	15 May 1847	X	Philadelphia	158
Mary Stewart	14 May 1847		Philadelphia	87
Portland	12 Jun 1847		St. John, NB	336
Leander	12 Jun 1847		Quebec	429
Barbara	22 May 1847		Philadelphia	128
Venice	11 Jun 1847		Philadelphia	211
Envoy	19 Jun 1847		St. John, NB	250
Londonderry	3 Jul 1847		St. John, NB	183
Superior	16 Jul 1847		Quebec	356
Londonderry	11 Mar 1848		St. John, NB	193
Mary Campell	23 Mar 1848		Philadelphia	154
Envoy	8 Apr 1848		Quebec	214
Lord Marchstone	8 May 1848		St. John, NB	349
Hannah Kerr	6 May 1848		Philadelphia	226
Londonderry	8 Jul 1848		St. John, NB	140
Superior	16 Nov 1848		New Orleans	34
Londonderry	28 Mar 1849		St. John, NB	158
Envoy	26 Mar 1849		Philadelphia	185
Mary Campbell	30 Apr 1849		Quebec	226
Garland	27 Apr 1849		Philadelphia	109
Superior	2 Jun 1849		Philadelphia	229
Sarah	8 Jun 1849		St. John, NB	205
British Queen	25 Jun 1849		St. John, NB	14
Londonderry	16 Jul 1849		Quebec	145
Garland	18 Aug 1849		Philadelphia	96
Superior	24 Nov 1849		New Orleans	114

* Where known otherwise as stated on register, e.g., Spring Voyage

** NB - New Brunswick

APPENDIX 1 CONTINUED

<u>NAME OF SHIP</u>	<u>DATE OF SAILING</u>	<u>MANIFEST LOCATED</u>	<u>DESTINATION</u>	<u>NO. OF PASSENGERS</u>
Envoy	18 Mar 1850	X	Philadelphia	195
Londonderry	Spring 1850		St. John, NB	182
Mary Campbell	Spring 1850		Quebec	210
Barbara	3 Jul 1850	X	Philadelphia	143
Lumley	12 Jun 1850	X	Philadelphia	45(90)
Eagle	May/Jun 1850		St. John, NB	145
Isabella	-- Jun 1850		Quebec	105
James Neddin	Summer 1850		St. John, NB	101
Superior	13 Sep 1850	X	Philadelphia	225
Londonderry	Summer 1850		Quebec	43
Superior	-- Apr 1851	X	Philadelphia	227
Londonderry	Spring 1851		St. John, NB	164
Envoy	Spring 1851		Quebec	211
Mary Ann	17 Apr 1851	X	Philadelphia	202
Barbara	Spring 1851		St. John, NB	163
Anna	Spring 1851		Quebec	169
Competitor	-- Jun 1851		Philadelphia*	124
Londonderry	Summer 1851		St. John, NB	93
Superior	18 Sep 1851	X	Philadelphia	226
Envoy	Summer 1851		Quebec	130
Mary Ann	Spring 1852		St. John, NB	206
Superior	27 Apr 1852	X	Philadelphia	227
Anne	29 May 1852	X	Philadelphia	327
Envoy	Spring 1852		Quebec	293
Barbara	28 Jun 1852	X	Philadelphia	141
Soflid	-- May 1852		St. John, NB	179
Lord Lambton	-- May 1852		Quebec	127
Mary Ann	-- Jun 1852		St. John, NB	139
Superior	21 Sep 1852	X	Philadelphia	212
Envoy	Summer 1852		Quebec	110
Mary Ann	-- Nov 1852		New Orleans	78
Mary Ann	Spring 1853		St. John, NB	226
Superior	9 May 1853	X	Philadelphia	227
Helen Thompson	6 Jun 1853	X	Philadelphia	206
Envoy	Spring 1853		Quebec	160
Patience	Spring 1853		St. John, NB	147
Merker	Spring 1853		St. John, NB	130
Ves Tilinden	Spring 1853		Quebec	152
Roger Stewart	19 Aug 1853	X	Philadelphia	166
Mary Ann	Fall 1853		St. John, NB	229
Superior	-- Sep 1853	X	Philadelphia	236
Envoy	-- Oct 1853	X	Philadelphia	189(135)

* Part of 1851 manifest lost

APPENDIX 1 CONTINUED

<u>NAME OF SHIP</u>	<u>DATE OF SAILING</u>	<u>MANIFEST LOCATED</u>	<u>DESTINATION</u>	<u>NO. OF PASSENGERS</u>
Mary Ann	Spring 1854		St. John, NB	208
Superior	15 May 1854	X	Philadelphia	225
Garland	5 Jun 1854	X	Philadelphia	118
Liburna	10 Jul 1854	X	Philadelphia	78(151)
Mauritius	-- Jun 1854		Quebec	76
Nimer	Summer 1854		St. John, NB	131
Edward	-- Jul 1854	X	Philadelphia	92(167)
Adolph Werner	Summer 1854		Quebec	82
Mary Ann	Summer 1854		St. John, NB	104
Argentinus	-- Aug 1854	X	Philadelphia	138
Argentinus	-- Apr 1855	X	Philadelphia	168
Superior	-- May 1855		Quebec	263
Mary Ann	-- Apr 1855		St. John, NB	120
Superior	Fall 1855		St. John, NB	42
Argentinus	-- May 1855		Quebec	130
Superior	4 Apr 1856	X	Philadelphia	197
Argentinus	-- May 1856		Quebec	188
Mary Ann	-- May 1856		St. John, NB	160
Elizabeth	-- Aug 1857	X	Philadelphia	297
Mary Ann	Spring 1857		St. John, NB	145
Argentinus	-- May 1857		Quebec	158
Elizabeth	Summer 1857		St. John, NB	19
Argentinus	Summer 1857		Quebec	6
Mary Ann	Spring 1858		St. John, NB	80
Argentinus	Spring 1858		Quebec	130
Elizabeth	-- Apr 1858	X	Philadelphia	202
Argentinus	Fall 1858		Quebec	15
Elizabeth	Fall 1858		St. John, NB	26
Elizabeth	Fall 1858		New Orleans	9
Mary Ann	Spring 1859		St. John, NB	82
Elizabeth	30 May 1859	X	Philadelphia	196
Argentinus	Spring 1859		Quebec	60
Elizabeth	Fall 1859		St. John, NB	19
Argentinus	Spring 1860		St. John, NB	52
Elizabeth	4 Jun 1860		Philadelphia	295
Elizabeth	Fall 1860		St. John, NB	15
Argentinus	Spring 1861		St. John, NB	111
Elizabeth	Spring 1861		Philadelphia	239
Elizabeth	Fall 1861		St. John, NB	69
Nubia	Fall 1861		Quebec	14

APPENDIX 1 CONTINUED

<u>NAME OF SHIP</u>	<u>DATE OF SAILING</u>	<u>MANIFEST LOCATED</u>	<u>DESTINATION</u>	<u>NO. OF PASSENGERS</u>
Elizabeth	Spring 1862		St. John, NB	127
Doctor Kane	Spring 1862		Quebec	84
Elizabeth	Fall 1862		St. John, NB	34
Nubia	Fall 1862		Quebec	64
Elizabeth	Spring 1863		St. John, NB	162
Nubia	Spring 1863		Quebec	186
Nubia	Fall 1863		St. John, NB	39
Elizabeth	Spring 1864		Philadelphia*	324
Doctor Kane	Spring 1864		St. John, NB	277
Nubia	Spring 1864		Quebec	74
Doctor Kane	Fall 1864		Quebec	326
Nubia	Fall 1864	X	Philadelphia	202
Nubia	Spring 1865	X	Quebec	17
Huron	Spring 1865	X	Philadelphia	127
Doctor Kane	Spring 1865	X	St. John, NB	50
Nubia	Fall 1865		St. John, NB	28
Doctor Kane	Spring 1866		St. John, NB	238
Doctor Kane	Fall 1866		Quebec	9
Doctor Kane	Spring 1867		St. John, NB	41
Twilight	Spring 1867		Quebec	6
Twilight	Fall 1867		St. John, NB	15

* Wrecked, Cape May, New Jersey on this voyage. No mortality.

Bracketed figures beside number of passengers are of known completed complement of passengers recorded at port of destination. The difference between the two numbers is largely due to the vessel having called at, or departed from, another port, e.g. Liverpool or Greenock. The unbracketed numbers is the total number of migrants who embarked at Derry.

APPENDIX 2
 OF THE SHIPS LISTED IN THE REGISTERS OF J.J. COOKE
 THE FOLLOWING WERE OWNED AND OPERATED BY THE
 SHIPPING FIRM DURING THE YEARS 1847 - 1867

NAME	WHEN BUILT	TONS	DIMENSIONS (in feet)	WHERE BUILT
Mary Campbell	Ship, 1838 Altered to Barque, 1846	415	100.4-26.1-18	Ta Tmagouche, N.S.
Londonderry	Barque, 1839	299	Not Known	New Brunswick
Envoy	Barque, 1841	481	118-26-18	Nova Scotia
Superior	Ship, 1845	571	123.6-24.5-20	New London, P.E.I.
Mary Ann	Barque, 1850	405	118.6-24.4-17	Richibucto, N.B.
Argentinus	Barque, 1851	542	Not Known	Ta Tmagouche, N.S.
Elizabeth	Ship, 1856	770 / 688	160.6-33.6-20.3	Saint John, N.B.
Doctor Kane	Barque, 1857	607	157.6-29.4-18	Not Known
Nubia	Ship, 1857	834	169.1-34.9-20.7	New Brunswick
Huron	Ship, 1865	774	165-32.1-20.35	Quebec
Twilight	Barque, 1866	779	166.4-32.3-20.8	Quebec

N.S. = Nova Scotia
 N.B. = New Brunswick
 P.E.I. = Prince Edward Island

Other Dery owned ships chartered or used by Cooke were the Barbara, Mary Stewart, and British Queen.

Of the other ships listed, it is known that some were owned or registered in Boston, Philadelphia, Liverpool, Greenock, Quebec and at least three from Norway, one from Sweden, and one from Russian Finland.

APPENDIX 3

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION GIVEN IN THE REPORTS OF EMIGRATION OFFICERS
ON J.J. COOKE SHIPS ARRIVING IN THE PORTS OF QUEBEC AND ST. JOHN, N.B.

<u>NAME OF VESSEL</u>	<u>PORT</u>	<u>WEIGHT (IN TONS)</u>	<u>NO. OF PASSENGERS</u>	<u>HEALTH OF PASSENGERS</u>
Marchioness of Clydesdale	St. John, N.B.	565	386	---
Helen Thompson	Quebec	Not Known	371	4 deaths on passage
Prograss	St. John, N.B.	200	138	---
John Clarke	St. John, N.B.	Not Known	528	Reported all passengers arrived in good health
Sir Charles Napier	St. John, N.B.	714	434	2 deaths on passage
Sesostris	Quebec	Not Known	428	8 deaths on passage
Collingwood	Quebec	Not Known	202	4 deaths on passage
Leander	Quebec	Not Known	427	4 deaths on passage
Portland	St. John, N.B.	Not Known	338	No Sickness
Superior	Quebec	Not Known	366	18 deaths on passage
Envoy	St. John, N.B.	Not Known	264	No Sickness
Londonderry	St. John, N.B.	Not Known	144	All passengers in good health
Londonderry	St. John, N.B.	299	154	All clean and in good health
Mary Ann	St. John, N.B.	Not Known	194	All in good health
SoFlide	St. John, N.B.	Not Known	176	All in excellent health
Mary Ann	St. John, N.B.	Not Known	131	All in excellent health and very clean condition
Mary Ann	St. John, N.B.	Not Known	225	---
Patience	St. John, N.B.	Not Known	145	Excellent
Argentinus	St. John, N.B.	542	51	All in good health
Elizabeth	St. John, N.B.	707	14	All in good health
Argentinus	St. John, N.B.	503	60	All in good health
Elizabeth	St. John, N.B.	770	53	All in good health

* From 1853-1860 the level of detail given on passage and levels of sickness and mortality is scant.
See Appendix 3 for information on this and other aspects of ship and passengers.

LENGTH OF PASSAGEDAYS IN QUARANTINEDEATHS

Arrived May 17, 1847	---	---
36 days; arrived May 25, 1847	3 days	None in quarantine
Arrived May 17, 1847	---	---
Arrived May 21, 1847	3 days	None in quarantine
19 days; arrived May 23, 1847	7 days	1 further death in quarantine
31 days; arrived June 24, 1847	9 days	4 further deaths in quarantine and 5 in hospital
46 days; arrived July 13, 1847	1 day	None in quarantine
45 days; arrived July 31, 1847	3 days	2 further deaths in quarantine
Not Known	---	---
51 days; arrived Sept. 17, 1847	10 days	8 further deaths in quarantine and 13 in hospital
Not Known	---	---
Arrived May 27, 1848	---	---
28 days; arrived May 2, 1849	---	---
23 days; arrived April 27, 1852	---	---
Arrived July 20, 1852	---	---
Arrived Aug. 10, 1852	---	---
Arrived May 16, 1853	---	3
Arrived June 17, 1853*	---	---
36 days; arrived May 15, 1860	None	None
24 days; arrived Sept. 7, 1860	None	None
32 days; arrived May 14, 1861	None	None
30 days; arrived Oct. 10, 1861	None	None

APPENDIX 4:- INFORMATION GIVEN IN THE REPORTS OF THE EMIGRATION OFFICERS AT THE PORTS OF QUEBEC AND ST. JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK RELATING TO SHIPS OPERATED BY J&J COOKE.

MARCHIONESS OF CLYDESDALE TO ST. JOHN, N.B. APRIL, 1847

Enclosure notes arrival of ship confirming weight and number of passengers as given on list from agent. Reports the good health of passengers, good conditions on board and good conduct of the master.

HELEN THOMPSON TO QUEBEC, APRIL, 1847

Enclosure names ship in list of vessels arriving in port of Quebec during '47 season. Notes arrival of ship on 25th May, carrying 371 passengers; a passage of 36 days. 4 deaths on passage and 3 passengers sick in quarantine noted.

SIR CHARLES NAPIER TO ST. JOHN, N.B. APRIL '47

Mentioned in list of vessels at quarantine in port, 31st May. Arrival noted on 23 May with 434 passengers after a passage of 19 days. 2 deaths on passage, 6 landed sick and 1 death since landing. Discharged from quarantine, 1st June.

PROGRESS TO ST. JOHN, N.B., APRIL '47

Enclosure notes arrival of ship, confirming weight and number of passengers (138) as given on list from agent.

SESOSTRIS TO QUEBEC, MAY '47

Enclosure lists ship among those arriving in port during the '47 season. Passage of 31 days noted with 428 passengers (compared to 298 on register), 8 deaths at sea, 4 in quarantine and 5 in hospital.

JOHN CLARKE TO ST. JOHN, N.B., APRIL '47

Enclosure notes arrival of ship on 21 May with 528 passengers. Agent notes ' I am happy to say the passengers by the "John Clarke" have arrived in good health, considering the number, and was only detained at quarantine three days. Captain Disbrow (Master) gave great attention to their accomodation during the passage, and to which, under providence, we may ascribe their preservation from sickness'.

PORTLAND TO ST. JOHN, N.B. MAY '47

Mentioned in enclosure noting that ship was en route.

LEANDER TO QUEBEC, JUNE '47

Arrival of ship noted on 31st July with 427 passengers after a passage of 45 days. 4 deaths on passage and 2 in hospital.

ENVOY TO ST. JOHN, N.B. JUNE '47

Arrival of ship noted on 1st August with 264 passengers. At quarantine, but no deaths noted in this enclosure.

SUPERIOR TO QUEBEC, JULY '47

Enclosure notes arrival of ship on 17th, Septembre after a passage of 51 days plus 10 days in quarantine. 366 passengers recorded, 18 deaths on passage, 8 in quarantine and 13 in the hospital. Enclosure further shows that 150 people had received assistance to emigrate from landlords and private funds. (For further details concerning the assisted emigrants and the correspondence, recorded in the report, concerning the circumstances of these migrants see Appendix 4.)

ENVOY TO QUEBEC, APRIL '48

Enclosure notes arrival of ship on May 16th. 2 passengers noted as having received assistance by landlord and private funds.

LONDONDERRY TO ST. JOHN, N.B. JULY '48

Ship return lists 144 passengers as having arrived. 24 passengers recorded as agricultural labourers. Remarks in enclosure read 'The "Londonderry" is a good vessel, long and favourably known in the passenger trade. The water and provisions were unexceptionable; the passengers landed in good health and most cleanly condition.'

In reporting arrival of above and another Derry ship, 'British Queen', the agent states 'A large proportion of the passengers by these vessels will leave in the steamers for Boston'.

LONDONDERRY TO ST. JOHN, N.B. MARCH '49

Ship noted as having arrived on April 4th with 154 passengers. 40 agricultural labourers and 22 female domestic servants listed. No births, no deaths, no quarantine recorded. Comments by agent read 'The "Londonderry" is a good vessel, and a great favourite in the passenger trade. The provisions and water good; the vessel and the emigrants very clean on arrival; all on board in good health. Many of the passengers were of the better class of small farmers in the north of Ireland, on their way to the United States.'

MARY CAMPBELL TO QUEBEC, APRIL '49

Emigrant agent's report notes arrival of ship on 24th June and states that 12 of her passengers were assisted by parish funds.

LONDONDERRY TO QUEBEC, JULY '49

Emigrant agent's report notes ship's arrival on 18th August and that 62 of her passengers were assisted by parish funds.

LONDONDERRY TO ST. JOHN, N.B., SPRING '51

Report of agent notes arrival of ship with 42 passengers on May 10th, including a deaf and dumb girl.

ENVOY TO QUEBEC, APRIL '51

Agent's report mentions the arrival of ship on 30th May and refers to 58 people from Strabane Union and £29 from Derry Union who received landing money with free passage. £29 paid by the emigration department for Strabane and 15 for Derry.

BARBARA TO ST. JOHN, N.B. MAY '51

Letter from emigration officer notes arrival of ship and states that the passengers were all in good health. Also notes that on the ship were 2 male idiots of the respective ages of 26 and 29 years, for whom bonds have been required.

MARY-ANN TO ST. JOHN, N.B. SPRING '52

Emigration officer's report, April 27th, refers to the unusually short passage of 23 days. 'A large proportion of the passengers in this vessel have come out to join friends in this province, their passage money having been chiefly paid here.'

SOFLIDE TO ST. JOHN, N.B. MAY '52

Report of the emigration officer, July 21st, refers to the arrival of the ship with 176 passengers, all in excellent health and landed without delay.

LORD LAMBTON TO QUEBEC, JUNE '52

Agent's report notes arrival of the ship on July 5th. On board 33 people assisted by Derry Union who received 10s. landing money each with free passage (total £17) having been paid by the emigration department.

MARY-ANN TO ST. JOHN, N.B., JUNE '52

Report refers to the arrival of the ship with 131 passengers, all landed in excellent health and very cleanly conditions.

MARY-ANN TO ST. JOHN, N.B., APRIL '53

The report of the emigration officer refers to the arrival of the ship with 225 passengers. 'There were eight cases of measles on the voyage, of which disease two children have died. Two children were born on the voyage, one of which only lived two days. Two families, with children convalescing from measles,

were landed at Partridge Island, for observation and purification and the rest of the passengers came into port. Nearly one fourth of them left for Boston this morning to join their friends there, who furnished the means of bringing them from Ireland.'

PATIENCE TO ST. JOHN, N.B. MAY '53

Arrival of ship noted on June 18th with 145 passengers. Agent's report reads 'The "Patience" belongs to Ullaborg in Russian Finland, and came into the port under the flag of Russia. The captain speaks good English, as do several members of the crew, the rest Russian only.

I have rarely seen a passenger vessel enter port in so cleanly a condition as the "Patience". The passengers stated that they were treated with the greatest care, kindness and attention by the captain and all his crew, and that there was not an angry word during the voyage.'

MERKER TO ST. JOHN, N.B., JUNE '53

The report of the officer refers to the arrival of the ship, July 9th, with 130 passengers 'all ... passengers landed in good health and will probably remain here, there being abundance of employment and good wages.'

MARY-ANN TO ST. JOHN, N.B. JULY '53

Arrival of ship noted on August 23rd with 229 souls. 'I am happy to report that there was no sickness ... and not a single death on the voyage.'

MARY-ANN TO ST. JOHN, N.B. SPRING '54

Arrival noted of ship on 23rd May with 213 passengers. Agent's report reads 'I am happy to say that (both these vessels) landed their passengers in good health and cleanly condition. There was one passenger in excess in the Mary-Ann owing to one person being secreted on board, whom the master had to feed during the voyage.'

NIMER TO ST. JOHN, N.B. SUMMER '54

Arrival of Swedish brig 'Nimer' with 133 passengers noted. Report notes, 'It is exceedingly fortunate that these passengers enjoyed good health during the voyage, and landed here in excellent condition. The vessel was unusually clean on arrival.'

MARY-ANN TO ST. JOHN, N.B. SUMMER '54

Arrival of ship on 13th September noted with 104 passengers, all in good health.

MARY-ANN TO ST. JOHN, N.B. SUMMER '55

Arrival of ship noted, 24th July, with 116 passengers - '...all in excellent health and very cleanly condition.'

ARGENTINIUS FOR QUEBEC, MAY 2ND '56

Return from emigration office covering the period 7-26 June reports, 'The passengers per "Argentinius" from Londonderry were respectable farmers and labourers; they proceeded to Western Canada to join their friends.'

MARY-ANN FOR ST. JOHN, MAY '56

Enclosure from emigration office reports 'The passengers by this vessel were nearly all sent for by friends in this province and Nova Scotia, and in the neighbouring states, whom they immediately joined.'

ARGENTINIUS FOR ST. JOHN, N.B. SPRING '60

Enclosure from emigration office on 21 May notes that the ship contained 45 adults - 24 men and 21 females, 5 children between 1 and 14 years, 1 child under 1 year. 20 were agricultural labourers; 10 domestic servants. The provisions were good and plentiful. The passengers well treated by officers of the ship and all were in good health. 'All but one intended going to the United States.'

ELIZABETH FOR ST. JOHN, N.B. FALL '60

Enclosure reports arrival of ship in good order with food and water abundant and passengers healthy. Occupations given as domestic servants. 'The passengers by the "Elizabeth" had been sent for and their passages paid by friends already settled in the province. The people (in both vessels) were young and healthy, and of a better class than we have had in former years from the same districts in Ireland'.

ARGENTINUS FOR ST. JOHN, N.B. SPRING '61

Enclosure notes the arrival of ship and reports, '...all (the passengers) were landed in good health. Of the whole number, 111, only six, viz. two women, three girls, and a boy, have left the Province, and they proceeded to friends in the United States; the remainder, 105 in number, have all been furnished with employment. Five families proceeded to the eastern end of Kings' County, to friends already settled there.'

Return records 37 males, 42 females, 14 male children between 1 and 14, 18 female children between 1 and 14. 30 agricultural labourers, 30 female domestic servants and 1 shoemaker listed. the vessel was described as not over clean but food good and passengers in excellent health.

ELIZABETH FOR ST. JOHN, N.B. FALL '61

Enclosure reports arrival of ship with 53 passengers and notes that there was plenty of good and wholesome food, the people healthy and the vessel cleanly. 'Most of these people came out to friends already settled in the Province; they are chiefly young persons; and, with the exception of four, three who came out for Canada, and one for Nova Scotia, have settled in the Province.'

APPENDIX 5 :- CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO THE 'SUPERIOR' TO QUEBEC,
1847 CONCERNING THE STATE OF TENANTS FROM THE ESTATE OF DR. R. COLLINS .

Enclosure 3, in No. 16.

Government Emigration Office, Quebec,
16 September 1847.

Sir,

THE Chief Agent being unfortunately confined to his house by severe sickness, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt, at this office, of your letter dated the 14th instant. Encl. 3, in No. 16.

The duty also devolves upon me to report, for the information of his Excellency the Governor-general, that the deputy emigrant agent at Grosse Isle has communicated to this office, in a letter dated 14th instant, an account of the unparalleled destitution of certain emigrants who were sent out in the "Superior," from Londonderry, by their landlord, Dr. Collins.

The enclosed copies of depositions taken by Mr. Symes, though they afford no evidence of any infraction of the law, present such a picture of inconsiderateness (to use the mildest term) on the part of the persons sending out these poor people, as may possibly induce his Excellency to take such notice in deprecation of the system, as may prevent its adoption in the ensuing season of emigration.

The cases described in these depositions are not singular in their character; a majority of the tenantry are represented as being in a most miserable condition; denuded (even young females and matrons, as well as children) of common decent clothing, and therein evidencing an increasing desideratum, in this climate, that may possibly cast a new description of burthen upon the Government.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

(signed) S. M. Taylor,
Assistant Agent.

Major Campbell, Civil Secretary,
&c. &c. &c.

Province of Canada, } PERSONALLY came and appeared before me, Robert Symes, Esq., one
District of Quebec. } of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said district.

Hugh Reilly, stone-cutter, late of the parish of Kivally, County Fermanagh, Ireland, and being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith, that he was a tenant upon the estate of Dr. Collins, and has a wife and five children, the eldest of whom is under 14 years of age; that in the month of May last deponent could not procure employment, and was obliged to accept of public relief, which was then being given in his parish; that he and his family received daily relief for a considerable time, till about the 1st of June, when this relief was entirely taken away, and deponent was told, that if he would not give up his land, no more relief would be afforded him or his family; that one Hugh Quin, acting as bailiff on the estate, came to deponent and demanded possession of his land, promising at the same time to pay the passages of himself and family to America, with plenty of sea-store and clothing; in consequence of these promises, and threats of being deprived of all future relief, he was induced to give up his piece of land; that all the clothing issued to himself and family consisted of one shirt, one pair of socks, one shift and one petticoat; nothing whatever was given for his children, who were all in a most deplorable state of destitution of clothing, not having sufficient to cover their nakedness; that the wife of deponent represented to the bailiff Quin, in deponent's own presence, the hardship of being sent away without shoes to her feet, as well as her children, in reply to which appeal the bailiff promised to buy shoes and clothing at Enniskillen, as they passed through on their way to Derry to join the ship to embark for America; on the arrival of my family at Enniskillen no clothes were given, nor was there any clothing given to my family afterwards, and we were obliged to go on board the ship destitute of bedding and clothing, such as we had being almost unfit for use, and wholly insufficient for our health and comfort.

This deponent further declares, that he would never have quitted his place of abode but for false promises, and threats of being cut off from all future relief.

That with respect to provisions, a supply was sent on board, but not a sufficiency, till a quantity of Indian meal was purchased in Londonderry, and added to the sea-stock; Quin, the acting bailiff stated, when asked for clothing, that he was obliged to expend the money intended to purchase clothing in the purchase of Indian meal, and consequently the destitution of clothes.

This deponent now solemnly declares, that he and his family are entirely destitute of money, clothing or provisions. This deponent further declares, that Captain Mason, of the "Superior,"

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"Superior," treated himself and his fellow-passengers with much kindness, and in several instances issued meal from his own stock in lieu of biscuit, which latter provision could not be used by the aged and children.

Further, this deponent saith not, and declares he cannot write or sign his name.

(signed) ^{his} Hugh x Reilly.
mark.

Sworn before me at Grosse Isle, in the district of
Quebec, this 12th day of September 1847.

(signed) R. Symes, J. R.

Province of Canada, } PERSONALLY came and appeared before me, Robert Symes, Esq.,
District of Quebec. } one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said district,

Bryan Prior, labourer, late of the parish of Drumreilly, county Leitrim, Ireland, and being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposed and saith,

That he was a tenant of Dr. Collins, in the parish of Drumreilly, and occupied a piece of land of five acres; that he has a wife and four children, the eldest under 12 years; that upwards of six weeks previous to his leaving home, he and his family were wholly deprived of relief; that when in an actual state of starvation, Mr. Benson, agent to Dr. Collins, demanded of this deponent the surrender of his piece of land, and promised to give him immediate relief if he gave up his land; being in a state of starvation, he did give up his land, and his house was immediately pulled down to the ground, leaving his wife and four children standing in the field, without a covering or any other place to lay their heads. The land being of insufficient value, as estimated by Mr. Benson, the agent, he refused to send deponent's wife and children with him to America, saying, at the same time, that it was quite expensive enough to send him, and that he might be thankful for it. The wife and children of this deponent are now in Ireland, without a house or home, as far as this deponent has any knowledge of their condition, and he now declares that he is in a most distressed state of mind, without money, clothing or food.

(signed) Bryan Prior.

Sworn before me at Grosse Isle, in the district of
Quebec, this 12th day of September 1847.

(signed) R. Symes, J. R.

CANADA.

—No. 17.—

COPY of a DESPATCH from Earl Grey to Governor-General the Right Honourable the Earl of Elgin.

No. 17.
Earl Grey to the
Earl of Elgin,
27 December 1847.
Page 21.

My Lord,

Downing-street, 27 December 1847.

WITH reference to that part of the enclosures in your Lordship's despatch, No. 91, of the 27th of October, which related to unfavourable reports respecting Irish emigrants from the estates of Dr. Collins, I have now to forward for your information the enclosed copies of answers received from Dr. Collins, to whom the Emigration Commissioners communicated the papers, by my desire, in order that he might be able to furnish any explanations which he might wish to offer on the subject.

I have, &c.
(signed) Grey.

Enclosures in No. 17.

Sir,

Merrion-square, 23 December 1847.

Encl. in No. 17.

I beg you will return my best acknowledgments to the Colonial Emigration Commissioners for their communication of the 10th inst., relative to some tenants of mine who emigrated to Quebec from the port of Derry in the ship "Superior." In reply, I wish to state, for the information of the Commissioners, the following facts:—

There were about 150 persons, adults and children, sent out by me in the "Superior," equal to 110 full passengers.

For these 110, I paid all ship charges, and provided carts to carry the women and children, and food for the journey, from the counties of Leitrim and Fermanagh to Derry.

All of them owed me two years' rent, most of them three, and many of them four, every shilling of which I not only forgave them, but allowed them to sell whatever stock, furniture or other effects they had, and take the money with them.

In addition to the ship's allowance of 1 lb. of bread-stuffs daily, I paid for 1 lb. of meal daily extra for each of them.

I procured them four barrels of pork, and gave them 5 l. worth of coffee and sugar. I also procured them 35 l. worth of clothes, which I sent from Dublin, of excellent quality, which were faithfully distributed amongst them. I cannot account for the statements made by the two individuals mentioned. I was not in the country myself at the time of their departure; but I trust the Commissioners, from the undoubted facts stated, will agree with me in thinking that I acted liberally towards them.

The total sum expended and lost to me in rent was certainly not less than 900 l.

These poor creatures were all in the greatest poverty, and many of them must inevitably have perished from starvation had they remained in Ireland.

It is totally untrue that any individual went out otherwise than voluntarily, as every family were left to their own free-will. The offer was made to every tenant on both estates, who (since the loss of the potato) thought their holdings too small to grow food for them; and those who remained, and did not wish to emigrate, have in no instance been disturbed by me in the slightest degree.

The tenants appeared most grateful for what had been done for them, and the act was universally considered as an example to other landlords, and one of the most generous characters.

In conclusion, I would most respectfully state, that were a landed proprietor contribute the large amount I have done in this instance, for the purpose of enabling the destitute poor to escape death from starvation, it is not too much to expect the expenditure of a few shillings on each pauper on the part of Her Majesty's Government, as their contribution to place these honest but distressed subjects at once in a locality where, by their industry, all their wants may be instantly supplied.

Would not this have been nearly as speedily accomplished for the poor stone-cutter by a free passage in a steamer (whose wages at 5 s. or 6 s. daily would speedily have procured him happiness hitherto unknown), as was occupied by the magistrate in taking untruthful depositions from such poor creatures, in every way calculated to create discontent, and when communicated by them to their friends in Ireland (although previously well contented), likely to lead to outrage of the worst description, and thus completely frustrate all future efforts of the most liberal landlords to promote further emigration?—which I believe unquestionably to be the chief source we have to look to for the very existence of about two millions of our poor fellow-creatures.

I beg to refer the Commissioners to the request contained in my letters dated the 5th of March and the 12th of July, relative to the destitute state of the poor emigrants sent out; and from the statements made in Parliament and the report made by the Commissioners last year to both Houses by command of Her Majesty, as to the assistance to be given to emigrants on their arrival in Canada, I entertained no doubt whatever that they should be placed free of cost to themselves where employment was abundant; and this at the most trifling addition by the Government to the 5 s. head money which their officer received from me.

Hoping

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CANADA.

Hoping the Commissioners will pardon the liberty I have taken in freely expressing my sentiments on this vitally important subject,

I have, &c.

(signed) Robert Collins, M. D.

To Samuel Walcott, Esq.,

&c. &c. &c.

Secretary, Colonial Emigration Commissioners,

&c. &c. &c.

I have delayed this reply some days, expecting a letter from my agent, respecting the two cases noticed, which I have not yet received; I hope, however, in a day or two to forward all particulars.

Sir,

Merrion-square, Dec. 24, 1847.

I beg to forward the accompanying affidavits respecting the two tenants, Hugh Reilly and Bryan Prior, whose depositions you forwarded to me on the 10th instant.

I have to request you will be so good as to submit the documents I now send, together with my letter of yesterday, to the Commissioners.

The Commissioners will at once see the justice of my observations of yesterday in reference to the untruthful statements made.

It will be seen that Reilly was not only not destitute, but had at least six pounds in his possession which he received for a cow he sold, &c., and that he had good clothes in his box, although he wore the bad for effect, and also that he had never paid me any rent. These undoubted facts should open the eyes of the Commissioners to imposition.

It will also be seen that Prior had been treated with the utmost kindness, having been made a present of a cow, and had his ground cropped, and that his statement was truly false.

I am, &c.

(signed) Robert Collins.

Counties of Cavan and Fermanagh, to wit.

Hugh Quin, of Gannery, county Fermanagh, came before me, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for said counties, and having been duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposed and saith, that he has read an affidavit stated to have been made by one Hugh Reilly, late of Aghernly, county of Fermanagh, before Robert Symes, Esquire, of Quebec; and deponent admits that said Hugh Reilly might have been told that unless he gave up his land he could not be continued on the relief list, as such regulations were adopted and acted on by relief committees throughout the kingdom, under the direction of the Government Inspectors; but deponent solemnly denies that he ever held out a threat of any kind whatsoever, or made any offer to said Reilly to induce him to give up his land, which consisted of about four acres of partly reclaimed mountain or bog, and for which said Reilly never, to the best of this deponent's knowledge or belief, paid one shilling of rent, but may have got credit for a small amount of work done for Dr. Collins.

That said Hugh Reilly came to deponent, and most earnestly besought him to interfere for him with Captain Benison, and induce him to permit said Reilly and family to proceed with the other emigrants from Dr. Collins' property, and, on his request being granted, Reilly appeared most grateful.

That said Reilly was permitted to sell his stock, consisting of a cow and two goats, also all his furniture, &c. &c., and, to the best of this deponent's knowledge, information and belief, Reilly must have had at least six pounds when he sailed in the ship "Superior" from the quay of Londonderry, and that his statement of total destitution is a fabrication.

Deponent declares that it is totally untrue that he promised said Reilly shoes for his wife, or made any promise whatever of clothing for either himself or family; and that he was well aware that, although said Reilly travelled in worn-out, patched clothes, that he had a good suit in his box; and that said Reilly behaved most improperly on the way from Ballyconnel to Derry, he and another having excited the minds of certain persons against deponent and his party, and that he had much difficulty in proceeding with the emigrants, as said Reilly was anxious to raise a riot on the road, and break up the party, by getting this deponent and others beaten. Deponent denies that it is true that said Reilly's children were in the state represented by him, and that he, this deponent, caused to be conveyed to Londonderry, and put on board the "Superior" the bed and bedding of said Reilly, as well as of all the other emigrants. That deponent provided for the wants of the emigrants, and put on board the "Superior" a sufficient supply for ten weeks for each of oaten and Indian meal, the latter having been provided by the direction of Mr. Cooke, to whom the "Superior" belonged, and who told this deponent that all of Dr. Collins' emigrants had been sufficiently provided with sea-stores, consisting of tea, sugar, pork, in addition to meal, &c. &c.

Deponent declares that said Reilly has been through life a discontented, complaining, ill-disposed person, and that, from his conduct in the town of Strabane, he was apprehensive that he would have received personal injury, and was obliged to threaten him and others to hand them over to the police authorities, which fortunately were near, and prevented further disturbance.

(signed) Hugh Quin.

Taken and acknowledged before me, this 21st day of December, at Ballyconnel, Ireland, in the year of our Lord 1847.

(signed) Joseph Benison, J.P.

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CANADA.

Counties of Cavan and Fermanagh, to wit.

Farrell Kennan, of Kenkeen, county of Leitrim, came before me, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for said counties, and having been duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposed that the affidavit made by Bryan Prior, late of Curraghturtry, county of Leitrim, is, for the most part, without foundation. That said Prior had not five acres of land to surrender the possession of, but only about three, rent for which, for several years, he had never paid, although the utmost kindness had been extended to him by having his land cropped for him; also, by giving him a cow with the hope of bettering his condition; but that any effort to enable him to better his condition failed, and that said Prior had made many applications for a passage to Quebec, without success, and that it was only on the morning of the day when the emigrants started for Londonderry, that he, this deponent, consented to allow said Prior to proceed, he having previously declared, if refused, he would at all hazards follow them, the emigrants, to Londonderry, in the hope of getting a passage. That it is totally untrue that Mr. Benison had made any promise whatever to said Prior, that on giving up his land he would receive immediate relief; but that the Relief Committee of the district with the Committee of Finance and Government Inspector had made themselves acquainted with the condition of each claimant, and according to their condition and means, and the quantity of land held by each, struck many off their lists; and that deponent is aware, being a member of that committee himself, that Mr. Benison had interfered in his behalf with the committee. That the possession of said Prior's land was forced upon this deponent, and only taken at the urgent request of Prior by this deponent on the morning the emigrants left for Londonderry. That deponent states, that the family of Prior was put upon the relief list, and have since gone into the workhouse.

(signed) *Farrell Kennan.*

Taken and acknowledged before me, this 21st day of December 1847, at Ballyconnel, Ireland.

(signed) *Joseph Benison, J.P.*

SOURCE British Parliamentary Papers, Colonies (Canada), 1847
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