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## *Across the Briny Ocean: Some Thoughts on Irish Emigration to America, 1800-1850*

Cormac Ó Gráda

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THAT emigration from Ireland was already substantial in the years between Waterloo and the Great Famine is nowadays universally conceded. Then, as later, it was the most favoured means of population control. But the contrast with the post-Famine record, however, the reluctance or inability of the Irish to move in still greater numbers to distant lands, remains an important historiographical theme.<sup>1</sup> The image of peasant multitudes clinging to home, 'like sailors to the mast or hull of a wreck',<sup>2</sup> is given point by the million or more fatalities of the Famine. It must not be forgotten, though, how small overall emigration from Europe was before 1845. Between the Discoveries and that date it is estimated that no more than five million or so Europeans settled in the New World, half of them after 1815.<sup>3</sup> Of the latter, Ireland supplied one-third, ten times more than her population share. No other country contributed as much. In addition, perhaps another six hundred thousand Irish made Great Britain their home between 1815 and 1845.<sup>4</sup> These numbers go a long way towards accounting for the apparently low level of permanent migration *within* Ireland before 1845. Though post-Famine rates put earlier emigrations in the shade, by contemporary standards the pre-Famine Irish must be characterized as 'highly mobile' rather than *adscriptus glebae*.<sup>5</sup>

The extent, nature, and consequences of the pre-Famine outflow have been discussed and debated over the years by Adams, Cousens, Jones, MacDonagh, and others.<sup>6</sup> For such a historically significant phenomenon, the literature is small although of a high quality. From the standpoint of this essay, the general emphasis on the distinctive regional character and social composition of the pre-Famine emigration, and on the tendency of families rather than individuals to dominate, is most relevant. The claim that Catholic emigrants were disproportionately few early in the century, and Adams' point that the outflow was becoming both larger and more proletarian on the eve of the Famine, are also important. My main purpose here is to establish a somewhat clearer profile of the pre-Famine emigrant through the use of contemporary passenger lists and allied material (Part I), and to review some economic aspects of the emigration in light of the data (Part II).

### I. 'Who were the Irish emigrants to America before 1845?'<sup>7</sup>

The data base for this paper is information on the age, sex, occupation (usually), and regional origin (sometimes) of over thirty thousand pre-Famine emigrants. The passenger lists used are as follows:<sup>8</sup>

Year	Destination	Source	Number of Emigrants
1803-6	North America	(1)	3603
1819-20	U.S.A.	(2)	1423
1830-9	North America	(3)	1834
1822-39	Boston	(4)	7000
1820-48	New York	(4)	30534

- (1) Public Record Office, London
- (2) United States Congressional Papers
- (3) Ordnance Survey Memoirs (R.I.A., Dublin)
- (4) United States Immigration Archives

The 1819-48 United States lists used here all have their origin in the same administrative concern: safeguarding the lives and welfare of the passengers who made the crossing. An act of 2 March, 1819 required the master of a vessel arriving at any U.S. port from another country to present a list of passengers to the collector of the local customs district. The master was supposed to swear to the veracity of the list in the collectors' presence.<sup>9</sup> The 1830-6 lists are a byproduct of legislation to reduce emigration during the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>10</sup> The 1830s Ordnance Survey Memoirs data refer to one northern Irish county only: they were collected as part of a scheme — abortive as it turned out — to accompany the survey with detailed socio-economic and antiquarian reports for each area.<sup>11</sup> While probably incomplete in their coverage, in no case is there a presumption that these data are grossly misleading.

Computer frequency counts and cross-tabulations produced the results summarized in Tables 1-8, which form the basis of our discussion. Let us review the more important findings.

(I) All lists imply that proportionately *more children* and over-35s emigrated before 1845 than later in the century. Overall, fewer women left than men, but for those who travelled unaccompanied, the male concentration is rather remarkable. The number of unaccompanied men exceeded women by two-to-one among the Boston and New York immigrants of the 1820s and 1830s, but the ratio was almost four-to-one in 1819-20 and nine-to-one in 1803-6. This pattern evidently contrasts sharply with the post-Famine picture, but is quite in line with the nineteenth-century norm for other European nationalities. The factors which held down the emigration of Irishwomen early on in the century, and made it blossom later on, are imperfectly understood; however, possible explanations include the relatively harsh life of women in post-Famine Ireland, the increasing demand for domestic servants in America during the second half of the century, and the vast size of the emigration itself.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the data illustrate a feature seemingly common to all Irish nineteenth-century emigrations across the Atlantic: unaccompanied women left at an earlier age than unaccompanied men, many of them in their late teens.<sup>13</sup>

(II) According to Adams, 'the Irish preferred to emigrate in families when they could'. In the case of all groups examined here, 'family' emigrants, in the sense of

people of the same surname travelling together, outnumbered unaccompanied emigrants, although the lists imply a stronger unaccompanied element than might be inferred from a reading of the existing literature. Nor were the family units that left typical: on average they were smaller than the average family in the population at large. Some were big, but a substantial majority was of two or three people. The lists show that even in 1803-6 almost seventy per cent of all emigrants left singly, or in parties of two to three people, while seventy-five per cent of the Boston emigrants travelled in parties of three or less. Moreover, the lopsided sex-ratio of the outflow indicates that only a minority of those unaccompanied can have paved the way for the rest of their households. Finally, the prevalence of units of one to three *may* suggest that the majority of emigrants came from a poorer background, but only if Adams' unsupported assertion about preferences holds.<sup>14</sup>

(III) The lists produce a large and, at first bewildering, catalogue of occupations, which I have reduced to six broad categories (Tables 3 and 4). The results should be interpreted with caution: the 1803-6 data are particularly suspect, and probably a goodly proportion of those described therein as 'labourers' were in fact semi-skilled or skilled artisans. For the rest, it is likely that some of those termed 'farmers' in the lists were simply labourers, though I have not attempted to adjust for this. A cautious guess, then, is that perhaps about a third of the men who left before 1820 were farmers or farmers' sons, about a tenth white-collar (gentlemen, merchants, etc.) and the remainder about equally divided between labourers and artisans. The Boston and New York immigrants were less skilled, and only a small proportion of them listed as farmers.<sup>15</sup>

In all lists, artisans are more heavily represented among emigrants than in the population as a whole. This, on the face of it, may look like a 'human capital' or 'skill' drain, a possibility which worried some contemporary critics of pre-Famine emigration. Quick conclusions from the data are not warranted, however, since presumably *some* proportion of these artisans — particularly in the textile sector — were structurally unemployed, and their specific skills were therefore rendered worthless. This after all was an era of unprecedented structural transformation in both Britain and Ireland.<sup>16</sup> In the Boston lists, though not in the others, artisans outside the textile sector tended to be concentrated in the older age-groups, an indication, perhaps, of redundant skills. Interestingly, a few former employers are to be found in the lists. The Boston data, for instance, give one 'ironfounder', four 'manufacturers', twenty-seven 'merchants', and seven 'brewers' and 'distillers'.

(IV) The Derry Ordnance Survey Memoirs are silent on some of the issues discussed so far, but are alone in containing the religious affiliations of emigrants. They indicate that during the 1830s Presbyterians and other Dissenters left in greater numbers than their share in the population would predict, and Catholics and Established Church members less. The same pattern was found for neighbouring Antrim by Adams.<sup>17</sup> The lists also prompt a look at differences in destination across religious affiliation, controlling for area of origin within the county. To avoid the problem of empty or very small cells, I have grouped all parishes providing data into three areas (Table 7). A common pattern within any area might then be regarded as evidence that people of all creeds used the same information flow about the New World in choosing their destination. However, at

this level of disaggregation the differences are significant on standard statistical criteria.

(V) The 1803-6 lists also provide details on port of destination. Cross-tabulations by province of origin yield no interesting patterns in this case, but the data suggest that unaccompanied emigrants were rather more prone to go to New York, and families to the more traditional ports such as Baltimore and Philadelphia. Further, as Maldwyn Jones has already pointed out,<sup>18</sup> the lists show that New York had already become the main port of disembarkation for Irish immigrants by the 1800s. During the 1820s and 1830s New York handled at least thirty times as many Irish immigrants as Boston.

The Boston lists show that the great majority of its Irish arrivals proceeded not directly from Ireland, but via the Canadian Maritime ports.<sup>19</sup> Of seven thousand emigrants, over 5,400 took the Canadian route, arriving for the most part in dribs and drabs by smaller ships, some of which seem to have specialised in the traffic. Only 216 arrived directly from Ireland. The Canadian crossing was the third-class route of the day.<sup>20</sup> The role it played in the Boston immigration may mean that the Irish who went there were of a lower socio-economic status than those who preceded them to the States in the 1800s and the 1810s, if not also those who were travelling to New York in the 1820s and 1830s.

(VI) Tables 6a and 6b provide some insight into the changing composition of the Atlantic emigration over time. The New York and other lists suggest that the unaccompanied component, and the female proportion of it, were increasing; the occupational data suggest a rising proportion of labourers, and fewer artisanal and textile workers. Overall the data confirm Adams' claim of a lowering of the socio-economic status of the emigrants after 1835 or so.<sup>21</sup>

(VII) Adams and Cousens have highlighted the Ulster element in pre-Famine emigration.<sup>22</sup> Only the 1803-6 lists provide comprehensive county-of-origin data: they confirm Ulster's pre-eminence at that juncture, with, interestingly enough, the western counties of Donegal and Tyrone to the fore in relative terms. Of the 3215 whose county origins can be traced, almost four-fifths came from Ulster, and another twelve per cent from Leinster. Only Sligo of the Connacht or Munster counties supplied an appreciable number of emigrants, though Sligo was arguably within the west Ulster orbit.

The New York lists (Table 5b) give the county origins of some eleven thousand emigrants. Ulster's share turns out to have still been disproportionately large, but had fallen to only thirty-seven per cent in the period 1820-46. Connacht's share, though always small, rose over time.

## II. *Some economic implications*

(I) A comparison of the usual cost of a passage — £4 to £8 — and the annual earnings of a pre-Famine labourer — £10 to £15 — explains the resilience of the hypothesis that a 'poverty trap' prevented the poorest in Ireland from leaving in those years. The 1803-6 data are at least consistent with this: Ulster, the richest of the four provinces, accounted for the lion's share of the emigrants, and non-labourers comfortably outnumbered labourers. The New York data too suggest that Ireland's poorer districts yielded disproportionately small pre-Famine emigrant

flows. Qualitative evidence arguing in the same direction is plentiful. Nevertheless the 'poverty trap' hypothesis needs more careful definition, since it was not merely the fare but — more importantly — other transactions, costs of the move and the poorer prospects facing Irish-speaking peasants from the south and west in America that kept down the numbers wanting to leave.<sup>23</sup> A comparison with contemporary European data indicates that not only the Famine, but greatly reduced travel and job-search time, altered the balance after mid-century.<sup>24</sup>

(II) The passenger lists give no straightforward answer to the question, 'Were the emigrants the most talented and ambitious?' As we have just seen, they are elusive even on the simpler problem of determining the outflow of useful skills and training. *A priori* reasoning is of little help in predicting who emigrated. On the one hand, insofar as people who were relatively productive in Ireland in agriculture and other sectors earned incomes related to their specific complementarities with respect to other inputs, there is some theoretical presumption that they would stay. On the other, if emigration is regarded as a lottery, wherein the 'best' leave because the odds of their improving their lot are better, the outcome is reversed.

Our data provide the raw material for one crude test of the educational or literacy level of the emigrants relative to the population as a whole — not exactly what we want, yet relevant nevertheless. Demographers have long noted the association between economic backwardness and illiteracy on the one hand, and 'age-heaping' in censal returns on the other. In poorer countries a disproportionately large number of people give their ages rounded to the nearest zero or five. The Irish census of 1841, the first to publish year-by-year age information, suffers from notoriously extreme age-heaping.<sup>25</sup> A comparison of the 1841 data and those taken from the emigrant lists should, by extension, tell us whether those who left were more or less 'backward' than the average. Many measures of age-heaping have been proposed,<sup>26</sup> but we simply define **I** here as a relative age-heaping index, where

$$I = \frac{\sum w_i \pi_i}{\sum w_i \pi_i^*}$$

Here  $w_i$  equals the share of emigrants aged  $i$  in the emigrant flow, and  $\pi_i$  and  $\pi_i^*$  the proportion of those in age-bracket  $i$  (e.g. 20-4 years) who reported their age as a multiple of ten (e.g. 20) in the lists and the census, respectively. When **I** is unity the population at large and the emigrants age-heaped equally; if **I** is greater than one, the emigrants heaped more.

The results, calculated from the data in Table 8, give  $I_{1803-6} = 1.06$ ,  $I_{1819-20} = 0.99$ ,  $I_{1822-39} = 1.11$ , and  $I_{1820-46} = 1.13$ . No comfort here, then, for the 'brain drain' argument. It might be countered that the lists reflect the ship master's carelessness rather than the passengers' lack of numeracy. Certainly a perusal of some of the lists would give some support to this view, but a comparison with the Swedish pre-1850 data, culled from the same source as some of the Irish lists, suggests that the passengers' numerical ability was indeed being captured.<sup>27</sup>

(III) From an economic standpoint, the notion that emigration was beneficial in the long run, since those who left eventually did well, and the law of diminishing returns worked in favour of those who stayed, is an appealing one. For the pre-Famine period in particular, the argument has a plausible ring to it. Nevertheless,

emigration has had its cogent critics, and one of their strongest points is that the self-selected character of the outflow could have hurt the stay-at-homes. There are two main reasons for this, the first of which was discussed above. The second source of putative loss, stemming from the unbalanced age-structure of the emigration, can only be considered briefly here.<sup>28</sup>

Just as the arrival of 'ready-made' workers conferred a human capital boon on nineteenth-century America,<sup>29</sup> it has long been recognised by European writers that the age-selectivity of emigration could simultaneously injure the sending country. The 'loss' follows from the emigrant often spending his unproductive years at home running up debts against family and fellow citizens, but supplying credits in turn under another flag. Whether remittances provide adequate compensation is an open question.<sup>30</sup> We may assume that the average emigrant who left before the age of thirty or thirty-five years had not fully repaid his debts. Full calculations of the loss from this source require assumptions about consumption and earnings at different points over the life cycle, and about remittances. They also require somewhat restrictive assumptions about the nature of the intergenerational transfers that took place. Preliminary estimates of the loss, taking account also of emigration to places other than the United States, range from 0.5 to 2 per cent of contemporary national income. Not a large proportion, certainly, but appreciable in a faltering economy.

(IV) The profile of the New York emigrants of 1847 and 1848 reported in Tables 1, 2, and 3b differs less markedly from those who preceded them in the late 1830s and early 1840s than might be expected. True, they were somewhat more likely to be under fifteen or over thirty-five years of age, and less likely to travel alone; they may also have been less skilled. Moreover, a full sample of Famine emigrants may accentuate the differences. But if these results provide even an approximate description of the outflow, they add an intriguing insight to our understanding of the workings of the Famine. For if the emigrants continued to be disproportionately male and young, the structure of the surviving population implies that the excess deaths of the Famine years were more likely to have been the women, the very young, and the elderly. It is possible, too, that the age and sex structure of the Famine emigration, by leaving behind those most at risk, increased the human toll of those years.<sup>31</sup>

TABLE 1. *Age of Distribution of Irish Emigrants to America, 1800-1900* (in percentage)

Age	1803-5 <sup>1</sup>	1819-20 <sup>2</sup>	1820-46 <sup>3</sup>	1822-39 <sup>4</sup>	1847-8 <sup>3</sup>	1865 <sup>2</sup>	1900 <sup>2</sup>	1841 Population
0-14	13.4	27.8	18.4	19.5	20.5	16.9	8.6	32.8
15-19	11.3	9.6	15.6	11.7	15.1	45.1	50.0	10.8
20-24	25.3	21.9	31.1	28.0	30.2			9.6
25-34	30.6	25.1	24.8	31.1	21.2	25.7	25.2	14.5
35-44	11.4	8.1	5.7	6.3	8.0	7.2	5.4	11.0
45 +	8.1	7.4	4.6	3.4	5.0	5.1	3.8	21.3

Sources: see text

<sup>1</sup> North America

<sup>2</sup> United States

<sup>3</sup> New York

<sup>4</sup> Boston





TABLE 3. *Occupation and Emigrants' Family Status, 1803-5, 1819-20, 1822-39 and 1820-46*

Occupational Category	1803-5 (U.S.)		1819-20 (U.S.)	
	U	F	U	F
1	626 ( 45.6)	378 ( 28.1)	124 ( 31.7)	60 ( 20.5)
2	88 ( 6.4)	379 ( 28.2)	49 ( 12.3)	54 ( 18.5)
3	433 ( 31.6)	516 ( 38.3)	105 ( 26.3)	129 ( 44.2)
4	17 ( 1.2)	11 ( 0.8)	52 ( 13.0)	27 ( 9.2)
5	206 ( 15.0)	61 ( 4.3)	66 ( 16.5)	22 ( 7.5)
6	2 ( 0.0)	1 ( 0.0)	3 ( 0.8)	0 ( 0.0)
	1372 (100.0)	1346 (100.0)	399 (100.0)	292 (100.0)

  

Occupational Category	1822-39 (Boston)		1820-46 (New York)	
	U	F	U	F
1	1191 ( 60.0)	840 ( 66.6)	5554 ( 60.7)	3499 ( 52.5)
2	125 ( 6.3)	107 ( 8.5)	977 ( 10.7)	847 ( 12.7)
3	150 ( 7.6)	109 ( 8.6)	1093 ( 11.9)	1056 ( 15.8)
4	435 ( 21.9)	184 ( 14.6)	1181 ( 12.9)	1042 ( 15.6)
5	82 ( 4.1)	22 ( 1.7)	193 ( 2.1)	136 ( 2.0)
6	3 ( 0.2)	1 ( 0.1)	151 ( 1.7)	83 ( 1.2)
	1926 (100.0)	1261 (100.0)	9149 (100.0)	6663 (100.0)

- 1 = labourers, servants
- 2 = textile workers
- 3 = farmers
- 4 = other artisans
- 5 = white collar
- 6 = other

TABLE 4. *Occupations of Irish Emigrants to Boston and New York, Compared to the Census Data 1841*  
(Percentages)

Occupational Category	Boston		New York		Census 1841	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	62.7	78.6	60.5	63.3	55.4	33.7
2	3.5	11.1	7.0	24.4	7.1	59.3
3	10.4	0.5	15.7	9.2	20.7	1.9
4	20.5	8.1	13.3	2.3	10.5	0.7
5	2.7	1.0	3.6	0.8	4.9	3.4
6	0.2	0.7	—	—	1.5	0.4

TABLE 5A. *Emigrants' Province of Origin, 1803-5*

	<i>Unaccompanied</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Total</i>
Leinster	217	185	402
Munster	35	48	83
Ulster	936	1612	2548
Connacht	100	82	182
	<u>1288</u>	<u>1927</u>	<u>3215</u>

TABLE 5B. *New York Emigrants' Province of Origins, 1820-1848*

	<i>1820-34</i>	<i>1835-1846</i>	<i>1847-8</i>
Leinster	897 (38.8)	2361 (38.8)	590 (21.5)
Munster	357 (15.4)	706 (11.6)	375 (13.7)
Ulster	904 (39.1)	2237 (36.7)	1114 (40.6)
Connacht	156 ( 6.7)	787 (12.9)	663 (24.2)
	<u>2314</u>	<u>6091</u>	<u>2742</u>

TABLE 6A. *The Changing Composition of Emigration Over Time: Sex and Family Status, New York 1820-48*

<i>Period</i>	<i>Unaccompanied</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
1820-9	870 (77.2)	257 (22.8)	1586 (62.2)	963 (37.8)
1830-4	1306 (69.7)	567 (30.3)	2344 (59.1)	1623 (40.9)
1835-9	2177 (64.4)	1206 (35.6)	3936 (57.0)	2968 (43.0)
1840-6	3196 (60.5)	2088 (39.5)	5894 (53.8)	5063 (46.2)
1847-8	1612 (62.4)	973 (37.6)	3422 (55.6)	2738 (44.4)

TABLE 6B. *Occupations, New York 1820-48*

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>1820-34</i>	<i>1835-46</i>	<i>1847-48</i>
1	1956 (48.0)	7097 (60.4)	2719 (60.2)
2	352 (13.5)	1272 (10.8)	591 (13.1)
3	687 (16.9)	1472 (12.5)	506 (11.2)
4	691 (16.9)	1532 (13.0)	580 (12.8)
5	117 ( 2.9)	212 ( 1.8)	70 ( 1.6)
6	74 ( 1.8)	160 ( 1.4)	49 ( 1.1)

TABLE 7. *The Destination of Co. Derry Emigrants of 1835-8 by Religion*  
(in percentages)

<i>Destination</i>	<i>Diss.</i>	<i>R.C.</i>	<i>E.C.</i>
<i>A. West Derry</i>			
New York	19.3	28.3	14.3
Philadelphia	43.7	16.2	9.5
Quebec	25.3	40.3	47.6
St. Johns	11.7	14.9	28.6
	<i>R.C.</i>		<i>Other</i>
<i>B. South Derry</i>			
New York	45.8		20.4
Philadelphia	14.7		18.3
Quebec	32.4		45.5
Other	7.1		15.8
<i>C. East Derry</i>			
New York	15.6		11.0
Philadelphia	7.8		27.0
Quebec	55.8		51.6
Other	20.8		10.4

*Source:* see text.

TABLE 8. Values of  $\pi$  from Irish passenger lists 1803-1839, the 1841 and 1851 censuses, and Swedish passenger lists 1820-1850

<i>Ireland 1803-6</i>		
<i>Age</i>	$\pi$	<i>n</i>
20 - 4	.260	874
30 - 4	.631	374
40 - 4	.690	158
50 - 4	.716	95
<i>Ireland 1819-20</i>		
20 - 4	.212	358
30 - 4	.697	132
40 - 4	.704	54
50 - 4	.611	36
<i>Ireland 1822-39</i>		
20 - 4	.269	1910
30 - 4	.672	772
40 - 4	.829	199
50 - 4	.771	83
<i>Irish Census 1841, 1851</i>		
	$\pi^*$	$\pi^*$
	1841	1851
20 - 4	.308	.338
30 - 4	.498	.517
40 - 4	.576	.661
50 - 4	.617	.604
<i>Sweden 1820-50</i>		
	$\pi$	<i>n</i>
20 - 4	.261	471
30 - 4	.341	422
40 - 4	.465	243
50 - 4	.380	100

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Brian Trainor, Director of the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, kindly provided me with the 1803-6 and 1822-39 data in typed, easily codable, form. Joel Mokyr allowed me to use his New York emigrants file (fully explained in his *Why Ireland Starved: A Quantitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy 1800-1850* (London, 1982, ch. 7). My thanks to them both.

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10. Jones, 'Irish Emigration'.

11. J. H. Andrews, *A Paper Landscape: The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 144-79.

12. R. E. Kennedy, Jr., *The Irish: Emigration, Marriage, and Fertility* (Berkeley, 1973), pp. 66-85; J. J. Lee, 'Women and the Church since the Famine', in M. MacCurtain and D. Ó Corráin, eds., *Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension* (Westport, Conn., 1979), pp. 37-45.

13. On the age and sex of European emigrants to the Americas during the nineteenth century, cf. United States Immigration Commission, pp. 5-8; I. Ferenczi, *International Migrations: Statistics* (New York, 1929).

14. The average size of the emigrating Boston 'family', for instance, was just over three. Compare F. J. Carney, 'Aspects of Pre-Famine Irish Household Size: Composition and Differentials', in L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout, eds., *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 32-46. An exception to the pattern outlined here is provided by Peter Robinson's planned emigration of 1823-5, which carried about three thousand Irish, mainly from Cork, to Upper Canada. This emigration was overwhelmingly a family emigration, for reasons clearly explained in W. Cameron, 'Selecting Peter Robinson's Irish Emigrants', *Social History/Histoire Sociale*, IX no. 17 (1976), 29-46. This latter emigration, it might be noted, much more closely resembled contemporary Scottish Highland emigration than the usual Irish pattern. My cursory inspection of Scottish passenger lists suggests more young people and women, and a higher proportion of family emigrants. See e.g. Home Office, London, 102/18 (lists of passengers aboard the *Sarah* and *Dove* bound for Pictou, Nova Scotia in 1801); Public Archives, Canada, MG 40 C 10 (lists of passengers aboard the *Commerce* out of Greenock in 1820). Scottish emigration is discussed at some length in M. Flinn, ed., *Scottish Population History* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 93-6, 435, 443-7, but more relevant to the present discussion is M. Flinn, 'Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes in the Scottish North-west, 1770-1870', in L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout, eds., *Comparative Aspects*, especially pp. 57-8.

15. On difficulties with interpreting the 1803-6 lists, see Jones, 'Irish Emigration'.
16. The disastrous effect on Irish industry and proto-industrial employment may be gauged from a comparison of the occupational details given in the censuses of 1821 and 1841. See C. Ó Gráda, 'Demographic Adjustment and Seasonal Migration in Nineteenth-century Ireland' in L. M. Cullen and F. Furet, eds., *Ireland and France: Towards a Comparative Study of Rural History* (Paris, 1981).
17. Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration*; J. H. Johnson, 'Population Movements in County Derry during a Pre-Famine Year', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 60, Section C (1959), pp. 141-62, O.S.M. data are used to answer several related questions.
18. Jones, 'Irish Emigration', p. 60.
19. On the role of the Maritime ports in Irish immigration, see J. S. Martell, *Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1815-38* (Halifax, 1942); H. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America* (Toronto, 1928).
20. There was a fourth-class route to Boston: an indeterminate number made their way there from the Maritimes by foot. See O. Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York, 1951), pp. 59-60.
21. Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration*, ch. 5.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-20, 188, 221; Cousins, 'Regional Variation in Emigration'.
23. On the implausibility of the 'poverty trap' argument after 1850 see C. Ó Gráda, 'On Some Aspects of Nineteenth-century Irish Emigration', in L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout, eds., *Comparative Aspects*. The importance of seasonal migration from the west and south before 1845 means that the passage money alone — for single young men at least — was no insuperable obstacle to emigration.
24. The huge rise in emigration from England, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries in the 1850s is documented in I. Ferenczi, *International Migrations*, pp. 377-80.
25. As noted by the census commissioners themselves, and discussed in J. Lee, 'Marriage and Population in pre-Famine Ireland', *Economic History Review*, 21 (1968), pp. 289-90.
26. S. Shrycoock and J. S. Siegel, *The Methods and Materials of Demography* (Washington, 1973), pp. 700-4. For further analysis along the same lines, using other measures, see J. Mokyr and C. Ó Gráda, 'Emigration and Irish Poverty before 1845' (paper in progress, Northwestern University, Sept. 1981).
27. The Swedish data are taken from N. W. Olsson, *Swedish Passenger Arrivals in New York* (Chicago, 1967).
28. It is discussed in more detail in J. Mokyr, *Why Ireland Starved*, ch. 7; C. Ó Gráda, 'On Some Economic Aspects of Pre-Famine Emigration' (unpublished paper, February 1981); J. Mokyr and C. Ó Gráda, 'Emigration and Irish Poverty'.
29. L. Neal and P. J. Uselding, 'Immigration, a Neglected Source of American Economic Growth: 1790 to 1912', *Oxford Economic Papers*, 24 (1972), pp. 68-88; P. J. Hill, *The Economic Consequences of Immigration into the United States* (New York, 1975).
30. W. Farr, *Vital Statistics* (London, 1885), pp. 59-64; A. Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, Variorum Edition (London, 1961), II, p. 622; F. Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration* (New York, 1870), pp. 144-7.
31. The author is currently engaged in a study of these issues with Phelim Boyle of the University of British Columbia.

