

British Immigration to the United States, 1776–1914

Building a Nation: 1776–1828

Edited by
William E. Van Vugt



BRITISH IMMIGRATION TO
THE UNITED STATES
1776-1914

CONTENTS OF THE EDITION

VOLUME 1

General Introduction

Building a Nation: 1776–1828

VOLUME 2

The Age of Jackson: 1829–47

VOLUME 3

The Developing Nation: 1848–59

VOLUME 4

Civil War and Industry: 1860–1914

Index

BRITISH IMMIGRATION TO
THE UNITED STATES
1776–1914

Volume 1
Building a Nation: 1776–1828

EDITED BY
William E. Van Vugt

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2009 by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © Taylor & Francis 2009
Copyright © Editorial material William E. Van Vugt 2009

All rights reserved, including those of translation into foreign languages.
No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or
by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter
invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage
or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and
are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

BRITISH LIBRARY CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION DATA

British immigration to the United States, 1776–1914.

1. Immigrants – United States – Correspondence. 2. British – United States
– Correspondence. 3. Immigrants' writings, English – United States. 4. United
States – Emigration and immigration – History – 18th century – Sources.
5. United States – Emigration and immigration – History – 19th century
– Sources. 6. Great Britain – Emigration and immigration – History – 18th
century – Sources. 7. Great Britain – Emigration and immigration – History
– 19th century – Sources.

I. Van Vugt, William E., 1957–
304.8'73041'09033-dc22

ISBN-13: 978-1-85196-976-0 (set)

Typeset by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
General Introduction	xi
Bibliography	xxvii
Introduction	xxxv
Correspondence	
Shipton Family (1784–1816)	1
Sharp Family (1812)	13
Revd John Ingle (1813–28)	16
James Matheson (1815)	51
Samuel Mearbeck (1815–21)	54
Saunders Hornbrook (1818–21)	66
Abram Greenwood (1819)	74
James Stott (1820)	76
John Rose (1822)	80
Biographies	83
Robert Baldwin (1760)	84
Abijah Moffit (1791)	86
John Larwill (1793)	88
Andrew Jackson Bull (1795)	92
Revd Robert Armstrong (1798)	94
Robert F. and William W. Wilson (1800)	99
Thomas ‘Priest’ Jones (1800)	101
Samuel and William Tizzard (1801)	104
Revd James Jones (1803)	107
John Makemson (1805)	109
John Ewbank (1805)	110
Thomas H. Woolley (1805)	112
Isham Sedgwick (1806)	114
Revd Andrew Heron (1807)	116

John Joel Eakright (1811)	117
Robert Grieve (1812)	119
Joseph M. Sutcliffe (1812)	120
Robert Hargitt (1814)	122
John Harrison (1814)	123
Timothy Thomas (1816)	125
Christian Donaldson (1816)	127
Humphrey Griffith (1817)	131
John Collier (1817)	133
George Sutton, MD (1819)	135
Captain W. W. Pearce (1819)	137
George P. Morris (1819)	138
James Howard (1819)	140
William Trabor Turner (1820)	144
Thomas Benton Cottingham (1820)	146
William B. Hardie (1820)	148
Samuel and William Tell Harris (1821)	149
Samuel Ward (1822)	151
Thomas Edwards (1826)	154
Other Materials	
Journal of Rachel Wilson of Kendal, ‘Visit to America’ (1768)	157
<i>A Concise Account of the Provinces in North America</i> (1784)	227
<i>Thoughts on Emigration</i> (1794)	255
<i>Emigration and America: Candidly Considered</i> (1798)	269
Isaac Smucker, <i>Welsh Settlements in Licking County, Ohio</i> (1869)	285
Editorial Notes	315

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the people and institutions who made this project possible. Calvin College granted me leave time in the form of a Calvin Research Fellowship to write and edit these volumes, and the Calvin College Alumni Association awarded me travel grants to conduct research in Britain – all of which was crucial to the project. At Calvin College, Deans Jan Curry and Uko Zylstra were very supportive of this project, which I took on even while assuming the Chair of the History Department. Also at Calvin, Administrative Assistants Sarah Van Timmeren and Lisa Eary were very helpful in transcribing some manuscripts into typescripts, working with old typescripts and providing me with ‘another set of eyes’ to decipher some hard-to-read words. I also remain indebted to Professor Robert P. Swierenga, Albertus C. Van Raalte Research Professor at the A. C. Van Raalte Institute, Hope College, and Professor Emeritus of History at Kent State University, for his encouragement and letters of support.

The libraries, librarians and archivists to whom I owe thanks for their assistance and permission to publish are numerous. The institutions are listed along with the documents themselves, and I am deeply grateful for their support. A few deserve special mention here. The British Library of Political and Economic Science (the main library of the London School of Economics) allowed me full access to their archives and allowed me to publish their remarkable collection of letters and other materials, and I thank Sue Donnelly, especially, for her help. Corpus Christi College at Cambridge University generously provided me with accommodation and support for extensive photocopying while researching there. The Library of the Religious Society of Friends, Friends House, London, was also generous in allowing me access to their archives and to publish some valuable letters, as was the Bishopsgate Institute, London, and the Nottinghamshire Archives. At Pickering & Chatto, I am especially grateful to Michael Middeke, Mark Pollard, Siân Luyken, Michael Donkor and Julie Wilson. It was a pleasure to work with them all.

In America, I would like to give special thanks to Harry Miller of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Karen L. Jania of the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, Paul Camp of the University of South Florida Library,

Laura Ruttum of the New York Public Library, Betsy Caldwell and Susan Sutton of the Indiana Historical Society, Steve Nielsen of the Minnesota Historical Society, Dennis Northcott of the Missouri Historical Society and Elizabeth Plummer of the Ohio Historical Society. Thanks also to Roger Haydon for allowing me to use some of the letters from his personal collection, and to David Gerber for his advice.

Finally, and most significantly, I thank Charlotte J. Erickson. I had the privilege of studying under her direction for my doctorate many years ago at the London School of Economics and Cambridge University, and she was always extraordinarily generous with her time, advice and support as I forged ahead with my own career. Professor Erickson was a pioneer of modern migration studies and the dean of the subject of British migration. Her extraordinary contributions in this and other fields won her a coveted MacArthur ‘genius’ Fellowship as well as the first chair for the Paul Mellon Professorship of American History at Cambridge University. From the 1950s on, Professor Erickson collected British immigrant letters, and used many of them for her path-breaking book, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (1972). But many other of her letters were never published – many of them being donated to the British Library of Political and Economic Science, and others remaining in her private archive in Cambridge. Charlotte generously gave me permission to use those letters, and she remained highly enthusiastic about this project and gave me support to the very end. It is an understatement to say that this project would never have been published without her. So it is more than fitting that this four-volume series is dedicated to her work and memory. She died on 9 July 2008.

*Dedicated to the Work and Memory of Charlotte Joanne Erickson,
1923–2008*



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The British are the most migratory people in history. None other emigrated in such numbers and proportions, and so steadily. From 1600 to the 1950s, over 20 million left the British Isles for homes overseas and deeply affected the world. These people – not their governments, armies or navies – spread and planted British culture, and nowhere more so than in North America. The United States was the focus of Britain's vast diaspora. Between 1820 and 1930 some 4.25 million English, Scots and Welsh – roughly 80 per cent of all British emigrants – chose the United States as their destination. Historian Eric Richards is right to say that 'the single most important fact about the British Diaspora was its orientation to the American Republic'.¹

British migration to the United States profoundly shaped both nations and gave rise to Anglo-American culture and power in the world. British immigrants were especially vital to the cultural and economic development of the United States. This immense gift of human capital and institutions was unparalleled. In terms of religious and political culture, British immigrants planted churches, traditions and attitudes from the earliest colonial days. After independence the immigrants' cultural similarities and common language allowed them to engage more quickly with Americans and continue to shape the new nation. British immigrants brought much cross-fertilization to virtually every aspect of British and American culture. Their nations' reform movements, including temperance and abolitionism, were linked through immigrants. Their economic ties were especially important. Britain was the world's first industrial nation and the 'workshop of the world', and during much of the nineteenth century British immigrants carried the industrial and technological skills that enabled the United States to be the second industrial nation. In turn, Britain depended on American cotton, grain and markets. Throughout the century British immigrants maintained and enhanced the ties between the two nations and forged a relationship that was indeed 'special' in many ways. More so than any other two sovereign nations, Britain and the United States were close in terms of trade, eco-

conomic relations and cultural development. And British immigration constituted the main channel of this relationship. British immigrants and the relationship with America they helped forge, then, are of special importance. The British were not just another immigrant group. They were essential to the development of both Great Britain and the United States and to the rise of Anglo-American culture, which still dominates much of the world today.

Colonial Background

The foundations of America's British culture were laid by hundreds of thousands of people who arrived from the British Isles during the long colonial period that stretched from 1607 to the 1770s. Others came in large numbers too: Germans, Irish, Scots-Irish from Ulster and African slaves.² But those from England, Scotland and Wales were not only more numerous, they were establishing colonies that Britain's powerful centralized government intended to remain British, with distinctly British ideas, laws and institutions. Inevitably those colonies would bear the indelible stamp of British – especially English – history and culture. England had developed differently from most other European countries, especially in economy, religion and legal philosophy. Thus the culture it planted in North America was also unique, and so closely patterned after that of the mother country that a recent historian is right to conclude that 'the English conceived what became at length the United States'.³

The depth, strength and persistence of the British cultural foundations in America come to light through two crucial facts. British people did not leave and settle randomly. They left specific parts of Britain for specific parts of America in four discernible migrations and settlement patterns. Also, these place-specific migrations were a direct result of important political, religious and economic developments in Britain. Simply put, British history shaped the migrations. These migrations shaped colonial America and their influence persisted long after the Revolution, well into the next century and beyond.⁴

A brief review of these settlement patterns reveals the deep roots of British culture in America and sets the historical context for these four volumes. Though permanent English settlement began in Jamestown in 1607 by commercially-minded adventurers, the migration wave that established America's first thriving regional culture began in the 1620s as Puritans sought greater religious freedom and avoided religious change at home. And when in the 1630s Charles I attempted to purge Puritans and other reformed elements from the Anglican Church and exercised personal autocratic rule by ignoring Parliament, Puritans left East Anglia for New England – some 21,000 of them between 1629 and 1640. They took with them their distinctive culture. New England was an ideal place for these people: the harsh environment appealed to their austerity, and

the limited fertility of the soil encouraged a diversified economy and the establishment of tight communities in which the church could exercise authority and provide religious and social discipline. Here the Puritans could preserve what for them was under threat in Stuart England. It was a deeply conservative movement both in terms of their Calvinist theology and their attempt to regain the greater freedom they had before.

With the end of the English Civil Wars and the rule by Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan oligarchy, large numbers of Royalist cavaliers fled their base, mainly in southern and western England, and joined the fledgling settlement in Virginia – about 45,000 from 1642 to 1675. They brought with them their hierarchical social culture and aristocratic attitudes and aspirations. In Virginia many were able to purchase large estates and eventually buy slaves to work tobacco plantations – a lifestyle that in some ways mimicked the English aristocracy. Again, the conservative nature of this specific migration is striking and tells us much about the British culture that was being transplanted in North America. They were leaving England to preserve their English liberties and social privileges, and it was events in England that created this distinct migration and regional culture.

The Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and the re-establishment of the Church of England prompted a new wave of British migration to America during the 1670s to the early eighteenth century. This one was composed mainly of Dissenters, especially Quakers from England's North Midlands, who settled in the Delaware Valley and the colony granted to William Penn – about 23,000 between 1675 and 1715. They were restricted by the resurgent Anglican Church and monarchy and found greater freedom in Britain's North American colonies. The Quakers transplanted their own distinctive, pacifist English culture to America where they could enjoy greater religious freedom and economic opportunity.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 established a clearly constitutional monarchy, but it also allowed the further rise of England's landed oligarchy, which could be oppressive to the rural poor. This transition prompted a fourth discernible wave of British migration to America that lasted from 1717 to the Revolution. A total of about 250,000 came mainly from northern England, the Scottish lowlands and Northern Ireland. They were suffering rising land rents and poverty and were seeking economic improvement in the hilly and mountainous backcountry of the Appalachians – a landscape that was not too different from that which they had left. Having lived so far from London, they had developed a tradition of relative independence and a fierce sense of individual liberty. They brought these ideals to their remote part of America, where they continued to develop in relative isolation and became a powerful political force in the 1770s.

Naturally, these four waves of British immigrants brought their culture with them, in the form of 'folkways' – their religious and political heritage and attitudes towards freedom, but also their language and speech patterns, marriage

customs, foods, dress and architectural tastes, methods of work, sport and so on. In the process they shaped the American colonies and created regional distinctions that survived in spite of the arrival of other immigrants and the passage of time. And as these colonial regions matured and developed, the descendants of these immigrants headed west and brought with them the essence of their culture to newer regions and states that were being carved out of the wilderness. Their attitudes and perceptions about virtue, liberty and independence were especially important. The definitions of these attitudes and perceptions varied according to the four major groups of British settlers, but all were rooted in the British historical tradition and would be the ideological basis for independence.⁵ America's very conception of liberty, then, was largely inherited. When Patrick Henry cried out, 'Give me liberty or give me death', he was expressing a deeply-held conviction that his father, John Henry, took with him when he left Scotland in about 1730 and settled in Virginia. Liberty was a birthright. It was worth dying for.⁶

British culture was also firmly established in America by the planting of universities, with English faculty and curricula that disseminated English culture. Harvard, established already in 1636, was just the first of many colleges and universities that created lasting bonds between Britain and her colonists in America – bonds that were surely modified with the Revolution, but bonds nevertheless.

It must be emphasized, however, that America was not a blank slate of uninhabited land to which the British introduced culture. Hundreds of Native American peoples were already there, but were swept aside by the power, brutality and diseases of British and other European newcomers. What helped make the British such an inexorable force was that there were so many of them (thanks to a liberal settlement policy) and an ideology (associated with John Locke) that land ownership depended on a European style of agricultural development. This provided a rationale for the seizure of lands and expulsion of natives that continued well into the nineteenth century. The extraordinary freedoms of the early British in America impinged on the freedoms of natives – another trend that continued well after the Revolution. Also, one must not overstate the Britishness of the North American colonial world. Africans and other Europeans were there, but also there was considerable acculturation between the British and the Indians. It was indeed a 'hybrid world',⁷ but British culture and institutions nevertheless remained dominant and would be sustained after the Revolution by more British immigration.

The British immigrants who arrived immediately before the Revolution were diverse. There were relatively few indentured servants, but about 20,000 convicts were settled – many of them in the tobacco plantations of Maryland and Virginia. Unusually detailed information on nearly 10,000 others from late 1773 to early 1776 reveals that disproportionate numbers of them came from the London region – now the most common origin – and Yorkshire, as well as parts

of Scotland. These 'metropolitan' emigrants were dominated by single, young tradesmen, many of them travelling as indentured servants to Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. The other 'provincial' emigrants were mainly families who were more able to afford their passages outright, and headed to areas where they could purchase land.⁸ Altogether, well over half were skilled craftsmen, while 16 per cent were from agriculture and 5 per cent were schoolmasters or clerks. Only 11 per cent of the men were listed as unskilled labourers.

Clearly, the immigrants were generally not the desperately poor, fleeing misery (which is true of the immigrants of the entire nineteenth century as well). In fact, the evidence suggests that the late colonial immigrants from Britain were more literate than those who stayed in their homeland. Data on a group who left Hull for America in 1774–5 show that they were relatively prosperous.⁹ In their specific origins and economy they showed considerable variety, but they had much in common in being British subjects and having a sense of their rights. On the eve of the Revolution, an estimated 77 per cent of the white population in North America had originated from Britain and Ulster.¹⁰

The depth and persistence of British culture in America can be seen perhaps most clearly in religion. Protestant Christianity was, as one historian has argued, 'the greatest common denominator of life in both Britain and America in the first half of the nineteenth century'.¹¹ The religious culture shared by Britain and America is often under-appreciated by modern historians; but for many immigrants it was among the most important factors in their migration. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, religious culture ran deep and wide. Religion was central to the lives of most people. It was often the glue that held society together. Immigrants were the most important source of this shared religious culture, and throughout the century they benefited from it.

The religious denominations that British immigrants planted in colonial America formed a tight cultural bond that survived the Revolution. These denominations were the result of the *interaction* of British and American culture and environment – not a one-way flow of culture. We can see this in the case of John Wesley, whose Methodist movement was the product of the improbable combination of London, Oxford and the colony of Georgia, where the Anglicanism and Moravianism that predominated there proved to be the incubator of the movement. When John and Charles Wesley arrived in Georgia in 1736, it was the American environment and Moravian pietism – with its outreach to simpler people – that inspired Wesley to return to England and establish Methodism.¹²

After the first Methodist Chapel was established in America in 1766, the English immigrant Francis Asbury arrived in 1771 and spread Methodism throughout America – this in spite of the fact that Methodism initially seemed contrary to the direction of religious thought in America (particularly Enlightenment rationalism and Deism) and the fact that Asbury's opposition to the

Revolutionary movement alienated him from patriots (many of whom suspected him and other Methodists of being Tories or spies) and many Anglicans (who by this time distrusted Methodists). But Asbury's nurturing and shaping of American Methodism became a vital part of the ongoing British-American relationship.¹³ The religious connection to British immigration is explored more fully in the individual volumes.

British-American Culture after the Revolution

After the Revolution the United States' population grew more diverse, but remained extensively English in ethnic origins and cultural identity. In 1790 people of English origins or ancestry were by far the largest group, composing about 60 per cent of the white population, about half (48 per cent) if we include the second largest ethnic group: Africans. The Welsh and Scots comprised 5 to 6 per cent – numbering nearly the same as the Irish and about half the numbers of either Germans or the Scots-Irish. This English-dominated culture was especially prevalent in New England. But, as impressive as the figures for the English are, they actually understate the influence of English culture. The 'Anglicization' of America was growing during the years before and after independence. This was the process whereby the white residents achieved a greater standardization of culture in their search for identity, values and institutions. It was rooted in a greater centralized colonial bureaucracy and new standardized legal structures that had been created to govern the empire, and its cultural impact persisted after independence.¹⁴ Anglicization provided Americans links and a greater sense of commonality, but it also nurtured their cultural ties with Britain and created opportunities for British immigrants throughout the nineteenth century. Overwhelmingly, then, the white colonial Americans had a British – especially English – culture and understanding of their heritage.

This is not to say there were no essential differences between English and American culture. From the beginning, English immigrants in America experienced various differences that led them towards their own destiny. And of course the Revolution changed many things: a monarchy was replaced by a republic; an aristocratic society was replaced by a more egalitarian one. But the basic patterns of culture remained, especially in political, social and economic attitudes. Well into the nineteenth century the essential Englishness of American culture struck many observers. As one wrote in 1818, 'Whoever has well observed America cannot doubt that she still remains *essentially English*, in language, habits, laws, customs, manners, morals, and religion ... the great many of our people is of English origin'.¹⁵ And Alexis de Tocqueville was not the only one who considered the people of the United States as 'the portion of the English people charged with exploiting the forests of the new world'.¹⁶ As Ralph Waldo Emerson also noted,

‘The American is only the continuation of the English genius into new conditions, more or less propitious.’¹⁷

Throughout the nineteenth century, the continued cultural and linguistic similarities of Britain and America affected British immigration – not only the migration itself but how it is perceived by modern historians, even how it affects the way many Americans see themselves. As a recent historian has observed, English immigrants and culture have been so important for American identity that many Americans – including those from non-British backgrounds – often see the English as the ‘true’ Americans, or the ‘most American’ of all peoples.¹⁸ This perception was largely the result of the English language, institutions and culture that were the basic foundations of white American culture. Often, English immigrants are not even regarded as true immigrants: Oscar Handlin’s Pulitzer Prize-winning book on American immigration, *The Uprooted*, does not even mention them.¹⁹ Many other important works fail to mention the English, or hardly mention them, because apparently they did not fit into the American immigration experience: they were ‘already’ Americans, so closely knit were British and American culture. Clearly, among America’s immigrants the British were unique for their impact on American identity.

Thus, the persistence of British culture in America and the special role and nature of British immigration are central to any analysis of assimilation. Though the concept of assimilation ideally means the blending of cultures, in fact it has often consisted of what amounts to ‘Anglo-conformity.’²⁰ Non-British immigrant groups have often been measured up against the English and the native-born white Americans (especially those of British descent), in terms of their language and behaviour in the United States – and to an astonishing degree they still are, consciously and subconsciously, by many Americans to this day. Such Anglo-conformity has long been part of a ‘bargain’ in American society: accept Anglo cultural behaviour patterns, and the immigrant will in turn be more accepted. Only in more recent times has this idea been seriously challenged – and then only in some sections of the American population.

In this light, British immigration in general and English immigration in particular do have a unique place in immigration history. Rightly or wrongly, these immigrants were seen to be bolstering the original ‘stock’ of people and culture. This perception has been used by some modern writers in their argument to limit non-white immigration today, as they yearn naively for the good old days when American culture was supposedly more unified, and ‘pure.’²¹ But rejecting these racist agendas must not also mean rejecting the historical reality of the continuity of Anglo and American culture and institutions, and the important roles that British immigrants played in the nineteenth century.

The immigrant letters, biographies, guidebooks, newspaper reports and other documents in these volumes capture both this sense of cultural continuity

and the difference that grew from America's unique environment and developing institutions. How similar or how different America seemed to British newcomers varied from place to place and time to time. In these volumes we see a curious blend of similarities and differences that strike the modern reader for what they reveal about both American and British culture and history. The common language drew them together, and yet it could also mask cultural differences. This collection reveals much about their perceptions of America, their comparisons with Britain, their experiences, adjustments, successes and failures, and a host of other subjects relating to the long formative period of 1776–1914. All of this is brought out in sharp relief in the variety of materials in these volumes.

The Voyage

The materials included in these volumes devote considerable attention to the voyage and continued journey to America. This is not surprising. The transatlantic voyage during the age of sail was usually a formative, sometimes traumatic or even fatal experience that deeply affected the immigrants. It was not to be taken lightly. It was generally not for the weak, the timid or those who were wholly satisfied with life in Britain. It was important in determining the type of person who left for America. They were usually brave, strong and determined to make the most of their lives.

The financial cost was considerable, especially for families of modest means needing multiple passage tickets. By the 1820s and 1830s steerage passages cost about £5 or £6 (about \$25–30), less for children. Fares fell during the 1840s when the infamous timber ships (which were designed to take American logs to Britain) took poor passengers virtually as ballast on the outbound voyage to America. By mid-century, steerage passages from Liverpool to New York could be had for a little more than £3 (about \$15), though provisions were extra. But there were other costs too: transportation to the port of embarkation and final destination, the lost wages during the journey and expenses necessary to get settled in America. In the early nineteenth century, then, it required roughly £5 for an individual to get to the United States. This cost usually excluded the poorest people and meant that the immigrants had some resources at their disposal – either their own or those from family and friends.

As the documents in these volumes make clear, the voyage was much more than a rough ride in a ship. It was challenging enough to get to the port of embarkation, where thieves preyed upon unsuspecting, bewildered travellers. Once on board, the physical ordeal began. Immigrants often recorded the experience in graphic detail, and the possibility of shipwreck or death by cholera and other diseases made migration a process that selected the immigrants from among the hardier lot who were willing to take risks and undergo great discomfort and

hardship. A crossing of five weeks was a lucky one. Usually it took much longer, often two months, sometimes three, if the winds were uncooperative or the ship had mechanical problems. On top of it all were the almost inevitable bouts of seasickness, which caused not a few voyagers to pray that the ship would go down and put an end to the misery. Generally, there was a fairly steady decline of mortality over the course of the century. Nonetheless, the fear of death and sickness and the physical rigours were formidable enough to make migration a self-selecting process.²²

The Steamship

As the documents in Volume 4 make clear, British immigrants of the 1860s and after had a distinct advantage over those who had preceded them: the new steamships. The dominance of steamships on transatlantic routes was highly significant. Like the railroads, they connected the British and American economies, along with their people and cultures. Steamships began to dominate in the late 1850s; in the 1860s they virtually took over the passenger trade. By 1867 over 90 per cent of the passengers leaving English ports for America took steamships. They were larger, faster, safer, better equipped and – thanks to government action from both Britain and America – more closely regulated and less subject to the whims of captains and sailors. Conditions could still be miserable, and shipwrecks still took many lives. But instead of taking five to ten or more weeks to cross, the newer ships took only ten to fourteen days. And though a steamship ticket was more expensive (around double the cost of a sailing ship ticket), the total migration cost could be less, because there was less time of lost wages and less money needed for provisions. The shorter, less traumatic voyage not only encouraged migration for those who never would have sailed, but made it easier to make a return voyage. One could come to America, try it out, and return to Britain if it did not meet expectations. In effect, steamships shrank the world and lowered the high emigration threshold that marked the age of sail.

Steamships also facilitated seasonal migration by the so-called ‘birds of passage’, temporary immigrants who worked for part of the year in the United States and then returned to Britain, where living costs were cheaper. The to-and-fro of British migrants was an important conduit of ideas and perceptions that linked the two nations in new ways. It has been calculated that between 1860 and 1914, about 40 per cent of England’s emigrants to America returned, for a total of about 2 million returnees.²³ Either they never intended to remain in America, or they found America unsatisfying. This was the highest rate for northern Europeans during the time. In addition, as the letters and biographies illustrate, many who had become United States citizens travelled back to Britain (often repeatedly) to find a bride, attend a funeral, visit family and friends, make a business trip or

simply see the old country. It is not surprising, then, that in the 1870s and 1880s British emigration to America (and American emigration to Britain) rose to new levels and brought the two nations to a new phase of their unique relationship.

Freemasonry

The great challenges of uprooting oneself from Britain, making the hard journey to America and getting established in the United States were met by many immigrants through their membership in lodges. Freemasonry – masonic lodges and other fraternal organizations – provided important and enduring cultural connections between Britain and America. Lodges themselves were imported to America by British immigrants in the eighteenth century. The first surviving fraternal group to provide companionship and mutual support for the working class was the Odd Fellows, founded by London coach-spring maker Thomas Wildey and English housepainter John Welch in Baltimore in 1819. A year later London tin-smith James B. Barnes founded another Odd Fellows lodge in Massachusetts.²⁴

As the Masons, Odd Fellows and other lodges or ‘fraternal orders’ proliferated in both Britain and America, so too did the networks that linked lodge members on either side of the Atlantic. Lodges were a convenient and reliable source of information, employment and resources that facilitated British migration to America. Many British immigrants utilized the assistance of fellow members to simplify and expedite their journey, acquire employment, make social connections and obtain welfare assistance if needed. Immediately they enjoyed access to people with similar values and a dedication to help fellow members. In effect, lodge membership lowered the migration threshold by encouraging many to make the final decision to emigrate. It also shaped the composition of the British population in the United States by assisting more skilled middle-class people to participate.²⁵ The county history biographies included in these volumes show that lodge members were over-represented among the immigrants. Because of their widespread use of these connections, British Americans likely had a much higher rate of lodge membership than either Britons or Americans.

Land

As many of the materials in these volumes clearly show, throughout the century it was America’s vast, fertile and obtainable land that was foremost in the minds of most prospective British immigrants. When they heard that in America rich government land was selling for \$1.25 per acre, and sometimes improved land for only a little more (which was the cost of renting land in Britain for a few years), their imaginations were fired with the possibilities that lay across the sea. And when letters from British immigrants already in America confirmed that

ownership of large farms was within the reach of even poor tenant farmers, many others could not rest easy until they tried out America for themselves.

Many who did not rely on personal letters (and even some who did) fell victim to the 'agrarian myth' that idealized American farming as a life of ease and a vocation that allowed leisure time – at least after a farm had been cleared. It sprang from a long literary tradition of the American 'noble savage', the great fecundity of the American soil and accounts of people living in harmony with nature, where food could be simply taken out of the streams and forests, and crops were so abundant that surpluses could be sold for easy cash. It was the Jeffersonian view of agriculture taken to a higher level, and it was a vision that usually ended with a harsh reality check.²⁶

British immigrants found their way to nearly every corner of American agricultural life, often buying cleared or partially cleared land, or land near or in established communities. But surprising numbers headed straight to the untamed frontier. The frontier has a special importance in the American mind as a formative cultural influence and a place where Americans reinvented themselves. Less obvious, but very real nonetheless, was the importance of the frontier to Britons. If Americans could remake themselves on the frontier, then so could the many thousands of English, Scots and Welsh who went there as well. In many ways one's reinvention on the frontier was more dramatic for British immigrants, especially those who found there a means of escaping modernization and industrialization. For a displaced British artisan, an unemployed farm labourer thrown out of work by new farm machinery or a factory worker it was sometimes easier to become an American pioneer or artisan than face change in Britain. Letters from friends who had gone before them could remove much of the uncertainty and make the adjustment less painful than going out alone. Some looked to English communities in America as a source of strength, or emigrated as part of an organized emigration society. All of these aspirations and strategies are revealed in the documents in these four volumes.

Though probably most British immigrants had primarily agricultural incentives to come to America, there was so much more to it than that. A large portion had industrial and preindustrial backgrounds and found similar work in the United States. Textiles, mining, building trades, iron production and all sorts of mechanical trades were common occupations for the British in America. But many of these also combined non-agricultural work with farming in America, or worked at their former trade long enough to buy land. The same was true of the many professionals, who comprised a larger percentage of the British than any other immigrant group. Preachers, teachers, lawyers and doctors were especially common. But there was also the occasional artist, musician and even ballet dancer.

The great occupational diversity of British immigrants is only part of the complexity behind the decision to migrate and adjustment to American life.

As we see in the letters and biographies, some were drawn by America's greater political freedom and social equality – its lack of an aristocracy and established church, lower taxation, and the greater possibility of social mobility. Altogether, the story of British immigration to the United States captures much of the essence of both British and American history and culture.

Contents and Format

Considering the importance that British immigration to the United States has for both nations' histories and cultures, it is surprising that there are so few published sources on this topic. Part of the problem is that British immigrants in the United States – with their common language and ability to 'blend in' more quickly than other immigrants – were in a sense 'invisible immigrants', and did not leave behind the extensive ethnic records and publications that other immigrant groups did. But many letters were written, and many guidebooks for British immigrants were published. The most important study and source of immigrant letters is Charlotte Erickson's *Invisible Immigrants*.²⁷ This work not only shed much light on the history of British immigration but also created a new model for the study of the social and economic adaptation of immigrants. More recently, David Gerber's *Authors of Their Lives* used many of Erickson's unedited letters, plus others, to look at the immigrants as individuals and explore how their letter-writing shaped them and enabled them to achieve their 'quest for meaning'.²⁸ The letters in these studies, and in this set of volumes (which have never been published until now), contain observations made by ordinary people about their world and lives. They give us many clues about their assimilation, and insights into the long British-American nineteenth century.²⁹

Personal letters from British immigrants already in America were most effective in stimulating more migration. To read a letter from a person one knew, whose advice one could trust, was especially valuable. The letters show that prospective emigrants frequently asked detailed questions about life in America and often received the information they needed to make their decision. Immigrant letters created a network of information and migration channels that funnelled many Britons to America during the nineteenth century.

Immigrant letters are important not just for the study of migration, the immensely important topic of modernization and industrialization, and the British-American relationship. As Michael Montgomery and Stephen Fender have shown,³⁰ immigrant letters are also invaluable for the study of language, and the voices of the poor – labouring men and women, as well as farmers, who left no other written records. Immigrant letters have also preserved the voices of the middle class and the professionals, in unique contexts, during the forma-

tive nineteenth century. Immigrant letters, then, are rich with information for many areas of interest.

In addition to immigrant letters, many county histories published in the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries contain biographies of British immigrants. These biographies often record the immigrants' origins, details about their parents and upbringing, sometimes their precise reason for emigrating, as well as their age, occupation, family members, their religion and politics, their membership in lodges and other organizations, participation in the Civil War or public office, and any notable achievements or interesting life episodes. In short, they are a goldmine of information for anyone interested in migration and are extensively used in many important studies.³¹ By including typical examples of these biographies of British immigrants we gain insight into the nature of the subject. Each volume includes biographies of British immigrants that are representative of the larger migrant population and illustrate the lives and adjustments of people who otherwise are silent to history.

Besides letters and biographies, many guides and pamphlets were published to inform prospective British immigrants on what to expect in America and how best to proceed with their migration. Some were published by land and railroad companies to promote immigration to their lands, and thus contain biases – though they still provide insight about the nature of land companies, the promotion of immigration and the nature of the concerns of immigrants. But many other guides and pamphlets were unbiased and did their best to inform prospective immigrants about the United States and what immigration would involve. Some are in the form of travel literature that informed prospective immigrants about American life. Some contain letters by British immigrants that record their experience and offer additional insight into both British and American social and cultural life. Some of them went through multiple editions and sold well, indicating that they shaped some immigrants' perceptions and decisions. These publications offer a unique insight into American and British culture during the century. With the immigrant letters and biographies, they are a valuable source not just for the study of British migration to America, but for British and especially American life generally. Finally, there are contemporary newspaper reports and pamphlets aimed at workers – from both the British and American press – that tell us of Britons leaving for America and adjusting to life in the United States.

Altogether, these volumes offer much to those interested in migration and social and economic history. The documents have both socio-historical and literary relevance. They offer a deeper and broader historical and cultural understanding of the social and economic history of both Britain and the United States, and the background, causes and results of the great, significant migration of Britons to the United States from the Revolutionary War era to the First World War.

These four volumes are organized chronologically. Volume 1 concentrates on the period from the Revolutionary War era to 1828. This period is defined by the beginning of the United States as an independent nation and its attempt to define and distance itself from the mother country. It is also marked by expansion, another war with Britain and early industrialization in both Britain and America. Volume 2 concentrates on the years 1829 to 1847, a time of increasing American democracy under the Jacksonians and rapid westward expansion. It was a period of phenomenal growth and change in both nations, a period of economic depression and increased numbers of British immigrants, who played new roles in industry and agriculture as well as reform issues – especially temperance and abolitionism. Volume 3 concentrates on the years 1848 to 1859, a period of economic boom in both countries, the industrial and territorial expansion of the United States, British free trade, the Crimean War and the unravelling of the United States. There is also the fantastic California Gold Rush, in which British immigrants were over-represented as participants.

Volume 4 concentrates on the years 1860 to 1914, a period dominated by the American Civil War and Reconstruction, rapid economic development in Britain and the United States, and American westward expansion – all of which closely involved British immigrants and formed a large part of their American consciousness. There was also the continuation of urbanization, westward movements, silver mining in the West and a growing sense of an imperial destiny in both nations, based on a notion of a ‘white man’s burden’ to civilize the world through Anglo-American institutions, culture and religion. In this last period we see again the important part played by British immigrants, who, as the century came to a close, contributed to a growing sense of a commonality between the two nations, and a common purpose. The fact that both Britain and the United States arrived at this similar stage of self-understanding at similar times, and fought imperial wars virtually simultaneously (the Spanish-American and Boer Wars) is just one illustration of their shared culture and institutions, much of which was carried by British immigrants, and the continued close relationship between the two countries after American independence.

Each volume has an introduction to set the context of the period, provide an overview of British immigration to the United States, highlight the issues surrounding the migration and summarize what we know, according to the current publications on the subject. There are also headnotes to each group of texts. Each volume concludes with editorial notes and has annotations for materials that require further context or suggestions for further reading. Generally, original spelling and punctuation are maintained to preserve the character, idiosyncrasies and in some cases the dialect of the author. Question marks in square brackets denote where the original manuscript or typescript is illegible.

Notes:

1. E. Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, and Wales since 1600* (London: Hambledon, 2004), p. 119.
2. P. Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2007), Table 2.1, p. 53. The colonial totals for Germany are 110,000. Totals for Britain are problematic, but see the numbers from D. H. Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), below.
3. W. A. McDougall, *Freedom Just Around the Corner: A New American History, 1585–1828* (2004; New York: Perennial, 2005), p. 17.
4. This theme is explored most closely in Fischer, *Albion's Seed*. The Forum in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 48:2 (April 1991), pp. 223–308 is a response to Fischer by critics who challenge some of his methods and findings by questioning his definitions of British regions and the tendency to neglect non-British cultural groups, especially African and Native Americans. In the Forum Fischer adequately addresses these issues and defends his major findings, though one must be cautious about such broad generalizations. For a more recent appreciation for Fischer's work and its reliability, notwithstanding some problematical generalizations, see McDougall, *Freedom Just Around the Corner*, esp. p. 534, n. 16.
5. McDougall, *Freedom Just Around the Corner*, pp. 155–8.
6. A. Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001), p. 236.
7. A. Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 206.
8. B. Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West; Peopling of British North America* (New York: Vintage, 1998); B. De Wolfe, *Discoveries of America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 4, 25.
9. Even those who arrived as individual servants were not necessarily destitute but found it wise to use that method of emigration in order to arrive with some savings. W. Van Vugt, 'The British', in E. Barkan (ed.), *A Nation of Peoples: A Sourcebook on America's Multicultural Heritage* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), pp. 75–95, on p. 78.
10. Richards, *Britannia's Children*, p. 6.
11. C. R. Ritcheson, 'The British Role in American Life', *History Teacher*, 7:4 (August 1974), pp. 574–96, on p. 588, quoted in K. Burk, *Old World, New World: Great Britain and America from the Beginning* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007), p. 324.
12. D. Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 11–18.
13. L. C. Rudolph, *Francis Asbury* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1966); C. Ludwig, *Francis Asbury: God's Circuit Rider* (Milford, MI: Mott Media, 1984). Hempton, *Methodism*, p. 121. The success of the Revolution convinced Asbury and Methodists in England to split the movement along national lines. That officially happened in 1784, when Asbury became Bishop and superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Hempton, *Methodism*, pp. 93–4.
14. R. R. Menard, 'Migration, Ethnicity, and the Rise of an Atlantic Economy: The Re-Peopling of British America, 1600–1790', in R. J. Vecoli and S. M. Sinke (eds), *A Century of European Migrations, 1830–1930* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991), pp. 58–77.

15. J. Bristed, *America and Her Resources* (London: H. Colburn, 1818), pp. 377, 386, quoted in Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, p. 831.
16. A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 2 vols (London: Saunders and Otley, 1835), vol. 2, p. 429.
17. R. W. Emerson, *English Traits* (London: G. Routledge, 1856), p. 42, quoted in Burk, *Old World, New World*, p. 306.
18. Spickard, *Almost All Aliens*, pp. 35–7.
19. J. Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985), is a powerful reply to *The Uprooted* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1951), and, as its title suggests, offers an opposite model to that of Handlin. But he gives very little attention to British immigrants.
20. M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).
21. For example, see P. J. Buchanan, *The Death of the West* (New York: St Martin's, 2002).
22. R. Haines, R. Shlomowitz and L. Brennan, 'Maritime Mortality Revisited', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 8 (1996), pp. 133–72.
23. D. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 140; R. Woods, *The Population of Britain in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), p. 35. Some estimate that the figure is closer to half. Richards, *Britannia's Children*, p. 169.
24. S. C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasons and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730–1840* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
25. R. Burt, 'Freemasonry and Business Networking during the Victorian Period', *Economic History Review*, 56 (November 2003), pp. 657–88.
26. C. Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), ch. 1.
27. C. Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (Leicester and Miami, FL: Leicester University Press, 1972).
28. D. Gerber, *Authors of Their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).
29. Other series from Pickering & Chatto that should be consulted for studies of British migration include P. J. Kitson (gen. ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Travels, Explorations and Empires: Writings from the Era of Imperial Consolidation, 1835–1910*, 8 vols (2003–4); and K. Stierstorfer (gen. ed.), *Women Writing Home, 1700–1920: Female Correspondence across the British Empire*, 6 vols (2006).
30. S. Fender, *Sea Changes: British Emigration and American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); M. B. Montgomery and G. Bailey (eds), *Language and Variety in the South: Perspectives in Black and White* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1986).
31. For a discussion of the nature and use of these sources, see W. Van Vugt, *British Buckeyes: The English, Scots, and Welsh in Ohio, 1700–1900* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006), p. 225.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources for Biographies

Album of Genealogy and Biography, Cook County, Illinois (Chicago, IL: Calumet Book and Engraving, 1895).

Angel, M. (comp.), *A Memorial and Biographical History of the Counties of Fresno, Tulare, and Kern, California* (Chicago, IL: Lewis Publishing Co., 1892).

Armor, S., *History of Orange County, California, with Biographical Sketches of The Leading Men and Women of the County* (Los Angeles, CA: Historic Record Co., 1921).

Baird, L. C., *Baird's History of Clark County, Indiana* (Indianapolis, IN: B.F. Bowen & Co., 1909).

Barrows, F. I., *History of Fayette County, Indiana, her People, Industries and Institutions* (Indianapolis, IN: B.F. Bowen & Co., 1917).

Baughman, A. J., *History of Huron County, Ohio, Its Progress and Development*, 2 vols (Chicago, IL: S. J. Clarke, 1909).

Biographical and Genealogical History of Wayne, Fayette, Union and Franklin Counties, Indiana, 2 vols (Chicago, IL: Lewis Publishing Co., 1899).

Biographical and Historical Record of Kosciusko County, Indiana (Chicago, IL: Lewis Publishing Co., 1887).

Biographical History of Tippecanoe, White Jasper, Newton, Benton, Warren, and Pulaski Counties, Indiana, 2 vols (Chicago, IL: Lewis Publishing, 1899).

Biographical Record of Knox County, Ohio (Chicago, IL: Lewis, 1902).

Blanchard, C. (ed.), *Counties of Howard and Tipton, Indiana* (Chicago, IL: F.A. Battey & Co., 1883).

Brown, A. J., *History of Clinton County, Ohio, Its People, Industries and Institutions* (Indianapolis, IN: B. F. Brown, 1915).

Chadwick, E. H., *Chadwick's History of Shelby County, Indiana* (Indianapolis, IN: B.F. Bowen & Company, 1909).

Commemorative Biographical and Historical Record of Kane County, Illinois, Containing Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Prominent Citizens, Governors of Illinois, Presidents of

- the United States, also Containing a History of the County* (Chicago, IL: Beers, Legget, 1888).
- Commemorative Biographical Record of the Counties of Rock, Green, Grant, Iowa and Lafayette, Wisconsin* (Chicago, IL: J. H. Beers, 1901).
- Douglass, B., *History of Wayne County, Ohio, from the Days of the Pioneers and First Settlers to the Present Time* (Indianapolis, IN: Robert Douglass, 1878).
- Eckley, H. J., and W. T. Perry (eds), *History of Carroll and Harrison Counties, Ohio*, 2 vols (Chicago, IL: Lewis, 1921).
- Evans, N. W., *History of Scioto County, Ohio*, 2 vols (Portsmouth, OH: Higginson, 1903).
- Genealogical and Biographical Record of Miami County, Ohio* (Chicago, IL: Lewis, 1900).
- Gregory, T., *History of Sonoma County, California, with Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men and Women of the County* (Los Angeles, CA: Historic Record Co., 1911).
- Hardin, G. A. (ed.), with F. H. Willard (asst ed.), *History of Herkimer County, New York, Illustrated with Portraits of Many of Its Citizens* (Syracuse, NY: D. Mason, 1893).
- Historical Souvenir of El Dorado County, California with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Oakland, CA: Paolo Sioli, 1883).
- History of Dearborn, Ohio, and Switzerland Counties, Indiana. From their Earliest Settlements, Containing a History of the Counties: Their Cities, Townships, Towns, Villages, Schools, and Churches; Reminiscences, Extracts, etc.; Local Statistics, Portraits of Early Settlers and Prominent Men; Biographies; Preliminary Chapters on the History of the North-West Territory, the State of Indiana, and the Indians* (Chicago, IL: F. E. Weakley, Publishers, 1885).
- History of DeKalb County, Indiana, with Biographical Sketches of Representative Citizens and Genealogical Records of Old Families* (Indianapolis, IN: B.F. Bowen & Co, 1914).
- History of LaSalle County, Illinois, Together with Sketches of its Cities, Villages and Towns, Educational, Religious, Civil, Military, and Political History, Portraits of Prominent Persons, and Biographies of Representative Citizens* (Chicago, IL: Inter-State Publishing, 1886).
- History of Preble County, Ohio* (Cleveland, OH: H. Z. Williams, 1881).
- Merrill, G. D. (ed.), *History of Chautauqua County, New York* (Boston, MA: W. A. Fergusson, 1894).
- Munro-Fraser, J. P., *History of Contra Costa County, California, Including its Geography, Geology, Topography, Climatography and Description; together with a Record of the Mexican Grants ... also Incidents of a Pioneer Life; and Biographical Sketches of Early and Prominent Settlers and Representative Men* (San Francisco, CA: W.A. Slocum & Co., 1882).
- Parker, A. J., *Landmarks of Albany County New York* (Syracuse, NY: D. Mason, 1897).
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson County, Michigan, Containing Full-Page Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens of the County* (Chicago, IL: Chapman Brothers, 1890).
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Jo Daviess and Carroll Counties, Illinois, Containing Full-Page Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens of the County* (Chicago, IL: Chapman Brothers, 1889).

- Portrait and Biographical Album of Oakland County, Michigan, Containing Full-Page Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens of the County* (Chicago, IL: Chapman Brothers, 1891).
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Peoria County, Illinois. Containing Full Page Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens of the County, Together with Portraits and Biographies of all the Presidents of the United States and Governors of the State* (Chicago, IL: Biographical Publishing Co., 1890).
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Will County, Illinois, Containing Full-Page Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens of the County* (Chicago, IL: Chapman Brothers, 1890).
- Portrait and Biographical Record of Dubuque, Jones and Clay Counties, Iowa, Containing Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens of the Counties, Together with Biographies and Portraits of all the Presidents of the United States* (Chicago, IL: Chapman Publishing Co., 1894).
- Portrait and Biographical Record of Fayette, Pickaway, and Madison Counties, Ohio* (Chicago, IL: Chapman, 1892).
- Portrait and Biographical Record of Kalamazoo, Allegan, and Van Buren Counties, Michigan, Containing Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens* (Chicago, IL: Chapman Brothers, 1892).
- Portrait and Biographical Record of Montgomery, Parke, and Fountain Counties, Indiana* (Chicago, IL: Chapman Brothers, 1893).
- Portrait and Biographical Record of Randolph, Jackson, Perry and Monroe Counties, Illinois, Containing Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens of the Counties* (Chicago, IL: Biographical Publications, 1894).
- Portrait and Biographical Record of Winnebago and Boone Counties, Illinois, Containing Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens* (Chicago, IL: Biographical Publishing, 1892).
- Reynolds, E. G. (ed.), *Compendium of History and Biography of Hillsdale County, Michigan* (Chicago, IL: A. W. Bowen, 1903).
- Robertson, C., *Morgan County, Ohio* (Chicago, IL: L. H. Watkins, 1886).
- Robinson, G. F., *History of Greene County, Ohio* (Chicago, IL: S. J. Clarke, 1902).
- Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, Genealogy – Family History – Biography, Containing Historical Sketches of Old Families and of Representative and Prominent Citizens, Past and Present* 2 vols (Chicago, IL: J. H. Beers, 1916).
- Shaw, A. (ed.), *History of Dearborn County, Indiana: Her People, Industries and Institutions* (Indianapolis, IN: B.F. Bowen, 1915).
- Smith, H. P. (ed.), *History of the City of Buffalo and Erie County, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Syracuse, NY: D. Mason, 1884).
- Sulgrove, B. R., *History of Indianapolis and Marion Counties, Indiana* (Philadelphia, PA: L. H. Everts, 1884).

- Summers, E. (ed.), *Genealogical and Family History of Eastern Ohio, Illustrated* (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1903).
- Whitney, W. A., and R. I. Bonner (comps), *History and Biographical Record of Lenawee County, Michigan, Containing a History of the Organization and Early Settlement of the County, Together with a Biographical Record of Many of the Oldest and Most Prominent Settlers and President Residents, Obtained from Personal Interviews with themselves or their Children*, 2 vols (Adrian, MI: W. Stearns, 1879–80).
- Wiley, S. T. (ed.), *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopeda of the Third Congressional District of New Jersey, Comprising Middlesex, Monmouth and Somerset Counties, Together with an Historical Sketch of each County* (Philadelphia, PA: Biographical Publishing Co., 1896).
- Williams, B., *History of Clermont and Brown Counties, Ohio, from the Earliest Historical Times Down to the Present* (Milford, OH: Hobart Publishing Co., 1913).

Secondary Sources

- 2001 *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, M-367 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2003).
- Albion, R. G., *The Rise of New York Port* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939).
- Allen, H. C., *Great Britain and the United States: A History of Anglo-American Relations, 1783–1952* (London: Odhams Press, 1954).
- Arnstein, W. L., 'Queen Victoria and the United States', in F. M. Leventhal and R. Quinault (eds), *Anglo-American Attitudes: From Revolution to Partnership* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 91–106.
- Bailyn, B., *Voyagers to the West; Peopling of British North America* (New York: Vintage, 1998).
- Baines, D., *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Bernstein, G. L., 'Special Relationship and Appeasement: Liberal Policy towards America in the Age of Palmerston', *Historical Journal*, 41:3 (1998), pp. 725–50.
- Berthoff, R. T., *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790–1950* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1953).
- Birkbeck, M., and G. Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, founded in 1817 and 1818*, Chicago Historical Society's Collection, vol. 1 (Chicago, IL: Chicago Historical Society, 1882).
- Blackett, R. J. M., *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2001).
- Bodnar, J., *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985).
- Bourne, G., *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable* (Philadelphia, PA: J. M. Sanderson & Co., 1818).

- Bratt, J. D., *Antirevivalism in Antebellum America: A Collection of Religious Voices* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006).
- Briggs, A., *Victorian People* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1955).
- Bristed, J., *America and Her Resources* (London: H. Colburn, 1818).
- Buchanan, P. J., *The Death of the West* (New York: St Martin's, 2002).
- Bullock, S. C., *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasons and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730–1840* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
- Burk, K., *Old World, New World: Great Britain and America from the Beginning* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007).
- Burt, R., 'Freemasonry and Business Networking during the Victorian Period', *Economic History Review*, 56 (November 2003), pp. 657–88.
- Burton, D. H., 'Theodore Roosevelt and His English Correspondents: A Special Relationship of Friends', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series, 63:2 (1973), pp. 1–70.
- Campbell, C. S., Jr, *Anglo-American Understanding, 1898–1903* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957).
- Cannon, M. H., 'Migration of English Mormons to America', *American Historical Review*, 52:3 (April 1947), pp. 436–55.
- Carwardine, R., *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790–1865 (Contributions in American History, No. 75)* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978).
- Colton, C., *History and Character of American Revivals of Religion* (London: F. Westley and A. H. Davis, 1832).
- Crawford, M., *The Anglo-American Crisis of the Mid-Nineteenth Century: 'The Times' and America, 1850–1862* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987).
- Davies, P. G., 'The Welsh in Ohio: Thomas's *Hanes Cymry America*', *Old Northwest*, 3 (September 1977), pp. 289–318.
- , 'The Welsh in Wisconsin: Thomas's *Hanes Cymry America*', *Old Northwest*, 5 (Fall 1979), pp. 269–89.
- Davis, D. B., *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- De Wolfe, B., *Discoveries of America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Ellison, M., *Support for Secession: Lancashire and the American Civil War* (Chicago, IL, and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972).
- Emerson, R. W., *English Traits* (London: G. Routledge, 1856).
- Erickson, C., *British Industrialists: Steel and Hosiery, 1850–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).
- , *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (Leicester and Miami, FL: Leicester University Press, 1972).

- , 'English', in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. S. Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 319–36.
- , *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).
- Fender, S., *Sea Changes: British Emigration and American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Finney, C., *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (New York: Leavitt, Lord and Co., 1835).
- Fischer, D. H., *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- Foner, P. S., *British Labor and the American Civil War* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1981).
- Games, A., *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- Gerber, D., *Authors of Their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).
- Gordon, J. S., *Empire of Wealth: The Epic History of America's Economic Power* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004).
- Gordon, M., *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).
- Griffin, C. S., *Ferment of Reform, 1830–1860* (Arlington Heights, IL: AHM Publishing Corp., 1967).
- Haines, R., R. Shlomowitz and L. Brennan, 'Maritime Mortality Revisited', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 8 (1996), pp. 133–72.
- Handlin, O., *The Uprooted* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1951).
- Harris, T. L., *The Trent Affair* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1896).
- Harwood, T. F., 'British Evangelical Abolitionism and American Churches in the 1830s', *Journal of Southern History*, 28:3 (August 1962), pp. 287–306.
- Hempton, D., *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 11–18.
- Henderson, W. O., 'The Cotton Famine in Scotland and the Relief of Distress, 1862–1864', *Scottish Historical Review*, 30 (1951), pp. 154–64.
- , *The Lancashire Cotton Famine, 1861–1865* (New York: A. M. Kelly, 1969).
- Herman, A., *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001).
- Hickson, G. E., 'Palmerston and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 3 (1931), pp. 295–303.
- Howe, D. W., *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Jeffrey, J. R., *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

- Jeremy, D., *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: The Diffusion of Textile Technologies between Britain and America, 1790–1830s* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981).
- Kelly, R., *The Transatlantic Persuasion: The Liberal-Democratic Mind in the Age of Gladstone* (1969; New Brunswick, NJ: Transatlantic Publishers, 1990).
- Kitson, P. J. (gen. ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Travels, Explorations and Empires: Writings from the Era of Imperial Consolidation, 1835–1910*, 8 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003–4).
- Knowles, A. K., 'Labor, Race and Technology in the Confederate Iron Industry', *Technology and Culture*, 42:1 (2001), pp. 1–26.
- Laslett, J. H. M., *Colliers Across the Sea: A Comparative Study of Class Formation in Scotland and the American Midwest, 1830–1924* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000).
- Livesay, H. C., *Andrew Carnegie and the Rise of Big Business* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1975).
- Long, P., *Where the Sun Never Shines: A History of America's Bloody Coal Industry* (New York: Paragon House, 1991).
- Lonn, E., *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (1951; New York: Greenwood Press, 1969).
- Ludwig, C., *Francis Asbury: God's Circuit Rider* (Milford, MI: Mott Media, 1984).
- McDougall, W. A., *Freedom Just Around the Corner: A New American History, 1585–1828* (2004; New York: Perennial, 2005).
- McFarlane, M., 'The Fairmont Colony in Martin County, Minnesota in the 1870s', *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, 12 (Autumn 1989), pp. 166–77.
- Menard, R. R., 'Migration, Ethnicity, and the Rise of an Atlantic Economy: The Re-Peopling of British America, 1600–1790', in R. J. Vecoli and S. M. Sinke (eds), *A Century of European Migrations, 1830–1930* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991), pp. 58–77.
- Merk, F., *Slavery and the Annexation of Texas* (New York: Knopf, 1972), pp. 42–3.
- Montgomery, M. B., and G. Bailey (eds), *Language and Variety in the South: Perspectives in Black and White* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1986).
- Phillips, K., *The Cousins' Wars: Religion, Politics, Civil Warfare, and the Triumph of Anglo-America* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).
- Potter, J., 'Atlantic Economy, 1815–60: The U.S.A. and the Industrial Revolution in Britain', in L. S. Pressnell (ed.), *Studies in the Industrial Revolution* (London: University of London, 1960), pp. 236–80.
- Richards, E., *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, and Wales since 1600* (London: Hambledon, 2004).
- Ritcheson, C. R., 'The British Role in American Life', *History Teacher*, 7:4 (August 1974), pp. 574–96.
- Roeckell, L. M., 'Bonds over Bondage: British Opposition to the Annexation of Texas', *Journal of the Early Republic*, 2 (Summer 1999), pp. 257–78.
- Rorabaugh, W. J., *The Alcoholic Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

- Rudolph, L. C., *Francis Asbury* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1966).
- Sewell, M., “‘All the English-Speaking Race is in Mourning’: The Assassination of President Garfield and Anglo-American Relations”, *Historical Journal*, 34:3 (September 1991), pp. 665–86.
- Spickard, P., *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
- Stierstorfer, K. (gen. ed.), *Women Writing Home, 1700–1920: Female Correspondence across the British Empire*, 6 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006).
- Thistlethwaite, F., *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959).
- Thomas, B., *Migration and Economic Growth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954).
- Tocqueville, A. de, *Democracy in America*, 2 vols (London: Saunders and Otley, 1835).
- Todd, A. C., *The Cornish Miner in America: The Contribution to the Mining History of the United States by Emigrant Cornish Miners – the Men Called Cousin Jacks* (Truro: Barton, Clark, 1967).
- Tregle, Jr, J. G., ‘Andrew Jackson and the Continuing Battle of New Orleans’, *Journal of the Early Republic*, 1:4 (Winter 1981), pp. 373–93.
- Tucker, B. M., *Samuel Slater and the Origins of the American Textile Industry, 1790–1860* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984).
- Tweeddale, G., *Sheffield Steel and America: A Century of Commercial and Technological Interdependence, 1830–1890* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- Van Vugt, W., *Britain to America: Mid-Nineteenth-Century Immigrants to the United States* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
- , ‘The British’, in E. Barkan (ed.), *A Nation of Peoples: A Sourcebook on America’s Multicultural Heritage* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), pp. 75–95.
- , *British Buckeyes: The English, Scots, and Welsh in Ohio, 1700–1900* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006).
- Wall, J. F., *Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- White, C. E., *The Beauty of Holiness: Pheobe Palmer as Theologian, Revivalist, Feminist, and Humanitarian* (Grand Rapid, MI: F. Asbury Press, 1986).
- Wilson, A. N., *The Victorians* (London: Hutchinson, 2002).
- Winther, O., ‘Promoting the American West in England, 1865–1890’, *Journal of Economic History*, 16 (December 1956), pp. 506–13.
- , ‘English Migration to the American West, 1865–1900’, in O. F. Ander (ed.), *In the Trek of the Immigrants*, (Rock Island, IL: Augustana College Library, 1964) pp. 115–25.
- Woods, R., *The Population of Britain in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992).

INTRODUCTION

After the Revolution

The American Revolution virtually extinguished the flow of British immigrants, but this was quite temporary. One of the most significant aspects of the Revolution was how quickly economic and diplomatic relations between Britain and her former colonies resumed. Helping the wounds to heal was the fact that it was not total war. The fighting was localized, agricultural production was not greatly affected, and a little more than 4,000 Americans soldiers were killed, as were somewhat higher numbers of Britons. Thus, in spite of the war, more British immigrants were soon generally welcomed. Yet for much of the nineteenth century some English immigrants had Americans question their loyalty – especially when they expressed affection for their mother country. And in spite of the resumed economic and diplomatic relations, suspicions and even hatred of Britain remained for many years, particularly among Americans who feared future British incursions upon their liberty. British immigrants helped break down these Anglophobic attitudes and contributed to a growing Anglo-American understanding.

The resumption of Anglo-American trade and migration was a natural step in economic terms, but in the geopolitical world there was bound to be friction, especially as the enduring conflict between Britain and France spilled over into North America and questions about the border with British North America remained. British impressment of American sailors (many of whom were actually British sailors who had deserted and joined the American navy, and were certainly subject to British military justice) led to early conflict. France also impressed American ships. Between 1803 and 1807 the British seized over 500 ships and the French nearly 400.¹ When in 1807 Britain seized five alleged deserters on board the USS *Chesapeake* in international waters, many Americans cried for war. Jefferson instead imposed an embargo on all trade with Britain and France, intending to coerce both from impressing American sailors. But the main result was a severe depression in American ports.

Much more significant was the War of 1812, which in reality was part of the larger Napoleonic Wars. The initial issue was again British impressment of sailors, which assisted the election of America's Democratic-Republicans, many of whom saw the conquest of Canada as a means of ending impressments – and a desirable end in its own right. A thornier issue was the continued conflict over the borders separating the United States and British North America, the existence of British military posts and command of the Great Lakes system. When war broke out in June 1812, the Democratic-Republicans claimed it was a 'second war for independence' necessitated by the unfulfilled Treaty of Paris of 1783 and the disputed Great Lake boundaries. But the Federalists strongly opposed 'Mr Madison's War', and complained with some justification that the president and his 'War Hawks' were the belligerent ones. Britain, though preoccupied with Napoleon, was not about to concede its interests to upstart former colonies.

The War of 1812 is rather odd not only because it was preventable and unnecessary, but because such large numbers of citizens on both sides opposed it. As in the Revolution, there was a sense that quarrels between 'cousins' should not get out of hand. Some British periodicals sympathized with the Americans, while others predictably criticized the Americans for their aggression and political corruption. Thus, for much of the century British immigrants usually faced a curious blend of cultural affinity and a lingering suspicion of the loyalty.² During Fourth of July celebrations many had to brace themselves for the standard denunciations of Britain during readings of the Declaration of Independence. Some immigrants felt pressure to prove their loyalty by painting enormous flags on their barns, or making some other conspicuous display. Later, others left no doubt of their loyalty by being the first in their community to volunteer to fight in the Civil War. But these facts can hide the larger truth that the British – due to their cultural links with the United States – were the most welcomed of all immigrants. They and especially their children were often indistinguishable from most native-born Americans. Transcending any post-war fears and suspicions was the realization among many that Britons and Americans were linked by blood and heritage, and that their futures remained linked in many ways. As is clear in the documents in this volume, this cultural kinship would be a distinct advantage for most British immigrants and enhance their role in economic and cultural life.

More important for the British and American governments, it was clearly in their interests to have peace and trade. They were naturally each other's best customers. British manufactures needed the American market and bountiful raw materials; Americans needed the high quality and relatively cheap merchandise that was pouring out of the world's first industrial nation, and depended on British markets for their exports – especially cotton. Therefore trade was resumed in 1783 – the same year the conflict ended. Already in the late 1780s four fifths of Philadelphia's and virtually all of New York's imports were British.